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RALEGH'S
HIST. OF THE
WORLD

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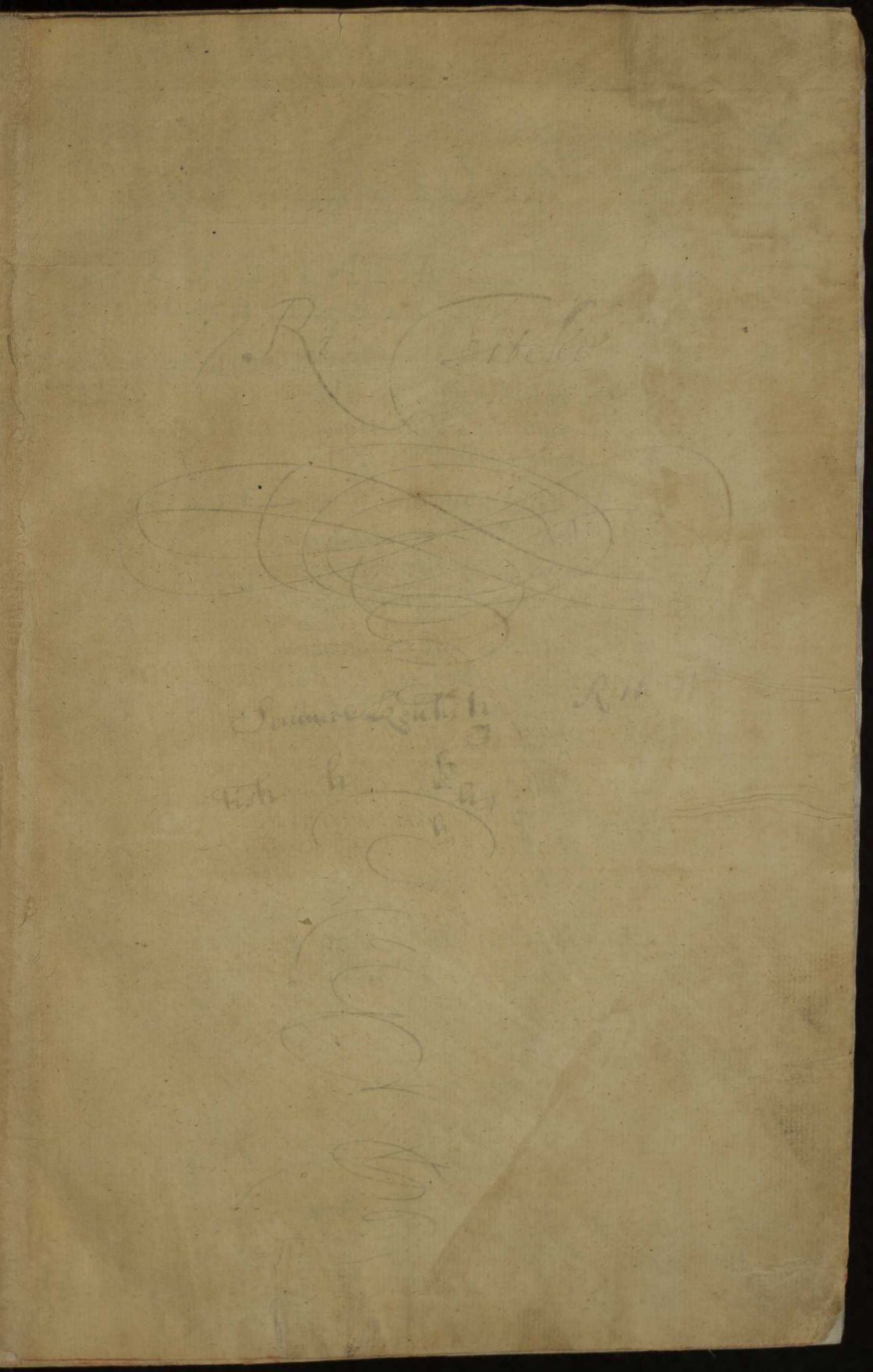

Mich. M. Williams

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THE MINDE OF THE FRONT.

FRom Death, *and darke* Obliuion (*neere the same*)
The Mistresse of Mans life, *graue* HISTORIE,
Raising the World *to good, or euill* FAME,
Doth vindicate it to ETERNITIE.

High PROVIDENCE *would so: that nor the Good*
Might be defrauded, nor the Great secur'd,
But both might know their waies are vnderstood,
And the reward and punishment assur'd.

This makes, that lighted by the beamie hand
Of TRVTH, *which searcheth the most hidden springs,*
And guided by EXPERIENCE, *whose straight* VVand,
Doth mete, whose Line *doth sound the depth of things;*

Shee cheerefully supporteth what shee reares:
Assisted by no strengths, but are her owne.
Some note of which each varied Pillar *beares,*
By which, as proper Titles, she is knowne,

Times VVitnesse, Herald of Antiquitie,
The Light of Truth, and Life of Memorie.

THE HISTORIE OF THE VVORLD.

IN FIVE BOOKES.

1 INtreating of the Beginning and first Ages of the same from the Creation vnto Abraham.
2 Of the Times from the Birth of Abraham, to the destruction of the Temple of Salomon.
3 From the destruction of Ierusalem, to the time of Philip of Macedon.
4 From the Reigne of Philip of Macedon, to the establishing of that Kingdome, in the Race of Antigonus.
5 From the settled rule of Alexanders successours in the East, vntill the Romans (preuailing ouer all) made Conquest of Asia and Macedon.

By Sir WALTER RALEGH, Knight.

The true and lively portraiture of the honourable and learned Knight Sr. Walter Ralegh.

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THE PREFACE.

HOw vnfit and how vnworthy a choice I haue made of my selfe, to vndertake a worke of this mixture; mine owne reason, though exceeding weake, hath sufficiently resolued mee. For had it beene begotten then with my first dawne of day, when the light of common knowledge began to open it selfe to my yonguer yeares, and before any wound receiued, either from Fortune or Time: I might yet well haue doubted that the darknesse of Age and Death would haue couered ouer both It and Mee, long before the performance. For, beginning with the Creation, I haue proceeded with the History of the World; and lastly purposed (some few sallies excepted) to confine my Discourse, with this our renowned Iland of Great Brittaine. *I confesse that it had better sorted with my disability, the better part of whose times are run out in other trauailes; to haue set together (as I could) the vnioynted and scattered frame of our English affaires, than of the Vniuersall: in whom, had there bin no other defect (who am all defect) than the time of the day, it were enough; the day of a tempestuous life, drawne on to the very euening ere I began. But those inmost, and soule-piercing wounds, which are euer aking while vncured: with the desire to satisfie those few friends, which I haue tryed by the fire of Aduersity, the former enforcing, the latter perswading; haue caused mee to make my thoughts legible, and my selfe the subiect of euery opinion, wise or weake.*

To the World I present them, to which I am nothing indebted: neither haue others that were, (Fortune changing) sped much better in any age. For Prosperity and Aduersity haue euermore tyed and vntyed vulgar affections. And as we see it in experience, That dogs doe alwaies barke at those they know not, and that it is their nature to accompany one another in those clamours: so it is with the inconsiderate multitude; who, wanting that vertue which we call Honesty in all men, and that especiall gift of GOD which we call Charity in Christian men; condemn without hearing, and wound without offence giuen: led therevnto by vncertaine report only; which his Maiesty *truely acknowledgeth for the Author of all lies.* Blame no man (*saith Siracides*) before thou haue enquired the matter: vnderstand first, and then reforme righteously. *Rumor, res sine teste, sine iudice, maligna; fallax;* Rumor is without witnesse, without judge, malicious and deceiueable. *This vanity of vulgar opinion it was, that gaue Saint* Augustine *Argument to affirme, That he feared the praise of good men, and detested that of the euill. And herein no man hath giuen a better rule, than this of* Seneca; Conscientiæ satisfaciamus: nihil in famam laboremus, sequatur vel mala, dum bene merearis. Let us satisfie our owne consciences, and not

Dæmonolog. l.3.c.1.

Eccli.c.11.v.7.

Laudari à bonis timeo, & amari à malis detestor. Sen. de ira. l.3. c.22.

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not trouble our selues with fame: bee it neuer so ill, it is to be despised so we deserue well.

For my selfe, if I haue in any thing serued my Country, and prized it before my priuate: the generall acceptation can yeeld me no other profit at this time than doth a faire sunshine day to a Sea-man after shipwrack; & the contrary no other harm, than an outragious tempest after the Port attained. I know that I lost the loue of many, for my fidelity towards Her, whom I must still honour in the dust; though further than the defence of her excellent person, I neuer persecuted any man. Of those that did it, and by what deuice they did it, He that is the Supreame Iudge of all the World, hath taken the accompt: so as for this kinde of suffering, I must say with Seneca, Mala opinio, bene parta, delectat.

As for other men; if there be any that haue made themselues Fathers of that fame, which hath been begotten for them: I can neyther enuy at such their purchased glory, nor much lament mine owne mishap in that kind; but content my selfe to say with Virgil, Sic vos non vobis, *in many particulars. To labour other satisfaction, were an effect of phrenzy, not of hope: seeing it is not Truth, but Opinion, that can trauell the World without a pass-port. For were it otherwise; and were there not as many internall formes of the minde, as there are externall figures of men; there were then some possibility to perswade by the mouth of one Aduocate, euen Equity alone.*

But such is the multiplying & extensiue vertue of dead Earth, & of that breathgiuing life which God hath cast vpon slime & dust, as that among those that were, of whom we read and heare, & among those that are, whom we see & conuerse with; euery one hath receiued a seuerall picture of face, & euery one a diuers picture of minde; euery one a forme apart, euery one a fancy & cogitation differing: there being nothing wherin Nature so much triumpheth as in dissimilitude. From whence it commeth that there is found so great diuersity of opinions; so strong a contrariety of inclinations; so many natural & vnnatural; wise, foolish, manly, & childish affections and passions immortall men. For it is not the visible fashion and shape of plants, and of reasonable Creatures, that makes the difference of working in the one, and of condition in the other; but the forme internall.

And though it hath pleased God to reserue the Art of reading mens thoughts to himselfe: yet, as the fruit tels the name of the Tree; so do the outward works of men (so far as their cogitatiõs are acted) giue vs wherof to gheß at the rest. Nay, it were not hard to expresse the one by the other, very neere the life: did not craft in many, feare in the most, and the worlds loue in all, teach euery capacity, according to the compasse it hath, to qualifie and maske ouer their inward deformities for a time. Though it be also true, Nemo potest diu personam ferre fictam: cito in naturam suam residunt; quibus veritas non subest. No man can long continue masked in a counterfeit behauiour: the things that are forced for pretences hauing no ground of truth, cannot long dissemble their own natures. *Neither can any man (saith* Plutarch*) so change himselfe, but that his heart may bee sometimes seene at his tongues end.*

In this great discord and dissimilitude of reasonable Creatures, if we direct our selues to the Multitude; Omnis honestæ rei malus iudex est vulgus: The common people are euill Iudges of honest things, *and* whose Wisedome *(saith Ecclesiastes)* is to be despised; *if to the better sort; euery vnderstanding hath*

hath a peculiar iudgement, by which it both censureth other men, & valueth it self. And therefore vnto me it will not seeme strange, though I finde these my worthlesse papers torne with Rats: seeing the slothfull Censurers of all ages haue not spared to taxe the Reuerend Fathers of the Church, with Ambitiõ; the seuerest men to themselues, with Hypocrisie; the greatest louers of Iustice, with Popularity; and those of the truest valour and fortitude, with vaine-glory. But of these natures which lie in wait to finde fault, and to turne good into euill, seeing Salomon *complained long since: & that the very age of the world renders it euery day after other more malicious; I must leaue the professors to their easie waies of reprehension; than which there is nothing of more facility.*

Eccl. c. 11. *Nihil facilius, quam reprehendere alium.*

To me it belongs in the first part of this Preface, following the common & approued custome of those, who haue left the memories of time past to after ages; to giue, as neare as I can, the same right to History which they haue done. Yet seeing therein I should but borrow other mens words; I wil not trouble the Reader with the repetition. True it is that among many other benefits, for which it hath bin honoured; in this one it triumpheth ouer all humane knowledge, That it hath giuen vs life in our vnderstanding, since the world it selfe had life & beginning, euen to this day: yea, it hath triumphed ouer time, which besides it nothing but eternity hath triumphed ouer: for it hath carried our knowledge ouer the vast and deuouring space of many thousands of yeares, & giuen so faire & piercing eies to our minde, that wee plainly behold liuing now (as if we had liued then) that great world, Magni Dei sapiens opus, the wise work *(saith Hermes)* of a great GOD, *as it was then, when but new to it selfe. By it (I say) it is, that we liue in the very time when it was created: we behold how it was gouerned: how it was couered with waters, and againe repeopled: How Kings and Kingdomes haue flourished and fallen, and for what vertue and piety God made prosperous; and for what vice and deformity he made wretched, both the one and the other. And it is not the least debt which we owe vnto History, that it hath made vs acquainted with our dead Auncestors; and, out of the depth and darknesse of the earth, deliuered vs their memory and fame. In a word, wee may gather out of History a policy no lesse wise than eternall; by the comparison and application of other mens fore-passed miseries with our owne like errours & ill deseruings. But it is neither of Examples the most liuely instruction, nor the words of the wisest men, nor the terror of future torments, that hath yet so wrought in our blind and stupified mindes; as to make vs remember, That the infinite eye and wisedome of God doth pierce through all our pretences; as to make vs remember, That the iustice of God doth require none other accuser, than our owne consciences: which neither the false beauty of our apparent actions, nor all the formality, which (to pacifie the opinions of men) we put on; can in any, or the least kind, couer from his knowledge. And so much did that heathen wisedome confesse, no way as yet qualified by the knowledge of a true God. If any (saith Euripides) hauing in his life committed wickednesse, thinke hee can hide it from the euerlasting gods, he thinkes not well.*

To repeat GODS iudgements in particular, vpon those of all degrees, which haue plaied with his mercies; would require a volume apart: for the Sea *of examples hath no bottome. The markes, set on priuate men, are with their bodies cast into the earth; and their fortunes, written onely in the memories of those that liued with them: so as they who succeed, and haue not seene the fall of others,*

 doe

doe not feare their owne faults. GOD S iudgements vpon the greater & greatest haue beene left to posterity; first, by those happy hands which the Holy Ghost hath guided; and secondly, by their vertue, who haue gathered the acts and ends of men, mighty and remarkeable in the world. Now to poynt farre off, and to speake of the conuersion of Angells into Deuills, for Ambition: Or of the greatest and most glorious Kings, who haue gnawne the grasse of the earth with beasts for pride and ingratitude towards GOD: Or of that wise working of Pharaoh, when he slue the Infants of Israel, ere they had recouered their Cradles: Or of the policy of Iezabel, in couering the murder of Naboth by a tryall of the Elders, according to the Law, with many thousands of the like: what were it other, than to make an hopelesse proofe, that farre-off examples would not be left to the same farre-off respects, as heretofore? For who hath not obserued, what labour, practice, perill, bloudshed, and cruelty, the Kings and Princes of the world haue vndergone, exercised, taken on them, and committed; to make themselues and their issues masters of the world? And yet hath Babylon, Persia, Egypt, Syria, Macedon, Carthage, Rome, & the rest, no fruit, no flower, graß, nor leaf, springing vpon the face of the earth, of those seeds: No, their very roots & ruines do hardly remaine. Omnia quæ manu hominum facta sunt, vel manu hominum euertuntur, vel stando & durando deficiunt: All that the hand of man can make, is eyther ouerturnd by the hand of man, or at length by standing and continuing consumed. The reasons of whose ruines, are diuersly giuen by those that ground their opinions on second causes. All Kingdomes & States haue fallen (say the Politicians) by outward & forrain force, or by inward negligence & dissension, or by a third cause arising from both. Others obserue, That the greatest haue sunk downe vnder their own weight; of which Liuie hath a touch: eo crevit, vt magnitudine laboret sua: Others, That the diuine prouidence (which Cratippus obiected to Pompey) hath set downe the date and period of euery Estate; before their first foundation and erection. But hereof I will giue my selfe a day ouer to resolue.

For seeing the first bookes of the following story, haue vndertaken the discourse of the first Kings and Kingdomes: and that it is impoßible for the short life of a Preface, to trauaile after, and ouertake farre-off Antiquity, and to iudge of it; I will, for the present, examine what profit hath been gathered by our own Kings, & their Neighbour Princes: who hauing beheld, both in diuine & humane letters, the successe of infidelity, iniustice, and cruelty; haue (notwithstanding) planted after the same patterne.

True it is, that the iudgements of all men are not agreeable; nor (which is more strange) the affection of any one man stirred vp a-like with examples of like nature: But euery one is touched most, with that which most neerely seemeth to touch his owne priuate; Or otherwise best suteth with his apprehension. But the iudgements of GOD are for euer vnchangeable; neyther is hee wearied by the long processe of time, and won to giue his blessing in one age, to that which he hath cursed in another. Wherefore those that are wise, or whose wisedome if it bee not great, yet is true and well grounded; will be able to discerne the bitter fruites of irreligious policy, as well among those examples that are found in ages remoued farre from the present, as in those of latter times. And that it may no lesse appeare

appeare by euident proofe, than by asseueration, That ill doing hath alwaies beene attended with ill successe; I will here, by way of Preface, run ouer some examples, which the worke ensuing hath not reached.

Among our Kings of the Norman race, we haue no sooner passed ouer the violence of the Norman Conquest, than we encounter with a singular and most remarkable example of Gods Iustice, vpon the children of Henry the first. For that King, when both by force, craft and cruelty, he had dispossest, ouerreacht, and lastly made blinde and destroyed his elder Brother Robert Duke of Normandy, to make his owne sonnes Lords of this Land: GOD cast them all, Male and Female, Nephewes and Neeces (Maud excepted) into the bottome of the Sea, with aboue a hundred and fifty others that attended them; whereof a great many were Noble, and of the King dearly beloued.

To passe ouer the rest, till we come to Edward the Second; it is certaine, that after the murder of that King, the issue of bloud then made, though it had some times of stay and stopping, did againe breake out, and that so often and in such abundance, as all our Princes of the Masculine race (very few excepted) dyed of the same disease. And although the yongue yeares of Edward the Third, made his knowledge of that horrible fact no more than suspicious: yet in that he afterwards caused his owne Vncle the Earle of Kent to die, for no other offence than the desire of his Brothers redemption, whom the Earle as then supposed to be liuing; the King making that to be treason in his Vncle, which was indeede treason in himself, (had his Vncles intelligence been true) this I say made it manifest, that he was not ignorant of what had past, nor greatly desirous to haue had it otherwise; though he caused Mortimer to die for the same.

This cruelty the secret and vnsearchable iudgement of GOD reuenged on the Grand-child of Edward the Third: and so it fell out, euen to the last of that line, that in the second or third descent they were all buried vnder the ruines of those buildings, of which the Mortar had beene tempered with innocent bloud. For Richard the Second, who saw, both his Treasurers, his Chancellor, and his Steward, with diuers others of his Counsailours, some of them slaughtered by the people, others in his absence executed by his enemies; yet hee alwaies tooke himselfe for ouer-wise, to be taught by examples. The Earles of Huntingdon and Kent, Montagu & Spencer, who thought themselues as great Politicians in those daies as others haue done in these: hoping to please the King, and to secure themselues, by the Murder of Gloucester; died soone after, with many other their adherents, by the like violent hands; and farre more shamefully than did that Duke. And as for the King himselfe (who in regard of many deedes, vnworthy of his Greatnesse, cannot be excused, as the disauowing himselfe by breach of Faith, Charters, Pardons and Patents:) Hee was in the prime of his youth deposed, and murdered by his Cosen Germane and vassall, Henry of Lancaster, afterwards Henry the Fourth.

This King, whose Title was weake, & his obtaining the Crowne traiterous: who brake faith with the Lords at his landing, protesting to intend onely the recouery of his proper inheritance, brake faith with Richard himselfe; and brake faith with all the Kingdome in Parliament, to whom hee swore that the deposed King should liue. After that he had enioyed this Realme some few yeares, and in that time had beene set vpon on all sides by his Subiects, and neuer free from con-

conspiracies & rebellions: he saw (if soules immortall see & discern any things after the bodies death) his Grand-childe Henry the sixt, & his Son the Prince, suddenly & without mercy, murdered; the possession of the Crowne (for which hee had caused so much bloud to be poured out) transferred from his race, & by the Issues of his enemies worn & enioy'd: enemies, whom by his own practice he supposed that he had left no lesse power-lesse, than the succession of the Kingdom questionlesse; by entailing the same vpon his owne Issues by Parliament. And out of doubt, humane reason could haue iudged no otherwise, but that these cautious prouisions of the father, seconded by the valour & signall victories of his son Henry the fift, had buried the hopes of euery Competitor, vnder the despaire of all reconquest and recouery. I say, that humane reason might so haue iudged: were not this passage of Casaubon also true; Dies, hora, momentum, euertendis dominationibus sufficit, quæ adamantinis credebantur radicibus esse fundatæ; A day, an houre, a moment, is enough to ouerturne the things, that seemed to haue beene founded and rooted in Adamant.

Now for Henry the sixt, vpon whom the great storm of his Grand-fathers grieuous faults fell, as it formerly had done vpon Richard the Grand-childe of Edward: although he was generally esteemed for a gentle & innocent Prince, yet as he refused the daughter of Armaignac, of the House of Nauarre, the greatest of the Princes of France, to whom he was affianced (by which match hee might haue defended his inheritance in France) & married the daughter of Aniou, (by which he lost all that he had in France) so in condescending to the vnworthy death of his Vncle of Glocester, the maine and strong Pillar of the house of Lancaster; He drew on himselfe & this kingdom the greatest ioynt-losse & dishonour, that euer it sustained since the Norman conquest. Of whom it may truly be said which a Counsellor of his owne spake of Henry the third of France, Q'uil estoit vne fort gẽtile Prince; mais son reigne est aduenu en vne fort mauuois temps: That hee was a very gentle Prince; but his reigne happened in a verie vnfortunate season.

It is true that Buckingham & Suffolke were the practisers and contriuers of the Dukes death: Buckingham & Suffolke, because the Duke gaue instructions to their authority; which otherwise vnder the Queene had been absolute; the Queene in respect of her personall wound, spretæque iniuria formæ, because Glocester dissuaded her marriage. But the fruit was answerable to the seed; the success to the Counsaile. For after the cutting downe of Glocester, Yorke grew vp so fast, as he dared to dispute his right both by arguments & armes; in which quarrell, Suffolke and Buckingham, with the greatest number of their adherents, were dissolued. And although for his breach of Oath by Sacrament, it pleased God to strike down Yorke: yet his son the Earle of March, following the plaine path which his Father had troden out, despoiled Henry the Father, and Edward the son, both of their liues and Kingdome. And what was the end now of that politique Lady the Queene, other than this, That she liued to behold the wretched ends of all her partakers: that she liued to looke on, while her Husband the King & her onely son the Prince, were hewen in sunder; while the Crowne was set on his head that did it? Shee liued to see her selfe dispoiled of her Estate, and of her moueables: and lastly, her father, by rendering vp to the Crowne of France the Earledome of Prouence and other places, for the payment of fifty thousand crownes for her Ransome, to become

come a starke Beggar. And this was the end of that subtilty, which Siracides calleth fine but vnrighteous: for other fruit hath it neuer yeelded since the world was. Sirach. 19

And now it came to Edward the fourths turn (though after many difficulties) to triumph. For all the plants of Lancaster were rooted vp, one only Earle of Richmond excepted: whom also he had once bought of the Duke of Brittain, but could not hold him. And yet was not this of Edward such a Plantation, as could any way promise it selfe stability. For this Edward the King (to omit more than many of his other cruelties) beheld and allowed the slaughter which Glocester, Dorset, Hastings, and others, made of Edward the Prince in his owne presence: of which tragicall Actors, there was not one that escaped the iudgement of GOD in the same kinde. And He, which (besides the execution of his brother Clarence, for none other offence than he himselfe had formed in his own imagination) instructed Glocester to kill Henry the sixt, his Predecessour; taught him also by the same Art to kill his owne sons and successors, Edward and Richard. For those Kings which haue sold the bloud of others at a low rate; haue but made the market for their owne enemies, to buy of theirs at the same price.

To Edward the Fourth succeeded Richard the Third, the greatest Master in mischiefe of all that fore-went him: who although, for the necessity of his Tragedy, he had more parts to play, and more to performe in his owne person, than all the rest; yet he so well fitted euery affection that plaid with him, as if each of them had but acted his owne interest. For he wrought so cunningly vpon the affections of Hastings and Buckingham, enemies to the Queene and to all her kindred, as he easily allured them to condescend, that Riuers and Grey, the Kings Maternall Vncle and halfe brother, should (for the first) be seuered from him: secondly, hee wrought their consent to haue them imprisoned: and lastly (for the auoiding of future inconuenience) to haue their heads seuered from their bodies. And hauing now brought those his chiefe instruments to exercise that common precept, which the Deuill hath written on euery post, namely, To depresse those whom they had grieued, and to destroy those whom they had depreſt; Hee vrged that argument so far and so forcibly; as nothing but the death of the yongue king himselfe, & of his brother, could fashion the conclusion. For hee caused it to be hammered into Buckinghams head, That, whensoeuer the King or his Brother, should haue able yeeres to exercise their power; they would take a most seuere reuenge of that curelesse wrong, offered to their Vncle and Brother, Riuers and Grey. Scelera sceleribus tuenda. Sen de clem.

But this was not his manner of reasoning with Hastings, whose fidelity to his Masters Sonnes was without suspect: and yet the Diuell, who neuer dissuades by impossibility, taught him to try him. And so he did. But when he found by Cates, by who sounded him, that he was not fordable; He first resolued to kill him sitting in councell: wherein hauing failed with his sword; Hee set the Hangman vpon him, with a weapon of more weight. And because nothing else could moue his appetite, He caused his head to be stricken off, before hee eate his dinner. A greater iudgement of God, than this vpon Hastings I haue neuer obserued in any storie. For the selfe same day that the Earle Riuers, Grey, and others, were (without triall of Law, or offence giuen) by Hastings aduice executed at Pomfret. I say, Hastings himselfe in the same day, & (as I take it) in the same houre, in the same law-lesse manner, had his head stricken off in the Tower of London.

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But Buckingham *liued a while longer; and with an eloquent oration perswaded the* Londoners *to elect* Richard *for their king. And hauing receiued the Earledome of* Hereford *for reward, besides the high hope of marrying his daughter to the Kings onely sonne; after many grieuous vexations of mind, and vnfortunate attempts, being in the end betrayed and deliuered vp by his trustiest seruant; Hee had his head seuered from his body at* Salisbury, *without the trouble of any of his Peers. And what successe had* Richard *himself after all these mischiefes & murders, policies, and counter-policies to Christian religion: & after such time as with a most mercilesse hand he had pressed out the breath of his Nephews and Naturall Lords, other than the prosperity of so short a life, as it tooke end, ere himselfe could well looke ouer and discerne it? the great out-cry of innocent bloud, obtained at GODS hands the effusion of his; who became a spectacle of shame & dishonour, both to his friends and enemies.*

This cruell King, Henry *the 7. cut off; & was therin (no doubt) the immediate instrument of Gods iustice. A politick Prince he was if euer there were any, who by the engine of his wisdome, beate downe & ouerturned as many strong oppositions both before & after he wore the Crowne, as euer King of England did: I say by his wisdome, because as he euer left the rains of his affectiōs in the hands of his profit, so he alwaies weighed his vndertakings by his abilities, leauing nothing more to hazzard than so much as cannot be denied it in all humane actions. He had well obserued the proceedings of* Loys *the 11. whom he followed in all that was royall or royall-like, but he was far more iust, & begun not their processes whom he hated or feared by the execution, as* Loys *did.*

He could neuer endure any mediation in rewarding his seruants, & therein exceeding wise; for whatsoeuer himselfe gaue, he himselfe receiued back the thankes & the loue, knowing it wel that the affections of men (purchased by nothing so readily as by benefits) were trains that better became great kings, than great subiects. On the contrary, in whatsoeuer he grieued his subiects, he wisely put it off on those, that he found fit ministers for such actions. Howsoeuer the taking off of Stanlies *head, who set the Crown on his, & the death of the yongue Earle of* Warwick, *son to* George D. *of* Clarence, *shews, as the successe also did, that he held somewhat of the errors of his Ancesters; for his possession in the first line ended in his grand-children, as that of* Edward *the Third and* Henry *the Fourth had done.*

Now for King Henry *the eight: if all the pictures and patternes of a mercilesse Prince were lost in the World, they might all againe be painted to the life, out of the story of this King. For how many seruants did he aduāce in hast (but for what vertue no man could suspect) and with the change of his fancy ruined againe; no man knowing for what offence? To how many others of more desert gaue he aboundant flowers from whence to gather hony, and in the end of Harueſt burnt them in the Hiue? How many wiues did he cut off, & cast off, as his fancy & affection chāged? How many Princes of the bloud (whereof some of them for age could hardly crawle towards the blocke) with a world of others of all degrees (of whom our common Chronicles haue kept the accompt) did hee execute? yea, in his very death-bed, and when hee was at the point to haue giuen his accompt to GOD for the aboundance of bloud already spilt: He imprisoned the Duke of* Norfolke *the Father, & executed the Earle of* Surrey *the son; the one, whose deseruings he knew not how to value, hauing neuer omitted any thing that concerned his own honour, & the kings seruice; the other neuer hauing cōmitted any thing worthy of his least displeasure: the one exceeding valiant and aduised, the other no lesse valiant than learned, & of excellent hope. But besides the sorrowes which he heaped vpon the Fatherlesse & Widowes at home: and besides the vaine enterprises abroad, wherin it is thought that he consumed more treasure, than all our victorious Kings did in their seuerall Conquests: what causelesse and cruell wars did he make vpon his own Nephew King* Iames *the fift? What Lawes & Wills did he deuise to establish this Kingdome in his owne issues? vsing his sharpest weapons to cut off, and cut downe those branches, which sprang from the same root that himselfe did. And in the end (notwithstanding these his so many irreligious prouision,) it pleased God to take away all his owne, without increase; though, for themselues in their seuerall kindes, all Princes of eminent vertue. For these words of* Samuel *to* Agag *King of the* Amalikites, *haue beene verified vpon many others:* As thy sword hath made other women childlesse, so shall thy mother be childlesse among other women. *And that bloud which the same King* Henry *affirmed, that the cold aire of* Scotland *had frozen vp in the North, God hath diffused by the sunshine of his grace: from whence* His Maiesty *now liuing, & long to liue, is descended. Of whom I may say it truly, That if al the malice of the world were infused into one eie: yet could it not discerne in his life, euen to this day, any one of those foule spots, by which the consciences of all the forenamed Princes (in effect) haue bin defiled; nor any droppe of that innocent bloud on the sword of his iustice, with which the most that fore-went him, haue stained both their hands and fame. And for this Crowne of* England, *it may truely be auowed: That he hath receiued it euen from the hand of God, and hath staied the time of putting it on, howsoeuer he were prouoked to hasten it: That he neuer tooke reuenge of any man, that sought to put him beside it: That he refused the assistance of Her enemies, that wore it long, with as great glory as euer Princesse did: That his* Maiesty *entred not by a breach, nor by bloud; but by the Ordinary gate, which his owne right set open; and into which, by a generall loue and obedience, He was receiued. And howsoeuer* His Maiesties *preceding title to this Kingdome, was perferred by many Princes (witnesse the Treaty at* Cambray *in the yeare, 1559) yet he neuer pleased to dispute it, during the life of that renowned* Lady *his Predecessor; no, notwithstanding the iniury of not being declared Heire, in all the time of Her long raigne.*

Neither ought we to forget, or neglect our thankfulnesse to GOD for the vniting of the Northen parts of Brittany to the South, to wit, of Scotland to England, which though they were seuered but by small brookes and bankes, yet by reason of the long continued warre, and the cruelties exercised vpon each other, in the affection of the Nations, they were infinitly seuered. This I say is not the least of Gods blessings which His Maiesty *hath brought with him vnto this Land: No, put all our petty grieuances togetehr, & heap them vp to their hight, they will appeare but as a Mole-hill compared with the Mountaine of this concord. And if all the Historians since then haue acknowledged the vniting of the Red-Rose, and the White, for the greatest happinesse; (Christian Religion excepted) that euer this Kingdome receiued from GOD, certainly the peace betweene the two Lions of gold and gules, and the making them one, doth by many degrees exceed the former; for by it, besides the sparing of our british bloud, heretofore and during the difference, so often & abundantly shed; the state of England is more assured, the Kingdome more inabled*

inabled to recouer her ancient honour and rights, and by it made more inuincible, than by all our former alliances, practices, policies & conquests. It is true that hereof we do not yet finde the effect. But had the Duke of Parma in the yeare 1588. *ioyned the army which he commanded, with that of Spaine, and landed it on the south coast; & had his Maiesty at the same time declared himselfe against vs in the north: it is easie to diuine what had become of the liberty of England, certainely we would then without murmur haue brought this vnion a farre greater praise than it hath since cost vs. It is true, that there was neuer any Comon weale or Kingdom in the world, wherein no man had cause to lament. Kings liue in the world & not aboue it. They are not infinit to examine euery mans cause, or to relieue euery mans wants, And yet in the latter, (though to his owne preiudice)* His Maiestie *hath had more compaßion of other mens neceßities, than of his own Coffers. Of whom it may be said as* of Salomon, Dedit Deus Salomoni latitudinem cordis: *Which if other men do not vnderstand with* Pineda, *to be meant by* Liberality, *but by* Latitude of knowledge; *yet may it be better spoken of* His Maiesty, *than of anie King that euer* England *had; who as well in diuine, as humane vnderstanding, hath exceeded all that fore-went him, by many degrees.*

Pin. comment. in Sal. 1. K. 4.

I could say much more of the Kings Maiesty, *without flatterie: did I not feare the imputation of presumption, & withall suspect, that it might befall these papers of mine, (though the losse were little) as it did the Pictures of* Queen Elizabeth, *made by vnskilfull and common Painters, which by her owne commandement were knockt in peeces and cast into the fire. For ill* Artists, *in setting out the beautie of the externall, and weake writers, in describing the vertues of the internall; doe often leaue to posterity, of well formed faces a deformed memory; and of the most Perfect and Princely mindes, a most defectiue representation. It may suffice, and there needes no other discourse; if the honest* Reader *but compare the cruell & turbulent passages of our former Kings, and of other their Neighbour-Princes (of whom for that purpose I haue inserted this briefe discourse) with* His Maiesties *temperate, reuengelesse, and liberal disposition: I say, that if the honest Reader weigh them iustly, and with an euen hand: and withall but bestow euery deformed child on his true Parent; He shall find, that there is no man that hath so iust cause to complaine, as the King himselfe hath. Now as we haue told the successe of the trumperies and cruelties of our owne Kings, and other great personages: so we finde, that GOD is euery where the same GOD. And as it pleased him to punish the vsurpation, & vnnatural cruelty of* Henry *the first, & of our third* Edward, *in their Children for many generations: so dealt* He *with the sons of* Loyes Debonaire, *the son of* Charles *the great, or* Charlemaine. *For after such time as* Debonaire *of* France, *had torne out the eies of* Bernard *his Nephew, the son of* Pepin *the eldest sonne of* Charlemaine, *& heire of the Empire, & then caused him to die in prison, as did our* Henry *to* Robert *his eldest brother: there followed nothing but murders vpon murders, poysoning, imprisonments, & ciuill war; till the whole race of that famous Emperour was extinguished. And though* Debonaire, *after he had rid himselfe of his Nephew by a violent death; & of his bastard brothers by a ciuil death (hauing inclosed them with sure gard, al the daies of their liues, within a Monastery) held himself secure from all opposition: Yet God raised vp against him (which he suspected not) his own sons, to vex him, to inuade him, to take him prisoner, & to depose him; his owne sons, with whom (to satisfie their ambition)* he

he had shared his estate, and giuen them Crownes to weare; and Kingdomes to gouerne, during his owne life. Yea his eldest son Lothaire *(for he had foure, three by his first wife, & one by his second; to wit,* Lothaire, Pepin, Loys, *and* Charles) *made it the cause of his deposition, That he had vsed violence towards his brothers and kinsmen; and that he had suffered his Nephew (whom he mgiht haue deliuered) to be slaine,* eo quod, *saith the Text,* fratribus, & propinquis violentiam intulerit, et nepotem suum, quem ipse liberare poterat, interfici permiserit: Becauſe he uſed violence to his Brothers and Kinſmen, & ſuffered his Nephew to be ſlaine whom he might haue deliuered.

Step. Pasquiere recherd. 5. c. 1.

Yet did he that which few Kings doe; namely repent him of his cruelty. For, among many other things, which he performed in the Generall Assembly of the States, it followes: Poſt hæc autem palam ſe erraſſe confeſſus, & imitatus Imperatoris *Theodoſii* exemplum, pœnitentiam ſpontaneam ſuſcepit, tam de his, quam quæ in *Bernardum* proprium nepotem geſſerat, After this hee did openly confeſſe himſelfe to haue erred, and following the example of the Emperour *Theodoſius*, hee vnderwent voluntary penance, as well for his other offences, as for that which he had done againſt *Bernard* his own Nephew.

Pasq. Ibidem.

This he did; and it was praise-worthy. But the bloud that is vniuſtly ſpilt, is not againe gathered vp from the ground by repentance. Theſe Medicines, miniſtred to the dead, haue but dead rewards.

This King, as I haue said, had foure Sonnes. To Lothaire *his eldest he gaue the Kingdome of* Italy; *as* Charlemaine, *his father, had done to* Pepin *the father of* Bernard, *who was to succeed him in the Empire. To* Pepin *the second son he gaue the Kingdome of* Aquitaine: *to* Loys, *the Kingdome of Bauier; and to* Charles, *whom he had by a second wife called* Iudith, *the remainder of the Kingdome of* France. *But this second wife, being a Mother-in-law to the rest, perswaded* Debonaire *to cast his son* Pepin *out of* Aquitain; *therby to greaten* Charles, *which, after the death of his sonne* Pepin, *he prosecuted to effect, against his Grand-child bearing the same name. In the meane wile, being inuaded by his son* Loys *of* Bauier, *he dies for griefe.*

Debonaire *dead,* Loys *of* Bauier, *&* Charles *afterwards called the* bald, *& their Nephew* Pepin *of* Aquitaine, *ioyne in league against the Emperour* Lothaire *their eldest brother. They fight neere to* Auxerre *the most bloudy battaile that euer was stroken in* France: *in which, the marueilous losse of Nobility, & men of war, gaue courage to the* Saracens *to inuade* Italy; *to the* Hunnes *to fall vpon* Almaine; *& the* Danes *to enter upon* Normandy. Charles *the* bald *by treason seizeth vpon his Nephew* Pepin, *kills him in a* Cloyster: Carloman *rebells against his Father* Charles *the* bald, *the Father burns out the eies of his Son* Carloman; Bauier *inuades the Emperour* Lothaire *his brother,* Lothaire *quits the Empire, Hee is assailed and wounded to the heart by his owne conscience, for his rebellion against his Father, and for his other cruelties, and dies in a Monastery.* Charles *the* bald, *the Vncle oppresseth his Nephewes the Sonnes of* Lothaire, *hee vsurpeth the Empire to the preiudice of* Loyes *of* Bauier *his elder Brother;* Bauiers *armies and his Sonne* Carloman *are beaten, hee dies of griefe, & the Vsurper* Charles *is poysoned by* Zedechias *a* Iew *his Physitian, his Son* Loys le Beque *dies of the same drinke.* Beque *had* Charles the simple *and*

and two Bastards, Loys *and* Carloman; *they rebell against their Brother, but the eldest breakes his Neck, the yonguer is slain by a wild Bore; the son of* Bauiere *had the same ill destiny, and brake his Neck by a fall out of a Window in sporting with his companions.* Charles *the* grosse *becomes Lord of all that the sonnes of* Debonaire *held in* Germanie; *wherewith not contented, he inuades* Charles *the* simple: *but being forsaken of his Nobility, of his wife, and of his vnderstanding, he dies a distracted beggar.* Charles the simple *is held in Wardship by* Eudes Maior *of the Pallace, then by* Robert *the Brother of* Eudes: *and lastly, being taken by the Earle of* Vermandois, *hee is forced to dye in the prison of* Peron. Loyes *the sonne of* Charles the simple *breakes his Neck in chasing a Wolfe, and of the two sonnes of this* Loys, *the one dies of poyson, the other dies in the prison of* Orleans; *after whom* Hugh Capet, *of another race, and a stranger to the* French, *makes himselfe King.*

These miserable ends had the issues of Debonaire; *who after he had once apparrelled iniustice with authority, his sonnes and successors tooke vp the fashion, and wore that Garment so long without other prouision, as when the same was torne from their shoulders, euery man despised them as miserable & naked beggars. The wretched successe they had,* (*saith a learned* French-man) *shewes,* que en ceste mort il y a voit plus du fait des hommes que de Dieu, ou de la iustice: that in the death of that Prince, to wit, of *Bernard* the son of *Pepin*, the true heire of *Charlemaine*, men had more medling than either *God*, or Iustice had.

But to come neerer home; it is certaine that Francis *the first, One of the worthiest Kings* (*except for that fact*) *that euer the* French-men *had, did neuer enioy himselfe; after he had commended the destruction of the Protestants of* Mirandol *&* Cabrieres, *to the Parliament of* Prouence, *which poore people were therupon burnt and murdered; men, women, and children. It is true that the said King* Francis *repented himselfe of the fact, and gaue charge to* Henry *his sonne, to doe iustice vpon the Murderers, threatning his sonne with GODS iudgements, if he neglected it. But this vnseasonable care of his, GOD was not pleased to accept for payment. For after* Henry *himselfe was slaine in sport by* Montgomery, *wee all may remember what became of his foure sonnes,* Francis, Charles, Henry, *and* Hercules. *Of which although three of them became Kings, and were married to beautifull and vertuous Ladies: yet were they, one after another, cast out of the world, without stock or seed. And notwithstanding their subtilty, and breach of faith, with all their Massacres vpon those of the religion, and great effusion of bloud, the Crowne was set on his head, whom they all laboured to dissolue; the Protestants remaine more in number than euer they were, and hold to this day more strong cities than euer they had.*

Let vs now see if God be not the same God in Spaine, *as in* England *&* France. *Towards whom wee will looke no further backe than to* Don Pedro *of* Castile: *in respect of which Prince, all the Tyrants of* Sicil, *our* Richard *the third, and the great* Euan Vasilowick *of* Moscouia, *were but petty ones: this* Castilian, *of all Christian and Heathen Kings, hauing beene the most mercilesse. For, besides those of his owne Bloud and Nobility, which he caused to be slaine in his owne Court & Chamber,* as Sancho Ruis, *the great Master of* Calatraua, Ruis Gonsales, Alphonso Tello, *and* Don Iohn *of* Arragon, *whom hee cut in peeces and cast into the streets, denying him Christian buriall: I say, besides these, and the slaughter of* Gomes Manriques, Diego Peres, Alphonso Gomes, *and the great Commander of* Castile; *He made away the two Infants of* Arragon *his Cosen-germans, his brother* Don Frederick, Don Iohn de la Cerde, Albuquergues, Nugnes de Guzmã, Cornel, Cabrera, Tenorio, Mendes de Toledo, Guttiere *his great Treasurer, & all his Kindred, & a world of others. Neither did he spare his two yonguest brothers, innocent Princes: whom after he had kept in close prison from their Cradles, till one of them had liued sixteene yeares, and the other foureteene; he murdered them there. Nay, he spared not his Mother, nor his wife the Lady* Blanch *of* Bourbon. *Lastly, as he caused the Archbishop of* Toledo, *& the Dean to be killed of purpose to enioy their treasures: so did he put to death* Mahomet Aben Alhamar *King of* Barbary, *with 37. of his Nobility; that came vnto him for succour, with a great summe of money, to leuy (by his fauour) some companies of souldiers to returne withall. Yea, he would needes assist the Hangman with his owne hand, in the execution of the old King; in so much as Pope* Vrban *declared him an enemy both to God and Man. But what was his end? Hauing beene formerly beaten out of his Kingdome, and re-established by the valour of the* English Nation, *led by the famous Duke of* Lancaster: *He was stabbed to death by his yonguer Brother the Earle of* Astramara, *who dispossest all his Children of their inheritance; which, but for the Fathers iniustice and cruelty, had neuer beene in danger of any such thing.* Hist. of Spaine.

If we can parallel any man with this King, it must be Duke Iohn *of* Burgoigne, *who, after his traiterous murder of the Duke of* Orleans, *caused the Constable of* Armagnac, *the Chancellor of* France, *the Bishops of* Cõstance, Bayeux, Eureux, Senlis, Saintes, *and other religious and reuerend Church-men, the Earle of* gran Pré, Hector *of* Chartres, *and (in effect) all the officers of iustice, of the Chamber of Accompts, Treasury, and Request, (with sixteene hundred others to accompany them) to be suddenly and violently slaine. Hereby, while he hoped to gouerne, and to haue mastred* France: *He was soone after strucken with an axe in the face, in the presence of the* Dauphin; *and, without any leisure to repent his misdeeds, presently slaine.* These were the Louers of other mens miseries: and misery found them out. French inuent. in Anno 1418.

Now for the Kings of Spaine, *which liued both with* Henry *the seuenth,* Henry *the eight,* Queene Mary, *and* Queene Elizabeth; Ferdinand *of* Arragon *was the first: and the first that laid the foundation of the present* Austrian *greatnesse. For this King did not content himselfe to hold* Arragon *by the vsurpation of his Ancestor; & to fasten thereunto the Kingdome of* Castile *and* Leon, *which* Isabel *his wife held by strong hand, and his assistance, from her owne Neece the Daughter of the last* Henry: *but most cruelly and craftily, without all colour or pretence of right, Hee also cast his owne Neece out of the Kingdome of* Nauarre, *and, contrary to faith, and the promise that he made to restore it, fortified the best places, and so wasted the rest, as there was no means left for any army to inuade it. This King, I say, that betrayed also* Ferdinand *and* Frederick *Kings of* Naples, *Princes of his owne bloud, and by double alliance tyed vnto him; sold them to the* French: *and with the same Army, sent for their succour vnder* Gonsaluo, *cast them out; and shared their Kingdome with the* French, *whom afterwards he most shamefully betrayed.*

This wise and politique King, who sold Heauen and his owne Honour, to make his

his sonne, the Prince of Spaine, the greatest Monarch of the world: saw him die in the flower of his yeares; and his wife great with childe, with her vntimely birth, at once & together buried. His eldest daughter married vnto Don Alphōso Prince of Portugall, beheld her first husband breake his necke in her presence; and being with childe by her second, died with it. A iust iudgement of God vpon the race of Iohn, father to Alphonso, now wholly extinguished: who had not onely left many disconsolate Mothers in Portugall, by the slaughter of their children; but had formerly slaine with his owne hand, the sonne and onely comfort of his Aunt the Lady Beatrix, Dutchesse of Viseo. The second Daughter of Ferdinand, married to the Arch-Duke Philip, turned foole, and died mad and deprived. His third daughter, bestowed on King Henry the eight, He saw cast off by the King: the mother of many troubles in England; & the mother of a daughter, that in her vnhappy zeale shed a world of innocent bloud; lost Calice to the French; and died heart-broken without increase. To conclude: all those Kingdomes of Ferdinand haue masters of a new name; and, by a strange family are gouerned and possest.

Charles the fift, son to the Arch-Duke Philip, in whose vain enterprises vpon the French, vpon the Almans, & other Princes and States, so many multitudes of Christian souldiers, and renowned Captaines, were consumed: who gaue the while a most perillous entrance to the Turkes, and suffered Rhodes the Key of Christendom, to be taken; was in conclusion chaced out of France, and in a sort out of Germany; and left to the French, Mentz, Toule, and Verdun, places belonging to the Empire, stole away from Inspurg; and scaled the Alpes by torch-light, pursued by Duke Maurice; hauing hoped to swallow vp all those dominions wherein hee concocted nothing saue his owne disgraces. And hauing, after the slaughter of so many Millions of men, no one foote of ground in eyther: Hee crept into a Cloyster, and made himselfe a Pensioner of an hundred thousand Duckets by the yeare to his sonne Philip, from whom he very slowly receiued his meane and ordinary maintenance.

Nether. Hist. l. 7. fol. 313.

His Son againe King Philip the second, not satisfied to hold Holland and Zeland, (wrested by his ancestors from Iaqueline their lawfull Princesse) & to possesse in peace many other Prouinces of the Netherlands: perswaded by that mischieuous Cardinall of Granuile, and other Romish Tyrants; not onely forgot the most remarkable seruices, done to his Father the Emperour, by the Nobilitie of those countries; not onely forgot the Present made him vpon his entry, of forty millions of Florens, called the Nouale aide; nor onely forgot that hee had twice most solemnly sworne to the Generall States, to maintaine and preserue their ancient rights, priuiledges, and customes, which they had enioyed vnder their thirtie and fiue Earles before him, Conditionall Princes of those Prouinces: but beginning first to constraine them, and enthrall them by the Spanish Inquisition, and then to impouerish them by many new deuised and intolerable impositions; he lastly, by strong hand and maine force, attempted to make himselfe not onely an absolute Monarch ouer them, like vnto the Kings and Soueraignes of England and France; but Turke-like, to tread vnder his feet all their Nationall and fundamentall Lawes, Priuiledges, and ancient Rights. To effect which, after he had easily obtained from the Pope a Dispensation of his former Oathes (which Dispensation was the true cause of the war & bloudshed since then;) & after he had tried what he could performe, by diuiding of their owne Nobility, vnder the gouern-

Hist. of the Netherlands.

ment

ment of his base sister, Margaret of Austria, & the Cardinall Granuile; He emploied that most mercilesse Spaniard Don Ferdinand Aluarez of Toledo, Duke of Alua, followed with a powerfull army of strange Nations: by whom hee first slaughtered that renowned Captaine the Earle of Egmont, Prince of Gauare: & Philip Montmorency Earle of Horn: made away Montigue, & the Marquis of Bergues, & cut off in those sixe yeares (that Alua gouerned) of Gentlemen & others, eighteene thousand & sixe hundred, by the hands of the Hangman, besides all his other barbarous murders & massacres. By whose ministry when he could not yet bring his affaires to their wished ends, hauing it in his hope to worke that by subtilty, which he had failed to performe by force: He sent for Gouernour his bastard brother Don Iohn of Austria; a Prince of great hope, & very gracious to those people. But he, vsing the same Papall aduantage that his predecessors had done, made no scruple to take Oath vpon the Holy Euangelists, to obserue the treaty made with the Generall States; & to discharge the Low Countries of all Spaniards, & other strangers, therin garrisond: Towards whose Pay & Passport, the Netherlands strained themselues to make payment of 600. thousand pounds. Which monies receiued, He suddenly surprised the Citadells of Antwerp & Nemures: not doubting (being vnsuspected by the States) to haue possest himselfe of all the mastring places of those Prouinces. For whatsoeuer he ouertly pretended, Hee held in secret a contrary councell with the Secretary Escouedo, Rhodus, Barlemont, & others, Ministers of the Spanish tyranny; formerly practised, & now againe intended. But let vs now see the effect & end of this periury, & of all other the Dukes cruelties. First, for himselfe; after he had murdered so many of the Nobility; executed (as aforesaid) eighteen thousand six hundred in six yeeres, & most cruelly slaine Man, Woman, and Childe, in Mecklin, Zutphen, Naerden and other places: and after he had consumed six and thirty millions of treasure in six yeares: notwithstanding his Spanish vant, That he would suffocate the Hollanders in their owne butter-barrells, and milk-tubbes: Hee departed the country no otherwise accompanied, than with the curse & detestation of the whole Nation; leauing his Masters affaires in a tenfold worse estate, than hee found them at his first arriuall. For Don Iohn, whose haughty conceipt of himselfe ouercame the greatest difficulties; though his iudgement were ouer-weake to mannage the least: what wonders did his fearefull breach of faith bring forth, other than the King his brothers iealousie and distrust; with the vntimely death that seized him, euen in the flowre of his youth? And for Escouedo his sharpe-witted Secretarie, who in his owne imagination had conquered for his Master both England & the Netherlands; being sent into Spaine vpon some new proiect, He was at the first arriuall, & before any accesse to the King, by certaine Ruffians appointed by Anthony Peres (though by better warrant than his) rudely murdered in his own lodging. Lastly, if we consider the King of Spaines carriage, his counsaile & successe in this businesse; there is nothing left to the memory of man more remarkeable. For he hath paid aboue an hundred Millions, & the liues of aboue foure hundred thousand Christians, for the losse of all those countries; which, for beauty, gaue place to none; & for reuenue, did equall his West Indies: for the losse of a nation which most willingly obeyed him; & who at this day, after forty yeares warre, are in despight of all his forces become a free Estate, & far more rich and powerfull, than they were, when he first began to impouerish and oppresse them.

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Oh by what plots, by what forswearings, betrayings, oppressions, imprisonments, tortures, poysonings, and vnder what reasons of State, and politique subtlety, haue these forenamed Kings, both strangers, and of our owne Nation; pulled the vengeance of GOD vpon themselues, vpon theirs, and vpon their prudent ministers! and in the end haue brought those things to passe for their enemies, and seene an effect so directly contrary to all their owne counsailes and cruelties; as the one could neuer haue hoped for themselues; and the other neuer haue succeeded; if no such opposition had euer been made. GOD hath said it and performed it euer: Perdam sapientiam sapientum, I will destroy the wisedome of the wise.

But what of all this? and to what end doe we lay before the eyes of the liuing, the fall and fortunes of the dead: seeing the world is the same that it hath bin; & the children of the present time, will still obey their parents? It is in the present time, that all the wits of the world are exercised. To hold the times wee haue, wee hold all things lawfull: and either we hope to hold them for euer; or at least wee hope, that there is nothing after them to be hoped for. For as wee are content to forget our owne experience, and to counterfeit the ignorance of our owne knowledge, in all things that concerne our selues; or perswade our selues, that GOD hath giuen vs letters patents to pursue all our irreligious affections, with a non obstante: *so we neither looke behind vs what hath been, nor before vs what shall be. It is true, that the quantity which we haue, is of the body: wee are by it ioyned to the earth: we are compounded of earth; and we inhabite it. The Heauens are high, farre off, and vnsearcheable: we haue sense and feeling of corporall things; and of eternall grace, but by reuelation. No maruaile then that our thoughts are also earthy: and it is lesse to be wondred at, that the words of worthlesse men cannot cleanse them: seeing their doctrine and instruction, whose vnderstanding the Holy Ghost vouchsafed to inhabite, haue not performed it. For as the Prophet* Esay *cryed out long agone,* Lord, who hath beleeued our reports? *And out of doubt, as* Esay *complained then for himselfe and others: so are they lesse beleeued, euery day after other. For although Religion, and the truth thereof, be in euery mans mouth, yea, in the discourse of euery woman, who for the greatest number are but* Idols of vanity: *what is it other than an vniuersall dissimulation? We professe that we know GOD: but by workes we deny him. For Beatitude doth not consist in the knowledge of diuine things, but in a diuine life: for the Diuells know them better than men.* Beatitudo non est diuinorum cognitio, sed vita diuina. *And certainly there is nothing more to be admired, and more to bee lamented, than the priuate contention, the passionate dispute, the personall hatred, and the perpetuall war, massacres, and murthers, for Religion among* Christians: *the discourse whereof hath so occupied the World, as it hath well neere driuen the practice thereof out of the World. Who would not soone resolue, that tooke knowledge but of the religious disputations among men, and not of their liues which dispute, that there were no other thing in their desires, than the purchase of Heauen; and that the World it selfe were but vsed as it ought, and as an Inne or place, wherein to repose our selues in passing on towards our celestiall habitation? when on the contrary, besides the discourse and outward profession, the soule hath nothing but hypocrisie. We are all (in effect) become Comædians in religion: and while wee act in gesture and voyce, diuine vertues, in all the course of our liues we renounce our Persons, and the parts wee play. For Charity, Iustice, and Truth,*

Paul to Titus Ch.1.ver.10.

haue

haue but their being in termes, *like the Philosophers* Materia prima.

Neither is it that wisedome, which Salomon *defineth to be the* Schoole-Mistresse of the knowledge of God, *that hath valuation in the world: it is enough that we giue it our good word: but the same which is altogether exercised in the seruice of the World, as the gathering of riches chiefly, by which we purchase and obtaine honour, with the many respects which attend it. These indeed be the markes, which (when we haue bent our consciences to the highest) we all shoote at. For the obtaining whereof it is true, that the care is our owne; the care our owne in this life, the perill our owne in the future: and yet when we haue gathered the greatest aboundance, we our selues enioy no more thereof, than so much as belongs to one man. For the rest, He that had the greatest wisedome, and the greatest ability that euer man had, hath told vs that this is the vse:* When goods increase *(saith Salomon)* they also increase that eate them; and what good commeth to the Owners, but the beholding thereof with their eyes? *As for those that deuoure the rest, and follow vs in faire weather: they againe forsake vs in the first tempest of misfortune, and steere away before the Sea and Winde; leauing vs to the malice of our destinies. Of these, among a thousand examples, I will take but one out of Master* Dannet, *and vse his owne words:* Whilest the Emperour *Charles* the fift, after the resignation of his Estates, staied at Vlushing for winde, to carry him his last iourny into Spaine; Hee conferred on a time with *Seldius*, his brother *Ferdinands* Embassadour, till the deepe of the night. And when *Seldius* should depart: the Emperour calling for some of his seruants, and no body answering him (for those that attended vpon him, were some gone to their lodgings, and all the rest asleepe) the Emperour tooke vp the candle himselfe, and went before *Seldius* to light him downe the staires; & so did, notwithstanding all the resistance that *Seldius* could make. And when He was come to the staires foote, Hee said thus vnto him: *Seldius*, remember this of *Charles* the Emperour, when he shall be dead and gone, That Him, whom thou hast knowne in thy time enuironed with so many mighty Armies, and Guards of souldiers, thou hast also seene alone, abandoned, and forsaken, yea euen of his owne domesticall seruants, &c. I acknowledge this change of Fortune to proceed from the mighty hand of GOD; which I will by no meanes goe about to withstand.

Eccles.5.10.

But you will say that there are some things else, and of greater regard than the former. The first, is the reuerend respect that is held of great men, and the Honour done vnto them by all sorts of people. And it is true indeed: prouided, that an inward loue for their iustice and piety, accompany the outward worship giuen to their places and power; without which what is the applause of the Multitude, but as the out-cry of an Heard of Animals, *who without the knowledge of any true cause, please themselues with the noyse they make? For seeing it is a thing exceeding rare, to distinguish Vertue and Fortune: the most impious (if prosperous) haue euer been applauded; the most vertuous (if vnprosperous) haue euer been despised. For as Fortunes man rides the Horse, so Fortune herselfe rides the* Man. *Who, when he is descended and on foote: the Man taken from his Beast, and Fortune from the Man; a base groome beates the one, and a bitter contempt spurnes at the other, with equall liberty.*

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The second, is the greatning of our posterity, and the contemplation of their glory whom we leaue behinde vs. Certainely, of those which conceiue that their soules departed take any comfort therein, it may be truly said of them, which Lanctantius *spake of certaine Heathen Philosophers*, quod sapientes sunt in re stulta. *For when our spirits immortall shall be once separate from our mortall bodies, & disposed by GOD: there remaineth in them no other ioy of their posterity which succeed, than there doth of pride in that stone, which sleepeth in the Wall of a Kings Palace; nor any other sorrow for their pouerty, than there doth of shame in that, which beareth vp a Beggars cottage.* Nesciunt mortui, etiam sancti, quid agunt viui, etiam eorum filii, quia animæ mortuorum rebus viuentium non intersunt: The dead, though holy, know nothing of the liuing, no, not of their owne children: for the soules of those departed, are not conuersant with their affaires that remaine. *And if wee doubt of Saint* Augustine, *wee cannot of* Iob; *who tells vs*, That wee know not if our sonnes shall bee honourable: neither shall wee vnderstand concerning them, whether they shall bee of low degree. *Which* Ecclesiastes *also confirmeth*: Man walketh in a shadow, and disquieteth himselfe in vaine: hee heapeth vp riches, and cannot tell who shall gather them. The liuing (*saith hee*) know that they shall die, but the dead know nothing at all: for who can shew vnto man, what shall be after him vnder the Sun? *Hee therefore accompteth it among the rest of worldly vanities, to labour and trauaile in the world; not knowing after death, whether a foole or a wise man should enioy the fruits thereof*: which made me (*saith he*) endeauour euen to abhorre mine owne labour. *And what can other men hope, whose blessed or sorrowfull estates after death God hath reserued? mans knowledge lying but in his hope, seeing the Prophet* Esay *confesseth of the elect,* That Abraham is ignorant of vs, and Israel knowes vs not. *But hereof we are assured, that the long and darke night of death, (of whose following day wee shall neuer behold the dawne, till his returne that hath triumphed ouer it) shall couer vs ouer till the world be no more. After which, and when we shall againe receiue Organs glorified and incorruptible, the seats of Angelicall affections: in so great admiration shall the soules of the blessed be exercised, as they cannot admit the mixture of any second or lesse ioy; nor any returne of forgone & mortall affection towards friends, kindred, or children. Of whom whether we shall retaine any particular knowledge, or in any sort distinguish them: no man can assure vs; & the wisest men doubt. But on the contrary; If a diuine life retaine any of those faculties, which the soule exercised in a mortall body; wee shall not at that time so diuide the ioyes of Heauen, as to cast any part therof on the memory of their felicities which remaine in the World. No, be their estates greater than euer the World gaue, we shall (by the difference knowne vnto vs) euen detest their consideration. And whatsoeuer comfort shall remaine of all forepast, the same will consist in the charity, which we exercised liuing: and in that Piety, Iustice, and firme Faith, for which it pleased the infinite mercy of God to accept of vs, and receiue vs. Shall we therefore value honour and riches at nothing? and neglect them, as vnnecessarie & vaine? Certainly no. For that infinite wisedome of God, which hath distinguished his Angells by degrees: which hath giuen greater and lesse light & beauty, to Heauenly bodies: which hath made differences betweene beasts and birds: created*

Lact. de falsa sap. 3. c. 29.

S. Aug. de cura pro mort.

Iob 1. 14. 21.

Psal. 39.

Eccl. 9. 5. & 1. 2

Esa. 63. 16.

ted the Eagle and the Flye, the Cedar and the Shrub; and among stones, giuen the fairest tincture to the Ruby, and the quickest light to the Diamond; hath also ordained Kings, Dukes or Leaders of the people, Magistrates, Iudges, and other degrees among men. And as honour is left to posterity, for a marke and ensigne of the vertue and vnderstanding of their Ancestors: so, seeing Siracides *preferreth Death before Beggary: and that titles, without proportionable estates, fall vnder the miserable succour of other mens pity; I accompt it foolishnesse to condemne such a care: Prouided, that worldly goods be well gotten, and that we raise not our owne buildings out of other mens ruines. For, as* Plato *doth first preferre the perfection of bodily health; secondly, the forme and beauty; and thirdly,* Diuitias nulla fraude quæsitas: *so Ieremy cries,* Woe vnto them that erect their houses by vnrighteousnesse, and their chambers without equity: *and Esay the same,* Woe to those that spoile and were not spoiled. *And it was out of the true wisdome of* Salomon, *that he commandeth vs,* not to drinke the wine of violence; not to lie in wait for bloud; and not to swallow them vp aliue, whose riches we couet: for such are the wayes (*saith hee*) of euery one that is greedy of gaine.

And if we could afford our selues but so much leisure as to consider, That hee which hath most in the world, hath, in respect of the world, nothing in it: and that he which hath the longest time lent him to liue in it, hath yet no proportion at all therein, setting it either by that which is past, when we were not, or by that time which is to come, in which we shall abide for euer: I say, if both, to wit, our proportion in the world, and our time in the world, differ not much from that which is nothing; it is not out of any excellency of vnderstanding, that we so much prise the one, which hath (in effect) no being: and so much neglect the other, which hath no ending: coueting those mortall things of the world, as if our soules were therein immortall, and neglecting those things which are immortall, as if our selues after the world were but mortall.

But let euery man value his owne wisedome, as he pleaseth. Let the Rich man thinke all fooles, that cannot equall his abundance; the Reuenger esteeme all negligent, that haue not trodden down their opposites; the Politician, all grosse that cannot merchandize their faith: Yet when we once come in sight of the Port of death, to which all windes driue vs, & when by letting fall that fatall Anchor, which can neuer be weighed again, the Nauigation of this life takes end. Then it is, I say, that our own cogitations (those sad & seuere cogitations, formerly beaten from vs by our Health and Felicity) returne againe, and pay vs to the vttermost for all the pleasing passages of our liues past. It is then that we cry out to God for mercy; then, when our selues can no longer exercise cruelty to others: and it is onely then, that we are strucken through the soule with this terrible sentence, That God will not be mockt. *For if according to* S. Peter, The righteous scarcely be saued: and that *God* spared not his Angels: *where shall those appeare, who, hauing serued their appetites all their liues, presume to think, that the seuere Commandements of the All-powerfull God were giuen but in sport; and that the short breath, which we draw when death presseth vs, if we can but fashion it to the sound of* Mercy (*without any kind of satisfaction or amends*) *is sufficient?* O quam multi, *saith a reuerend Father,* cum hac spe ad æternos labores & bella descendunt! *I confesse that it is a great comfort to our friends, to haue it said, that we ended well; for we all de-*

Plat. de leg. 1. 2. 6. & in Gorgeo.

Ier. 22. 13.

Esay 33.

Prou. 1. 18. 12.

Prou 23. 1. 3. 8. 9. 25. 9. 8.

Gal. 6. 7.

1. Pet. 4.

desire (as Balaam did) to die the death of the righteous. But what shall we call a disesteeming, an apposing, or (indeed) a mocking of God: if those men doe not appose him, disesteeme him, and mocke him, that thinke it enough for God, to aske him forgiuenesse at leisure, with the reiuinder and last drawing of a malicious breath? For what doe they otherwise, that die this kinde of wel-dying, but say vnto God as followeth: We beseech thee, O God, that all the falshoods, forswearings, and treacheries of our liues past, may be pleasing vnto thee; that thou wilt for our sakes (that haue had no leisure to doe any thing for thine) change thy nature (though impossible) and forget to be a iust God; that thou wilt loue iniures and oppressions, call ambition wisedome, and charity foolishnesse. For I shall preiudice my sonne (which I am resolued not to doe) if I make restitution; and confesse my selfe to haue been vniust, (which I am too proud to do) if I deliuer the oppressed. Certainely, these wise worldlings haue either found out a new God; or made One: and in all likelihood such a Leaden One, as Lewis the eleuenth ware in his Cappe; which when he had caused any that he feared, or hated, to be killed, he would take it from his head and kisse it: beseeching it to pardon him this one euill act more, and it should be the last; which (as at other times) he did, when by the practice of a Cardinall and a falsified Sacrament, he caused the Earle of Armagnac to be stabbed to death; mockeries indeed fit to be vsed towards a Leaden, but not towards the euerliuing God. But of this composition are all deuout louers of the World, that they feare all that is dureleſſe and ridiculous: they feare the plots and practices of their opposites, and their very whisperings: they feare the opinions of men which beate but vpon shadowes: they flatter and forsake the prosperous and vnprosperous, be they friends or Kings: yea they diue vnder water, like Duckes, at euery pebble stone, that's but throwne towards them by a powerfull hand: and on the contrary, they shew an obstinate and Giantlike valour, against the terrible iudgements of the Al-powerfull God: yea they shew themselues gods against God, and slaues towards men; towards men whose bodies and consciences are alike rotten.

Now for the rest: If we truly examine the difference of both conditions; to wit, of the rich and mighty, whom we call fortunate; and of the poore & oppressed, whom we account wretched: we shall find the happinesse of the one, and the miserable estate of the other, so tied by God to the very instant, and both so subiect to enterchange (witnesse the sudden downefall of the greatest Princes, and the speedy vprising of the meanest persons) as the one hath nothing so certaine, whereof to boast; nor the other so vncertaine, whereof to bewaile it selfe. For there is no man so assured of his honour, of his riches, health, or life; but that he may be depriued of eyther or all, the very next houre or day to come. Quid vesper vehat, incertum est, What the euening will bring with it, it is vncertaine. And yet ye cannot tell (saith S. Iames) what shall be to morrow. To day he is set vp, and to morrow he shall not be found: for hee is turned into dust, and his purpose perisheth. And although the aire which compasseth aduersity, be very obscure: yet therin we better discerne God, than in that shining light which enuironeth worldly glory; through which, for the cleernesse thereof, there is no vanity which escapeth our sight. And let aduersity seem what it will; to happy men ridiculous, who make themselues merry at other mens misfortunes; and to those vnder the crosse, grieuous: yet this is true, That for all that is past, to the very instant, the portions remaining are equall to either. For be it that wee

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haue liued many yeares, and (according to Salomon) in them all wee haue reioyced; or be it that we haue measured the same length of dayes, and therein haue euermore sorrowed: yet looking backe from our present being, wee finde both the one and the other, to wit, the ioy and the woe, sayled out of sight; and death, which doth pursue vs & hold vs in chace, from our infancy, hath gathered it. Quicquid ætatis retro est, mors tenet: Whatsoeuer of our age is past, death holds it. So as whosoeuer hee bee, to whom Fortune hath beene a seruant, and the Time a friend: let him but take the accompt of his memory (for wee haue no other keeper of our pleasures past) and truly examine what it hath reserued eyther of beauty and youth, or fore-gone delights; what it hath saued, that it might last, of his dearest affections, or of whatsoeuer else the amorous Spring time gaue his thoughts of contentment, then vnualuable; and hee shall finde that all the art which his elder yeares haue, can draw no other vapour out of these dissolutions, than heauy secret, and sad sighes. He shall finde nothing remaining, but those sorrowes, which grow vp after our fast-springing youth; ouertake it, when it is at a stand; and ouer-top it vtterly, when it beginnes to wither: in so much as looking back from the very instant time, & from our now being, the poore, diseased, & captiue creature, hath as little sense of all his former miseries and paines, as hee, that is most blest in common opinion, hath of his fore-passed pleasures and delights. For whatsoeuer is cast behinde vs, is iust nothing: and what is to come, deceiptfull hope hath it: Omnia quæ euentura sunt, in incerto iacent. Onely those few blacke Swannes I must except: who hauing had the grace to value worldly vanities at no more than their owne price; doe, by retaining the comfortable memory of a well acted life, behold death without dread, and the graue without feare; and embrace both, as necessary guides to endlesse glory.

For my selfe, this is my consolation, and all that I can offer to others, that the sorrowes of this life are but of two sorts: whereof the one hath respect to GOD; the other, to the World. In the first we complaine to GOD against our selues, for our offences against him; and confesse, Et tu iustus es in omnibus quæ venerunt super nos, And thou O Lord art iust in all that hath befallen vs. In the second wee complaine to our selues against GOD: as if hee had done vs wrong, either in not giuing vs worldly goods and honours, answering our appetites: or for taking them againe from vs hauing had them; forgetting that humble & iust acknowledgment of Iob, the Lord hath giuen, & the Lord hath taken. To the first of which Saint Paul hath promised blessednesse; to the second, death. And out of doubt he is either a foole, or vngratefull to GOD, or both, that doth not acknowledge, how meane soeuer his estate be, that the same is yet far greater, than that which God oweth him: or doth not acknowledge, how sharpe soeuer his afflictions be, that the same are yet far lesse, than those which are due vnto him. And if an Heathen wise man cal the aduersities of the world but tributa viuendi, the tributes of liuing: a wise Christian man ought to know them, & beare them, but as the tributes of offending. He ought to beare them manlike, & resoluedly; & not as those whining souldiers do, qui gementes sequuntur imperatorem.

For seeing God, who is the Author of all our tragedies, hath written out for vs, & appointed vs all the parts we are to play: and hath not, in their distribution, been partiall to the most mighty Princes of the world; That gaue vnto Darius the part of the greatest Emperour, and the part of the most miserable beggar,

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a beggar begging water of an Enemy, to quench the great drought of death; That appointed Baiazet *to play the* Grand Signior *of the* Turks *in the morning, & in the same day the* Footstoole *of* Tamerlane *(both which parts* Valerian *had also plaid, being taken by* Sapores*:) that made* Bellisarius *play the most victorious Captaine, & lastly the part of a blinde beggar; of which examples many thousands may be produced: why should other men, who are but as the least wormes, complaine of wrongs? Certainly there is no other account to be made of this ridiculous world, than to resolue, That the change of fortune on the great Theater, is but as the change of garments on the lesse. For when on the one and the other, euery man weares but his own skin; the Players are all alike. Now if any man out of weaknes prise the passages of this world otherwise (for saith* Petrarch, Magni ingenii est reuocare mentem a sensibus*) it is by reason of that vnhappy fantasie of ours, which forgeth in the braines of Man all the miseries (the corporall excepted) whereuntobe is subiect. Therein it is, that Misfortune & Aduersity work all that they worke. For seeing Death, in the end of the Play, takes from all, whatsoeuer Fortune or Force takes from any one: it were a foolish madnesse in the shipwracke of worldly things, where all sinkes but the Sorrow, to saue it. That were, as* Seneca *saith,* Fortunæ succumbere, quod tristius est omni fato, To fall vnder Fortune, of all other the most miserable destinie.

But it is now time to sound a retrait; and to desire to be excused of this long pursuit: and withall, that the good intent, which hath moued mee to draw the picture of time past (which we call History*) in so large a Table, may also bee accepted in place of a better reason.*

The examples of diuine prouidence, euery where found (the first diuine Histories being nothing else but a continuation of such examples) haue perswaded me to fetch my beginning from the beginning of all things; to wit, Creation. For though these two glorious actions of the Almighty be so neere, and (as it were) linked together, that the one necessarily implyeth the other: Creation inferring Prouidence (for what father forsaketh the childe that he hath begotten?) and Prouidence presupposing Creation: Yet many of those that haue seemed to excell in worldly wisedome, haue gone about to disioyne this coherence; the Epicure *denying both Creation and Prouidence, but granting that the world had a Beginning; the* Aristotelian *granting Prouidence, but denying both the Creation and the Beginning.*

Now although this doctrine of Faith, touching the Creation in time (for by faith we vnderstãd, that the world was made by the word of God*) be too weighty a worke for* Aristotles *rotten ground to beare vp, vpon which he hath (notwithstanding) founded the Defences and Fortresses of all his* Verball *Doctrine: Yet that the necessity of infinite power, and the worlds beginning, and the impossibility of the contrary euen in the iudgement of Naturall reason, wherein he beleeued, had not better informed him; it is greatly to be maruailed at. And it is no lesse strange, that those men which are desirous of knowledge (seeing* Aristotle *hath failed in this maine point; and taught little other than* termes *in the rest) haue so retrencht their mindes from the following and ouertaking of truth, and so absolutely subiected themselues to the law of those Philosophicall principles; as all contrary kinde of teaching, in the search of causes, they haue condemned either for phantasticall, or curious. But doth it follow, that the positions of Heathen Philosophers, are vndoubted grounds and principles in-*

indeed, because so called? Or that ipsi dixerunt, *doth make them to be such? Certainly no. But this is true, That where natural reason hath built anything so strong against it selfe, as the same reason can hardly assaile it, much lesse batter it downe: the same in euery question of Nature, and finite power, may be approued for a fundamentall law of humane knowledge. For saith* Charron *in his booke of wisdome,* Tout proposition humaine a autant d'authorite quel'autre, si la raison n'on fait la difference; Euery humane proposition hath equall authority, if reason make not the difference, *the rest being but the fables of principles. But hereof how shall the vpright and vnpartiall iudgement of man giue a sentence, where opposition and examination are not admmitted to giue in euidence? And to this purpose it was well said of* Lactantius, Sapientiam sibi adimunt, qui sine vllo iudicio inuenta maiorum probant, & ab aliis pecudum more ducuntur: They neglect their owne wisdome, who without any iudgement approue the inuention of those that fore-went them; & suffer themselues after the manner of Beasts, to be led by them. *By the aduantage of which sloth and dulnesse, ignorance is now become so powerfull a Tyrant: as it hath set true Philosophy, Physick, and Diuinity in a Pillory; and written ouer the first,* Contra negantem Principia; *ouer the second,* Virtus specifica; *and ouer the third,* Ecclesia Romana.

Charron de Sagesse.

Lact. de orig. Erroris. l. 2. c. 8.

But for my selfe, I shall neuer be perswaded, that God hath shut vp all light of Learning within the lanthorne of Aristotles *braines: or that it was euer said vnto him, as vnto* Esdras, Accendam in Corde tuo Lucernam intellectus: *that God hath giuen inuention but to the Heathen, and that they onely inuaded Nature, and found the strength and bottome thereof; the same Nature hauing consumed all her store, and left nothing of price to after-ages. That these and these be the causes of these and these effects, Time hath taught vs; and not reason: and so hath experience without Art. The Cheese-wife knoweth it as well as the Philosopher, that sowre Rennet doth coagulate her milke into a curd. But if wee aske a reason of this cause, why the sowrenesse doth it? whereby it doth it? and the manner how? I thinke that there is nothing to bee found in vulgar Philosophy, to satisfie this and many other like vulgar questions. But man to couer his ignorance in the least things, who cannot giue a true reason for the Grasse vnder his feet, why it should be greene rather than red, or of any other colour; that could neuer yet discouer the way and reason of Natures working, in those which are farre lesse noble creatures than himselfe; who is farre more Noble than the Heauens themselues:* Man (*saith Salomon*) that can hardly discerne the things that are vpon the Earth, and with great labour finde out the things that are before vs; *that hath so short a time in the world, as he no sooner begins to learne, than to die; that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledge; in his vnderstanding, nothing truly; that is ignorant of the Essence of his owne soule, and which the wisest of the Naturalists (if* Aristotle *be he) could neuer so much as define, but by the Action & Effect, telling vs what it works (which all men know as wel as he) but not what it is, which neither he, nor any else doth know, but GOD that created it;* (For though I were perfect, yet I know not my soule, *saith* Iob.) *Man, I say, that is but an Idiot in the next cause of his owne life, and in the cause of all actions of his life: will (notwithstanding) examine the Art of GOD in creating the World; of GOD, who (saith Iob) is so excellent as wee know him not;*

Salomon 7. 9.

Iob 26.

and

and examine the beginning of the worke, which had end before Mankinde had a beginning of being. He will disable Gods power to make a world, without matter to make it of. He will rather giue the mothes of the Aire for a cause, cast the work on necessity or chance; bestow the honour thereof on Nature; make two powers, the one to be the Author of the Matter, *the other of the* Forme; *and lastly, for want of a worke-man, haue it Eternall: which latter opinion* Aristotle *to make himselfe the Author of a new Doctrine, brought into the World: and his Sectatours haue maintained it*; parati ac coniurati, quos sequuntur, Philosophorum animis inuictis opiniones tueri. *For* Hermes, *who liued at once with, or soone after* Moses, Zoroaster, Musæus, Orpheus, Linus, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Melissus, Pherecydes, Thales, Cleanthes, Pythagoras, Plato, *and many others (whose opinions are exquisitely gathered by* Steuchius Eugubinus*) found in the necessity of inuincible reason*, One eternall and infinite Being, *to be the Parent of the vniuersall.* Horum omnium sententia quamuis sit incerta, eodem tamen spectat, vt Prouidẽtiam vnam esse consentiant: siue enim Natura, siue Æther, siue Ratio, siue mens, siue fatalis necessitas, siue diuina Lex; idem esse quod à nobis dicitur Deus: All these mens opinions (*saith Lactantius*) though vncertain, come to this; That they agree vpon one Prouidence; whether the same be Nature, or light, or Reason, or vnderstanding, or destinie, or diuine ordinance, that it is the same which we call *GOD. Certainly, as all the Riuers in the world, though they haue diuers risings, and diuers runnings; though they sometimes hide themselues for a while vnder ground, & seeme to be lost in Sea-like Lakes; doe at last finde, & fall into the great* Ocean: *so after all the searches that humane capacitie hath; & after all Philosophicall contemplation and curiosity; in the necessity of this infinite power, all the reason of man ends and dissolues it selfe.*

Lact. 5.

As for others; and first touching those which conceiue the matter *of the World to haue beene* eternall, *and that God did not create the World,* ex nihilo, *but* ex materia præexistẽte: *the Supposition is so weak, as is hardly worth the answering. For (saith* Eusebius) Mihi videntur qui hoc dicunt, fortunam quoque Deo annectere, They seeme vnto me, which affirme this, to giue part of the work to God, & part to Fortune: *insomuch as if God had not found this* first matter *by chance, He had neither beene Author, nor Father, nor Creator, nor Lord of the Vniuersall. For were the* Matter *or* Chaos *eternall: it then followes, That either this supposed* Matter *did fit it selfe to God, or God accommodate himselfe to the* matter. *For the first; it is impossible, that things without sense could proportion themselues to the Work-mans will. For the second; it were horrible to conceiue of God, That as an Artificer he applied himselfe, according to the proportion of* matter *which he lighted vpon.*

Euseb. de præp. Euang. l. 7. c. 8.

But let it be supposed, That this matter *hath bin made by any Power, not Omnipotent, and infinitely wise: I would gladly learne how it came to passe, that the same was proportionable to his intention, that was Omnipotent & infinitely wise; & no more, nor no lesse, than serued to receiue the forme of the Vniuersall. For, had it wanted any thing of what was sufficient; then must it be granted, That God created* out of nothing *so much of new* matter, *as serued to finish the work of the World: Or had there bin more of this matter, than sufficed, then God did dissolue & annihilate whatsoeuer remained and was superfluous. And this must euery reasonable*

soule confesse, That it is the same worke of God alone, to create any thing out of nothing, *And by the same art and power, and by none other, can those things, or any part of that eternall* matter, *be againe changed into Nothing; by which those things, that once were nothing, obtained a beginning of being.*

Againe, to say that this matter *was the cause of it selfe; this, of all other, were the greatest idiotisme. For, if it were the cause of it selfe at any time; then there was also a time when it selfe was not: at which time of not being, it is easie enough to conceiue, that it could neither procure it selfe, nor any thing else. For to be, and not to be, at once, is impossible.* Nihil autem seipsum præcedit; neq; seipsum componit corpus: There is nothing that doth præcede it selfe, neither doe bodies compound themselues.

For the rest; Those that faine this matter to be eternall, must of necessity confesse, that Infinite cannot bee separate from Eternity. And then had infinite matter *left no place for* infinite forme, *but that the* first matter was finite, *the* forme *which it receiued proues it. For conclusion of this part, whosoeuer will make choice, rather to beleeue in eternall deformity, or in eternall dead matter, than in eternall light and eternall life: let eternall death be his reward. For it is a madnes of that kind, as wanteth tearmes to expresse it. For what reason of man (whom the curse of presumption hath not stupified) hath doubted, That infinite power (of which we can comprehend but a kind of shadow,* quia comprehensio est intra terminos, qui infinito repugnant) *hath any thing wanting in it self, either for* matter *or* form; *yea for as many worlds (if such had beene Gods will) as the* Sea *hath sands? For where the power is without limitation, the work hath no other limitation, than the workmans will. Yea Reason it self findes it more easie for infinite power, to deliuer from it selfe a finite world, without the helpe of matter prepared; than for a finite man; a foole and dust, to change the forme of matter made to his hands. They are* Dionysius *his words,* Deus in vna existentia omnia præhabet: *and againe,* Esse omnium est ipsa Diuinitas, omne quod vides, & quod non vides; *to wit,* causaliter, *or in better tearmes,* non tanquam forma, sed tanquam causa vniuersalis. *Neither hath the world vniuersall closed vp all of GOD:* For the most part of his workes (*saith Siracides*) are hid. *Neither can the depth of his wisedome bee opened, by the glorious worke of the world: which neuer brought to knowledge all it can; for then were his infinite power bounded, and made finite. And hereof it comes; That wee seldome entitle GOD the* all-shewing, *or the* all-willing; *but the* Almighty, *that is, infinitely able.*

Cap. 16. v. 21.

But now for those, who from that ground, That out of nothing nothing is made, *inferre the Worlds eternity; and yet not so saluage therin, as those are, which giue an eternall being to dead matter: It is true, if the word* (nothing) *be taken in the affirmatiue; and the* making, *imposed vpon Naturall Agents and finite power; That out of nothing, nothing is made. But seeing their great Doctor* Aristotle *himselfe confesseth,* quod omnes antiqui decreuerunt quasi quoddam rerum principium, ipsumq; infinitum, That all the Ancient decree a kind of beginning, and the same to be infinite: *and a little after, more largely and plainly,* Principium eius est nullum, sed ipsum omnium cernitur esse principium, ac omnia complecti ac regere: *it is strange that this Philosopher, with his followers, should rather make choice out of falshood, to conclude falsly; than out of truth, to resolue truly. For if we compare the world Vniuersal, & all the vnmea-*

Steuc. Eug. l. 3. c. 9. ex Arist. Phys. 3. 20.

vnmeasurable Orbes of Heauen, and those marueilous bodies of the Sun, Moone, *and* Stars, *with* ipsum Infinitum: *it may truly be said of them all, which himself affirmes of his imaginary* Materia prima, *That they are neither* quid, quale, *nor* quantum; *and therfore to bring finite (which hath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite* (qui destruit omnem proportionē) *is no wonder in Gods power. And therfore* Anaximander, Melissus, & Empedocles, *call the world vniuersall, but* particulam Vniuersitatis *and* infinitatis, a parcell of that which is the vniuersality and the infinity it self; & Plato, *but a* shadow of *God. But the other,* to proue *the worlds eternity, vrgeth this* Maxime, *That,* A sufficient & effectual cause being granted, an answerable effect therof is also granted: *inferring that God being for euer a sufficient & effectual cause of the world, the effect of the cause should also haue bin for euer; to wit, the world vniuersall. But what a strange mockery is this in so great a Master, to confesse a sufficient & effectual cause of the world, (to wit, an almighty God) in his Antecedent; & the same God to be a God restrained in his conclusion; to make God free in power, & bound in wil; able to effect, vnable to determine; able to make all things, and yet vnable to make choice of the time when? For this were impiously to resolue of God, as of natural necessity; which hath neither choice, nor will, nor vnderstanding; which cannot but worke matter being present: as fire, to burne things combustible. Againe he thus disputeth, That euery Agent which can work, and doth not work: if it afterward worke, it is either thereto moued by it selfe, or by somewhat else: and so it passeth from power to Act But God (saith he) is immoueable, and is neither moued by himselfe, nor by any other: but being alwaies the same, doth alwaies worke. Whence he concludeth, If the world were caused by God, that he was for euer the cause thereof: and therfore eternall. The answer to this is verie easie, For that Gods performing in due time that, which he euer determined at length to performe, doth not argue any alteration or change, but rather constancy in him. For the same action of his will, which made the world for euer, did also with-hold the effect to the time ordained. To this answer, in it selfe sufficient: others adde further, that the Patterne or Image of the World may be said to be eternall: which the* Platonicks *call,* spiritualem mundum; *and doe in this sort distinguish the* Idæa *and* Creation in time.

Mar. Ficin. de immort. Animæ l. 18. c. 1.

Spiritualis ille mundus, mundi huius exemplar, primumque Dei opus, vita æquali est Architecto, fuit semper cum illo, eritque semper. Mundus autem corporalis, quod secundum opus est Dei, decedit iam ab opifice ex parte vna, quia non fuit semper: retinet alteram, quia sit semper futurus: That representatiue, or the intentionall world (*say they*) the sampler of this visible world, the first worke of *GOD*, was equally ancient with the Architect; for it was for euer with him, and euer shall bee. This materiall world, the second worke or creature of *GOD*, doth differ from the worker in this, That it was not from euerlasting, and in this it doth agree, that it shall be for euer to come. *The first point, That it was not for euer, all Christians confesse: The other they vnderstand no otherwise, than that after the consūmation of this world, there shalbe* a new Heauen and a new Earth, without any new creation of matter. *But of these things we neednot here stand to argue: though such opinions be not vnworthy the propounding, in this consideration, of an eternall and vnchangeable cause, producing a changeable and temporall effect. Touching which point* Proclus *the* Platonist *disputeth,*

That

That the compounded essence of the World (and because compounded, therefore dissipable) is continued, & knit to the Diuine Being, by an indiuidual & inseparable power, flowing from Diuine vnity; & that the Worlds naturall appetite of God sheweth, that the same proceedeth from a good and vnderstanding diuine; and that this vertue, by which the World is continued & knit together, must be infinite, that it may infinitely and euerlastingly continue and preserue the same. Which infinite Vertue, the finite World (saith he) is not capable of, but receiueth it from the diuine infinite according to the temporall Nature it hath, successiuely euery moment by little & little; euen as the whole Materiall World is not altogether: but the abolished parts are departed by small degrees, and the parts yet to come, do by the same small degrees succeed, as the shadow of a tree in a Riuer, seemeth to haue continued the same a long time in the water, but it is perpetually renued, in the continuall ebbing and flowing thereof.

But to returne to them, which denying that euer the World had any beginning, withall deny that euer it shall haue any end, & to this purpose affirme, That it was neuer heard, neuer read, neuer seene, no not by any reason perceiued, that the Heauens haue euer suffered corruption; or that they appeare any way the older by continuance; or in any sort otherwise than they were; which had they been subiect to finall corruption, some change would haue been discerned in so long a time. To this it is answered, That the little change as yet perceiued, doth rather proue their newnesse, and that they haue not continued so long, than that they wil continue for euer as they are. And if coniecturall arguments may receiue answer by couiectures: it then seemeth that some alteration may be found. For either Aristotle, Plinie, Strabo, Beda, Aquinas, *and others, were grossely mistaken: or else those parts of the world, lying within the burnt* Zone, *were not in elder times habitable, by reason of the Suns heate, neither were the* Seas, *vnder the Equinoctial, nauigable. But wee know by experience, that those Regions, so situate, are filled with people, and exceeding temperate; and the* Sea, *ouer which we* Nauigate, *passable enough. We reade also many Histories of deluges: and how that in the time of* Phaeton, *diuers places in the world were burnt vp, by the* Sunnes *violent heate.*

Arist. Met. 2. Plin. l. 2. c. 8. Strab. l. 3. Beda de ratione tem. 11. c. 32. Thom. p. 1. q. 102. art. 2.

But in a Word, this obseruation is exceeding feeble. For we know it for certain, That stone-wals, of matter moldring and friable, haue stood two, or three thousand yeares: that many things haue beene digged vp out of the earth, of that depth, as supposed to haue beene buried by the generall floud; without any alteration either of substance or figure: yea it is beleeued, and it is very probable, that the gold which is daily found in Mynes, and Rockes, vnder ground, was created together with the Earth.

And if bodies elementary, and compounded, the eldest times haue not inuaded and corrupted: what great alteration should wee looke for in Cœlestiall and quintessentiall bodies? And yet we haue reason to thinke, that the Sunne, by whose help all Creatures are generate, doth not in these latter Ages assist Nature, as heretofore. We haue neither Giants, such as the eldest world had: nor mighty men, such as the elder world had; but all things in generall are reputed of lesse vertue which from the Heauens receiue vertue. Whence, if the nature of a Preface, would permit a larger discourse, we might easily fetch store of proue; as that this world shall at length haue end, as that once it had beginning.

And I see no good answer that can bee made to this obiection: If the World

were

were eternall; why not all things in the World Eternall? If there were no first, no cause, no Father, no Creator, no incomprehensible wisedome, but that euery Nature had beene alike eternall; and Man more rationall than euery other Nature: Why had not the eternall reason of Man, prouided for his eternall being in the World? For if all were equall, why not equall conditions to all? Why should heauenly bodies liue for euer; and the bodies of Men rot and die?

Againe, who was it that appointed the Earth to keepe the center, and gaue Order that it should hang in the Aire: that the Sunne should trauaile betweene the Tropicks, and neuer exceed those bounds, nor faile to performe that Progresse once in euery yeare: the Moone to liue by borrowed light: the first Stars (according to common opinion) to bee fastned like Nailes in a Cart-wheele; and the Planets to wander at their pleasure? Or if none of these had power ouer other: was it out of Charity and Loue, that the Sunne by his perpetuall trauaile within those two Circles, hath visited, giuen light vnto, and relieued all parts of the Earth, and the Creatures therein, by turnes and times? Out of doubt, if the Sunne haue of his owne accord kept this course in all eternity: He may iustly bee called eternall Charity, and euerlasting Loue. The same may be said of all the Stars: who being all of them most large and cleare fountaines of vertue and operation, may also bee called eternall vertues: the Earth may be called eternall patience; the Moone, an eternall borrower and beggar; and Man of all other the most miserable, eternally mortall. And what were this, but to beleeue againe in the old Play of the gods? Yea in more gods by Millions, than euer Hesiodus dreampt of. But in steed of this mad folly, we see it well enough with our feeble & mortall eyes: and the eyes of our reason discerne it better; That the Sun, Moone, Stars, & the Earth, are limited, bounded, and constrained: themselues they haue not constrained, nor could. Omne determinatum causam habet aliquam efficientem, quæ illud determinauerit, Euery thing bounded hath some efficient cause, by which it is bounded.

Now for Nature; As by the ambiguity of this name, the schoole of Aristotle hath both commended many errours vnto vs, and sought also thereby to obscure the glory of the high Moderator of all things, shining in the Creation, and in the gouerning of the World: so if the best definition be taken out of the second of Aristotles physicks, or primo de Cœlo, or out of the fift of his Metaphysicks; I say that the best is but nominall, and seruing onely to difference the beginning of Naturall motion from Artificiall: which yet the Academicks open better, when they call it A Seminary strength, infused into matter by the Soule of the World: who giue the first place to Prouidence, the second to Fate, and but the third to Nature. Prouidentia (by which they vnderstand GOD) dux & caput; Fatum, medium ex prouidentia prodiens; Natura postremum. But be it what he will, or be it any of these (God excepted) or participating of all: yet that it hath choice or vnderstanding (both which are necessarily in the cause of all things) no man hath a vowed. For this is vnanswerable of Lactantius, Is autem facit aliquid, qui aut voluntatem faciendi habet, aut scientiam, He only can be said to be the doer of a thing, that hath either will or knowledge in the doing it.

But the will and science of Nature, are in these words truly exprest by Ficinus: Potest vbiq; Natura, vel per diuersa media, vel ex diuersis materiis, diuersa facere: sublata vero mediorũ materiarumq; diuersitate, vel vnicũ, vel similimum operatur, neque potest quando adest materia non operari; It is the power of Nature by diuersity of meanes, or out of diuersity of matter, to produce diuers things: but taking away the diuersity of meanes, and the diuersity of matter, it then workes but one or the like worke; neither can it but worke, matter being present. Now if Nature made choice of diuersity of matter, to worke all these variable workes of Heauen and Earth, it had then both vnderstanding and will; it had counsaile to beginne, reason to dispose; vertue and knowledge to finish, and power to gouerne: without which all things had been but one and the same: all of the matter of Heauen; or all of the matter of Earth. And if we grant Nature this will, and this vnderstanding, this counsaile, reason, and power: Cur Natura potius quam Deus nominetur? Why should we then call such a cause rather Nature, than God? God, of whom all men haue notion, and giue the first and highest place to Diuine power: Omnes homines notionem deorum habent, omnesq; summum locum diuino cuidam numini assignant. And this I say in short; that it is a true effect of true reason in man (were there no authority more binding than reason) to acknowledge and adore the first and most sublime power. Vera Philosophia, est ascensus ab his quæ fluunt, & oriuntur, & occidunt, ad ea quæ vere sunt, & semper eadem: True Philosophy, is an ascending from the things which flow, and arise, and fall, to the things that are for euer the same.

Ficin. in Plat.

Lact. de ira Dei. l. 1. c. 10.

Arist. l. 1. de Cœlo. c. 3. T. 22.

For the rest; I do also account it not the meanest, but an impiety monstrous, to confound God and Nature: be it but in tearmes. For it is God, that only disposeth of all things according to his own will, & maketh of one Earth, Vessels of honor & dishonor. It is Nature that can dispose of nothing, but according to the will of the matter wherin it worketh. It is God that cõmandeth al: It is Nature that is obedient to all. It is God, that doth good vnto all, knowing and louing the good he doth: It is Nature, that secondarily doth also good, but it neither knoweth nor loueth the good it doth. It is God, that hath all things in himself: Nature, nothing in it self. It is God, which is the Father, and hath begotten all things: It is Nature, which is begotten by all things, in which it liueth and laboureth; for by it selfe it existeth not. For shall we say, that it is out of affection to the Earth, that heauie things fall towards it? Shal we cal it Reason, which doth conduct euery Riuer into the salt Sea? Shall we tearme it knowledge in fire, that makes it to consume combustible matter? If it be Affection, Reason, and Knowledge in these: by the same Affectiom, Reason, and Knowledge it is, that Nature worketh. And therfore seeing all things worke as they do, (call it by Forme, or Nature, or by what you please) yet because they worke by an impulsion, which they cannot resist; or by a faculty, infused by the supremest power: we are neither to wonder at, nor to worship, the faculty that worketh, nor the Creature wherein it worketh. But herein lies the wonder: and to him is the worship due, who hath created such a Nature in things, & such a faculty, as neither knowing it selfe, the matter wherein it worketh, nor the vertue and power which it hath; do yet worke all things to their last and vttermost perfection. And therefore euery reasonable man, taking to himselfe for a ground that which is granted by all Antiquity, and by all men truly learned that euer the world had; to wit; That there is a power infinite, and eternall (which also necessity doth proue vnto vs, without the helpe of Faith, and Reason; without the force of Authority) all things do as easily follow which haue bin deliuered by diuine letters, as the

waters

waters of a running riuer do succeßiuely purſue each other frō the firſt fountaines.

This much I ſay it is, that Reaſon it ſelfe hath taught vs: and this is the beginning of knowledge. Sapientia præcedit, Religio ſequitur: quia prius eſt Deum ſcire, conſequens colere; *Sapience goes before, Religion followes: becauſe it is firſt to know God, and then to worſhip him. This Sapience* Plato *calleth* abſoluti boni ſcientiam, *The ſcience of the abſolute good: and another* ſcientiam rerum primarum, ſempiternarum, perpetuarum. *For Faith (ſaith* Iſidore*) is not extorted by violence; but by reaſon and examples perſwaded:* fides nequaquam vi extorquetur, ſed ratione & exemplis ſuadetur. *I confeſſe it, That to enquire further, as of the eſſence of God, of his power, of his Art, & by what meane He created the world: Or of his ſecret iudgement, & the cauſes is not an effect of Reaſon:* Sed cum ratione inſaniunt, *but they grow mad with reaſon, that inquire after it: For as it is no ſhame nor diſhonour (ſaith a French Author)* de faire arreſt au but qu'on naſceu ſurpaſſer, *For a man to reſt himſelf there, where he finds it impoßible to paſſe on further: ſo whatſoeuer is beyond, and out of the reach of true reaſon, it acknowledgeth it to be ſo; as vnderſtanding it ſelf not to be infinite; but according to the Name and Nature it hath, to be a Teacher, that beſt knowes the end of his own Art. For ſeeing both Reaſon & Neceßity teach vs (Reaſon, which is* pars diuini ſpiritus in corpus humanum merſi) *that the world was made by a power infinite; and yet how it was made, it cannot teach vs: and ſeeing the ſame Reaſon and Neceßity make vs know, that the ſame infinite power is euery where in the world; and yet how euery where, it cannot informe vs: our beleeue hereof is not weakned, but greatly ſtrengthened, by our ignorance, becauſe it is the ſame Reaſon that tels vs, That ſuch a Nature cannot be ſaid to be God, that can be in all conceiued by man.*

Lact. l. 4. c. 4. de vera ſapientia.

Iſaac de defin.

Quod eſt infinitum & non ſecundum naturam terminatum non continetur à ſcientia. Ariſt. poſter.

I haue been already ouer-long, to make any large diſcourſe either of the parts of the following Story, or in mine owne excuſe: eſpecially in the excuſe of this or that paſſage; ſeeing the whole is exceeding weak and defectiue. Among the groſſeſt, the vnſutable diuiſion of the bookes, I could not know how to excuſe, had I not beene directed to inlarge the building after the foundation was laid, and the firſt part finiſhed. All men know that there is no great Art in the diuiding euenly of thoſe things, which are ſubiect to number and meaſure. For the reſt, it ſutes well enough with a great many Bookes of this Age, which ſpeake too much, and yet ſay little; Ipſi nobis furto ſubducimur. *We are ſtollen away from our ſelues, ſetting a high price on all that is our owne. But hereof, though a late good Writer make complaint, yet ſhall it not lay hold on mee, becauſe I beleeue as hee doth; that who ſo thinkes himſelfe the wiſeſt man, is but a poore and miſerable ignorant. Thoſe that are the beſt men of war, againſt all the vanities and fooleries of the World, do alwaies keepe the ſtrongeſt guards againſt themſelues, to defend them from themſelues, from ſelfe loue, ſelfe eſtimation, and ſelfe opinion.*

Generally concerning the order of the worke, I haue onely taken counſaile from the Argument. For of the Aſſyrians, *which after the down-fall of* Babel *take vp the firſt part, and were the firſt great Kings of the World, there came little to the view of poſterity: ſome few enterpriſes, greater in fame than faith, of* Ninus *and* Semiramis *excepted.*

It was the ſtory of the Hebrewes, *of all before the* Olimpiads, *that ouercame the conſuming diſeaſe of time; and preſerued it ſelfe, from the very cradle and beginning*

ginning to this day: and yet not ſo entire, but that the large diſcourſes thereof (to which in many Scriptures we are referred) are no where found. The Fragments of other Stories, with the actions of thoſe Kings and Princes which ſhot vp here & there in the ſame time, I am driuen to relate by way of digreſsion: of which wee may ſay with Virgil:

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vaſto;
They appeare here and there floting in the great gulfe of time.

To the ſame firſt Ages doe belong the report of many Inuentions therein found, and from them deriued to vs; though moſt of the Authors Names haue periſhed in ſo long a Nauigation. For thoſe Ages had their Lawes; they had diuerſity of Gouernment; they had Kingly rule; Nobility, Pollicy in war; Nauigation, and all, or the moſt of needfull Trades. To ſpeak therfore of theſe (ſeeing in a generall Hiſtory we ſhould haue left a great deale of Nakedneſſe, by their omiſsion) it cannot properly be called a digreßion. True it is, that I haue made alſo many others: which if they ſhall be laid to my charge, I muſt caſt the fault into the great heape of humane error. For ſeeing we digreſſe in all the waies of our liues: yea, ſeeing the life of man is nothing elſe but digreßion; I may the better be excuſed, in writing their liues & actions. I am not altogether ignorant in the Lawes of Hiſtory, and of the Kindes.

The ſame hath been taught by many, but by no man better, and with greater breuity, than by that excellent learned Gentleman Sir Francis Bacon. *Chriſtian Lawes are alſo taught vs by the Prophets and Apoſtles; and euery day preacht vnto vs. But wee ſtill make large digreßions: yea, the teachers themſelues doe not (in all) keepe the path which they point out to others.*

For the reſt, after ſuch time as the Perſians *had wreſted the Empire from the* Chaldæans, *and had raiſed a great Monarchy, producing Actions of more importance than were elſewhere to be found: it was agreeable to the Order of Story, to attend this Empire; whilſt it ſo flouriſhed, that the affaires of the nations adioyning had reference thereunto. The like obſeruance was to be vſed towards the fortunes of* Greece, *when they againe began to get ground vpon the* Perſians, *as alſo towards the affairs of* Rome, *when the* Romans *grew more mighty thā the* Greeks.

As for the Medes, *the* Macedonians, *the* Sicilians, *the* Carthaginians, *and other* Nations *who reſiſted the beginnings of the former Empires, and afterwards became but parts of their compoſition and enlargement: it ſeemed beſt to remember what was known of them from their ſeuerall beginnings, in ſuch times and places as they in their flouriſhing eſtates oppoſed thoſe Monarchies, which in the end ſwallowed them vp. And herein I haue followed the beſt Geographers: who ſeldome giue names to thoſe ſmall brookes, whereof many, ioyned together, make great Riuers; till ſuch time as they become vnited, and run in maine ſtreame to the Ocean* Sea. *If the Phraſe be weak, & the Stile not euery-where like it ſelf; the firſt ſhews their legitimation and true Parent; the ſecond will excuſe it ſelf vpon the Variety of Matter. For* Virgil, *who wrote his* Eclogues, gracili auena, *vſed ſtronger pipes, when he ſounded the wars of* Æneas. *It may alſo be laid to my charge, that I vſe diuers* Hebrew *words in my firſt booke, and elſewhere: in which language others may thinke, and I my ſelfe acknowledge it, that I am altogether ignorant: but it is true, that ſome of them I find in* Montanus, *others in latine Caracter in S.* Senenſis; *and of the reſt I haue borrowed the interpretation of ſome of my friends. But ſay I had bin beholding to neither, yet were it not to be wondred at, hauing had*

a eleuen yeares leasure, to attaine the knowledge of that, or of any other tongue; Howsoeuer, I know that it will be said by many, That I might haue been more pleasing to the Reader, if I had written the Story of mine owne times, hauing been permitted to draw water as neare the Well-head as another. To this I answer, that whosoeuer in writing a moderne History, shall follow truth too neare the heeles, it may haply strike out his teeth. There is no Mistresse or Guide, that hath led her followers and seruants into greater miseries. He that goes after her too far off, loseth her sight, and loseth himself: and he that walkes after her at a middle distance; I know not whether I should call that kinde of course, Temper or Basenesse. It is true, that I neuer trauailed after mens opinions, when I might haue made the best vse of them: and I haue now too few dayes remaining, to imitate those, that either out of extreame ambition, or extreame cowardise, or both, do yet (when death hath them on his shoulders) flatter the world, between the bed and the graue. It is enough for me (being in that state I am) to write of the eldest times: wherein also why may it not be said, that in speaking of the past, I point at the present, and taxe the vices of those that are yet liuing, in their persons that are long since dead; and haue it laid to my charge? But this I cannot helpe, though innocent. And certainly if there be any, that finding themselues spotted like the Tigers of old time, shal find fault with mee for painting them ouer anew, they shall therein accuse themselues iustly, & me falsly.

For I protest before the Maiesty of God, That I malice no man vnder the Sunne. Impossible I know it is to please all: seeing few or none are so pleased with themselues, or so assured of themselues, by reason of their subiection to their priuate passions, but that they seem diuers persons in one & the same day. Seneca *hath said it, and so do I:* Vnus mihi pro populo erat: *and to the same effect* Epicurus, Hoc ego not multis sed tibi; *or (as it hath since lamentably fallen out) I may borrow the resolution of an ancient Philosopher,* Satis est vnus, Satis est nullus. *For it was for the seruice of that inestimable Prince* Henry, *the successiue hope, and one of the greatest of the Christian World, that I vndertooke this Worke. It pleased him to peruse some part thereof, and to pardon what was amisse. It is now left to the world without a Master: from which all that is presented, hath receiued both blows and thanks,* Eadem probamus, eadem reprehendimus: hic exitus est omnis iudicii, in quo lis secundum plures datur. *But these discourses are idle. I know that as the charitable will iudge charitably: so against those,* qui gloriantur in malitia, *my present aduersity hath disarmed me. I am on the Ground already; & therefore haue not far to fall: and for rising againe, as in the Naturall priuation there is no recession to habit; so it is seldome seene in the priuation politique. I do therefore forbeare to stile my Readers* Gentle, Courteous, *and* Friendly, *therby to beg their good opinions, or to promise a second and third volume (which I also intend) if the first receiue grace and good acceptance. For that which is already done, may be thought enough; and too much: and it is certaine, let us claw the Reader with neuer so many courteous phrases, yet shall we euermore be thought fooles, that write foolishly. For conclusion, all the hope I haue lies in this, That I haue already found more vngentle and vncourteous Readers of my Loue towards them, and well-deseruing of them, than euer I shall doe againe. For had it been otherwise, I should hardly haue had this leisure, to haue made my selfe a foole in print.*

THE

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE BEGINNING, AND first Ages of the same, from the Creation, vnto ABRAHAM.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the Creation, and Preseruation of the World.

§. I.

That the inuisible God is seene in his Creatures.

GOD, whom the wisest men acknowledge to bee a Power vneffable, & Vertue infinite, a Light by abundant claritie inuisible; an Vnderstanding which it selfe can only comprehend, an Essence eternall & spirituall, of absolute purenesse and simplicity; was, and is pleased to make himselfe known by the work of the World: in the wonderful magnitude whereof, (all which He imbraceth, filleth & sustaineth) wee behold the Image of that glory, which cannot be measured, and withall that one, and yet vniuersall Nature, which cannot bee defined. In the glorious Lights of Heauen, we perceiue a shadow of his diuine Countenance; in his mercifull prouision for all that liue, his manifold goodnesse: & lastly, in creating and making existent the World vniuersall, by the absolute Art of his owne Word, his Power and Almightinesse; which Power, Light, Vertue, Wisdome, and Goodnesse, being all but attributes of one simple Essence, & one God, we in all admire, & in part discerne *per speculum creaturarum*, that is, in the disposition, order, and variety of Celestiall and Terrestiall bodies: Terrestriall, in their strange and manifold diuersities; Celestiall, in their beauty and magnitude; which in their continuall and contrary motions, are neither repugnant, intermixt, nor confounded. By these potent effects, we approch to the knowledge of the Omnipotent cause, and by these motions, their Almighty Mouer.

In these more than wonderfull vworks, God (saith* *Hugo*) speaketh vnto man, and it is true, that these be those discourses of God, whose effects, all that liue, witnesse in themselues; the sensible, in their sensible natures; the reasonable, in their reasonable soules: for according to S.* GREGORY, *Omnis homo eo ipso quòd rationalis conditus est, ex ipsa ratione, illum qui se condidit, Deum esse colligere debet*, Euery man, in that he is reasonable, out of the same reason may know, that he which made him, is God. This God all men behold (saith *Iob*,) which is according to the *Fathers*, *Dominationem illius conspicere in Creaturis*, *To discerne him in his prouidence by his Creatures.* That God hath beene otherwise seen, to wit, with corporall eyes, exceedeth the small proportion of my vnderstanding,

* Hugo *super eccles. Homil. 8.*
* *Greg. in Mor. Herm. ad fil. Tat. l. 5. Vnus verò ingenitus, & non apparens & immanifestus, omnia autem manifestans, per omnia apparet, & in omnibus. Apparentia solùm generatorum est, nihil apparitio quàm generatio.*

Ioh. 5. 3. 1. Tim. 6. 16.

ding, grounded on these places of S. *Iohn*, and S. *Paul*, *Yee haue not heard his voice at any time, neither haue ye seen his shape.* And againe, *whom neuer man saw, nor can see.*

Origen. l. 2. περὶ ἀρχῶν. c. 22. Cyril. & Chrys. in Ioh. hom. 14. Greg. Nazian. l. 2. Theolog. Hier. in Esaiam. Aug. l. 2. de Trin. c. 12. & 13. Greg. Mag. l. 18. Mor. Ebar. epist. 1. Decret. Alcuin. l. 2. de Trin. c. 16. D. Areop. cap. 4. Cæl. Hierar. 1. hom. p. 2. q. 12. art. 11. & alibi. Deus, qui natura inuisibilis est, vt à visibilibus possit sciri, opus fecit, quod Opificem sui visibiliter manifestaret, vt per certum incertum sciretur, & ille Deus omnium esse crederetur, Amb. in epist. ad Rom. c. 1. Cusan. de gen. dialog. Rom. 1. 20.

A. Mont. Nat. Hist. fol. 7.

And this, I am sure, agreeth with the nature of Gods simplicity, of which S. *Augustine*, *Ipsa enim natura, vel substantia, vel quilibet alio nomine appellandum est, id ipsum quod Deus est, corporaliter videri non potest*; That nature, or that substance, or by whatsoeuer name that is to be called which is God, whatsoeuer that bee, the same cannot be corporally perceiued. And of this opinion were *Origen, Cyril, Chrysostome, Gregory Nazianzenus, Hierome, Augustine, Gregory* the great, *Euaristus, Alcuinus, Dionysius Areopagita, Aquinas*, and all others of authoritie. But by his owne Word, and by this visible World, is God perceiued of men; which is also the vnderstood language of the Almighty, vouchsafed to all his Creatures, whose Hieroglyphicall Characters, are the vnnumbred Stars, the Sunne and Moone, written on these large Volumes of the Firmament: written also on the Earth and the Seas, by the letters of all those liuing Creatures, and Plants, which inhabite & reside therein. Therefore said that learned CVSANVS, *Mundus vniuersus nihil aliud est, quàm Deus explicatus*; The World vniuersall, is nothing else but God expreſt. And the inuisible things of God (saith S. *Paul*) are seene by creation of the World, being considered in his Creatures. Of all which, there was no other cause preceding, than his owne Will, no other matter than his owne Power, no other workman than his owne Word, no other consideration than his owne infinite Goodnesse. The example and patterne of these his Creatures, as hee beheld the same in all eternity in the abundance of his owne loue, so was it at length in the most wise order, by his vnchanged Will moued, by his high Wisedome disposed, and by his almighty Power perfected, and made visible. And therefore (saith *Mirandula*) we ought to loue God, *Ex fide, & ex effectibus*, (that is) both perswaded by his Word, and by the effects of the Worlds creation: *Neq; enim qui causa caret, ex causa & origine sciri, cognosciq; potest, sed vel ex rerum, quæ factæ sunt, quæq; fiunt & gubernantur obseruatione & collatione, vel ex ipsius Dei verbo*: For he of whom there is no higher cause, cannot be knowne by any knowledge of cause or beginning, (saith *Montanus*) but either by the obseruing and conferring of things, which he hath, or doth create and gouerne, or else by the Word of God himselfe.

§. II.

That the wisest of the Heathen, whose authority is not to be despised, haue acknowledged the world to haue beene created by God.

Herm. in Pœmandro, & in sermone sacro.

THis work & creation of the World, did most of the ancient & learned Philosophers acknowledge, though by diuers termes, & in a different manner expreſt, I mean all those who are intitled by S. AVGVSTINE, *Summi Philosophi*, Philosophers of highest iudgement & vnderstanding; *Mercurius Trismegistus* calleth God, *Principium vniuersorum*; The originall of the vniuersall: to whom he giueth also the attributes of *Mens, Natura, Actus, Necessitas, Finis, & Renouatio.* And wherein he truely, with S. *Paul*, casteth vpon God all power; confessing also, that the world was made by Gods almighty Word, and not by hands: *Verbo, non manibus fabricatus est mundus.* *Zoroaster* (whom *Heraclitus* followed in opinion) tooke the word *Fire*, to expresse God by (as in *Deuteronomy*, and in S. *Paul* it is vsed) *Omnia ex vno igne genita sunt*; *All things* (saith he) *are caused, or produced, out of one fire.*

Deut. 4. 24. Heb. 12. 29.

Orph. de sanctione.

So did *Orpheus* plainely teach, that the world had beginning in time, from the Will of the most High God; whose remarkeable words are thus conuerted: *Cùm abscondisset omnia Iupiter summus, deindè in lumen gratum emisit, ex sacro corde operans cogitata & mirabilia*: Of which I conceiue this sense; *When great Iupiter had hidden all things in himselfe; working out of the loue of his sacred heart, he sent thence*, or brought forth *into gratefull light, the admirable workes which he had fore-thought.*

Pindarus the Poet, and one of the wisest, acknowledged also one God, the most High, to be the Father and Creator of all things; *Vnus Deus, Pater, Creator summus.* PLATO calleth God the cause and originall, the nature and reason of the vniuersall; *Totius rerum natura, causa, & origo Deus.* But hereof more at large hereafter.

Vid. cap. 8.

Now, although the curiosity of some men haue found it superfluous, to remember the opinions of Philosophers, in matters of Diuinity: (it being true, that the Scripture hath

not want of any forrain testimonie) yet as the *Fathers*, with others excellently learned, are my examples herein; so S. *Paul* himselfe did not despise, but thought it lawfull, and profitable, to remember whatsoeuer hee found agreeable to the Word of God, among the Heathen, that he might thereby take from them all escape, by way of ignorance, God rendring vengeance to them that know him not: as in the Epistle to *Titus* he cyteth *Epimenides* against the *Cretians*, and to the *Corinthians*, *Menander*; and in the seuenteenth of the *Acts*, *Aratus &c.* for Truth (saith S. *Ambrose*) by whomsoeuer vttered, is of the holy Ghost; *Veritas à quocunq; dicatur, à Spiritu sancto est*: and lastly, let those kind of men learne this rule; *Quæ sacris seruiunt, prophana non sunt*; *Nothing is prophane that serueth to the vse of holy things.*

§. III.

Of the meaning of In Principio, *Genes.* 1. 1.

THis visible world of which *Moses* writeth, God created in the beginning, or, first of all: in which (saith *Tertullian*) things began to be. This word *Beginning* (in which the *Hebrewes* seeke some hidden mysterie, and which in the *Iewes Targum* is conuerted by the word *Sapientia*) cannot be referred to succession of time, nor to order, as some men haue conceiued, both which are subsequent: but onely to Creation then. For before that Beginning, there was neither primarie matter to be informed, nor forme to informe, nor any being, but the Eternall. Nature was not, nor the next Parent of Time begotten, Time properly and naturally taken: for if God had but disposed of Matter already in being, then as the word *Beginning* could not be referred to all things, so must it follow, that the institution of Matter proceeded from a greater power, than that of God. And by what name shall wee then call such an One (saith *Lanctantius*) as exceedeth God in potency: for it is an act of more excellencie to make, than to dispose of things made? whereupon it may be concluded, that Matter could not be before this Beginning: except we faine a double creation, or allow of two powers, and both infinite, the impossibility whereof scorneth defence. *Nam impossibile plura esse infinita: quoniam alterum esset in altero finitum*; *There cannot be more infinites than one: for one of them would limit the other.*

Cusan. de Mente lib. 3.

§. IV.

Of the meaning of the words Heauen *and* Earth, *Genes.* 2. 1.

THe vniuersall matter of the world (which *Moses* comprehendeth vnder the names of *Heauen and Earth*) is by diuers diuersly vnderstood: for there are that conceiue, that by those words was meant the first matter, as the Peripatetickes vnderstand it; to which *S. Augustine* and *Isidore* seeme to adhere. *Fecisti mundum* (sayth *S. Augustine*) *de materia informi, quam fecisti de nulla re, penè nullam rem*: that is, *Thou hast made the world of a matter without forme; which matter thou madest of nothing, and being made, it was little other than nothing.*

But this potentiall and imaginarie *materia prima*, cannot exist without forme. *Peter Lombard, the Schoolemen, Beda, Lyranus, Comestor, Tostatus*, & others affirme, that it pleased God first of all to create the Empyrean Heauen: which at the succeeding instant (saith *Beda* and *Strabo*) he filled with *Angels*. This Empyrean Heauen *Steuchius Eugubinus* calleth *Diuine clarity, and vncreated*: an errour, for which he is sharpely charged by *Pererius*, though (as I conceiue) he rather failed in the subsequent, when he made it to be a place, and the seate of Angels and iust Soules, than in the former affirmation: for of the first, That God liueth in eternall Light, it is written; *My soule, praise thou the Lord, that couereth himselfe with light*: and in the Reuelation; *And the City hath no need of the Sunne, neyther of the Moone to shine in it: for the glory of God did light it.* And heerein also *Iohn Mercer* vpon Genesis, differeth not in opinion from *Eugubinus*: for as by Heauen created in the beginning, was not meant the inuisible or supercelestiall, so in his iudgement, because it was in all eternitie the glorious seat of God himselfe, it vvas not necessarie to be created; *Quem mundum supercœlestem meo iudicio creari* (saith *Mercer*) *non erat necesse.*

Beda Hex. Strabo super Gen. Aug. Cons. & de nat. in corp.

Psal. 104. 12. Claritas diuina non est lux facta, sed sapientia Dei, non creata, sed nata. Apoc. 21. 23. Mercer in Gen. cap. 7. vers. 7.

But as *Moses* forbare to speake of Angels, and of things inuisible and incorporate, for

the weaknesse of their capacities, whom he then cared to informe of those things, which were more manifest, (to wit) that God did not only by a strong hand deliuer them from the bondage of *Egypt*, according to his promise made to their forefathers: but also that he created, and was the sole cause of this aspectable, and perceiueable Vniuersall; so on the other side I dare not thinke, that any supercelestiall Heauen, or whatsoeuer else (not himself) was increate & eternall: and as for the place of God before the world created, the finite wisdom of mortal men hath no perception of it, neither can it limit the seat of infinite power, no more than infinite power it self can be limited: for his place is in himself, whom no magnitude else can contain: *How great is the house of God* (saith BARVCH) *how large is the place of his possessions! it is great, and hath no end, it is high & vnmeasurable.*

Bar. 3. 24. 25.

But leauing multiplicity of opinion, it is more probable and allowed, that by the words *Heauen and Earth*, was meant the solid matter and substance, aswell of all the Heauens, and Orbes supernall, as of the Globe of the Earth and Waters, which couered it ouer, (to wit) that very matter of all things, *materia, Chaos, possibilitas, siue posse fieri.* Which matter (saith *Caluin*) was so called, *quòd totius mundi semen fuerit*; *Because it was the seed of the Vniuersall*: an opinion of ancient Philosophers long before.

Cusan. in compend. fol. 224. Operis.

Caluin. in Gen.

§. V.

That the substance of the waters, as mixt in the body of the earth, is by MOSES *vnderstood in the word Earth: and that the Earth, by the attributes of vnformed and voide, is described as the Chaos of the ancient Heathen.*

MOSES first nameth Heauen and Earth (putting waters but in the third place) as comprehending waters in the word Earth; but afterwards hee nameth them apart, when God by his Spirit began to distinguish the confused Masse, and (as *Basil* saith) *præparare naturam aquæ ad fœcunditatem vitalem*; *to prepare the nature of water to a vitall fruitfulnesse.*

For vnder the word *Heauen*, was the matter of all heauenly bodies, & natures expreſt: and by the name of *Earth and Waters*, all was meant, whatsoeuer is vnder the Moone, and subiect to alteration. Corrupt seedes bring forth corrupt plants; to which the pure heauens are not subiect, though subiect to perishing. *They shall perish* (saith *Dauid*) *and the heauens shall vanish away like smoke*, saith *Esay*. Neither were the waters the matter of Earth: for it is written, *Let the waters vnder the heauens be gathered into one place, and let the drie land appeare*: which proueth, that the drie land was mixt and couered with the waters, and not yet distinguished; but no way, that the waters were the matter or seede of the Earth, much lesse of the Vniuersall. *Initio tu Domine terram fundasti, Thou, O Lord, in the beginning hast founded the Earth*: and againe, *The Earth was couered with the Deepe* (meaning with waters) *as with a garment*, saith *Dauid*. And if by naturall arguments it may be proued, that water by condensation may become earth, the same reason teacheth vs also, that earth rarified may become water: water, aire: aire, fire; and so on the contrarie. *Deus ignis substantiam per aëremin aquam conuertit, God turneth the substance of fire, by aire, into water.* For the Heauens and the Earth remained in the same state, in which they were created, as touching their substance, though there was afterwards added multiplicitie of perfection, in respect of beautie and ornament. *Cœlum verò & terra in statu creationis remanserunt, quantum ad substantiam, licet multiplex perfectio decoris & ornatus eis postmodùm superaddita est.* And the word which the Hebrews cal *Maim*, is not to be vnderstood according to the Latine translation simply, and as specifical water; but the same more properly signifieth liquor. For (according to *Montanus*) *Est autem Maim liquor geminus, & hoc nomen propter verborum penuriam, Latina lingua plurali numero aquas fecit. For Maim* (saith he) *is a double liquor* (that is, of diuers natures) *and this name for word the Latines, wanting a voice to expresse it, call it in the Plurall*, Aquas, *Waters.*

Psal. 102. 26.

Esay 51.

Gen. 1. v. 9.

Psal. 104. 6.

Zeno.

Gul. Paris. 600.

A. Mont. de nat.

This Masse, or indigested matter, or Chaos created in the beginning, was without forme, that is, without the proper forme, which it afterwards acquired, when the Spirit of God had separated the Earth, and digested it from the waters. *And the earth was voide*: that is, not producing any creatures, or adorned with any plants, fruits, or flowers. But after *the Spirit of God had moued vpon the waters*, and wrought this indigested matter into that forme, which it now retayneth, then did *the earth bud forth the herbe, which seedeth seede, and the fruitfull tree according to his kind, and God saw that it was good*: which attribute

Gen. 1. 2.

11.

attribute was not giuen to the Earth, while it was confused; nor to the Heauens, before they had motion, and adornement. *God saw that it was good*; that is, made perfect: for perfection is that to which nothing is wanting. *Et perfecti Dei perfecta sunt opera*; *The works of the perfect God, are perfect.*

From this lump of imperfect Matter had the ancient Poets their inuention of *Demogorgon*: *Hesiodus* and *Anaxagoras* the knowledge of that Chaos, of which *Ouid*:

Ante Mare, & Terras, & (quod tegit omnia) Cœlum,
Vnus erat toto naturæ vultus in Orbe,
Quem dixêre Chaos, rudis indigestaq; moles.

Ouid. in Meta. lib. 1.

Before the Sea and Land was made, and Heauen, that all doth hide,
In all the World one onely face of Nature did abide:
Which Chaos hight, a huge rude heape.

§. VI.

How it is to be vnderstood that the Spirit of God moued vpon the Waters, and that this is not to be searched curiously.

AFter the Creation of Heauen and Earth, then void and without forme, the Spirit of God moued vpon the Waters. The *Seuenty Interpreters* vse the word *superferabatur*, moued vpon or ouer: *incubabat*, or *fouebat* (saith *Hierome*) out of *Basil*; and *Basil* out of a Syrian Doctor; *Equidem non meam tibi, sed viri cuiusdam Syri sententiam recensebo* (saith *Basil*:) which words *incubare* or *fouere* importing warmth, hatching, or quickning, haue a speciall likenesse. *Verbum translatum est ab auibus pullities suæ incubantibus, quamuis spirituali, & planè inenarrabili, non autem corporali modo*; *The word is taken of birds hatching their yong, not corporally, but in a spirituall and vnexpressible manner.*

Basil. Hexam.

Iunius.

Some of the Hebrewes conuert it to this effect, *Spiritus Dei volitabat*; *The Spirit of God did flutter*: the Chaldæan Paraphrast in this sense, *Ventus à conspectu Dei sufflabat*: or as other vnderstand the Chaldæan, *Flabat, pellebat, remouebat*: *The wind from the face of God did blow vnder, driue, or remoue*, or *did blow vpon*; according to the 147. *Psalme*, *He caused his wind to blow, and the waters increase*: *but there was yet no wind nor exhalation.* *Arias Montanus* in these words, *Et Spiritus Elohim Merachesset, id est, efficaciter motitans, confouens, ac agitans super facies gemini liquoris*; *The Spirit of God effectually and often mouing, keeping warme, and cherishing, quickning and stirring vpon the face of this double liquor.* For he maketh foure originals, whereof three are agents, and the last passiue and materiall, to wit, *Causa*, which is the diuine goodnesse: *Iehi*, which is, *fiat, siue erit, Let it bee*, or *it shall be.* *Quæ vox verbo Dei prima prolata fuit*: *which voice* (saith hee) *was the first that was vttered by the word of God.* The third, *Spiritus Elohim*, the Spirit of God, *id est, vis quædam diuina, agilis ac præsens, per omnia pertingens, omnia complens*, that is, *A certaine diuine power, or strength euery where, actiue and extending, and stretching through all, filling and finishing all things.* The fourth he calleth *Maim, id est, materies ad omnem rem conficiendam habilis*; *Matter apt to become euery thing.* For my selfe, I am resolued (*Cùm Deus sit superrationale omni ratione*; *Seeing God is in all reason aboue reason*) that although the effects which follow his wonderfull waies of working, may in a measure be perceiued by mans vnderstanding, yet the maner & first operation of his diuine power, cannot be conceiued by any mind, or spirit, compassed with a mortall body. *Animalis homo quæ Dei sunt, non percipit*: *For my thoughts* (saith the Lord in ESAY) *are not your thoughts, neither are your waies my waies.* And as the world hath not knowne God himselfe: so are his wayes (according to S. PAVL) *past finding out. O righteous Father, the world hath not knowne thee*, saith Christ. And therefore, whether that motion, vitality and operation, were by incubation or how else, the manner is onely known to God. *Quomodo in omnibus sit rebus vel per essentiam, vel per potentiam, intellectus noster non capit*; *For, how God* (saith S. *Augustine*, speaking of his Vbiquitie) *is in all things, eyther by essence, presence, or power, our vnderstanding cannot comprehend. Nihil inter Deum hominemq; distaret, si consilia, & dispositiones illius Maiestatis æternæ, cogitatio assequeretur humana*: *There would be no difference betweene God and Man, if mans vnderstanding could conceiue the counsels and disposing of that eternall Maiesty*; and therefore to bee ouer-curious in searching how the all-powerfull Word of God wrought in the Creation of the World, or his all-piercing and operatiue Spirit distinguishing, gaue forme to the Matter

Psal. 147. 18.

Ar. Mont. vt sup. Eugub. in Cos. fol. 13.

Ar. Mont. de natura, pag. 149

Esa. 55. 8.

Aug. Tract. 20. in Ioh. 17. 25.

Lact. in Præfat.

of the Vniuersall, is a labour and search like vnto his, who not contented with a known & safe Foord, wil presume to passe ouer the greatest Riuer in all parts, where he is ignorant of their depths: for so doth the one lose his life, and the other his vnderstanding. We behold the Sunne, and enioy his light, as long as we looke towards it, but tenderly, and circumspectly: we warme our selues safely, while we stand neere the fire; but if we seek to out-face the one, to enter into the other, we forthwith become blind or burnt.

But to eschew curiosity: this is true, that the English word *(moued)* is most proper and significant: for of motion proceedeth all production, and all whatsoeuer is effected. And this omnipotent Spirit of God, which may indeed be truely called, *Principium motus*, and with MIRANDVLA, *Vis causæ efficientis, The force of the efficient cause*; S. *Augustine* sometimes taketh for the holy Ghost; sometime for a wind or breath, *Sub nomine Spiritus, vnder the name of a Spirit*, which is sometimes so taken: or for *virtualis creatura, For a created vertuality*: *Tertullian* and *Theodoret* call it also a breath or winde: *Mercurius* nameth it, *Spiritum tenuem intelligibilem, A pure or thin intelligible Spirit*: ANAXAGORAS, *Mentem*: TOSTATVS, *Voluntatem & mentem Dei; The will and minde of God*; which *mens*, *Plato in Timeo*, maketh *Animam mundi, The soule of the world*: and in his sixt Booke *de Republica*, he calleth it *the Law of Heauen*; in his Epistles, *The Leader of things to come, and the presence of things past*. But as *Cyprian* wrote of the Incarnation of Christ our Sauiour, *Mens deficit, vox silet, & non mea tantùm, sed etiam Angelorum; My minde fayleth, my voyce is silent, and not mine onely, but euen the voyce of Angels*: so may all men else say in the vnderstanding, and vtterance of the wayes and works of the Creation; for to him (saith *Nazianzenus*) there is not one substance by which he is, and another, by which he can, *Sed consubstantiale illi est, quicquid eius est, & quicquid est; Whatsoeuer attribute of him there is, and whatsoeuer he is, it is the very same substance that himselfe is.*

Nazian. lib. 2. Theol.

But the Spirit of God which moued vpon the waters, cannot be taken for a breath or wind, nor for any other creature, separate from the infinite actiue power of God, which then formed and distinguished, and which now sustayneth, and giueth continuance to the Vniuersall. For the Spirit of the Lord filleth all the world; and the same is it *which maintayneth all things*, saith SALOMON. *If thou send forth thy Spirit* (saith DAVID) *they are created*: And GREGORY, *Deus suo præsentiali esse, dat omnibus rebus esse, ita quòd si se rebus subtraheret, sicut de nihilo facta sunt omnia, sic in nihilum defluerent vniuersa; God giueth being to all things, by being present with all things, so as if he should withdraw himselfe from them, then as of nothing the world was made, it would againe fall away and vanish into nothing.* And this working of Gods Spirit in all things, *Virgil* hath exprest excellently:

Wisd. c. 11. v. 7.

Virg. Æneid. lib. 8. 724.

Principio Cœlum ac Terras, campos q. liquentes,
Lucentemq. globum Lunæ, Titaniaq. astra,
Spiritus intus alit: totamq. infusa per artus,
Mens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet.

The Heauen, the Earth, and all the liquid Mayne,
The Moones bright Globe, and Stars Titanian,
A Spirit within maintaynes: and their whole masse,
A Mind, which through each part infus'd doth passe,
Fashions, and works, and wholly doth transpierce
All this great Body of the Vniuerse.

And this was the same Spirit, which moued in the Vniuersall, and thereby both distinguished and adorned it. *His Spirit hath garnished the Heauens*, saith *Iob*. So then the Spirit of God moued vpon the waters, and created in them their spirituality, and natural motion; motion brought forth heate; and heate rarifaction, and subtilty of parts. By this Spirit (which gaue heate and motion, and thereby, operation to euery nature, while it moued vpon the waters, which were in one indigested lump, and Chaos, disposed to all formes alike) was begotten Aire: an element superior, as lighter than the waters, through whose vast, open, subtile, Diaphanicke, or transparent body, the light afterwards created might easily transpierce: Light for the excellency thereof, being the first creature which God called good, whose creation immediatly followed. This Spirit *Chrysostome* calleth a vitall Operation, *Aquis à Deo insitam, ex qua aquæ non solùm motionem, sed & vim procreandi animalia habuerint.* Hee calleth it, *A vitall Operation giuen by God vnto the waters, whereby the waters had not onely motion, but also power to procreate or bring forth liuing Creatures.*

Iob c. 26. v. 13.

Gen. 1. 5.

§. VII.

§. VII.

Of the light created, as the materiall substance of the Sunne: and of the nature of it, and difficulty of knowledge of it: and of the excellency and vse of it: and of motion, and heate annexed vnto it.

THese waters were afterwards congregated, & called the Sea: & this Light afterwards (in the fourth day) gathered and vnited, and called the Sun, the Organ, & instrument of created light. For this first & dispersed light did not (as I conceiue) distinguish the night from the day, but with a reference to the Suns creation, and the vniting of the dispersed light therein. This is proued by these words, *Let there be lights in the Firmament, to separate the day from the night*: which lights in the firmament of Heauen, were also made for signes, and for seasons, and for daies, and for yeares, implying a motion instantly to follow, by which, dayes and years are distinguished; after which succeeded Time, or together with which, that Time (which was the measure of motion) began. For that space of the first three dayes which preceded the Suns creation, or formall perfection, when as yet there was not any motion to be measured, and the day named in the fift Verse; was but such a space, as afterwards by the Sunnes motion made a ciuill or naturall day. And as Waters were the matter of Aire, of the firmament, and of the lower and vpper waters, and of the Seas, and Creatures therein: Earth, the matter of Beasts, Plants, Minerals, and Mans body: so may Light (for expression sake) be called the Chaos, or materiall substance of the Sunne, & other lights of heauen: Howbeit, neither the Sunne, nor any thing sensible, is that Light it selfe, *Quæ causa est lucidorum, which is the cause that things are lightsome* (though it make it selfe & all things else visible) but a body most illightned, which illuminateth the Moon, by whom the neighbouring Region (which the *Greeks* call *Æther*, the place of the supposed Element of fire) is affected and qualified, and by it all bodies liuing in this our aire. For this light *Auicenna* calleth *vehiculum & fomentum omnium cœlestium virtutum, & impressionum: The conducter, and preseruer or nourisher of all celestiall vertues and impressions*, nothing descending of heauenly influences, but by the *medium*, or meanes of light. *Aristotle* calleth light a quality, inherent, or cleauing to a Diaphanous body, *Lumen est qualitas inhærens Diaphano*: but this may be better auouched of the heate, which it transporteth and bringeth with it, or conducteth: which heate (say the Platonicks) *Abeunte lumine residet in subiecto, The light being departed, doth reside in the subiect*, as warmth in the aire, though the same be depriued of light. This light *Plotinus* and all the *Academicks* make incorporall, and so doth MONTANVS, *Cui nec duritia resistit, nec spatium; Which neither hardnesse resisteth, nor space leaueth.*

Lux dicitur, quæ se, & omnia visibilia facit. Cusan. in Compend. cap. 7. & exercit. lib. 5.

Ficin. lib. de Lumine, cap. 11.

Aristotle findeth corporality in the beames of light; but it is but by way of repetition of other mens opinions, saith *Picolomineus*. *Democritus, Leucippus*, and *Epicurus*, giue materiality to light it selfe, but improperly: for it passeth at an instant, from the Heauen to the Earth, nor is it resisted by any hardnesse, because it pierceth through the solid body of glass, or other Crystalline matter; and wheras it is withstood by vncleane, and vnpure earthy substances, lesse hard, and more easie to inuade than the former, the same is, *Quòd obstaculum naturâ terreum atq. sordidum, non capit candidam luminis puritatem; Because an obstacle by nature earthy and foule, doth not receiue the pure clearenesse of light*: alluding to that most diuine Light, which onely shineth on those mindes, which are purged from all worldly drosse, and humane vncleannesse.

Pic. de simil.

Plotin.

But of this created light, there is no agreement in opinion; neither do I maruaile at it, for it cannot be found either in the Fathers, Philosophers, or Schoole-men, or other ancient or later Writers, that any of them vnderstood either it or themselues therein: all men (to cast off ignorance) haue disputed thereof, but there is no man that hath beene taught thereby. *Thomas Aquinas* (not inferiour to any in wit) as hee hath shewed little strength of argument in refuting the opinions of *Beda, Hugo, Lombard, Lyranus*, and others: so is his owne iudgement herein, as weak as any mans; and most of the Schoolemen were rather curious in the nature of terms, and more subtile in distinguishing vpon the parts of doctrine already laid down, than discouerers of any thing hidden, either in Philosophy or Diuinity: of whom it may be truely said, *Nihil sapientiæ odiosius acumine nimio; Nothing is more odious to true wisedome, than too acute sharpnesse.* Neither hath the length of time, and the search of many learned men, (which the same time hath brought

brought forth and deuoured) resolued vs, whether this light be substantiall, corporall, or incorporall: Corporall they say it cannot bee, because then it could neither pierce the aire, nor those hard, solid, and Diaphanous bodies; which it doth, and yet euery day we see the aire illightned: incorporall it cannot be, because it sometime affecteth the sight of the eye with offence, and therefore by most of the Fathers so esteemed. Others say (as *Patricius*) that it cannot be matter, because no forme so excellent as it selfe to informe it: neither can it be any accident, which is not separable without the destruction of the subiect: for light being taken from the Sunne, the Sunne is no more the Sunne in existence. Secondly, if light were proceeding from matter and forme, then either, or both must be one of these, lucide or bright, darke or opake, Diaphanous or transparent; but darknesse cannot be parent of light; and things Diaphanous (being neither light, nor darknesse, but capable of either) cannot be the cause of either, and therfore must the matter, or forme, or both, be lucide and shining. Lucide and shining obtaine their so being of the light; and therefore, if we deriue this being of light from a former, then would the progresse goe on infinitely, and against nature; and therefore he concludeth, that light in the Sunne hath his being primarily, and immediately of it selfe, and is therfore the Sunnes forme, and the form of all lucide and shining bodies: but what is taught hereby, let others iudge.

Lucida corpora sunt plena sua luce, alienis tenebris impervia. Opaca sunt plena suis tenebris alieno lumine. Transparentia seu Diaphana carent suis & lumine & tenebris: alienis & lumine & tenebris permeantur. Scal. subt. ex. 71.

But in my vnderstanding, *Lumen*, (which may bee Englished by the word *Shine*) is an intentionall Species of that, which may be Englished by Light, and so, this shining which proceedeth from the Sunne, or other lights of Heauen, or from any other light, is an Image, or intentionall Species thereof; & an intentionall Species may be vnderstood by the example of a red, or greene colour, occasioned by the shining of the Sun through red or green glasse: for then we perceiue the same colour cast vpon any thing opposite; which rednesse or other colour, we call the *intentionall Species* of the colour in that glass. And againe, as this light, touching his simple nature, is no way yet vnderstood: so it is disputed, whether this light first created, bee the same which the Sunne inholdeth and casteth forth, or whether it had continuance any longer than till the Sunnes creation.

Genes. 1.

But by the most wise and vnchanged order, which God obserued in the worke of the World, I gather, that the Light, in the first day created, was the substance of the Sunne: for *Moses* repeateth twice the maine parts of the Vniuersall; first, as they were created in matter; secondly, as they were adorned with forme: first, naming the Heauens, the Earth, the Waters, all confused; and afterward, the Waters congregated, the Earth made drie Land, and the Heauens distinguished from both, and beautified. And therefore the Earth, as it was earth, before it was vncouered, and before it was called *Arida*, or drie Land; and the Waters were waters, before they were congregated, and called the Sea, though neither of them perfect, or inriched with their vertuall formes: So the Sun although it had not his formall perfection, his circle, beauty, and bounded magnitude, till the fourth day, yet was the substance thereof in the first day (vnder the name of Light) created; and this Light formerly dispersed, was in the same fourth day vnited, and set in the Firmament of Heauen: for, to Light created in the first day, God gaue no proper place or fixation; and therefore the effects named by *Anticipation*, (which was to separate day from night) were precisely performed, after this Light was congregated, and had obtained life and motion. Neither did the wisedome of God finde cause why it should moue (by which motion, dayes and nights are distinguished) till then: because there was not yet any Creature produced, to which, by mouing, the Sunne might giue light, heate and operation.

Vers. 11. *9.*

But after the Earth (distinguished from Waters) began to bud forth the bud of the herbe, &c. God caused the Sunne to moue, and (by enterchange of time) to visite euery part of the inferiour world; by his heate to stirre vp the fire of generation, and to giue actiuity to the seeds of all natures: For, as a King, which commandeth some goodly building to be erected, doth accommodate the same to that vse and end, to which it was ordained; so it pleased God (saith *Procopius*) to command the Light to bee; which by his all-powerfull Word he approued, and approuing it, disposed thereof, to the vse and comfort of his future Creatures.

Quemadmodum Rex aliquis, &c. Procop. in Gen. 1.

But in that it pleased God to aske of IOB, *By what way is the light parted, and where is the way where light dwelleth?* we thereby know, that the nature thereof falleth not vnder mans vnderstanding; and therfore let it suffice, that by Gods grace we enioy the effects

Iob 38. 24. 9.

fects thereof. *For this light is of the treasure of God* (saith ESDRAS.) *And those which inhabite the Heauens, doe onely know the Essence thereof. Nihil ignotum in cœlo, nihil notum in terra: Nothing vnknowne in Heauen, nothing perfectly knowne on earth. Res veræ sunt in mundo inuisibili; in mundo visibili vmbræ rerum: Things themselues are in the inuisible world; in the world visible but their shadowes.* Surely, if this Light be not spirituall, yet it approcheth neerest vnto spiritualitie; and if it haue any corporalitie, then of all other the most subtile and pure; for howsoeuer, it is of all things seene, the most beautiful, and of the swiftest motion, of all other the most necessary and beneficiall. For it ministreth to men, and other creatures, all celestiall influences; it dissipateth those sad thoughts and sorrowes, which the darknesse both begetteth and maintayneth; it discouereth vnto vs the glorious works of God, & carryeth vp with an Angelicall swiftnesse, our eyes vnto Heauen, that by the sight thereof, our minds, being informed of his visible marvailes, may continually trauaile to surmount these perceiued Heauens, and to finde out their omnipotent Cause and Creator. *Cognitio non quiescit in rebus creatis; Our knowledge doth not quiet it selfe in things created. Et ipsa lux facit, vt cætera mundi membra digna sint laudibus, cùm suam bonitatem & decorem omnibus communicet; It is the Light* (saith Saint AMBROSE) *that maketh the other parts of the world so worthy of praise, seeing that it selfe communicateth its goodnesse and beauty vnto all.* Of which *Ouid* out of *Orpheus*:

Esd. l. 2. c. 6. 40

Herm.

Ficin.

Ille ego sum, qui longum metior annum,
Omnia qui video, per quem videt omnia mundus,
Mundi oculus.

Ouid. Met. l. 1.

The World discernes it selfe, while I the World behold,
By me the longest yeares, and other times are told,
I the worlds eye.

Lastly, if we may behold in any creature, any one sparke of that eternall fire, or any far-off dawning of Gods glorious brightnesse, the same in the beautie, motion, and vertue of this Light, may be perceiued. Therefore was God called *Lux ipsa*, and the Light, by *Hermes* named *Lux sancta*, and *Christ* our Sauiour said to be *that Light, which lightneth euery man that commeth into the world.* Yet in respect of Gods incomprehensible sublimitie, and puritie, this is also true, that God is neither a minde, nor a Spirit of the nature of other spirits; nor a light, such as can be discerned. *Deus profectò non mens est, at verò vt sit mens causa est; nec spiritus, sed causa qua spiritus extat; nec lumen, sed causa qua lumen existit: God* (saith HERMES in Pœmandro) *certainly is not a minde, but the cause that the minde hath his being; nor spirit, but the cause by which euery spirit is; nor light, but the cause by which the light existeth.*

Iob. 1. 9. & 14. 46.

So then the *Masse* and *Chaos* being first created, void, darke, and imformed, was by the operatiue Spirit of God, pierced and quickned; and the Waters hauing now receiued Spirit and motion, resolued their thinner parts into Aire, which God illightned: the Earth also by being contiguat, and mixt with waters (participating the same diuine vertue) brought forth the bud of the herbe that seedeth seede, &c. and for a meane and organ, by which this operatiue vertue might be continued, God appointed the Light to be vnited, and gaue it also motion and heate, which heate caused a continuance of those seuerall *species*, which the Earth (being made fruitfull by the Spirit) produced, and with motion begat the time and times succeeding.

Gen. 1. 10.

§. VIII.

Of the Firmament, and of the waters aboue the Firmament: and whether there be any Crystalline Heauen, or any Primum mobile.

AFter that the Spirit of God had moued vpon the waters, and light was created, God said, *Let there be a Firmament in the middest of the waters, and let it separate the waters from the waters:* that is, those waters which by rarifaction and euaporation were ascended, and those of the Earth and Sea.

But these waters separate aboue this extension, which the Latine Translation calleth *firmamentum*, or *expansum* (for so *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Iunius* turne it) are not the Crystalline Heauens, created in the imaginations of men; which opinion *Basilius Magnus* calleth a childish supposition, making in the same place many learned arguments against

against this infancie. For the waters aboue the firmament, are the waters in the ayre aboue vs, where the same is more solid & condense, which God separated from the neather waters by a firmament, that is, by an extended distance and vast space: the words *Raquia*, which *Montanus* writeth *Rakiagh*, and *Shamaiim*, being indifferently taken for the heauen and for ayre, and more properly for the ayre and *Æther*, than for the heauens, as the best Hebricians vnderstand them, *Quo suprema ac tenuia ab infimis crassis diducta, intersectaq; distarent*, for that *whereby the supreme and thin bodies were placed in distance, being seuered and cut off from low and grosse matters*: and the waters aboue the firmament, expreſt in the word *Maiim*, are in that tongue taken properly for the waters aboue the ayre, or in the vppermost region of the same.

Mont. Nat. hist. fol. 152.

And that the word Heauen is vsed for the Ayre, the Scriptures euery where witnesse; as in the blessings of *Ioseph*, and in the 104. Psalme: * *By these Springs shall the fowle of the Heauen dwell*; and [a] *vpon Sodome and Gomorrha it rained brimstone and fire out of the Heauen*; and in *Isaacs* blessing to *Iacob*; *God giue thee therefore of the dew of Heauen*: and in *Deuteronomy* the 11. *But the land whither you goe to possesse it, is a land that drinketh water of the rayne of Heauen*; and in *Iob*, *Who hath ingendred the frosts of Heauen*; and in S. *Matthew*, *Behold the Fowles of Heauen, for they sow not*. So as in all the Scriptures of the Old Testament throughout, is the word Heauen verie often vsed for Ayre, and taken also hyperbolically for any great height, as, *Let vs build vs a Tower, whose top may reach to Heauen &c.* And in this verie place *Basil* auoucheth, that this appellation of Heauen for the Firmament, is but by way of similitude: his owne words be these; *Et vocauit Deus firmamentum cœlum. Hæc appellatio alii quidem propriè accommodatur, huic autem nunc ad similitudinem*; *And God called the firmament Heauen: This appellation* (saith *Basil*) *is properly applyed to another* (that is, to the Starrie Heauen) *but to this* (that is, to the Firmament diuiding the waters) *it is imposed by similitude*. And if there were no other proofe, that by the firmament was meant the Ayre, and not the Heauen, the wordes of *Moses* in the eighth verse, conferred with the same word Firmament in the twentieth verse, makes it manifest: for in the eighth verse it is written, that God called the Firmament, which diuided waters from waters, Heauen; and in the twentieth verse he calleth the firmament of Heauen, Ayre, in these words: *And let the Fowle flye vpon the earth in the open firmament of Heauen.* And what vse there should be of this ycie or crystalline, or waterie Heauen, I conceiue not, except it bee to moderate and temper the heate, which the *primum mobile* would otherwise gather and increase: though in verie truth, in stead of this helpe, it would adde an vnmeasurable greatnesse of circle, whereby the swiftnesse of that first Moueable would exceed all possibilitie of beleefe. *Sed nemo tenetur ad impossibilia*; *but no man ought to be held to impossibilities*: and saith it selfe (which surmounteth the height of all humane reason) hath for a forcible conducter, the Word of Truth, which also may be called *lumen omnis rationis & intellectus*; *the light of all reason and vnderstanding.* Now that this supposed first Moueable, turneth it selfe so manie hundred thousand miles in an instant (seeing the Scriptures teach it not) let those that can beleeue mens imaginations, apprehend it, for I cannot. But of these manie Heauens, let the Reader that desireth satisfaction, search *Orontius*, and of this waterie Heauen, *Basilius Magnus*, in his *Hexam. fol.* 40. 41. *&c.* and *Matth. Beroaldus*, his second Booke and sixt chapter. For my selfe, I am perswaded, that the waters called, The waters aboue the Heauens, are but the clouds and waters engendred in the vppermost ayre.

Gen. 49. 25.
** Psal. 104. 12.*
a Gen. 19. 24.
Cap. 27. 28.
Deut. 11. 11.
Iob 38. 29.
Matth. 6. 26.
Gen. 11. 4.

§. IX.

A conclusion, repeating the summe of the workes in the Creation, which are reduced to three heads: The creation of matter, The forming of it, The finishing of it.

TO conclude, it may be gathered out of the first Chapter of *Genesis*, that this was the order of the most wise God in the beginning, and when there was no other nature, or being, but Gods incomprehensible eternitie. First, hee created the matter of all things: and in the first three dayes he distinguished and gaue to euery nature his proper forme; the forme of leuitie to that which ascended, to that which descended, the forme of grauitie: for he separated light from darkenesse, diuided waters from waters, and gathered the waters vnder the firmament into one place. In the last three

three daies, God adorned, beautified, and replenished the World: hee set in the Firmament of Heauen, the Sunne, Moone, and Starres; filled the Earth with Beasts, the Aire with Fowle, and the Sea with Fish, giuing to all that haue life, a power generatiue, thereby to continue their Species and kindes; to Creatures vegetatiue and growing, their seedes in themselues; for *he created all things, that they might haue their being: and the generations of the world are preserued.* *Wisd. Sal. c. 1. 14*

§. X.

That Nature is no Principium per se; *nor forme the giuer of being: and of our ignorance, how second causes should haue any proportion with their effects.*

AND for this working power, which we call Nature, the beginning of motion and rest, according to *Aristotle*, the same is nothing else, but the strength & faculty, which God hath infused into euery creature, hauing no other selfe-ability, than a Clock, after it is wound vp by a mans hand, hath. These therefore that attribute vnto this faculty, any first or sole power, haue therein no other vnderstanding, than such a one hath, who looking into the Sterne of a Ship, and finding it guided by the Helme and Rudder, doth ascribe some absolute vertue to the peece of wood, without all consideration of the hand that guides it, or of the iudgement, which also directeth and commandeth that hand; forgetting in this and in all else, that by the vertue of the first act, all Agents worke whatsoeuer they worke: *Virtute primi actus agunt agentia omnia quicquid agunt*: for as the minde of man seeth by the Organ of the eye, heareth by the eares, and maketh choyce by the will: and therefore wee attribute sight to the eye, and hearing to the eares, &c. and yet it is the minde onely, that giueth ability, life, and motion to all these his instruments and Organs; so God worketh by Angels, by the Sunne, by the Starres, by Nature, or infused properties, and by men, as by seuerall Organs, seuerall effects; all second causes whatsoeuer, being but instruments, conduites, and pipes, which carry and disperse what they haue receiued from the head and fountaine of the Vniuersall. For as it is Gods infinite power, and euerie-where-presence (compassing, embracing, and piercing all things) that giueth to the Sunne power to draw vp vapours, to vapours to be made cloudes, cloudes to containe raine, and raine to fall: so all second and instrumentall causes, together with Nature it selfe, without that operatiue faculty which God gaue them, would become altogether silent, vertulesse, and dead: of which excellently ORPHEVS; *Per te virescunt omnia*; *All things by thee spring forth in youthfull greene.* I enforce not these things, thereby to annihilate those variable vertues which God hath giuen to his creatures, animate and inanimate, to heauenly and earthly bodies, &c. for all his workes in their vertues prayse him: but of the manner how God worketh in them, or they in or with each other, which the Heathen Philosophers, and those that follow them, haue taken on them to teach: I say, there is not any one among them, nor any one among vs, that could euer yet conceiue it, or expresse it, euer enrich his owne vnderstanding with any certaine truth, or euer edifie others (not foolish by selfe-flattery) therein. For (saith *Lactantius*, speaking of the wisedome of the Philosophers) *Si facultas inueniendæ veritatis huic studio subiaceret, aliquandò esset inuenta; cùm verò tot temporibus, tot ingenijs in eius inquisitione contritis, non sit comprehensa, apparet nullam ibi esse sapientiam*; *If in this studie* (saith he) *were meanes to find out the truth, it had ere this beene found out: but seeing it is not yet comprehended, after that so much time, and so many wits haue beene worne out in the inquirie of it, it appeareth, that there is no wisedome there to be had. Nam si de vna re præcisa scientia haberetur, omnium rerum scientia necessariò haberetur: If the precise knowledge of any one thing were to be had, it should necessarily follow, that the knowledge of all things were to be had.* And as the Philosophers were ignorant in Nature, and the wayes of her working: so were they more curious, than knowing, in their first matter and Physicall forme. For if their first matter had any being, it were not then the first matter: for, as it is the first matter, it hath only a power of being, which it altogether leaueth, when it doth subsist. And seeing it is neither a substance perfect, nor a substance inchoate, or in the way of perfection, how any other substance should thence take concrescence, it hath not beene taught, neyther are these formes (saith a learned Author) any thing, *si ex ea exprimatur potentia, quæ nihil est.* Againe, how this first matter should bee *subiectum*

Natura enim remota prouidentia & potestate diuina, prorsus nihil est. Lact. de falsa sapientia, l. 3. c. 28

Cypr. de mente, lib. 3.

iectum formarum, and passiue, which is vnderstood to precede the forme, it is hard to conceiue: for to make forme which is the cause, to be subsequent to the thing caused (to wit, to the first matter) is contrary to all reason, diuine and humane: onely it may bee said, that originally there is no other difference betweene matter and forme, than betweene heate and fire, of which the one cannot subsist without the other, but in a kinde of rationall consideration. Leauing therefore these Riddles to their Louers, who by certain scholasticall distinctions wrest and peruert the truth of all things, and by which *Aristotle* hath laboured to proue a false eternitie of the World, I thinke it farre safer to affirme with Saint AVGVSTINE, *That all species and kindes are from God, from whom, whatsoeuer is naturall proceedeth, of what kinde or estimation soeuer, from whence are the seedes of all formes, and the formes of all seedes and their motions; A quo est omnis species, à quo est quicquid naturaliter est, cuiuscunq; generis est, cuiuscunq; æstimationis est, à quo sunt semina formarum, formæ seminum, motus seminum atq; formarum.* And thus much *Auerrois* is forced to confesse. *For all formes* (saith hee) *are in primo motore*; which is also the opinion of *Aristotle* in the twelfth of his *Metaph.* and of *Albertus* vpon *Dionysius.*

12. Metaph.

§. XI.

Of Fate; and that the Starres haue great influence: and that their operations may diuersly be preuented or furthered.

AND, as of Nature, such is the dispute and contention concerning Fate or Destinie, of which the opinions of those learned men that haue written thereof, may be safely receiued, had they not thereunto annexed and fastened an ineuitable necessity, and made it more generall, and vniuersally powerfull than it is, by giuing it Dominion ouer the minde of man, and ouer his will; of which *Ouid* and *Iuuenal*:

Iuuen. sat. 7. 201

Ratio fatum vincere nulla valet.
Seruis regna dabunt, captiuis Fata triumphos.

'Gainst Fate no counsell can preuaile.
Kingdomes to Slaues by Destinie,
To Captiues triumphs giuen be.

Basil. Ess. a. 4. Aug. de heres. 70. c. 35. Tho. cont. Gent. 3. cap. 83. Ficin. in 12. de leg. Cic. de fat.

An errour of the Chaldæans, and after them of the Stoicks, the Pharisees, Priscillianists, the Bardisanists, and others, as *Basil*, *Augustine*, and *Thomas* haue obserued: but that Fate is an obedience of second causes to the first, was well conceiued of *Hermes*, and *Apuleius* the Platonist. *Plotinus* out of the Astronomers calleth it a disposition from the acts of celestiall Orbes, vnchangeably working in inferiour bodies, the same being also true enough, in respect of all those things, which a rationall minde doth not order nor direct. *Ptolomie, Seneca, Democritus, Epicurus, Chrysippus, Empedocles*, and the Stoicks, some of them more largely, others more strictly, ascribe to Fate a binding and ineuitable necessity; and that it is the same which is spoken and determined by God (*quod de vnoquoq; nostrùm fatus est Deus*) and the definite lot of all liuing. And certainly it cannot be doubted, but the Stars are instruments of farre greater vse, than to giue an obscure light, and for men to gaze on after Sun-set: it being manifest, that the diuersity of seasons, the Winters, and Summers, more hote and cold, are not so vncertained by the Sun and Moon alone, who alway keep one and the same course, but that the Stars haue also their working therein.

And if we cannot deny, but that God hath giuen vertues to Springs and Fountaines, to cold earth, to plants and stones, Mineralls, and to the excrementall parts of the basest liuing creatures, why should we robbe the beautifull Starres of their working powers? for seeing they are many in number, and of eminent beauty and magnitude, wee may not thinke, that in the treasurie of his wisedome, who is infinite, there can bee wanting (euen for euery Starre) a peculiar vertue and operation; as euery herbe, plant, fruit, and flower adorning the face of the Earth, hath the like. For as these were not created to beautifie the earth alone, & to couer & shadow her dustie face, but otherwise for the vse of man and beast, to feede them and cure them; so were not those vncountable glorious bodies set in the Firmament, to no other end, than to adorne it, but for instruments and Organs of his diuine prouidence, so farre as it hath pleased his iust will

to

to determine. *Origen* vpon this place of *Genesis*, *Let there be light in the Firmament &c.* affirmeth, that the Starres are not causes (meaning perchance binding causes) but are as open Bookes, wherein are contained and set downe all things whatsoeuer to come; but not to be read by the eyes of humane wisedome: which latter part I beleeue well, and this saying of *Syracides* withal: *That there are hid yet greater things than these be, and we haue seene but a few of his workes.* And though, for the capacity of men, wee know somewhat, yet in the true and vttermost vertues of herbes and plants, which our selues sow and set, and which grow vnder our feet, wee are in effect ignorant; much more in the powers and working of celestiall bodies. For *hardly* (saith SALOMON) *can wee discerne the things that are vpon the Earth, and with great labour finde wee out those things that are before vs: who can then inuestigate the things that are in Heauen?* *Multum est de rebus cælestibus aliquid cognoscere: It is much to know a little of heauenly things.* But in this question of Fate, the middle course is to be followed, that as with the Heathen wee doe not binde God to his creatures, in this supposed necessity of destiny, so on the contrary, we doe not robbe those beautifull creatures of their powers and offices. For had any of these second causes despoyled God of his prerogatiue, or had God himself constrained the minde and will of man to impious acts by any celestiall inforcements, then sure the impious excuse of some were iustifiable; of whom S. AVGVSTINE; *Impiâ peruersitate in malis factis rectissimè reprehendendis ingerunt accusandum potius auctorem syderum, quàm commissorem scelerum: where we reprehend them of euill deeds, they againe with wicked peruersenesse vrge, that rather the Author and Creator of the Stars, than the doer of the euill, is to be accused.*

Gen. 1. 15. Eccl. 42. c. 32. Wisd. 9. 16. Aristotle. Aug. 20. super Gen. ad lit.

But that the Starres and other celestiall bodies incline the will by mediation of the sensitiue appetite, which is also stirred by the constitution and complexion, it cannot be doubted. *Corpora cælestia* (saith DAMASCENE) *constituunt in nobis habitus, complexiones, & dispositiones. The heauenly bodies* (saith hee) *make in vs habits, complexions, and dispositions*: for the body (though *Galen* inforce it further) hath vndoubtedly a kinde of drawing after it the affections of the minde, especially bodies strong in humour, and weake in vertues: for those of cholericke complexion are subiect to anger, and the furious effects thereof; by which they suffer themselues to bee transported, where the minde hath not reason to remember, that passions ought to be her Vassals, not her Masters. And that they wholly direct the reasonlesse mind, I am resolued: For of all those which were created mortall, as birds, beasts, and the like, are left to their naturall appetites; ouer all which, celestiall bodies (as instruments and executioners of Gods prouidence) haue absolute dominion. What we should iudge of men, who little differ from beasts, I cannot tell: for as hee that contendeth against those inforcements, may easily master or resist them; so whosoeuer shall neglect the remedies by vertue and pietie prepared, putteth himselfe altogether vnder the power of his sensuall appetite; *Vincitur fatum si resistis, vincit si contempseris: Fate will be ouercome, if thou resist it, if thou neglect, it conquereth.*

Gal. l. mor. an. seq. temp. Quint.

But that either the Starres or the Sunne haue any power ouer the mindes of men immediately, it is absurd to thinke, other than as aforesaid, as the same by the bodies temper may be effected. *Lumen solis ad generationem sensibilium corporum confert, & ad vitam ipsam mouet, & nutrit, & auget, & perficit: The light of the Sunne* (saith Saint AVGVSTINE) *helpeth the generation of sensible bodies, moueth them to life, and nourisheth, augmenteth and perfecteth them*: yet still as a Minister, not as a Master: *Bonus quidem est Sol, in ministerio, non imperio; The Sunne is good to serue, not to sway* (saith S. *Ambrose*.) And Saint AVGVSTINE: *Deus regit inferiora corpora per superiora; God ruleth the bodies below by those aboue*; but hee auoucheth not, that superiour bodies haue rule ouer mens mindes, which are incorporeall.

Aug. de ciuit. Dei, lib. 5. Hex. lib. 4. de term. 3.

But howsoeuer we are by the Starres inclined at our birth, yet there are many things both in Nature and Art, that encounter the same, and weaken their operation: and *Aristotle* himselfe confesseth, that the Heauens doe not alwaies worke their effects in inferiour bodies, no more than the signes of raine and winde doe alwayes come to passe. And it is diuers times seene, that paternall vertue and vice hath his counter-working to these inclinations. *Est in Iuuencis patrum virtus; In the yongue off-spring the Fathers vertue is*, and so the contrary, *patrum vitia*: and herein also there is often found an enterchange; the Sonnes of vertuous men, by an ill constellation become inclinable to vice, and of vicious men, to vertue.

Hor. lib. 4. Od. 4.

Egregia est soboles scelerato nata parente.

A worthy sonne is borne of a wicked father.

But there is nothing (after Gods reserued power) that so much setteth this art of influence out of square and rule, as education doth: for there are none in the World so wickedly inclined, but that a religious instruction and bringing vp may fashion anew and reforme them; nor any so well disposed, whom (the reines being let loose) the continuall fellowship and familiarity, and the examples of dissolute men may not corrupt and deforme. Vessels will euer retaine a sauour of their first liquor: it being equally difficult eyther to clense the minde once corrupted, or to extinguish the sweet sauour of vertue first receiued, when the minde was yet tender, open, and easily seasoned; but where a fauourable constellation (allowing that the Starres incline the will) and a vertuous education doe happily arriue, or the contrary in both, thereby it is that men are found so exceeding vertuous or vicious, Heauen and Earth (as it were) running together, and agreeing in one: for as the seedes of vertue may by the art and husbandry of Christian counsaile produce better and more beautifull fruit, than the strength of selfe-nature and kind could haue yeelded them; so the plants apt to grow wilde, and to change themselues into weedes, by being set in a soyle sutable, and like themselues, are made more vnsauoury and filled with poyson. It was therefore truely affirmed, *Sapiens adiuuabit opus astrorum, quemadmodùm agricola terræ naturam; A wise man assisteth the worke of the Starres, as the Husbandman helpeth the nature of the soyle.* And *Ptolomie* himselfe confesseth thus much, *Sapiens, & omina sapientis medici dominabuntur astris, A wise man, and the ominous art of a wise Physician shall preuaile against the Starres.* Lastly, we ought all to know, that God created the Starres, as he did the rest of the Vniuersall, whose iusluences may be called his reserued and vnwritten Lawes. But let vs consider how they bind: euen as the Lawes of men doe; for although the Kings and Princes of the World haue by their Lawes decreed, that a Thiefe and a Murderer shall suffer death; and though their Ordinances are daily by Iudges and Magistrates (the Starres of Kings) executed accordingly, yet these Lawes doe not depriue Kings of their naturall or religious compassion, or binde them without prerogatiue, to such a seuere execution, as that there should be nothing left of liberty to iudgment, power, or conscience: the Law in his owne nature, being no other than a deafe Tyrant. But seeing that it is otherwise, and that Princes (who ought to imitate God in all they can) doe sometimes for causes to themselues knowne, and by mediation, pardon offences both against others and themselues, it were then impious to take that power and liberty from God himselfe, which his Substitutes enioy; God being mercy, goodnesse, and charity it selfe. Otherwise that example of Prayer by our Sauiour taught; *And let vs not bee led into temptation, but deliuer vs from euill*, had beene no other but an expence of words and time; but that God (which onely knoweth the operation of his owne creatures truely) hath assured vs, that there is no inclination or temptation so forcible, which our humble Prayers and Desires may not make frustrate and breake asunder: for were it (as the Stoicks conceiue) that Fate or Destiny, though depending vpon eternall power, yet being once ordered and disposed, had such a connexion & immutable dependency, that God himselfe should in a kind haue shut vp himselfe therein: *How miserable then were the condition of men* (saith S. AVGVSTINE) *left altogether without hope!*

Mat. 6. 13.

And if this strength of the Starres were so transferred, as that God had quitted vnto them all dominion ouer his creatures; be hee Pagan or Christian that so beleeueth, the onely true God of the one, and the imaginary gods of the other, would thereby bee despoyled of all worship, reuerence, or respect,

And certainly, God which hath promised vs the reward of well-doing, which Christ himselfe claimed at the hands of the Father, (*I haue finished the worke* which thou gauest mee to doe:) and the same God, who hath threatned vnto vs the sorrow and torment of offences, could not, contrary to his mercifull nature, be so vniust, as to bind vs ineuitably to the Destinies or influences of the Starres, or subiect our soules to any imposed necessity. But it was well said of *Plotinus*, that the Starres were significant, but not efficient, giuing them yet something lesse than their due: and therefore as I do not consent with them, who would make those glorious creatures of God vertulesse: so I thinke that wee derogate from his eternall and absolute power and prouidence, to ascribe to them

Iohn 18. 4.

them the same dominion ouer our immortall soules, which they haue ouer all bodily substances, and perishable natures: for the soules of men, louing and fearing God, receiue influence from that diuine light it selfe, whereof the Sunnes clarity, and that of the Starres, is by *Plato* called but a shadow. *Lumen est vmbra Dei, & Deus est lumen luminis; Light is the shadow of Gods brightnesse, who is the light of light:* But to end this question, because this Destiny, together with Prouidence, Prescience, and Predestination are often confounded, I thinke it not impertinent to touch the difference in a word or two; for euery man hath not obserued it, though all learned men haue.

Plat. pol. 6. Ficin. in l. 7. pol.

§. XII.

Of Prescience.

PRescience, or fore-knowledge (which the Greekes call *Prognosis*, the Latines *præcognitio*, or *præscientia*) considered in order and nature (if wee may speake of God after the manner of men) goeth before Prouidence: for God fore-knew all things, before he had created them, or before they had being to be cared for; and Prescience is no other than an infallible fore-knowledge. For whatsoeuer our selues fore-know, except the same be to succeed accordingly, it cannot be true that we fore-know it. But this Prescience of God (as it is Prescience only) is not the cause of any thing future succeeding: neither doth Gods fore-knowledge impose any necessity, or binde. For in that wee fore-know that the Sunne will rise, and set; that all men borne in the World shall dye againe; that after Winter, the Spring shall come; after the Spring Summer and Haruest, and that according to the seuerall seeds that we sow, we shall reap seuerall sorts of graine, yet is not our fore-knowledge the cause of this, or any of these: neither doth the knowledge in vs bind or constraine the Sun to rise and set, or men to dye; for the causes (as men perswade themselues) are otherwise manifest and knowne to all. *The eye of man* (saith BOETIVS) *beholdeth those things subiect to sense, as they are; the eye seeth that such a beast is an horse, it seeth men, trees, and houses, &c. but our seeing of them (as they are) is not the cause of their so being, for such they be in their owne natures.* And again out of the same Author; *Diuina prouidentia rebus generandis non imponit necessitatem, quia si omnia euenirent ex necessitate, præmia bonorum, & pœna malorum periret; Diuine Prouidence* (saith he) *imposeth no necessity vpon things that are to exist; for if all came to passe of necessity, there should neither be reward of good, nor punishment of euill.*

Boetius de consol.

§. XIII.

Of Prouidence.

NOw Prouidence (which the *Greekes* call *Pronoia*) is an intellectuall knowledge, both fore-seeing, caring for, and ordering all things, and doth not onely behold all past, all present, and all to come, but is the cause of their so being, which Prescience (simply taken) is not: and therefore Prouidence by the Philosophers (saith St. *Augustine*) is diuided into Memory, Knowledge, and Care: Memory of the past, Knowledge of the present, and Care of the future: and wee our selues account such a man for prouident, as, remembring things past, and obseruing things present, can by iudgement, and comparing the one with the other, prouide for the future, and times succeeding. That such a thing there is as Prouidence, the Scriptures euery-where teach vs; *Moses* in many places, the Prophets in their Predictions, Christ himselfe and his Apostles assure vs hereof: and besides the Scriptures, *Hermes, Orpheus, Euripides, Pythagoras, Plato, Plotinus*, and (in effect) all learned men acknowledge the Prouidence of God: yea the *Turks* themselues are so confident therein, as they refuse not to accompany and visit each other, in the most pestilent diseases, nor shun any perill whatsoeuer, though death therein do manifestly present it selfe.

The places of Scripture prooving Prouidence, are so many, both in generall and particular, as I shall neede to repeate but a few of them in this place. *Sing vnto God* (saith DAVID) *which couereth the Heauens with cloudes, and prepareth raine for the earth, and maketh the grasse to grow vpon the Mountaines, which giueth to beasts their food, and feedeth the yongue Rauen that cries: All these wait vpon thee, that thou mayest giue them food in due season: And thou shalt drinke of the Riuer Cheareth* (saith God to ELIAH) *and I haue com-*

Psal. 147. 8. 9. Psal. 104. 27. & 145. 15.

1 Reg. 17.4. Matth. 6.26. Luke 12.6,7. 1 Pet. 5.7. Psal. 36.6. Iob. Iere. 23.24. *commanded the Rauens to feed thee there. Behold, the Fowles of the Ayre, they sow not, nor reape, and yet your heauenly Father feedeth them:* Againe, *Are not two Sparrowes sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father: yea all the hayres of your head are numbred:* And St. PETER, *Cast all your care on him, for he careth for you: And his iudgements are written*, saith DAVID.

God therefore, who is euery-where present, *who filleth the Heauens and the Earth, whose eyes are vpon the Righteous, and his countenance against them that doe euill*, was therefore by *Orpheus* called *oculus infinitus, an infinite eye*, beholding all things, and cannot therefore be esteemed as an idle looker on, as if he had transferred his power to any other: for it is contrary to his owne Word: *Gloriam meam alteri non dabo: I will not giue my glory to another.* No man commandeth in the Kings presence, but by the Kings direction; but God is euery-where present, and King of kings. The example of Gods vniuersall Prouidence is seene in his creatures. The Father prouideth for his children: beasts and birds and all liuings for their yongue ones. If Prouidence bee found in second Fathers, much more in the first and Vniuersall: and if there bee a naturall louing care in men, and beasts, much more in God, who hath formed this nature, and whose Diuine loue was the beginning, and is the bond of the Vniuersall: *Amor diuinus rerum omnium est principium, & vinculum vniuersi* (saith PLATO.) *Amor Dei est nodus perpetuus, mundi copula, partiumq; eius immobile sustentaculum, ac vniuersæ machinæ fundamentum; The loue of God is the perpetuall knot, and linke or chaine of the world, and the immoueable pillar of every part thereof, and the Basis and foundation of the vniuersall.* God therefore who could only be the cause of all, can only prouide for all, and sustaine all; so as to absolute power; to euery-where presence; to perfect goodnesse; to pure and diuine loue; this attribute transcendent hability of Prouidence is only proper and belonging.

Esay 42.8. Ioh. ep. 1. c. 4. ver. 8. God is loue.

§. XIV.

Of Predestination.

NOw for Predestination, wee can difference it no otherwise, from Prouidence and Prescience, than in this, that Prescience onely fore-seeth: Prouidence fore-seeth & careth for, and hath respect to all creatures, euen from the brightest Angels of Heauen, to the vnworthiest Wormes of the Earth, and Predestination (as it is vsed specially by Diuines) is onely of men, and yet not of all to men belonging, but of their saluation properly, in the common vse of Diuines, or perdition, as some haue vsed it. Yet *Peter Lombard, Thomas, Bernensis Theologus*, and others, take the word Predestination more strictly, and for a preparation to felicity: diuers of the Fathers take it more largely sometimes: among whom St. *Augustine* speaking of two Cities, and two Societies, vseth these words, *Quarum est vna, quæ prædestinata est in æternum regnare cum Deo, altera æternum supplicium subire cum Diabolo; Whereof one is it, which is predestinated to reigne for euer with God, but the other is to vndergoe euerlasting torment with the Deuill*: for according to NONIVS MARCELLVS, *destinare est præparare*; and of the same opinion are many Protestant writers, as *Caluin, Beza, Buchanus, Danæus*, and such like: and as for the manifold questions hereof arising, I leaue them to the Diuines; and why it hath pleased God so create some vessels of honour, & some of dishonour, I will answer with *Gregory*, who saith, *Qui in factis Dei rationem non videt, infirmitatem suam considerans, cur non videat, rationem videt; Hee that seeth no reason in the actions of God, by consideration of his owne infirmity perceiueth the reason of his blindnesse.* And againe with S. AVGVSTINE, *Occulta esse causa potest, iniusta esse non potest; Hidden the cause of his Predestination may be, vniust it cannot be.*

Rom. 8. & 9. Lomb. l. 1. dist. 39. Thom. part. 1. dist. 23. Bern. de Probl. de p. d. Aug. l. 1 5. c. 1. de Ciuit. Dei. Cal. in cap. 9. ad Rom. v. 11. Pez. in magn. annot. in cap. 9. ad Rom. Danæus, l. 3. de Salut. Greg. Magn. Iob 9. Aug. ad Polin. ep. 59.

§. XV.

Of Fortune: and of the reason of some things that seeme to be by fortune, and against Reason and Prouidence.

LAstly, seeing Destiny or Necessity is subsequent to Gods Prouidence, and seeing that the Starres haue no other dominion, than is before spoken, and that Nature is nothing, but as *Plato* calleth it, *Dei artem, vel artificiosum Dei Organum; The art, or artificiall Organ of God*: and CVSANVS, *Diuini præcepti instrumentum; The*

The art, or artificiall Organ of God: and CVSANVS, *Diuini præcepti instrumentum; The instrument of the diuine precept*; we may then with better reason reiect that kinde of Idolatry, or God of fooles, called *Fortune* or Chance: a Goddesse, the most reuerenced, and the most reuiled of all other, but not ancient; for *Homer* maketh her the Daughter of *Oceanus*, as *Pausanias* witnesseth in his *Messeniacks*. The *Greekes* call her τύχη, signifying a relatiue being, or betiding, so as before *Homers* time this great Lady was scarce heard of; and *Hesiodus*, who hath taught the birth and beginning of all these counterfeit gods, hath not a word of *Fortune*: yet afterward she grew so great and omnipotent, as from Kings and Kingdomes, to Beggars and Cottages, she ordered all things, resisting the wisedome of the wisest, by making the Possessor thereof miserable: valuing the folly of the most foolish by making their successe prosperous; insomuch as the actions of men were said to be but the sports of Fortune, and the variable accidents happening in mens liues, but her pastimes: of which PALLADIVS, *Vita hominum ludus fortunæ est; The life of man is the play of Fortune*: & because it often falleth out, that enterprises guided by ill counsels, haue equall successe to those by the best iudgement conducted, therefore had Fortune the same externall figure with Sapience; whereof *Athenæus*:

Longissimè à Sapientia Fors dissidet,
Sed multa perficit tamen simillima:
From Wisedome Fortune differs farre,
And yet in workes most like they are.

Sen. ep. 91. Aur. vict. de pertinace. Sen. ep. 74. Demetrius Poliorcetes in the great & often changes of his Fortune, is said to haue vsed to cry out vpon *Fortune*, applying to her a Verse of Æschilus, *Tu me extulisti, eadem me is (sentio) perditum.*

But I will forbeare to bee curious in that, which (as it is commonly vnderstood) is nothing else but a power imaginary, to which the successe of humane actions and endeuours were for their variety ascribed; for when a manifest cause could not be giuen, then was it attributed to fortune, as if there were no cause of those things, of which most men are ignorant; contrary to this true ground of PLATO: *Nihil est ortum sub Sole, cuius causa legitima non præcesserit; Nothing euer came to passe vnder the Sunne, of which there was not a iust preceding cause.* But *Aquinas* hath herein answered in one distinction, whatsoeuer may be obiected; for many things there are (saith hee) which happen, *besides the intention of the Inferior, but not besides the intention of the Superior; Præter intentionem Inferioris, sed non præter intentionem Superioris*, (to wit, the ordinance of God;) and therefore (saith MELANCHTON) *Quod Poetæ fortunam, nos Deum appellamus; Whom the Poets call Fortune, wee know to be God.* And that this is true, the Scripture in many places teacheth vs; as in the Law of Murder, *He that smiteth a man, and he dye, shall dye the death; and if a man hath not laid waite, but God hath offered him into his hands, then I will appoint thee a place whither hee shall flee.* Now, where the Scripture hath these words, *God hath offered him into his hands*, we say, If he hurt him by Chance: and in *Deuteronomy* the nineteenth, where the slipping of an Axe from the helue, whereby another is slaine, was the worke of God himselfe, we in our phrase attribute this accident to Chance or Fortune: and in the *Prouerbes* the sixteenth, *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition thereof is of the Lord*: so as that which seemeth most casuall and subiect to Fortune, is yet disposed by the ordinance of God, as all things else; and hereof the wiser sort, and the best learned of the Philosophers were not ignorant, as *Cicero* witnesseth for them, gathering the opinion of *Aristotle* and his Sectators, with those of *Plato*, and the *Academicks*, to this effect, That the same power which they called *animam mundi; The soule of the World*, was no other than that incomprehensible wisedome, which we expresse by the name of God, gouerning euery being aswell in heauen as in earth; to which wisdome and power they sometime gaue the title of Necessity or Fate, because it bindeth by ineuitable ordinance: sometime, the style of Fortune, because of many effects there appear vnto vs no certaine causes. To this effect speaketh S. *Augustine* in his questions vpon *Genesis* the first Booke: the same hath *Seneca* in his fourth of *Benefits*; which was also the doctrine of the *Stoicks*, of which Sect he was: *For whatsoeuer* (saith hee) *thou callest God, be it Nature, Fate, or Fortune, all are but one and the same, differenced by diuers termes, according as he vseth, and exercise his power diuersly.*

Verse. 5. Verse. 33. Te facimus Fortuna Deam, cœlo locamus. Sat. 10. 366. Exod. 21. 12, 13. Cic. ac quæst. l. 1. Senec. l. 4. c. 7.

But it may be obiected, That if Fortune and Chance were not sometimes the causes of good and euill in men, but an idle voice, wherby we expresse successe; how comes it then, that so many worthy and wise men depend vpon so many vnworthy and empty-headed fooles; that riches and honour are giuen to externall men, and without kernell

nell: and so many learned, vertuous, and valiant men weare out their liues in poore and deiected estates. In a word, there is no other inferior, or apparant cause, beside the partiality of mans affection, but the fashioning and not fashioning of our selues according to the nature of the time wherin we liue: for whosoeuer is most able, and best sufficient to discerne, and hath withall an honest and open heart and louing truth; if Princes, or those that gouerne, endure no other discourse than their owne flatteries, then I say such an one, whose vertue and courage forbiddeth him to be base & a dissembler, shall euermore hang vnder the wheele; which kinde of deseruing well and receiuing ill, we alwayes falsly charge Fortune withall. For whosoeuer shall tell any great Man or Magistrate, that he is not iust; the Generall of an Army, that he is not valiant, and great Ladies that they are not faire; shall neuer be made a Counseller, a Captaine, or a Courtier. Neither is it sufficient to be wise with a wise Prince, valiant with a valiant, and iust with him that is iust, for such a one hath no estate in his prosperity; but he must also change with the successor, if he be of contrary qualities; faile with the tyde of the time, and alter forme and condition, as the Estate or the Estates Master changeth: Otherwise how were it possible, that the most base men, and separate from all imitable qualities, could so often attaine to honour and riches, but by such an obseruant slauish course? These men hauing nothing else to value themselues by, but a counterfeit kinde of wondring at other men, and by making them beleeue that all their vices are vertues, and all their dusty actions crystalline, haue yet in all ages prospered equally with the most vertuous, if not exceeded them. For according to MENANDER, *Omnis insipiens arrogantia & plausibus capitur; Euery foole is wonne with his owne pride, and others flattering applause*: so as whosoeuer will liue altogether out of himselfe, and study other mens humours, and obserue them, shall neuer bee vnfortunate; and on the contrary, that man which prizeth truth and vertue (except the season wherein he liueth be of all these, and of all sorts of goodnesse fruitfull) shall neuer prosper by the possession or profession thereof. It is also a token of a worldly wise man, not to warre or contend in vaine against the nature of times wherein hee liueth: for such a one is often the author of his owne misery; but best it were to follow the aduice, which the Pope gaue the Bishops of that age, out of *Ouid*, while the Arian Heresie raged:

Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori.
While fury gallops on the way,
Let no man furies gallop stay.

Ouid. rem. am. lib. 1.

And if *Cicero* (than whom that world begat not a man of more reputed iudgement) had followed the counsell of his brother QVINTVS, *Potuisset* (saith PETRARCH) *in lectulo suo mori, potuisset integro cadauere sepeliri; Hee might then haue dyed the death of nature, and been with an vntorne and vndisseuered body buried*; for as *Petrarch* in the same place noteth: *Quid stultius quàm desperantem (præsertim de effectu) litibus perpetuis implicari; What more foolish than for him that despaires (especially of the effect) to be intangled with endlesse contentions?* Whosoeuer therefore will set before him MACHIAVELS *two markes to shoote at* (to wit) Riches, and Glory, must set on and take off a back of yron to a weak woodden Bow, that it may fit both the strong and the feeble: for as he that first deuised to adde sayles to rowing vessels, did eyther so proportion them, as being fastened aloft, and towards the head of his Mast, hee might abide all windes and stormes, or else he sometime or other perished by his owne inuention: so that man which prizeth vertue for it selfe, and cannot endure to hoise and strike his sailes, as the diuers natures of calmes and stormes require, must cut his sailes and his cloth of meane length and breadth, and content himselfe with a slow and sure nauigation, (to wit) a meane and free estate. But of this dispute of Fortune, and the rest, or of whatsoeuer Lords or Gods, imaginary powers, or causes, the wit (or rather foolishnesse) of man hath found out: let vs resolue with S. *Paul*, who hath taught vs, that there is *but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Iesus Christ, by whom are all things, and wee by him*; there are diuersities of operations, but God is the same which worketh all in all.

1. Cor. c. 8. v. 6. cap. 12. vers. 6.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of mans estate in his first Creation, and of Gods rest.

§. I.

Of the Image of God, according to which man was first created.

THe creation of all other creatures being finished, the heauens adorned, and the earth replenished, GOD said, *Let vs make man in our own Image, according to our likenesse.* Gen. 1. 26.

Man is the last & most admirable of Gods works to vs known, *ingens miraculum homo; Man is the greatest wonder* (saith PLATO out of MERCVRIVS:) *Naturæ ardentissimæ artificium, The artificiall work of the most ardent or fire-like nature* (as saith *Zoroaster*) though the same be meant, not for any excellency externall, but in respect of his internall form, both in the nature, qualities, & other attributes therof: in nature, because it hath an essence, immortall, and spirituall; in qualities, because the same was by God created holy & righteous in truth; in other attributes, because Man was made Lord of the world, and of the creatures therein. Trif. Ascl. 2. & de volunt. Dei. Plat. leg. l. 1.

Sanctius his animal mentisq; capacius altæ
Deerat adhuc: & quod dominari in cætera posset,
Natus homo est.
More holy than the rest, and vnderstanding more,
A liuing creature wants, to rule all made before:
So man began to be.

Sanctum, quia pars potior immortalis, animal, quia in mortali. In locum Ouid. Met. d. 1. 76.

Of this Image and Similitude of God, there is much dispute among the Fathers, Schoole-men, and late Writers: Some of the Fathers conceiue, that man was made after the Image of God, in respect chiefly of Empire and Dominion, as St. *Chrysostome, Ambrose*, and some others: which St. *Ambrose* denieth to the woman in these words, *Vt sicut Deus vnus, ab eo fieret homo vnus, & quomodo ex Deo vno omnia, ita ex vno homine omne genus esset super faciem totius terræ: Vnus igitur, vnum fecit, qui vnitatis eius haberet imaginem; That as God is one, one man might bee made by him, and that in what manner all things are of one God, likewise of one man the whole kinde should bee vpon the face of the whole earth: Therefore hee being one, made one, that should haue the Image of his vnity.* But whereas it is gathered out of the following words of the same Verse, that man was after the Image of God in respect of rule and power, it is written *Dominamini* in the plurall number, *and let them rule ouer the fish in the Sea, &c.* and therefore cannot the woman be excluded. Others conceiue, that man is said to be after the Image of God in respect of his immortall soule onely, because as God is inuisible, so the soule of man is inuisible; as God is immortall and incorporall, so is the soule of man immortall & incorporall; and as there is but one God which gouerneth the world, so but one soule which gouerneth the body of man; and as God is wholly in euery part of the world, so is the soule of man wholly in euery part of the body: *Anima est tota in toto, & tota in qualibet parte; The soule is wholly in the whole body, and wholly in euery part thereof*, according to *Aristotle*; though *Chalcidius*, and other learned men deny that doctrine; which that it is otherwise than potentially true, all the Aristotelians in the world shall neuer proue. These and the like arguments do the *Iewes* make (saith *Tostatus*) and these resemblances, betweene the infinite God, and the finite Man.

The Schoole-men resemble the Minde or Soule of Man to God, in this respect especially; because that as in the Minde there are three distinct powers, or faculties (to wit) Memory, Vnderstanding, and Will; and yet all these, being of reall differences, are but one minde: so in God there are three distinct persons, the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost, and yet but one God. They also make the Image and Similitude diuers; and againe, they distinguish betweene *Imaginem Dei*, and *ad Imaginem Dei*, and spinne into small threds, with subtile distinctions, many times the plainenesse and sincerity of the Scriptures: their wits being like that strong water, that eateth thorow and dissolueth the purest gold. *Victorinus* also maketh the Image of God to bee substantiall, but not the

the similitude: *sed in substantia nomen qualitatis declaratiuum*; *A word declaring quality in the substance.* Out of which words, and that which followeth, it is infer'd, that as the image and similitude doe greatly differ: so the sinfull soule doth not therefore leaue to be the image of God; but it hath not his similitude, except it be holy and righteous. S. *Augustine* also against *Adimantus* the *Manichee* affirmeth, that by sinne, the perfection of this image is lost in man; and in his Retractations maintaineth the same opinion, and also affirmeth that the Similitude is more largely taken, than the Image.

But howsoeuer the Schoolemen and others distinguish, or whatsoeuer the Fathers conceiue, sure I am that S. *Paul* maketh the same sense of the image, which *Victorinus* doth of the similitude, who saith: *As wee haue borne the image of the earthly, so shall we beare the image of the heauenly*; and it cannot bee gathered out of the Scriptures, that the words Image and Similitude were vsed but in one sense, and in this place the better to expresse each other; whatsoeuer *Lombard* hath said to the contrary. For God knowes, what a multitude of meanings the wit of man imagineth to himselfe in the Scriptures, which neither *Moses*, the *Prophets* or *Apostles*, euer conceiued. Now as St. *Paul* vseth the word (Image) for both: so St. *Iames* vseth the word (Similitude) for both in these words: *Therewith blesse wee God euen the Father, and therewith curse wee Men, which are made after the similitude of God.* Howsoeuer therefore S. *Augustine* seemeth, out of a kind of elegancy in writing, to make some difference: as where he writeth, *Confitemur imaginem in æternitate, similitudinem in moribus inueniri*; *We confesse that this image is found in eternity, but his similitude in manners*, that is, in the spirituall dispositions and qualities of the minde; yet thus hee elsewhere speaketh plainly: *Quasi vero possit esse imago aliqua, in qua similitudo non sit: si enim omnino similis non est, procul dubio nec imago est*; *As if* (saith hee) *there could bee any image, where the similitude is not: no, out of doubt, where there is no likenesse, there is no image.* The very words of the Text make this most manifest, as, *Let vs make man in our image, according to our likenesse*: which is, Let vs make man in our image, that he may be like vs: and in the next Verse following, God himselfe maketh it plaine; for there he vseth the word (Image) onely, as thus: *God created the man in his image, in the image of God created he him.* And to take away all dispute or ambiguity, in the first Verse of the fift Chapter, the word (Similitude) is vsed againe by it selfe, as, *In the day that God created* ADAM, *in the likenesse of God made he him.* And this similitude St. *Paul Colos.* the third, calleth the Image. *Put on* (saith hee) *the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him.* And in *Syracides* it is written, *Hee made them according to his image.* Now if we may beleeue S. *Paul* before *Peter Lombard* and other Schoolemen, then it is as manifest as words can make it, that the image and similitude is but the same; for St. *Paul* vseth both the words directly in one sense. *For they turned the glory of the incorruptible God, to the similitude of the image of a corruptible man.*

1.Cor.15.49. — Iam.3.9. — Vt supra. — Aug. vt supr. — Vers.10. — Rom.1.23.

Zanchius laboureth to proue, that man was formed after the image of God, both in body and minde: *Nulla pars in homine quæ non fuerit huiusce imaginis particeps*, *No part in a man* (saith hee) *which was not participating Gods image: for God said, Let vs make man according to our owne image.* But the soule alone is not man, but the *Hypostasis* or whole man compounded of body and soule. The body of man (saith hee) *is the image of the world, and called therefore Microcosmus*; but the *Idea* and exemplar of the world was first in God, so that man, according to his body, must needes be the image of God. Against which opinion of this learned man, his owne obiection seemeth to me sufficient, where he alleageth that it may bee said, that *Moses* spake by the figure *Synecdoche*, as when a man is called a mortall man, yet is not the whole man mortall, but the body onely: so when God said, Let vs make man after our image, he meant the soule of man, and not the body of earth and dust: *Maledictus qui Deitatem ad hominis lineamenta refert* (saith S. AVGVSTINE,) *Cursed is he that referreth the Deity of God to the lineaments of mans body: Deus enim non est humanæ formæ particeps, neq. corpus humanum diuinæ* (saith PHILO,) *God is not partaker of humane forme, nor humane body of the forme diuine.* The *Hebrew* word for image, is *Tselem*, which signifieth a shadow or obscure resemblance: *In imagine pertransit homo*; *Man passeth away in a shadow*: Let vs then know and consider, that God, who is eternall and infinite, hath not any bodily shape or composition; for it is both against his Nature and his Word; an error of the *Anthropomorphitæ*, against the very essence and Maiesty of God.

Zanch. de op. Dei, l.3.cap.1. — In Gen.

Surely

Surely *Cicero*, who was but a *Heathen*, had yet a more diuine vnderstanding than those grosse Heretikes: *Ad similitudinem Dei propriùs accedebat humana virtus, quàm figura*; *The vertue which is in man* (saith hee) *came neerer the similitude of God, than the figure.* For God is a spirituall substance, inuisible, and most simple; God is a iust God: God is Mercifull; God is Charity it selfe, and (in a word) Goodnesse it selfe; and none else simply good. And thus much it hath pleased God himselfe to teach vs, and to make vs know of himself. What then can be the shadow of such a substance, the image of such a nature, or wherein can man be said to resemble his vnexcogitable power and perfectnesse? certainely, not in Dominion alone: for the Deuill is said to be the Prince of this World, and the Kingdome of Christ was not thereof, who was the true and perfect image of his Father; neither because man hath an immortall soule, and therein the faculties of Memory, Vnderstanding, and Will, for the Deuils are also immortall, and participate those faculties, being called *Dæmones*, because *scientes* of Knowledge, and subtility; neither because we are reasonable creatures, by which we are distinguished from beasts: for who haue rebelled against God? who haue made gods of the vilest beasts, of Serpents, of Cats, of Owles, yea, euen of shamefull parts, of lusts and pleasures, but reasonable men? yet doe I not condemne the opinion of St. *Chrysostome* and *Ambrose*, as touching dominion, but that, in respect thereof, man was in some sort after the image of God, if we take Dominion, such as it ought to be, that is, accompanied with Iustice and Piety: for God did not onely make man a Ruler and Gouernour ouer the Fishes of the Sea, the Fowles of Heauen (or of the aire) and ouer the Beasts of the Field; But God gaue vnto man a dominion ouer men, hee appointed Kings to gouerne them, and Iudges, to iudge them in equity. Neither doe I exclude Reason, as it is the ability of Vnderstanding. For I doe not conceiue, that *Irenæus* did therefore call man, the image of God, because he was *animal rationale* onely; but that he vnderstood it better, with SYBILLA: *Imago mea est homo, rectam rationem habens*: *Man that is endued with right reason, is said to resemble God*, (that is) by right reason to know and confesse God his Creatour, & the same God to serue, loue, and obey: and therefore said S. *Augustine* (who herein came neerer the Truth) *Fecit Deus hominem ad imaginem & similitudinem suam in mente*; *God made man, in respect of the intellect, after his owne Image and similitude*; and REYNERIVS; *Homo, quòd habet mentem, factus est ad imaginem Dei*; *Man was made after the Image of God, in minde*, or *in that he had a minde.*

Eph.6.12. — Iob.18.36. — Plat. in Cratyl. — Osorius de Iust. lib.5. — Reyn. de ment.

§.II.

Of the intellectuall minde of man, in which there is much of the Image of God: and that this Image is much deformed by Sinne.

BVt *Mens* is not taken here for *anima physica*, according to *Aristotle*, which is *forma, vel natura hominis*: *The forme or nature of man*; but this faculty or gift of God, called *Mens*, is taken for *prima vis animi, the principall strength of the minde*, or soule, *cuius actus est perpetua veritatis contemplatio*; *whose act*, exercise, or office, *is the perpetuall contemplation of truth*; and therefore it is also called *intellectus diuinus, intellectus contemplatiuus, & anima contemplatiua*, *A diuine vnderstanding, and an intellect or minde contemplatiue. Est autem mens nostra* (saith CVSANVS) *vis comprehendendi, & totum virtuale ex omnibus comprehendendi virtutibus compositum*: *Our intellectuall minde* (saith hee) *is a power of comprehending, euen the whole, that is in this kinde powerfull, compounded of all the powers of comprehension*: vnto which *Mercurius* attributeth so much (if his meaning accompany his words) that hee esteemeth it to bee the very essence of God (which was also the errour of the *Manichees*, and others) and no otherwise separate from God (saith he) than the light from the Sunne: for this *Mens* or vnderstanding (saith MERCVRIVS) *est Deus in hominibus*: *Is God in men*, or rather (and which I take to be his meaning) is the image of God in man. For as the Sunne is not of the same essence or nature with the diuine light, but a body illightned, and an illumination created; so is this *Mens* or vnderstanding in men, not of the essence of Gods infinite vnderstanding, but a power and faculty of our soules the purest, or the *lumen animæ rationalis*, by the true and eternall light illightned. And this *Mens* others call *animam animæ*, *The soule of the soule*, or with S. *Augustine*, the eie of the soule, or receptacle of Sapience & diuine knowledge, *quæ amorem sapientiæ tanquam ducem sequitur*, *Which followeth*

Tamander. — De mente. Idiota.l.3. — Sen.ep.65.f.& 21.f.

after

after the loue of sapience as her guide (saith *Philo*) betweene which and reason, betweene which and the mind, called *anima*, between which & that power which the Latines call *animus*, there is this difference. Reason is that faculty by which we iudge and discourse; *Anima*, by which we liue. Hereof it is said, *Anima corpus animat, id est, vivificat; or the soule is that which doth animate the body, that is, giueth it life*: for death is the separation of body and soule; and the same strength (saith *Philo*) which God the great Director hath in the World, the same hath this *Anima*, or mind, or soule in man. *Animus*, is that, by which we will and make election; and to this *Basil* agreeth, which calleth this *Mens*, or diuine vnderstanding, *perspicacem animæ partem, the perceiuing part of the minde*, or the light by which the Soule discerneth: *dormientium mens, non anima, sopitur, & in furiosis mens extinguitur, anima manet: In men that sleepe it is this (mens) or vnderstanding, and not the mind or soule, which resteth*; during which time it is but habitual in wise men, *& in mad men this (mens) is extinguished, and not the soule*: for mad men do liue, though distract. 10

Therfore this word being often vsed for the Soule giuing life, is attributed abusiuely to mad men, when we say that they are of a distract minde, in stead of a broken vnderstanding: which word (Mind) wee vse also for opinion, as, I am of this minde, or that mind: and sometimes for mens conditions or vertues, as, He is of an honest minde, or, a man of a iust minde: sometimes for affection, as, I do this for my mindes sake; and *Aristotle* sometimes vseth this word *(Mens)* for the phantasie, which is the strength of the imagination: sometimes for the knowledge of principles, which wee haue without discourse: oftentimes for Spirits, Angels and Intelligences: but as it is vsed in the proper signification, including both the vnderstanding agent and possible, it is described to bee a pure, simple, substantiall act, not depending vpon matter, but hauiug relation to that which is intelligible, as to his first obiect: or more at large thus; A part or particle of the Soule, whereby it doth vnderstand, not depending vpon matter, nor needing any organ, free from passion comming from without, and apt to bee disseuered, as, eternall from that which is mortall. Hereof excellently MERCVRIVS: *Anima est imago mentis, mens imago Dei. Deus menti præest, mens animæ, anima corpori; The Soule* (meaning that which giueth life) *is the Image of this vnderstanding*, or *Mens, and this (Mens)* of *vnderstanding is the Image of God. God is President or Ruler ouer this vnderstanding, this vnderstanding ouer the Soule, and this Soule ouer the body.* This diuision and distinction out of the *Platonikes* and *Peripatetikes*, I leaue to the Reader to iudge of. That, *Mens humana* hath no need of any organ, *Marsilius Ficinus* in his ninth Booke of the Soules immortality laboureth to proue. *Zanchius* doth not differ from *Ficinus* in words: for (saith he) *Ad facultatem intelligentem exercendam non eget Mens organo, tanquàm medio, per quod intelligat: quanquam eget obiecto in quod intuatur, & ex quo intellectionem concipiat: hoc autem obiectum sunt phantasmata, seu rerum à sensibus perceptarum simulachra ad phantasiam prolata: To exercise the faculty of vnderstanding, the minde of man* (saith hee) *needeth no instrument, as a meane, by which it may vnderstand: but it needeth an obiect, whereon to looke, and whence to conceiue the act of vnderstanding. This obiect are the phantasmes, or the resemblances of things receiued from the sense & carried to the phantasie.* But in effect his conclusion seemeth to carry a contrary sense, when he maketh the Phantasie, in representing the obiect to the vnderstanding, to be a corporal *Organum*; neither can it be vndestood to be an *Organum* of any thing, but of the vnderstanding. And he addeth, that the resemblance of things in mans imagination, are to his vnderstanding & mind, as colours are to the sight: whence it so followeth, that the imagination or phantasie it selfe is to the faculty of vnderstanding, as the eye is to the faculty of seeing; & as this is an *organum*, so that. Of this question, How the minde in all her actions maketh vse of the body, & hath communion with the body, I referre the Reader to a most graue and learned Discourse in the last Reply of M.D. *Bilson*, late Bishop of *Winchester*, vnto *Henry Iacob*. Howsoeuer the Truth be determined, wee must conclude, that it is neither in respect of reason alone, by which we discourse, nor in respect of the minde it selfe by which wee liue, nor in respect of our soules simply, by which we are immortall, that wee are made after the Image of God. But most safely may we resemble our selues to God *in mente*, and in respect of that pure faculty which is neuer separate from the contemplation and loue of God. Yet this is not all. For Saint *Bernard* maketh a true difference betweene the nature and faculties of the Minde or Soule, and betweene the infusion of qualities, endowments and gifts of grace, wherewith it is adorned and enriched, which, being

Lib.9.cap.5. Zanch. de oper. Dei, part.3.lib.1 cap.2.

Pag.185. & sequent. Ad imaginem Dei creauit illum, id est, sapientiæ, virtutis, ac bonitatis compotem, qui sese intuitus Creatorem agnosceret suum atq; imitari, proq; ingenii, proq; auctoritatis sibi concessa ratione studeret Exam.

being added to the nature, essence, and faculties, maketh it altogether to bee after the Image of God, whose words are these: *Non propterea imago Dei est, quia sui meminit Mens, seq; intelligit & diligit* (which also was the opinion of Saint AVGVSTINE) *sed quia potest meminisse, intelligere ac diligere eum à quo facta est*, (that is) *The Minde* (or *Mens*) *was not therefore the Image of God, because it remembreth, vnderstandeth, and loueth it selfe, but because it can remember, vnderstand, and loue God, who created it.* And that this Image may be deformed and made vnprofitable, heare BASIL: *Homo ad imaginem & similitudinem Dei factus est, peccatum verò imaginis huius pulchritudinem deformauit: & inutilem reddidit, dum animam corruptis concupiscentiæ affectibus immersit: Man was made after the Image and similitude of* GOD, *but sinne hath deformed the beauty of this Image, and made it vnprofitable by drawing our minds into corrupt concupiscence.*

It is not therefore (as aforesaid) by reason of Immortality; nor in Reason; nor in Dominion, nor in any one of these by it selfe, nor in all these ioyned, by any of which, or by all which we resemble, or may be called the shadow of God, though by reason and vnderstanding, with the other faculties of the Soule, wee are made capable of this print; but chiefly, in respect of the habit of Originall righteousnesse, most perfectly infused by God into the Minde and Soule of man in his first Creation. For it is not by nature, nor by her liberality, that we were printed with the seale of Gods Image (though Reason may be said to be of her gift, which ioyned to the soule is a part of the Essentiall Constitution of our proper *Species*) but from the bountifull grace of the Lord of all goodnesse, who breathed life into Earth, and contriued within the Trunke of Dust and Clay, the inimitable hability of his owne Piety, and Righteousnesse.

So long therefore (for that resemblance which Dominion hath) doe those that are powerfull retain the Image of God, as according to his Commandements they exercise the Office or Magistracy to which they are called, and sincerely walke in the wayes of God, which in the Scriptures is called, *walking with God*; and all other men so long retaine this Image, as they feare, loue and serue God truly, that is; for the loue of God alone, and doe not bruise and deface his Seale by the weight of manifold and voluntary offences, and obstinate sinnes. For the vniust mind cannot be after the Image of God, seeing God is Iustice it selfe; The bloud-thirsty hath it not; for God is Charity, and Mercy it selfe: Falshood, cunning practice, and ambition, are properties of Sathan; and therefore cannot dwell in one soule, together with GOD; and to be short, there is no likelihood betweene pure light and blacke darknesse, between beauty & deformity, or betweene righteousnesse aud reprobation. And though Nature, according to common vnderstanding, haue made vs capable by the power of reason, and apt enough to receiue this Image of Gods goodnesse, which the sensuall soules of beasts cannot perceiue; yet were that aptitude naturall more inclinable to follow and imbrace the false and dureleſse pleasures of this Stage-play World, than to become the shadow of God by walking after him, had not the exceeding workmanshippe of GODS Wisedome, and the liberality of his Mercy, formed eyes to our soules, as to our bodies, which, piercing through the impurity of our flesh, behold the highest Heauens, and thence bring Knowledge and Obiect to the Minde and Soule, to contemplate the euerduring Glory, and termelesse Ioy, prepared for those, which retaine the Image and similitude of their Creatour, preseruing vndefiled & vnrent the garment of the new man, which, after the Image of GOD, is created in Righteousnesse and Holinesse, as saith St. *Paul*. Now, whereas it is thought by some of the Fathers, as by S. *Augustine*, with whom S. *Ambrose* ioyneth, that, by sinne, the perfection of the Image is lost, and not the Image it selfe; both opinions by this distinction may bee well reconciled (to wit) that the Image of God, in man, may be taken two wayes; for either it is considered, according to naturall gifts, and consisteth therein: namely to haue a reasonable & vnderstanding nature, &c. and in this sense, the Image of God is more lost by sin, than the very reasonable or vnderstanding nature, &c. is lost, (or sinne doth not abolish and take away these naturall gifts:) or, the Image of God is considered, according to supernaturall gifts, namely, of Diuine Grace and heauenly Glory, which is indeed the perfection and accomplishment of the naturall Image; and this maner of similitude and Image of God is wholly blotted out and destroyed by sin.

Gen.5.22.

2 Cor.6.14.

2 Cor.3.3.

S. Ambrose.

§.III.

§. III.

Of our base and fraile bodies: and that the care thereof should yeeld to the immortall Soule.

THe externall man God formed out of the dust of the Earth, or according to the signification of the word, *Adam*, of *Adamath*, of red Earth, or, *ex limo terræ*, out of the slime of the Earth, or a mixed matter of Earth and Water. *Non ex qualibet humo, sed ex ghaphar adamath (id est) ex pinguissima & mollissima: Not that God made an Image or Statue of Clay, but out of Clay, Earth or Dust God formed and made flesh, bloud, and bone, with all parts of man.* Arias Mont. de nat. f. 156.

That man was formed of Earth and Dust did *Abraham* acknowledge, when in humble feare he called vnto God, to saue *Sodome: Let not my Lord now be angry, if I speake, I, that am but dust and ashes:* And, *In these Houses of Clay, whose foundation is in the dust, doe our soules inhabite*, according to *Iob*. And though our owne eyes doe euery-where behold the sudden & resistlesse assaults of Death, and Nature assureth vs by neuer-failing Experience, & Reason by infallible demonstration, that our times vpon the Earth haue neither certainty non durability, that our Bodies are but the Anduiles of paine and diseases, and our Minds the Hiues of vnnumbred cares, sorrowes and passions: and that (when we are most glorified) we are but those painted posts, against which Enuy and Fortune direct their darts; yet such is the true vnhappinesse of our condition, and the darke ignorance which couereth the eyes of our vnderstanding, that wee onely prize, pamper, and exalt this Vassall and Slaue of death, and forget altogether (or onely remember at our cast-away leisure) the imprisoned immortall Soule, which can neither dye with the Reprobate, nor perish with the mortall parts of vertuous men: seeing Gods iustice in the one, and his goodnesse in the other is exercised for euermore, as the euer-liuing subiects of his reward and punishment. But when is it that wee examine this great account? Neuer while we haue one vanity left vs to spend: wee plead for Titles, till our breath faile vs; digge for Riches, whiles our strength enableth vs; exercise malice, while wee can reuenge; and then when Time hath beaten from vs both youth, pleasure, and health, and that Nature it selfe hateth the house of old age, wee remember with *Iob*, that *we must goe the way from whence we shall not returne, and that our bed is made ready for vs in the darke*; And then I say, looking ouer-late into the bottome of our conscience (which Pleasure and Ambition had locked vp from vs all our liues,) we behold therein the fearefull Images of our actions past, and withall this terrible Inscription: *That God will bring euery worke into iudgement, that man hath done vnder the Sun.*

Gen. 18. 27. Iob 4. 27. Iob 10. 21. & 17. 13. Eccl. 12. 14.

But what examples haue euer moued vs? what perswasions reformed vs? or what threatnings made vs affraid? we behold other mens Tragedies plaid before vs, we heare what is promised and threatned: but the Worlds bright glory hath put out the eyes of our minds; and these betraying lights, (with which wee only see) doe neyther looke vp towards termelesse ioyes, nor downe towards endlesse sorrowes, till wee neither know, nor can looke for any thing else, at the Worlds hands. Of which excellently *Marius Victor*:

Nil hostes, nil dira fames, nil deniq; morbi
Egerunt, fuimus, qui nunc sumus, ipsq; periclis
Tentati, nihilo meliores reddimur vnquam,
Sub vitijs nullo culparum fine manentes.

Diseases, Famine, Enemies, in vs no change haue wrought,
What erst we were, we are; still in the same snare caught:
No time can our corrupted manners mend,
In Vice we dwell, in Sinne that hath no end.

But let vs not flatter our immortall Soules herein: for to neglect God all our liues, and know that wee neglect him; to offend God voluntarily, and know that wee offend him, casting our hopes on the Peace, which wee trust to make at parting, is no other than a rebellious presumption, and (that which is the worst of all) euen a contemptuous laughing to scorne, and deriding of God, his Lawes and Precepts. *Frustrà sperant qui sic de misericordia Dei sibi blandiuntur; They hope in vaine*, saith BERNARD, *which in this sort flatter themselues with Gods mercy.* Bern. in Psal. Qui habitat.

§. IV.

§. IIII.

Of the Spirit of Life, which God breathed into man in his Creation.

IN this frame and carcasse God breathed the breath of life; and the man was a liuing Soule: (that is) God gaue a body of Earth and of corruptible matter, a Soule spirituall and incorruptible; not that God had any such bodily instruments as men vse, but God breathed the Spirit of Life and Immortalitie into man, as hee breatheth his grace daily into such as loue and feare him. *The Spirit of God* (saith ELIHV in IOB) *hath made mee, and the breath of the Almighty hath giuen me Life: In qua sententia* (saith RABANVS) *vitanda est paupertas sensus carnalis, ne forte putemus Deum, vel manibus corporeis de limo formasse corpus hominis, vel faucibus aut labijs suis inspirâsse in faciem formati, vt viuere possit & spiraculum vitæ habere: Nam & Propheta cum ait, Manus tuæ fecerunt me, &c. Tropica hac locutione magis quàm propria, (id est) iuxta consuetudinem, qua solent homines operari, loquutus est: In which sentence* (saith hee) *the beggarlinesse of carnall sense is to bee auoided, lest perhaps wee should thinke, either that God with bodily hands made mans body of slime, or breathed with iawes or lips vpon his face (being formed) that he might liue, and haue the Spirit of Life: for the Prophet also when he saith; Thy hand haue made mee, spake this Tropically, rather than properly (that is) according to the custome which men vse in working. Quantum est periculi his, qui Scripturas sensu corporeo legunt? In what danger are they that reade the Scriptures in a carnall sense?* By this breath was infused into man both life and soule; and therefore this (Soule) the Philosophers call *Animam, quæ viuificat corpus, & animat; which doth animate, and giue life to the body. The inspiration of the Almighty giueth vnderstanding*, saith IOB; and this spirit, which God breathed into man, which is the reasonable soule of man, returneth againe to God that gaue it, as the body returneth vnto the Earth, out of which it was taken, according to *Ecclesiastes: And dust shall returne to the Earth, out of which it was taken, and the spirit shall returne to God that gaue it.* Neither is this word (Spirit) vsually otherwise taken in the Scriptures, than for the soule; as when *Stephen* cried vnto God: *Domine, suscipe spiritum meum; Lord Iesus receiue my spirit:* and in S. IOHN, *And Iesus bowed his head, and gaue vp the Ghost*, or Spirit; (which was) that his life and soule left his body dead. And that the immortall soule of man differeth from the soules of beasts, the manner of creation maketh it manifest: for it is written, *Let the waters bring forth in abundance euery creeping thing, and let the Earth bring forth the liuing thing, according to his kinde, the beast of the Earth, &c.* But of Man it is written, *Let vs make man in our owne Image, &c.* and further, that *the Lord breathed in his face the breath of life.* Wherefore, as from the Water and Earth were those creatures brought forth, and thence receiued life: so shall they again be dissolued into the same first matter, whence they were taken: but the life of breath euerlasting, which God breathed into man, shall according to *Ecclesiastes, returne againe to God that gaue it.*

Iob. 33. 4. Eccles. 12. 7. Act. 7. 59. Iohn 9. 30. Gen. 1. 20. 24. 26. Gen. 2. 7. Eccl. 12. 7.

§. V.

That man is (as it were) a little World: with a digression touching our mortality.

MAN, thus compounded and formed by God, was an abstract or modell, or briefe Storie of the Vniuersall: in whom God concluded the Creation, and worke of the World, and whom hee made the last and most excellent of his Creatures, being internally endued with a diuine vnderstanding, by which hee might contemplate and serue his Creatour, after whose image hee was formed, and endued with the powers and faculties of Reason and other abilities, that therby also he might gouerne and rule the World, and all other Gods creatures therein. And whereas God created three sorts of liuing natures, (to wit) Angelicall, Rationall, and Brutall; giuing to Angels an intellectuall, and to Beasts a sensuall nature, he vouchsafed vnto Man, both the intellectuall of Angels, the sensitiue of Beasts, and the proper rationall belonging vnto man: and therefore (saith GREGORY NAZIANZENE,) *Homo est vtriusq; naturæ vinculum, Man is the bond and chaine which tyeth together both natures:* and because in the little frame of mans body there is a representation of the Vniuersall, and (by allusion) a kinde of participation of all the parts there, therefore was man called *Microcosmos*, or the little World. *Deus igitur hominem fecit, velut alterum quendam mundum,* Arist. Phys. l. 8. c. 2. t. 17. f. Gre. Naz. Epist. Omnis in homine creatura, & cœlum & terra. Aug. l. qu. 83. 4. 67. retr. l. 1. c. 2.

dum, in breui magnum, atq; exiguo totum, in terris statuit; *God therefore placed in the Earth the man whom he had made, as it were another World; the great and large World in the small and little World*: for out of the Earth and Dust was formed the flesh of man, and therefore heauie and lumpish: the bones of his body we may compare to the hard Rockes and Stones, and therefore strong and durable; of which OVID:

Ouid. Met. l. 1. *Inde genus durum sumus, experiensq; laborum,*
Et documenta damus qua simus origine nati:

From thence our Kind hard-hearted is, enduring paine and care,
Approouing, that our bodies of a stonie nature are.

His bloud, which disperseth it selfe by the branches of veines through all the body, may be resembled to those waters, which are carryed by Brookes and Riuers ouer all the Earth; his breath to the Aire, his naturall heate to the inclosed warmth which the Earth hath in it selfe, which stirred vp by the heate of the Sunne, assisteth Nature in the speedier procreation of those varieties, which the Earth bringeth forth; Our radicall moisture, Oyle, or Balsamum (whereon the naturall heate feedeth and is maintained) is ressembled to the fat and fertilitie of the Earth; the haires of mans bodie, which addornes or ouer-shadowes it, to the grasse, which coueredh the vpper face and skin of the Earth; our generatiue power, to Nature, which produceth all things; our determinations, to the light, wandering & vnstable clouds, carried euery where with vncertaine winds; our eies, to the light of the Sun and Moone; and the beautie of our youth, to the flowers of the Spring, which, either in a very short time, or with the Sunnes heat, dry vp, and wither away, or the fierce puffes of winde blow them from the stalkes; the thoughts of our mind, to the motion of Angels; and our pure vnderstanding (formerly called *Mens*, and that which alwayes looketh vpwards) to those intellectuall natures, which are alwayes present with God; and lastly our immortall soules (while they are righteous) are by God himselfe beautified with the title of his owne image and similitude. And although, in respect of God, there is no man iust, or good, or righteous: for Iob. 4.18. *in Angelis deprehensa est stultitia, Behold, hee found folly in his Angels* (saith *Iob*) yet with such a kind of difference, as there is betweene the substance and the shadow, there may be found a goodnesse in man: which God being pleased to accept, hath therefore called man, the image and similitude of his owne righteousnesse. In this also is the little World of man compared, and made more like the vniuersall (man being the measure of all things; Arist. 10. Metaph. c. 1. f. *Homo est mensura omnium rerum*, saith *Aristotle* and *Pithagoras*) that the foure Complexions resemble the foure Elements, and the seuen Ages of man the seuen Planets: Whereof our Infancie is compared to the *Moone*, in which wee seeme onely to liue and grow, as Plants; the second Age to *Mercurie*, wherein wee are taught and instructed; our third Age to *Venus*, the dayes of Loue, Desire, and Vanitie; the fourth to the *Sunne*, the strong, flourishing, and beautifull age of mans life; the fifth to *Mars*, in which we seeke honour and victorie, and in which our thoughts trauaile to ambitious ends; the sixth Age is ascribed to *Iupiter*, in which we beginne to take accompt of our times, iudge of our selues, and grow to the perfection of our vnderstanding; the last and seuenth to *Saturne*, wherin our dayes are sad and ouer-cast, and in which we find by deare and lamentable experience, & by the losse which can neuer be repaired, that of all our vaine passions and affections past, the sorrow only abideth: Our attendants are sicknesses, and variable infirmities, and by how much the more wee are accompanied with plentie, by so much the more greedily is our end desired, whom when *Time* hath made vnsociable to others, we become a burthen to our selues: being of no other vse, than to hold the riches we haue, from our Successors. In this time it is, when (as aforesaid) we, for the most part, and neuer before, prepare for our eternall habitation, which we passe on vnto, with many sighes, grones, and sad thoughts, and in the end, by the workmanship of death, finish the sorrowfull businesse of a wretched life, towards which wee alwaies trauel both sleeping and waking: neither haue those beloued companions of honor & riches any power at all, to hold vs any one day, by the glorious promise of entertainments; but by what crooked path soeuer we walk, the same leadeth on directly to the house of death; whose doores lye open at all houres, and to all persons. For this tyde of mans life, after it once turneth and declineth, euer runneth with a perpetuall Ebbe and falling Streame, but neuer floweth againe: our Leafe once fallen, springeth no more, neither

neither doth the Sunne or the Summer adorne vs againe, with the garments of new Leaues and Flowers.

Redditur arboribus florens reuirentibus ætas,
Ergo non homini, quod fuit antè, redit.

To which I giue this sense.

The Plants and Trees made poore and old
By Winter enuious,
The Spring-time bounteous
Couers againe from shame and cold:
But neuer Man repayr'd againe
His youth and beautie lost,
Though Art, and care, and cost,
Doe promise Natures helpe in vaine.

And of which,

CATVLLVS, EPIGRAM. 53.
Soles occidere & redere possunt:
The Sunne may set and rise:
But we contrariwise
Nobis cùm semel occidit breuis lux,
Nox est perpetua vna dormienda.
Sleepe after our short light
One euerlasting night.

For if there were any bayting place, or rest, in the course or race of mans life, then according to the doctrine of the *Academicks*, the same might also perpetually be maintained; but as there is a continuance of motion in naturall liuing things, and as the sap and iuyce, wherein the life of Plants is preserued, doth euermore ascend or descend: so is it with the life of man, which is alwayes either increasing towards ripenesse and perfection, or declining and decreasing towards rottennesse and dissolution.

§.VI.

Of the free power, which man had in his first Creation, to dispose of himselfe.

THese be the miseries which our first Parents brought on all Mankinde, vnto whom God in his creation gaue a free and vnconstrained will, and on whom he bestowed the liberall choice of all things, with one onely prohibition, to try his gratitude and obedience. God set before him, a mortall and immortall Life, a nature celestiall and terrene, and (indeed) God gaue man to himselfe, to bee his owne Guide, his owne Workeman, and his owne Painter, that hee might frame or describe vnto himselfe what hee pleased, and make election of his owne forme. *God made man in the beginning* (saith SIRACIDES) *and left him in the hands of his owne counsaile.* Eccles. 15.14. Such was the liberalitie of God, and mans felicitie: whereas beasts, and all other creatures reasonlesse, brought with them into the World (saith *Lucilius*) and that euen when they first fell from the bodies of their Dams, the nature, which they could not change; and the supernall Spirits or Angels were from the beginning, or soone after, of that condition, in which they remaine in perpetuall eternitie. But (as aforesaid) God gaue vnto man all kind of Seeds & Grafts of life (to wit) the vegetatiue life of Plants, the sensuall of Beasts, the rationall of Man, and the intellectuall of Angels; whereof which soeuer he tooke pleasure to plant and cultiue, the same should futurely grow in him, and bring forth fruit, agreeable to his owne choice and plantation. This freedom of the first man *Adam*, and our first Father, was ænigmatically described by *Asclepius Athenienſis* (saith *Mirandula*) in the person and Fable of *Proteus*, who was said, as often as he pleased, to change his shape. To the same end were all those celebrated *Metamorphoses* among the Pythagorians, and ancient Poets, wherein it was fained, that men were transformed into diuers shapes of beasts, therby to shew the change of mens conditions, from Reason to Brutalitie, from Vertue to Vice, from Meekenesse to Crueltie, and from Iustice to Oppression. For by the liuely Image of other creatures did those *Ancients* represent the variable passions, and affections of mortall men; as by Serpents were signified Deceiuers; by Lyons, Oppressors, and cruell men; by Swine, Men giuen ouer to lust and sensualitie; by Wolues, rauening, and greedie Men; which also S. *Matthew* resembleth to false prophets, *which come to you in sheepes clothing, but inwardly they are rauening wolues*: by the images of stones and stockes, foolish and ignorant Men; by Vipers, vngratefull Men: of which S. IOHN BAPTIST, *O yee generation of Vipers, &c.* Matth. 3.7.

§. VII.

Of Gods ceasing to create any more: and of the cause thereof, because the Vniuersall created was exceeding good.

IN this worke of Man, God finished the Creation; not that God laboured as a man, and therefore rested: for God commanded, and it was finished, *Cui voluisse est fecisse; with whom, to will is to make,* saith *Beda.* Neither did God so rest, that hee left the World made, and the creatures therein to themselues: for *my Father worketh to this day* (saith *Christ*) *and I worke*; but God rested (that is) he created no new *species* or kinds of creatures, but (as afore-said) gaue vnto man a power generatiue, and so to the rest of liuing creatures, and to Plants and Flowers their seeds in themselues; and commanded man to multiply and fill the Earth, and the Earth and Sea to bring forth creatures according to their seuerall kinds: all which being finished, God saw that his works were good; not that he fore-knew not, and comprehended not the beginning and end before they were; for God made euery Plant of the field before it was in the Earth, but he gaue to all things which hee had created the name of good, thereby to teach men, that from so good a God there was nothing made, but that which was perfect good, and from whose simple puritie and from so excellent a cause, there could proceed no impure or imperfect effect. For man hauing a free will and liberall choice, purchased by disobedience his owne death and mortalitie, and for the crueltie of mans heart, was the Earth afterward cursed, and all creatures of the first Age destroyed: but the righteous man *Noah* and his Family, with those creatures which the Arke contayned, reserued by God to replenish the Earth.

Iohn 5.17.

Gen. 1.28. 22.24.

CHAP. III.

Of the place of Paradise.

§. I.

That the seate of Paradise is greatly mistaken: and that it is no maruell that men should erre.

CONcerning the first Habitation of man, we reade, that *the Lord God planted a Garden Eastward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he made*, GEN. 2. 6. Of this seate and place of *Paradise*, all Ages haue held dispute; and the opinions and iudgements haue beene in effect, as diuers, among those that haue written vpon this part of *Genesis*, as vpon any one place therein, seeming most obscure: some there are, that haue conceiued the being of the terrestriall *Paradise*, without all regard of the Worlds Geographie, and without any respect of East and West, or any consideration of the place where *Moses* wrote, and from whence he directed (by the quarters of the Heauens) the way how to find out and iudge, in what Region of the World this Garden was by God planted, wherein hee was exceeding respectiue and precise. Others, by being themselues ignorant in the *Hebrew*, followed the first Interpretation, or trusting to their owne iudgements, vnderstood one place for another; and one Errour is so fruitfull, as it begetteth a thousand Children, if the licentiousnesse thereof bee not timely restrayned. And thirdly, those Writers which gaue themselues to follow and imitate others, were in all things so obseruant Sectatours of those Masters, whom they admired and beleeued in, as they thought it safer to condemne their owne vnderstanding, than to examine theirs. For (saith *Vadianus* in his Epistle of *Paradise*) *Magnos errores, magnorum virorum auctoritate persuasi transmittimus; wee passe ouer many grosse errours, by the authoritie of great men led and perswaded.* And it is true, that many of the Fathers were farre wide from the vnderstanding of this place. I speake it not, that I my selfe dare presume to censure them, for I reuerence both their Learning and their Pietie, and yet not bound to follow them any further, than they are guided by truth: for they were men; *Et humanum est errare.* And to the end that no man should bee proude of himselfe, God hath distributed vnto men such a proportion of Knowledge, as the wisest may behold in themselues their owne weakenesse: *Nulli*

Nulli vnquam dedit omnia Deus; God neuer gaue the knowledge of all things to any one. Saint *Paul* confest that hee knew not, whether he were taken vp into the third heauen in the flesh, or out of the flesh; and Christ himselfe acknowledgeth thus much, that neither Men, nor Angels knew of the latter day; and therfore, seeing knowledge is infinite, it is God (according to S. *Iude*) who is only wise. *Sapientia vbi inuenitur?* (saith IOB) *but where is wisedome found? and where is the place of vnderstanding? man knoweth not the price thereof, for it is not found in the Land of the liuing.* And therefore seeing GOD found folly in his Angels, mens iudgements (which inhabite in houses of clay) cannot be without their mistakings: and so the Fathers, and other learned men, excusable in particulars, especially in those whereupon our saluation dependeth not.

2 Cor. 12. 2.

Matth. 24. 36.

Iude Ep. v. 27.

Iob 28. 12. 13. 4. 18.

§. II.

A recitall of strange opinions, touching Paradise.

NOw touching *Paradise*, first it is to bee inquired, whether there were a *Paradise*, or no? or whether *Moses* description were altogether mysticall, & allegoricall? as *Origen, Philo, Fran. Georgius*, with others haue affirmed; and that vnder the names of those foure Riuers, *Pison, Gehon, Hidekel*, and *Perath*, *the tree of life, and the tree of Knowledge*, there were deliuered vnto vs other mysteries and significations; as, that by the foure Riuers were meant the foure Cardinall vertues, *Iustice, Temperance, Fortitude*, and *Prudence*, or (by other) Oyle, Wine, Milke, and Honny. This Allegoricall vnderstanding of *Paradise* by *Origen* diuulged, was againe by *Franciscus Georgius* receiued (saith *Sixtus Senensis*) whose friuolous imaginations *Sixtus* himselfe doth fully and learnedly answer, in the 34. Annotation of his fift Booke. *fol.* 338. the last Edition.

Bartas. sem. 2. l. 1. 143.

S. *Ambrose* also leaned wholly to the Allegoricall construction, and et *Paradise* in the third Heauen, and in the vertues of the minde, *& in nostro principali*, which is, as I conceiue it, *in mente*, or in our soules: to the particulars whereof he alludeth in this sort. By the place or garden of *Paradise*, was meant the soule or minde; by *Adam, Mens*, or Vnderstanding; by *Eue*, the Sense; by the *Serpent*, Delectation; by the *Tree* of good and euill, Sapience; and by the rest of the Trees, the vertues of the minde, or in the minde planted, or from thence springing. Notwithstanding all which, vpon the first of the *Corinth, cap.* 6. he in direct words alloweth both of a celestiall and terrestriall *Paradise*; the one, into which S. *Paul* was rapt; the other, into which *Adam* was put by God. *Aug. Chrysamensis* was of opinion, that a *Paradise* had beene, but that there was not now any marke thereof on the earth: the same being not only defaced, but withall the places now not so much as existing. To which *Luther* seemeth to adhere.

Amb. de Parad.

The *Manichees* also vnderstood, that by *Paradise* was meant the whole Earth; to which opinion, *Vadianus* inclineth, as I conceiue his words in two seuerall places. First, vpon this: *Fill the earth*, GEN. 10. Of which he giueth this iudgement. *Hoc ipso etiam quod dixit, Replete terram, dominamini vniuersis animantibus, subycite terram, clarissimè docet, totam terram extantem, & omnigenis (vt tum erat) fructibus consitam, sedem & hortum illum* Adæ, *& posteritatis futuræ fuisse*; *These words* (saith he) *in which God said, Bring forth fruite and multiply, and fill the earth, and subdue it, and rule ouer euery creature, doe cleerely shew, that the Vniuersall earth set or filled with all sorts of fruits (as then it was) was the garden and seate of* ADAM, *and of his future posteritie.* And afterward hee acknowledgeth the place, out of the *Acts, Cap.* 17. *Apostolus ex vno sanguine omne genus humanum adeo factum docet, vt habitarent super vniuersam faciem terræ: tota igitur terra Paradisus ille erat*; *The Apostle* (saith he) *teacheth, that God hath made of one bloud all mankinde, to dwell ouer all the face of the earth: and therefore all the earth* (saith hee) *was that Paradise.*

Verse 26.

Which coniectures I will answer in order. *Goropius Becanus* differeth not much from this opinion, but yet hee acknowledgeth that *Adam* was first planted by God in one certaine place, and peculiar Garden; which place *Goropius* findeth neere the Riuer of Acesines, in the confines of India.

Tertullian, Bonauenture, and *Durandus*, make *Paradise* vnder the Equinoctiall, and *Postellus*, quite contrary, vnder the North pole: the Chaldæans also for the most part, & all their Sectators, followed the opinion of *Origen*, or rather *Origen* theirs, who would either make *Paradise* a figure, or Sacrament only, or else would haue it seated out of this sensible word, or raised into some high and remote Region of the Aire. *Strabus*, and

Bart. 16. 126.

Beda in Gen.
Pet Comest. l. 1. cap. 3.
Moses Barc. de Par.

Rabanus, were both sicke of this vanitie, with *Origen*, and *Philo*: so was our venerable *Beda*, and *Pet. Comestor*, and *Moses Barcephas* the Syrian, translated by *Masius*. But as *Hopkins* saies of *Philo Iudaus*, that hee wondred, *Quo malo genio afflatus*; *By what euill Angell he was blowne vp into this errour*: so can I nor but greatly marualle at the learned men, who so grossely & blindly wandred; seeing *Moses*, and after him the Prophets, do so plainly describe this place, by the Region in which it was planted, by the kingdomes and prouinces bordering it, by the Riuers which watered it, and by the points of the Compasse vpon which it lay, in respect of Iudæa, or Canaan.

Nouiomagus also, vpon *Beda*, *De natura rerum*, beleeueth that all the earth was taken for *Paradise*, and not any one place. For the whole earth (saith he) hath the same beauty adscribed to *Paradise*. He addeth, that the Ocean was that fountaine, from whence the foure Riuers, Pison, Gehon, Tigris, and Euphrates, had their beginning: for he could not thinke it possible, that these Riuers of Ganges, Nilus, Tigris, and Euphrates, (whereof the one ranne through India, the other through Egypt, and the other through Mesopotamia and Armenia) could rise out of one fountaine, were it not out of the Fountaine of the Ocean.

§. III.

That there was a true locall Paradise Eastward, in the Countrey of Eden.

Gen. cap. 2.

TO the first therefore, that such a place there was vpon the earth, the wordes of *Moses* make it manifest, where it is written, *And the Lord God planted a garden Eastward in Eden, and there hee put the man whom hee had made.* And howsoeuer the vulgar translation, called *Hieromes* translation, hath conuerted this place thus, *Plantauerat Dominus Deus Paradisum voluptatis à principio*; *The Lord God planted a Paradise of pleasure from the beginning*; putting the word (*pleasure*) for Eden, and (*from the beginning*) for *Eastward*: it is manifest, that in this place Eden is the proper name of a Region. For what sense hath this translation (saith our *Hopkins*, in his Treatise of *Paradise*) that hee planted a garden in pleasure, or that a Riuer went out of pleasure to water the garden? But the seuenty Interpreters call it *Paradisum Edenis*, *the Paradise of Eden*, and so doth the Chaldæan Paraphrast truely take it for the proper name of a place, and for a Noune appellatiue; which Region, in respect of the fertilitie of the soyle, of the many beautifull Riuers, and goodly Woods, and that the trees (as in the Indies) doe alwaies keepe their leaues, was called Eden, which signifieth in the Hebrew, pleasantnesse, or delicacie, as the Spaniards call the Country, opposite to the *Isle of Cuba*, *Florida*: and this is the mistaking, which may end the dispute, as touching the double sense of the word, that as Florida was a Countrey, so called for the flourishing beauty thereof, so was Eden a Region called pleasure, or delicacie, for its pleasure, or delicacy: and as Florida signifieth flourishing; so Eden signifieth pleasure: & yet both are the proper names of Countries; for Eden being the proper name of a Region (called pleasure in the Hebrew) and *Paradise* being the choice seate of all that Region, *Paradise* was truely the Garden of Eden, and truly the Garden of pleasure.

Now, for Eastward, to translate it, *from the beginning*, it is also contrary to the translation of the Seuenty; to the ancient Greeke Fathers, as *Basil*, *Chrysostome*, *Theodoret*, *Gregarie*; and to the Rabines, as *Ramban*, *Rabbi Salomon*, *R. Abraham*, and *Chimchi*; and of the Latines, *Seuerinus*, *Damascenus*, *&c.* who plainly take Eden for the proper name of a Region, and set the word (*Eastward*) for *ab initio*: for *Damascens* owne wordes are these, *Paradisus est locus Dei manibus in Eden ad Orientem mirabiliter consitus*; *Paradise is a place, marualloufly planted by the hands of God, in Eden, toward the East.*

And after all these Fathers, *Guilhelmus Parisiensis*, a great learned man, and *Sixtus Senensis*, of later times, doe both vnderstand these words of Eden, and of the East; contrary to the vulgar translation; *Parisiensis*, as indifferent to both; and *Sixtus Senensis*, directly against the vulgar: of which these are their owne words: *After this I will begin to speake of Paradise terrestriall, which God planted from the beginning, or Eastward, &c. Post hæc incipiam loqui de Paradiso terrestri, quem plantâsse Deum ab initio vel ad Orientem, &c.* And then *Senensis*; MOSES *enim clarissimè prodit, Paradisum à Deo consitum in regione terræ Orientalis, quæ dicitur Heden: Heden autem esse proprium nomen apparet ex quarto capite Gen. vbi legimus* CHAM *habitâsse ad Orientalem plagam Hedon*; For MOSES (saith

(saith he) *dith shew most cleerely, that Paradise was planted of God in a Region of the East Countrie, which is called Heden: but that Heden is a proper name, it appeareth by the fourth Chapter of Genesis, where we reade, that* CHAM *dwelt on the East border of Heden.* PEREIRIVS endeuoureth to qualifie this translation: for this particle (saith he) *ab initio*, is referred to all the time of the creation, and not to the very first day; alleaging this place of Christ, that although the Deuill was said to be a man-slayer from the beginning, yet that was meant but after the sixth day. But surely, as I thinke (referring my selfe to better iudgement) the Deuill was from the instant of his fall a man-slayer in disposition, though he had not whereon to practise till mans creation. And for conclusion, S. *Hierome* (if that bee his translation) aduiseth himselfe better in the end of the third Chapter of *Genesis*, conuerting the word (*Eden*) by (*antè*) and not (*à principio*) as, *God did set a Cherubin before the Garden of Eden*; *Collocauit Deus antè Paradisum voluptatis Cherubin*; and *Pererius* himselfe acknowledgeth, that this is the true sense of this place, precisely taken, according to the Hebrew. *Posuit à parte Orientali horti Heden, Cherubin*; *Hee set on the East side of the Garden of Heden, Cherubin.* BECANVS affirmeth, that the Hebrew word (*Be*) signifieth (with) as well as (in) and so the Text beareth this sense; That God planted a Garden with pleasure (that is to say) full of pleasure. But *Becanus* followeth this construction, onely to the end, to finde *Paradise* vpon the Riuer of Acesines: for there he hath heard of the Indian Fig-tree in great abundance, which hee supposeth to bee the tree of Knowledge of good and euill, and would therefore draw *Paradise* to the Fig-tree: which conceit of his I will answer hereafter.

Vers. 16.
Iohn 8. 44.
Gen. 3. 24.

Now, because *Paradise* was seated by *Moses* toward the East, thence came the custome of praying towards the East, and not by imitation of the Chaldæans: and therefore all our Churches are built East and West, as to the point where the Sun riseth in March, which is directly ouer *Paradise* (saith *Damascenus*:) affirming, that wee alwaies pray towards the East, as looking towards *Paradise*, whence wee were cast out; and yet the Temple of *Salomon* had their Priests and Sacrifices, which turned themselues in their seruice and diuine ceremonies, alwaies towards the West, thereby to auoide the superstition of the Egyptians and Chaldæans.

But because East and West are but in respect of places; (for although *Paradise* were East from Iudæa, yet it was West from Persia) and the seruing of God is euery where in the world, the matter is not great which way we turne our faces, so our hearts stand right, other than this, that we who dwell West from *Paradise*, and pray turning ourselues towards the East, may remember thereby to beseech God, that as by *Adams* fall vve haue lost the *Paradise* on earth; so by Christs death and passion wee may be made partakers of the *Paradise* celestiall, & the Kingdom of heauen. To conclude, I conceiue, that there was no other mysterie in adding the word (East) to Eden by *Moses*, than to shew, that the Region of Eden, in which *Paradise* vvas, lay Eastward from Iudæa and Canaan: for the Scriptures alwaies called the people of those Nations, the Sonnes of the East, vvhich inhabited Arabia, Mesopotamia, Chaldæa, and Persia: of which *Ouid.*

Eurus ad Euroam, Nabataeaq; regna recessit,	The East winde with *Aurora* hath abiding
Persidaq; & radijs iuga subdita matutinis.	Amongst th' *Arabian*, and the *Persian* Hils, Whom *Phebus* first salutes at his vp-rising.

And if it bee obiected, that *Hiermy* the Prophet threatning the destruction of *Hierusalem*, doth often make mention of Northerne Nations, it is to bee noted, that the North is there named, in respect of those nations that followed *Nabuchodonozor*, and of vvhom the greatest part of his Army vvas compounded; not that Babylon it selfe stood North from Hierusalem, though inclining from the East towards the North.

Now to the difference of this Translation, *Peter Comestor* giueth best satisfaction: for he vseth the vvord, *From the beginning*, *that is, from the first part of the world*, (*à principio*) *id est*, (saith hee) *à prima orbis parte*; and afterward hee affirmeth, that *à principio*, and *ad Orientem*, haue the same signification, *From the beginning & East-ward is all one, à principio idem est quod ad Orientem.*

But to returne to the proofe of this place, and that this Story of Mankind was not Allegoricall, it followeth in the Text of the 2. Chap. & 9. Verse, in these vvords: *For out of the ground made the Lord God to grow euery Tree pleasant to the sight, and good for meate, &c.* so as first it appeared that God created *Adam* elsewhere, as in the World at large, and then, *put him into the Garden*: and the end why, is expresse: *that he might dresse it and keepe*

Verse 18. *keepe it*; *Paradise* being a Garden or Orchard filled with Plants, and Trees, of the most excellent kinds, pleasant to behold, and (withall) good for meate: which proueth that *Paradise* was a terrestriall Garden, garnished with Fruits, delighting both the eye and taste. And to make it more plaine, and to take away all opinion of Allegoricall construction, he affirmeth that it was watered and beautified with a Riuer; expressing also the Region, out of which this Riuer sprang, which hee calleth Heden; and that Heden is also a Countrie neere vnto Charan in Mesopotamia, *Ezechiel* witnesseth.

Verse 10. Ezech. 27. 23.

But to all these Cabalists, which draw the Truth and Storie of the Scriptures into Allegories, *Epiphanius* answereth in these wordes: *Si Paradisus non est sensibilis, non est etiam fons, si non est fons, non est flumen, si non est flumen, non sunt quatuor principia, non Pison, non Gehon, non Tigris, nec Euphrates, non est ficus, non folia, non commedit* EVA *de arbore, non est* ADAM, *non sunt homines, sed veritas iam fabula est, & omnia ad Allegorias reuocantur: If Paradise bee not sensible, then there was no fountaine, and then no riuer, if no riuer, then no such foure heads or branches, and then not any such riuer as Pison, or Gehon, Tigris, or Euphrates, no such fig-tree, or fruit, or leaues,* EVE *then did not eate of the fruit, neither was there any* ADAM, *or any man, the truth was but a fable, and all things esteemed are called backe into Allegories.* Wordes to the same effect hath S. *Hierome* vpon DANIEL: *Contitescant eorum deliramenta, qui vmbras & imagines in veritate sequentes, ipsam conantur euertere veritatem, vt Paradisum & flumina, & arbores putent Allegoriæ Legibus se debere subruere; Let the dotage of them bee silent, who following shadowes and images in the Truth, endeuour to subuert the Truth it selfe, and thinke that they ought to bring Paradise, and the Riuers and the Trees vnder the Rules of Allegorie.*

Furthermore, by the continuation and order of the Storie is the place made more manifest. For, God gaue *Adam* free libertie to eate of euery Tree of the Garden, (the Tree of knowledge excepted) which Trees *Moses* in the ninth verse saith that they were good to eat; meaning the fruit which they bare. Besides, God left all beasts to *Adam* to be named, which hee had formerly made; and these beasts were neither in the third Heauen, nor neere the Circle of the Moone, nor beasts in imagination: for if all these things were Enigmaticall or Mysticall, the same might also bee said of the creation of all things. And *Ezechiel*, speaking of the glory of the Assyrian Kings, vseth this speech: *All the Trees of Eden, which were in the Garden of God, enuied him*; which proueth both *Eden*, and *Paradise* therin seated, to be terrestriall: for the Prophets made no imaginary comparisons. But *Moses* wrote plainely, and in a simple stile, fit for the capacities of ignorant men, and hee was more large and precise in the description of *Paradise*, than in any other place of Scripture; of purpose to take away all scruple from the incredulitie of future ages, whom he knew (out of the gift of Prophecie) to bee apt to fabulous inuentions, and that if hee had not described both the Region and the Riuers, and how it stood from Canaan, many of the vnbeleeuing Israelites and others after them, would haue misconstrued this Storie of Mankinde. And is it likely, there would haue been so often mention made of *Paradise* in the Scriptures, if the same had beene an *Vtopia?* For we finde that the Valley, wherein *Sodome* and *Gomorrha* stood, (sometimes called Pentapolis, of the fiue principall Cities therin) was before the destruction (which their vnnaturall sinne purchased) compared to the *Paradise* of the Lord, and like to the Land of Egypt toward Zoar: In like manner was Israel resembled to the *Paradise* of GOD, before the Babylonians wasted it: which proueth plainly, that *Paradise* it selfe exceeded in beauty and fertility, and that these places had but a resemblance thereof: being compared to a seate and soyle of farre exceeding excellency.

Ezech. 31. 9.

Gen. 13. 10.

Besides, whence had *Homer* his inuention of *Alcinous* Gardens, as *Iustin Martyr* noteth, but out of *Moses* his description of *Paradise? Gen.* 2. and whence are their praises of the Elizian fields, but out of the storie of *Paradise?* to which also appertaine those Verses of the Golden Age in *Ouid*:

Ouid. Metam. l. 1.

Ver erat æternum, placidique tepentibus auris
Mulcebant Zephyri natos sine semine flores.

The ioyfull Spring did euer last,	Sweete flowers by his gentle blast,
And Zephyrus did breede	Without the helpe of seed.

And it is manifest, *that Orpheus, Linus, Pindarus, Hesiodus,* and *Homer*, and after him, *Ouid*, one out of another, and all these together with *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, and their Secta-

tours, did greatly enrich their inuentions, by venting the stolne Treasures of Diuine Letters, altered by prophane additions, and disguised by poeticall conuersions, as if they had bin conceiued out of their owne speculations and contemplations.

But besides all these testimonies, if we find what Region *Heden* or *Eden* was; if wee proue the Riuer that ran out of it, and that the same afterwards was diuided into foure branches; together with the Kingdomes of *Hauila* and *Cush*, and that all these are Eastward from *Canaan*, or the Deserts of the *Amorites*, where *Moses* wrote; I then conceiue, that there is no man that will doubt, but that such a place there was. And yet I doe not exclude the Allegoricall sense of the Scripture; for aswell in this there were many figures of Christ, as in all the old Testament throughout: the Storie being directly true notwithstanding. And to this purpose (saith Saint *Augustine*) *Tres sunt de Paradiso generales sententiæ: vna est eorum, qui tantummodò corporaliter Paradisum intelligi volunt: alia eorum, qui spiritualiter tantùm (id est) Ecclesiam: tertia eorum, qui vtroq; modo Paradisum accipiunt,* (that is) *There are three opinions of Paradise: the one of those men, which will haue it altogether corporall: a second of those, which conceiue it altogether spirituall, and to bee a figure of the Church: the third of those which take it in both senses*; which third opinion S. *Augustine* approueth, and of which *Suidas* giueth this allowable iudgement: *Quemadmodum homo sensibilis, & intelligibilis simul conditus erat: sic & huius sanctissimum nemus, sensibile simul & intelligibile, & duplici specie est præditum,* (that is) *As man was created at one time both sensible and intelligible: so was this holy Groue or Garden to be taken both wayes, and endued with a double forme.*

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei. l. 13. c. 21.

Suidas in verbo Paradisus.

§. IV.

Why it should be needfull to intreate diligently of the place of Paradise.

BVt it may be obiected, that it is needlesse, and a kind of curiositie to enquire so diligently after this place of *Paradise*, and that the knowledge thereof is of little or no vse. To which I answer, that there is nothing written in the Scripture, but for our instruction; and if the truth of the Storie be necessarie, then by the place proued, the same is also made more apparent. For if wee should conceiue that *Paradise* were not on the Earth, but lifted vp as high as the Moone; or that it were beyond all the *Ocean*, and in no part of the knowne World, from whence *Adam* was said to wade through the Sea, & thence to haue come into *Iudæa*, (out of doubt) there would be few men in the World, that would giue any credit vnto it. For what could seeme more ridiculous than the report of such a place? and besides, what maketh this seate of *Paradise* so much disputed and doubted of, but the conceit that *Pishon* should be *Ganges*, which watereth the East *India*, and *Gehon*, *Nilus*, which enricheth *Egypt*, and these two Riuers so farre distant, as (except all the World were *Paradise*) these streames can no way be comprized therein?

Secondly, if the birth and workes, and death of our Sauiour, were said to haue beene in some such Countrey, of which no man euer heard tell, and that his Miracles had bin derformed in the Ayre, or no place certainly knowne: I assure my selfe, that the Christian Religion would haue taken but a slender roote in the mindes of men: for times and places are approued witnesses of worldly actions.

Thirdly, if we should rely, or giue place to the iudgement of some Writers vpon this place of *Genesis* (though otherwise for their doctrine in generall, they are worthy of honour & reuerence) I say that there is no fable among the *Grecians* or *Egyptians* more ridiculous: for who would beleeue that there were a piece of the World so set by it selfe & separated as to hang in the Aire vnder the circle of the Moone? or who so doltish to conceiue, that from thence the foure riuers of *Ganges*, *Nilus*, *Euphrates*, and *Tygris*, should fall downe, and run vnder all the Ocean, and rise vp againe in this our habitable world, & in those places where they are now found? Which left any man thinke, that I enforce or straine to the worst, these are *Peter Comestors* own words. *Est autem locus amœnissimus, longo terræ & maris tractu à nostra habitabili Zona secretus, adeò eleuatus, vt vsq; ad lunarem globum attingat, &c.* (that is) *It is a most pleasant place, seuered from our habitable Zone by a long tract of Land & Sea, eleuated so that it reacheth to the globe of the Moon.*

And *Moses Barcephas* vpon this place writeth in this manner: *Deinde hoc quoq; responsu euolumus, Paradisum multò sublimiore positum esse regione, atq; hac nostra extet terra, eoq; fieri vt*

Bare. conuerted by Hiasus.

vt illinc per præcipitium delabantur fluuij tanto cum impetu, quantum verbis exprimere non possis; eoq; impetu impulsi pressiq;, sub Oceani vado rapiuntur, vnde rursus prosiliant ebulliantq; in hoc à nobis culto orbe: which haue this sense: *Furthermore* (saith he) *we giue this for an answer, that Paradise is set in a Region farre raised aboue this part which we inhabite; whereby it comes to passe, that from thence these Riuers fall downe with such a headlong violence, as words cannot expresse; and with that force so impulsed and prest, they are carried vnder the deepe Ocean, and doe againe rise and boyle vp in this our habitable World:* and to this he addeth the opinion of *Ephram*, which is this. *Ephram dicit Paradisum ambire terram, atq; vltra Oceanum ita positum esse, vt totum terrarum orbem ab omni circumdet regione, non aliter atq; Lunæ orbis Lunam cingit*, (which is) *That Paradise doth compasse or embrace the whole Earth, and is so set beyond the Ocean Sea, as it enuironeth the whole Orbe of the Earth on euery side, as the Orbe of the Moone doth embrace the Moone.* To the end therefore that these ridiculous expositions and opinions doe not bring question vnto Truth it selfe, or make the same subiect to doubts or disputes, it is necessarie to discouer the true place of *Paradise, which God in his wisedome* appointed in the very Nauell of this our World, and (as *Melanchton* saies) *in parte terræ meliore, in the best part thereof*, that from thence, as from a Centre, the Vniuersall might be filled with people and planted; and by knowing this place, we shall the better iudge of the beginning of Nations, & of the worlds inhabitation: for neere vnto this did the Sons of *Noah* also disperse themselues after the floud, into all other remote regions & countries. And if it be a generous desire in men, to know from whence their owne forefathers haue come, and out of what regions and Nations, it cannot be displeasing to vnderstand the place of our first Ancester, from whence all the streames and branches of Mankind haue followed & bin deduced. If then it doe appeare by the former, that such a place there was as *Paradise*, and that the knowledge of this place cannot be vnprofitable, it followeth in order to examine seueral opinions before remembred, by the Truth it selfe, & to see how they agree with the sense of the Scripture, and with common reason, and afterward to proue directly, and to delineate the Region in which God first planted this delightfull Garden.

§. V.

That the Floud hath not vtterly defaced the markes of Paradise, nor caused Hils in the Earth.

AND first, whereas it is supposed by *Aug. Chysamensis*, that the Floud hath altered, deformed, or rather annihilated this place, in such sort, as no man can finde any marke or memorie thereof: (of which opinion there were others also, ascribing to the Floud the cause of those high Mountaines, which are found on all the Earth ouer, with many other strange effects) for mine owne opinion, I thinke neither the one nor the other to be true. For although I cannot deny, but that the face of *Paradise* was after the Floud withered, and growne old, in respect of the first beautie: (for both the ages of men, and the nature of all things Time hath changed) yet if there had beene no signe of any such place, or if the soile and seate had not remained, then would not *Moses*, who wrote of *Paradise* about 850. yeeres after the Floud, haue described it so particularly, and the Prophets long after *Moses* would not haue made so often mention thereof. And though the verie Garden it selfe were not then to be found, but that the Floud, and other accidents of time made it one common field and pasture with the Land of *Eden*, yet the place is still the same, and the Riuers still remaine the same Riuers. By two of which (neuer doubted of) to wit, *Tygris*, and *Euphrates*, we are sure to finde in what longitude *Paradise* lay; & learning out one of these Riuers, which afterward doth diuide it selfe into foure branches, wee are sure that the partition is at the very border of the Garden it selfe. For it is written, that out of *Eden* went a Riuer to water the Garden, and from thence it was diuided and became into foure heads: Now whether the word in the Latine Translation (*Inde*) *from thence*, be referred to *Eden* it selfe, or to *Paradise*, yet the diuision & branching of those riuers must be in the North or South side of the very Garden (if the riuers run as they doe, North & South) and therfore these riuers yet remaining, & *Eden* manifestly known, there could be no such defacing by the floud, as is supposed. Furthermore, as there is no likelihood, that the place could be so altered as future ages knew it not, so is there no probability, that

Gen. 2. 10.

that eyther these Riuers were turned out of their courses, or new Riuers created by the Floud which were not, or that the Floud (as aforesaid) by a violent motion, when it began to decrease, was the cause of high Hills or deepe Vallies. For what descent of waters could there be in a Sphericall and round bodie, wherein there is nor high nor low? seeing that all violent force of waters is eyther by the strength of winde, by descent from a higher to a lower, or by the ebbe or floud of the Sea. But that there was anie winde (whereby the Seas are most enraged) it appeareth not, rather the contrarie is probable: for it is written, *Therefore God made a winde to passe vpon the Earth; and the waters ceased.* So as it appeareth not, that, vntill the waters sanke, there was any winde at all, but that God afterward, out of his goodnesse, caused the winde to blow, to drye vp the abundant slime and mudde of the Earth, and make the Land more firme, and to cleanse the Ayre of thicke vapours, and vnwholsome mists: and this we know by experience, that all downe-right raines doe euermore disseuer the violence of outragious windes, and beat downe, and leuell the swelling and mountainous billow of the Sea: for anie ebbes and flouds there could be none, when the waters were equall and of one heighth ouer all the face of the Earth, and when there were no Indraughts, Bayes, or Gulfes to receiue a Floud, or any descent, or violent falling of waters in the round forme of the Earth and Waters, as aforesaid: and therefore it seemeth most agreeable to reason, that the waters rather stood in a quiet calme, than that they moued with any raging or ouer-bearing violence. And for a more direct proofe that the Floud made no such destroying alteration, *Iosephus* auoweth that one of those pillars erected by *Seth*, the third from *Adam*, was to be seene in his dayes; which pillars were set vp aboue 1426. years before the Floud, counting *Seth* to be an hundred years old at the erection of them; and *Ioseph* himselfe to haue liued some fortie or fiftie yeares after Christ: of whom although there be no cause to beleeue all that hee wrote, yet that which hee auouched of his owne time, cannot (without great derogation) bee called in question. And therefore it may be possible, that some foundation or ruine thereof might then be seene. Now that such pillars were raised by *Seth*, all Antiquitie hath auowed. It is also written in *Berosus* (to whom although I giue little credite, yet I cannot condemne him in all) that the Citie of Enoch, built by *Cain* about the mountaines of *Libanus*, was not defaced by length of time: yea the ruines thereof *Annius* (who commented vpon that inuented fragment) saith, were to be seene in his dayes, who liued in the reigne of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* of Castile. And if these his words be not true, then was he exceeding impudent: for, speaking of this citie of *Enoch*, he concludeth in this sort: *Cuius maxima & ingentis molis fundamenta visuntur, & vocatur ab incolis regionis, Ciuitas Cain, vt nostri mercatores, & peregrini referunt; The foundation of which huge Masse is now to be seene, and the place is called by the people of that Region, the Citie of Cain, as both our strangers and merchants report.* It is also auowed by *Pomponius Mela* (to whom I giue more credite in these things) that the citie of Ioppa was built before the Floud, ouer which *Cepha* was King: whose name, with his brother *Phineus*, together with the grounds and principles of their Religion, was found grauen vpon certaine altars of stone. And it is not impossible, that the ruines of this other citie, called Enoch by *Annius*, might be seene, though founded in the first Age: but it could not be of the first citie of the world, built by *Cain*, the place rather than the time denying it.

Gen. 8. 1.

Gen. 4. 17.

And to proue directly that the Floud was not the cause of mountaines, but that there were mountaines from the creation, it is written, that *the waters of the Floud ouerflowed by fifteene Cubits the highest Mountaines.* And *Masius Damascenus* speaking of the Floud, writeth in this manner: *Est supra Minyadam excelsus mons in Armenia (qui Baris appellatur) in quo confugientes multos sermo est diluuij tempore liberatos. And vpon Minyada there is an high Mountaine in Armenia (called Baris) vnto which (as it is said) that many fled in the time of the Deluge, and that they saued themselues thereon.* Now although it is contrarie to Gods Word, that any more were saued than eight persons (which *Masius* doth not auouch, but by report) yet it is a testimonie, that such Mountaines were before the Floud, which were afterwards, and euer since, knowne by the same names; & on which Mountaines it is generally receiued that the Arke rested: but vntruely, as I shall proue hereafter. And againe it appeareth, that the Mount *Sion* (though by another name) was knowne before the Floud; on which the Thalmudists report, that many Giants saued themselues also; but, as *Annius* saith, without all authoritie eyther diuine or humane.

Lastly,

Lastly, it appeareth that the Floud did not so turne vpside-downe the face of the Earth, as thereby it was made past knowledge, after the waters were decreased, by this
Gen.8.11. that *when* NOAH *sent out the Doue the second time, she returned with an Oliue-leafe in her mouth*, which shee had pluckt, and which (vntill the Trees were discouered) shee found not: for otherwise she might haue found them floting on the water; a manifest proofe, that the Trees were not torne vp by the rootes, nor swamme vpon the waters, for it is written: *folium Oliue, raptum* or *decerptum, a leafe pluckt*, (which is) to take from a Tree, or to teare off. By this it is apparant, (there being nothing written to the contrary) that the Floud made no such alteration, as was supposed, but that the place of Paradise might be seene to succeeding Ages, especially vnto *Moses*, by whom it pleased God to teach the truth of the Worlds Creation, and vnto the Prophets which succeeded him: both which I take for my warrant, and to guide me in this Discouery.

§. VI.

That Paradise was not the whole Earth, as some haue thought: making the Ocean to bee the fountaine of those foure Riuers.

THis conceit of *Aug. Chysamensis* being answered, who onely giueth *his opinion* for *reason*, I will in a few words examine that of the Manichees, of *Noniomagus*, *Vadianus*, *Goropius*, *Becanus*, and all those that vnderstood, that by Paradise was meant the whole Earth. But in this I shall not trouble the Reader with many wordes, because by those places of Scripture formerly remembred, this Vniuersalitie will ap-
Gen.1.28. Acts 17.26. peare altogether improper. The places which *Vadianus* alleageth, *Bring forth fruit and multiply, fill the Earth and subdue it, rule ouer euery Creature, &c.* with this of the *Acts*, *and hath made of one blond all Mankinde, to dwell on all the face of the Earth*, doe no way proue such a generalitie: for the World was made for man, of which hee vvas Lord and Gouernor, and all things therein were ordained of God for his vse. Now although all men vvere of one and the same fountaine of bloud originally; and *Adams* posteritie inhabited in processe of time ouer all the face of the earth; yet it disproueth in nothing the particular Garden, assigned to *Adam*, to dresse and cultiue, in which hee liued in so
Gen.2.8. blessed an estate before his transgression. For if there had beene no other choyce, but that *Adam* had bin left to the Vniuersall; *Moses* vvould not then haue said, *Eastward*
3.24. *in Eden*, seeing the World hath nor East nor West, but respectiuely. And to what end had the Angell of God beene set to keepe the East-side, and entrance into Paradise after *Adams* expulsion, if the Vniuersall had beene Paradise? for then must *Adam* haue been chased also out of the World. For if All the earth vvere Paradise, that place can receiue no better construction than this, That *Adam* vvas driuen out of the World into the World, and out of Paradise into Paradise, except vvee should beleeue vvith *Metrodorus*, that there were infinite Worlds. Which to deny, he thinkes all one, as to affirme, *That in so large a field, as the Vniuersall, there should grow but one Thistle.* NOVIOMAGVS vpon *Beda*, seemeth to bee led by this, that it vvas vnpossible for those three Riuers, Ganges, Nilus, and Euphrates (vvhich vvater three portions of the World so far distant) to rise out of one Fountaine, except the Ocean bee taken for the Well, and the World for the Garden.

And it is true, that those foure Riuers, being so vnderstood, there could bee no coniecture more probable; but it shall plainly appeare, that Pison was falsly taken for Ganges, and Gehon falsly for Nilus, although Ganges be a Riuer by Hauilah in India, & Nilus run through Ethiopia. The *Seuenty* vvrite Chus for Ethiopia, and therby the errors of the Manichees, and the mistakings of *Noniomagus*, *Goropius*, & *Vadianus*, vvith others, are made manifest. Yet was their coniecture farre more probable, than that of *Ephrem*, *Cyrillus*, and *Athanasius*: That Paradise vvas seated far beyond the Ocean Sea, and that *Adam* vvaded through it, and at last came toward the Country in vvhich hee was created, and vvas buried at Mount Caluery in Hierusalem. And certainely, though all those of the first Age were of great stature, and so continued many yeeres after the Floud, yet *Adams* shin-bones must haue contained a thousand fadome, and much more, if hee had foorded the Ocean; but this opinion is so ridiculous, as it needes no argument to disproue it.

§. VII.

§. VII.

Of their opinion which make Paradise as high as the Moone: and of others, which make it higher than the middle Region of the Ayre.

THirdly, whereas *Beda* saith, and as the Schoolemen affirme, *Paradise* to bee a place, altogether remoued from the knowledge of men *(locus à cognitione hominum remotissimus)* and *Barcephas* conceiued, that *Paradise* was farre in the East, but mounted aboue the Ocean, and all the Earth, and neere the Orbe of the
10 Moone (which opinion, though the Schoolemen charge *Beda* withall, yet *Pererius* layes it off from *Beda* vpon *Strabus*, and his Master *Rabanus*:) and whereas *Rupertus*, in his Geographie of *Paradise*, doth not much differ from the rest, but findes it seated next or neerest heauen; It may seeme, that all these borrowed this doctrine out of *Plato*, and *Plato* out of *Socrates*: but neither of them (as I conceiue) well vnderstood; who (vndoubtedly) tooke this place for Heauen it selfe, into which the Soules of the blessed were carried after death.

True it is, that these Philosophers durst not for feare of the Areopagites (in this and many other diuine apprehensions) set downe what they beleeued in plaine termes, e- Diog.Laert.in Sco.
specially *Plato*: though *Socrates* in the end suffered death, for acknowledging one onely
20 powerfull God; and therefore did the Deuill himselfe doe him that right, as by an Oracle, to pronounce him the wisest man. *Iustine Martyr* affirmeth, that *Plato* had read Iustin.Mart. adm.ad Gent.
the Scriptures; and St. *Augustine* gaue this iudgement of him, as his opinion, that (few things changed) hee might be counted a Christian. And it seemeth to mee, that both Aug.
Tertullian and *Eusebius* conceiue, that *Socrates*, by that place aforesaid, meant the celestiall *Paradise*, and not this of Eden. *Solinus*, I grant, reporteth, that there is a place exceeding delightfull and healthfull, vpon the top of Mount Atho (called *Acrothonos*) which being aboue all Clouds of Raine, or other inconuenience, the people (by reason of their so many yeeres) are called *Macrobici* (that is) *Long-liued*. A further Argument is vsed, for proofe of the heighth of this place, because therein was *Enoch* pre-
30 serued from the violence of the Floud: approued by *Isidore*, and *Peter Lombard*; in which place also *Tertullian* conceiued, that the blessed Soules were preserued till the last iudgement; which *Irenæus* and *Iustine Martyr* also beleeued. But this opinion was of all *Catholique Diuines* reproued, and in the *Florentine Councell* damned; of which Saint *Augustine* more modestly gaue this iudgement: *Sicut certum est*, ENOCH & ELIAM *nunc viuere: ita vbi nunc sunt: an in Paradiso an alibi, incertum est*; (that is) *As it is certaine that* ENOCH *and* ELIAS *doe now liue: so where they liue, in Paradise or elsewhere, it is vncertaine.* But *Barcephas* giues a third cause, though of all other the weakest. For (saith he) it was necessary that *Paradise* should be set at such a distance and heighth, because the foure Riuers (had they not fallen so precipitate) could not haue had sufficient force to
40 haue thrust themselues vnder the great Ocean, and afterward haue forced their passage through the earth, and haue risen againe in the farre distant Regions of India, Egypt, and Armenia.

These strange fancies and dreames haue beene answered by diuers learned men long since, and lately by *Hopkins*, and *Pererius*, writing vpon this subiect; of whose arguments I will repeate these few: for to vse long discourse against those things, which are both against Scripture and Reason, might rightly bee iudged a vanity in the Answerer, not much inferior to that of the Inuenter.

It is first therefore alleadged, that such a place cannot be commodious to liue in: for being set so neere the Moone, it had beene too neere the Sunne, and other heauenly
50 bodies. Secondly, because it must haue beene too ioynct a Neighbour to the Element of fire. Thirdly, because the Ayre in that Region is so violently moued, and carried about with such swiftnesse, as nothing in that place can consist or haue abiding. Fourthly, because the place betweene the Earth and the Moone (according to *Ptolomie* and *Alfraganus*) is seuenteen times the *Diameter* of the Earth, which makes in a grosse account about one hundred and twenty thousand miles. Hereupon it must follow, that *Paradise*, being raised to this heighth, must haue the compasse of the whole earth for a *Basis* and foundation. But had it bin so raised, it could hardly be hidden from the knowledge, or eyes of men: seeing it would depriue vs of the Sunnes light, all the fore-part

of the day, being seated in the East, as they suppose. Now, to fortifie the former opinions, *Tostatus* addeth this, that those people which dwell neere those fals of waters, are deafe from their infancy, like those which dwel neer the *Catadupæ*, or ouer-fals of Nilus. But this I hold as fained. For I haue seen in the Indies, far greater water-falls, than those of Nilus, and yet the people dwelling neere them are not deafe at all. *Tostatus* (the better to strengthen himselfe) citeth *Basil* and *Ambrose* together: to which *Pererius*, *Sed ego hæc apud Basilium & Ambrosium in eorum scriptis, quæ nunc extant, nusquam me legere memini; But I do not remember* (saith he) *that I euer read those things, either in* BASIL *or* AMBROSE.

Cicero Somn. Scip.

But for the bodies of *Enoch* & *Elias*, God hath disposed of them according to his wisdome. Their taking vp might be into the celestiall *Paradise*, for ought we know. For although flesh and bloud, subiect to corruption, cannot inherit the Kingdome of heauen, and the seed must rot in the ground before it grow, yet we shall not all die (saith S. *Paul*) *but all shall be changed*: which change, in *Enoch* & *Elias*, was easie to him that is Almightie. But for the rest, the Scriptures are manifest, that by the Floud all perished on the earth, sauing eight persons; and therefore in the terrestriall *Paradise* they could not be.

1.Cor.15.36,51 *1.Pet.3.20.*

For *Tostatus* his owne opinion, who soared not altogether so high as the rest, but beleeued that *Paradise* was raised aboue the middle Region of the Aire, and twenty cubits aboue all Mountaines, that the Floud did not therfore reach it: (which *Scotus* and other later Schoole-men also beleeued; for, say they, there were no sinners in *Paradise*, and therefore no cause to ouer-whelme it:) this is also contrary to the expresse letter of the Scripture: which directly, and without admitting of any distinction, teacheth vs, that *the waters ouer-flowed all the mountaines vnder heauen*. And were it otherwise, then might we aswell giue credit to *Masius*, *Damascenus*, & the Thalmudists, who affirme, that there were of the Giants that saued themselues on the Mountaine Baris, and on Sion. But to helpe this, *Scotus*, being (as the rest of the Schoolemen are) full of distinctions, saith; That the waters stood at *Paradise*, as they did in the Read Sea, and at Iordan; and as the Floud was not naturall, so was *Paradise* saued by miracle. And *Thomas Aquinas* qualifieth this high conceit with this supposition, That it was not beleeued, that *Paradise* was so seated, as *Beda* and others seeme to affirme in words, but by *Hyperbole* and comparatiuely, for the delicacie and beautie so resembled. But this I dare auow of all those Schoole-men, that though they were exceeding witty, yet they better teach all their Followers to shift, than to resolue by their distinctions. Wherefore not to stay long in answering this opinion of *Tostatus*, I confesse that it is written, that the Mountains of Olympus, Atho, and Atlas, ouer-reach and surmount all windes and clouds, and that (notwithstanding) there is found on the heads of the Hils both springs and fruits; and the Pagan Priests, sacrificing on these mountaine tops, do not find the ashes (remaining of their sacrifices) blowne thence, nor thence washt off by raines, when they returne: yet experience hath resolued vs, that these reports are fabulous, and *Pliny* himself (who was not sparing in the report of wonders) auoweth the contrary. But were it granted, yet the heighth of these Mountaines is far vnder the supposed place of *Paradise*; and on these selfe Hils the ayre is so thin (saith S. *Augustine*, whom herein I mistrust) that it is not sufficient to beare vp the body of a bird, hauing therein no feeling of her wings, or any sensible resistance of ayre to mount her selfe by.

Gen.7.19. *Exod.14.21.*

§. VIII.

Of their opinion that seate Paradise vnder the Æquinoctiall: and of the pleasant habitation vnder those Climats.

THose which come neerer vnto Reason, finde *Paradise* vnder the *Æquinoctiall line*, as *Tertullian*, *Bonauenture*, and *Durandus*: iudging, that thereunder might be found most pleasure, and the greatest fertility of soile: but against it *Thomas Aquinas* obiecteth the distemperate heat, which he supposeth to be in all places so directly vnder the Sunne; but this is *(non causa pro causa,)* for although *Paradise* could not bee vnder the Line, because Eden is farre from it, in which *Paradise* was; & because there is no part of Euphrates, Tigris, or Ganges vnder it, (Ganges being one of the foure riuers, as they suppose) yet this conceit of distemper, (being but an old opinion) is found to be very vntrue, though for the coniecture not to bee condemned, considering the age when those Fathers wrote, grounded chiefly on this: that whereas it

it appeared, that euerie Countrie, as it lay by degrees neerer the Tropick, and so toward the *Aequinoctiall*, did so much the more exceede in heat; It was therefore a reasonable coniecture, that those Countries which were situated directly vnder it, were of a distemper vninhabitable: but it seemeth that *Tertullian* conceiued better, and so did *Auicenne*, for they both thought them habitable enough; and though (perchance) in those daies it might be thought a fantasticall opinion (as all are which goe against the vulgar) yet we now find, that if there be any place vpon the earth of that nature, beautie, and delight that *Paradise* had, the same must be found within that supposed vninhabitable burnt Zone, or within the Tropicks, and neerest to the line it selfe. For hereof experience hath informed Reason; and Time hath made those things apparant, which were hidden and could not by any contemplation be discouered. Indeed it hath so pleased God to prouide for all liuing creatures, wherewith he hath filled the world, that such inconueniences which we contemplate a farre off, are found by triall and the witnesse of mens trauailes, to be so qualified, as there is no portion of the earth made in vaine, or as a fruitlesse lump to fashion out the rest. For *God himselfe* (saith ISAY) *that formed the earth and made it, he that prepared it, he created it not in vaine, he formed it to be inhabited.* Now we finde that these hottest Regions of the world, seated vnder the *Aequinoctiall line*, or neere it, are so refreshed with a daily gale of Easternely winde (which the *Spaniards* call the *Brize*) that doth euermore blow strongest in the heate of the day, as the downe-right beames of the Sun cannot so much master it, that there is any inconuenience or distemperate heat found thereby. Secondly, the nights are so cold, fresh, and equall, by reason of the entire interposition of the earth, as (for those places which my selfe haue seen, neere the Line & vnder it) I know no other part of the world of better, or equall temper: Onely there are some tracts, which by accident of high Mountaines are barr'd from this ayre and fresh wind, and some few sandie parts without trees, which are not therefore so well inhabited as the rest; and such difference of soiles we finde also in all other parts of the world. But (for the greatest part) those Regions haue so many goodly Riuers, Fountaines, and little Brookes, abundance of high Cedars, and other stately trees casting shade, so many sorts of delicate fruits, euer bearing, and at all times beautified with blossome and fruit both greene and ripe, as it may of all other parts be best compared to the *Paradise* of *Eden*: the boughes and branches are neuer vnclothed and left naked, their sap creepeth not vnder ground into the root, fearing the iniury of the frost: neither doth *Pomona* at any time despise her withered Husband *Vertumnus*, in his winter quarters and old age. Therefore are these Countries called *Terræ vitiosæ*, *Vicious Countries*: for Nature being liberall to all without labour, necessitie imposing no industrie or trauell, idlenesse bringeth forth no other fruits than vaine thoughts, and licentious pleasures. So that to conclude this part, *Tertullian* and those of his opinion were not deceiued in the nature of the place: but *Aquinas*, who misliked this opinion, and followed a worse. And (to say the truth) all the Schoolemen were grosse in this particular.

Isay 45.18.

§. IX.

Of the change of the names of places: and that besides that Eden in Cœlesyria, there is a Country in Babylon, once of this name, as is proued out of ESA. 37. *and* EZEC. 27.

THese opinions answered, and the region of *Eden* not found in any of those imaginary vworlds, nor vnder *Torrida Zona*; it followeth that now vve discouer and find out the seat thereof, for in it vvas *Paradise* by God planted. The difficultie of vvhich search resteth chiefly in this, That as all Nations haue often changed names vvith their Masters; so are most of these places, by *Moses* remembred, forgotten by those names of all Historians and Geographers, as vvell ancient as moderne.

Besides, vve find that the *Assyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes* and *Persians* (*Cyrus* onely and a few other excepted) sought to extinguish the *Hebrewes*. The *Grecians* hated both their Nation and their Religion; and the *Romanes* despised once to remember them in any of their Stories. And as those three Monarchies succeeded each other: so did they transforme the names of all those principall Places and Cities in the East: and after them, the *Turke* hath sought (vvhat he could) to extinguish in all things, the ancient memorie of those people; vvhich he hath subiected and inthralled.

Now besides those notable markes, *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, the better to find the way which leadeth to the Country of *Eden*, we are to take for guides these two considerations (to wit) That it lay Eastward from *Canaan* and *Iudæa*; and that it was of all other the most beautifull and fertile. First then in respect of situation, the next Country to *Iudæa* Eastward was *Arabia Petræa*; but in this Region was *Moses* himselfe when he wrote: and the next vnto it Eastward also was *Arabia* the *Desart*, both which in respect of the infertility could not bee *Eden*, neither haue any of the *Arabians* any such Riuers, as are expreſt to run out of it: So as it followeth of necessitie, that *Eden* must be Eastward, and beyond both *Arabia Petræa*, and *Deserta*. But because *Eden* is by *Moses* named by it selfe, and by the fertility, & the riuers only described, we must seeke it in other Scriptures, and where it is by the additions of the neighbour Nations better described. In the Prophet *Isay* I find it coupled and accompanied with other adjacent Countries, in
Isa. 37. v. 12. these words, spoken in the person of *Senacherib* by RABSAKEH: *Haue the gods of the Nations deliuered them, which my Fathers haue destroyed, as* GOSAN, *and* HARAN, *&* RESEPH, *and the children of* EDEN, *which were at Telassar?* and in *Ezechiel*, where he pro-
Cap. 27. vers. 23. phecieth against the *Tyrians: They of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Ashur, and Chilmad, were thy merchants, &c.*

But to auoid confusion, wee must vnderstand that there were two *Edens*, one of which the Prophet *Amos* remembreth, where he diuideth *Syria* into three Prouinces, where-
Cap. 1. vers. 1. of, the first he maketh *Syria Damascene*, or *Decapolitan*: the second part is that Valley called *Auenis*, otherwise *Conuallis*, or the tract of *Chamath*, where *Assyria* is ioyneth to
Strabo. *Arabia* the *Desart*, & where *Ptolomie* placeth the City of *Aueria*: & the third is knowne by the name of *Domus Edenis*, or *Cœlesyria*, otherwise *Vallis caua*, or *the hollow Valley*, because the mountaines of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, take all the length of it on both sides, and border it: for *Coele* in *Greeke* is *Caua* in *Latine*. But this is not that *Eden*, which we seeke: neither doth this Prouince lye East from *Canaan*, but North, and so ioyneth vnto it, as it could not be vnknowne to the *Hebrewes*. Yet, because there is a little Citie therein called *Paradise*, the *Iewes* beleeued this *Cœlesyria* to be the same which *Moses* describeth. For the same cause doth *Hopkins* in his Treatise of *Paradise* reprehend *Beroaldus*, in that he confoundeth this *Eden*, with the other *Eden* of *Paradise*; though, to giue *Beroaldus* his right, I conceiue that he led the way to *Hopkins*, and to all other later Writers, sauing, That hee fayled in distinguishing these two Regions, both called *Eden*: and that he altogether mis-understood two of the foure Riuers (to wit) *Pison* and *Gehon*, as shall appeare hereafter. Now to finde out *Eden*, which (as *Moses* teacheth vs) lay Eastward from the Desarts, where he wrote, after he had passed the Red Sea; wee must consider where those other Countries are found, which the Pro-
Ezech. 27. v. 23. phet *Isay* and *Ezechiel* ioyneth with it. For (saith ESAIAH) *Gosan, Haran, and Reseph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telassar.* Also *Ezechiel* ioyneth *Haran* with *Eden*, who, together with those of *Sheba*, *Ashur*, and *Chilmad*, were the Merchants that traded with the Citie of *Tyre*, which was then (saith EZECHIEL) *the Mart of the people for many Isles.* And it hath euer beene the custome, that the *Persians* conueyed their Merchandise to *Babylon*, and to those Cities vpon *Euphrates*, and *Tigris*, and from thence transported them into *Syria*, now *Soria*, and to the Port of the *Mediterrane* Sea: as in ancient times to the Citie of *Tyre*, afterward to *Tripoly*, and now to *Aleppo*, from whence they imbarque them at the Port of *Alexandretta*, in the *Bay* of *Issicus*, now *Laiazzo*. *Ezechiel* in the description of the magnificence of *Tyre*, and of the exceeding trade that it had with all the Nations of the East, as the onely Martmerce, and also what commodities euerie Countrie yeelded: and hauing counted the
Vers. 24. seuerall People and Countries, he addeth the particular trade, which each of them exercised: *They were thy merchants* (saith the Prophet) *in all sorts of things, in rayments of blue silke, and of broydered workes, fine linnen, corrall, and pearle*: and afterwards speaking of the Merchants of *Sheba* and *Raamah*, and what kinds they traded, he hath these words: *The merchants of Sheba & Raamah were thy merchants, they occupied in thy Faires, with the chiefe of all Spices, and with all precious stones and gold.* Now these be indeed the riches which *Persia* and *Arabia Fœlix* yeeld: & because *Sheba* & *Raamah* are those parts of *Arabia*, which border the Sea, called the *Persian Gulfe*, therefore did those Nations both vent such Spice, sweet Gummes, and Pearles, as their owne Countries yeelded; and

and (withall) hauing trade with their Neighbours of India, had from them also all sorts of spices, and plenty of gold. The better to conuey these commodities to that great Mart of Tyre, the Shebans or Arabians entred by the mouth of Tigris; and from the Citie of Terredon (built or enlarged by *Nebuchodonozor*, now called *Balsara*) thence sent vp all these rich merchandises by boat to Babylon, from whence by the body of Euphrates, as farre as it bended Westward, and afterward by a branch thereof, which reacheth within three daies iourney of Aleppo, and then ouer Land they past to Tyre, as they did afterward to Tripoly, (formerly Hieropolis) and thence to Alexandretta, as aforesaid. Now the Merchants of Canneh, which *Ezechiel* ioyneth with Eden, inhabited farre vp the Riuer, and receiued this trade from Arabia and India, besides those proper commodities which themselues had, and which they receiued out of Persia, which bordered them. S. *Hierome* vnderstandeth by Canneth, Seleucia, which is seated vpon Euphrates, *where it breaketh into foure heads*, and which tooke that name from *Seleucus*, who made thereof a magnificent City. *Hierosolymitanus* thinkes it to be Ctesiphon: but Ctesiphon is seated downe low vpon Tigris, and Canneh cannot be on that side, I mean on the East-side of Tigris; for then were it out of the Valley of Shinar. *Plinie* placeth *Plin. l. 6. c. 26.* the *Schenitæ* vpon Euphrates, where the same beginneth to be foordable, which is toward the border of Syria, after it leaueth to bee the bound of Arabia the Desart, and where the Riuer of Euphrates reflecteth from the Desart of Palmirena: for these people of Canneh (afterward *Schenitæ*) inhabited both borders of Euphrates, stretching themselues from their owne Citie of Canneh in Shinar Westward along the bankes of Euphrates, as far as the City of Thapsacus, where *Ptolomy* appointed the Foords of Euphrates: which also agreeth with the description of the *Schenitæ* by *Strabo*, whose *Strabo l. 16.* words are these: *Mercatoribus ex Syria Seleuciam & Babyloniam euntibus iter est per Schenitas; The Merchants which trauaile from Syria to Seleucia and Babylon, take their way by the Schenites.* Therefore those which take Canneh for Charran, doe much mistake it. For *Gen. 11. 31.* Charran, to which *Abraham* came from Vr in Chaldæa (called by God) standeth also in Mesopotamia; not vpon Euphrates it selfe, but vpon the Riuer of Chaboras, which falleth into Euphrates: and the Merchants of Charran are distinctly named with those of Canneh in *Ezechiel* (as) *They of Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, the merchants of Sheba, Ashur, and Chilmad were thy merchants.* Wherefore Charran, which is sometime called Charre, & Haran, & Aran, is but the same Charran of Mesopotamia; & when it is written Aran, then it is taken for the region of Mesopotamia: or *Aran fluuiorum*, the Greek word (Mesopotamia) importing, a country between riuers: for *Mesos* in Greeke, is *Medius* in Latine, and *Potamos*, *fluuius*; and when it is written Haran or Aran, it is then taken for the City it selfe, to which *Abraham* came from Vr (as aforesaid.) For *Strabo* in the description of Arabia, giueth that tract of land from the borders of Cœlesyria, to the edge of Mesopotamia, to the *Schenitæ*, who also inhabited on both sides of Euphrates, & were in after-ages accounted of these Arabians which inhabite Batanea, & the North part of the Desarts, stretching themselues toward the vnhabited solitude of Palmirena, which lyeth between Syria, and Arabia the Desart. So as these of Canneh lay in the very highway from Babylon to Tyre, & were neighbours (indifferent) to Charran and to Eden: and therefore they are by the Prophet *Ezechiel* coupled together, *They of Haran, and Canneh, & Eden, &c.* But S. *Hierome* made a good interpretation of Canneh, or Chalne, by Seleucia: for Seleucia was anciently called Chalanne (witnesse *Appian*,) and so *Rabanus Maurus* calleth it in his Commentaries vpon *Genesis*; the name by time and mixture of languages being changed from Chalne or Canneh, to Chalanne: of which name there are two other cities, standing in Triangle with Seleucia, & almost the next vnto it, (as) Thelbe-canne, & Mann-canne, the one a little to the West of Seleucia, & the other opposite vnto it, where these riuers of Tigris and Euphrates are ready to ioyne. Therefore, which of these the ancient Canne was, (being all three within the bound of the valley Shinar) it is vncertaine: but it is a note as well of the importance of the place, as of the certaine seate thereof, that so many other cities did retaine a part of the name in so many ages after. Neither is it vnlikely, that these additions of Thelbe and Mann to the word Canne, were but to make difference betweene the East and the West, or the greater and the lesse Canne, or between Canne the old and the new: which additions to distinguish cities by, are ordinary in all the Regions of the World.

Now of the other city ioyned with Eden, as Haran or Charran, St. *Hierome* on the *Ind. 11.*

Iud.1. *Iudges* speaketh thereof in these words: *Cumq; reuerterentur, peruenerunt ad Charran, quæ est in medio itinere contra Nineuem, vndecimo die; When they returned, they came to Charran, (which is the mid-way against Nineue) the eleuenth day.*

Act.7.2. This city is by the Martyr *Stephen* named Charran (speaking to the high Priest:) *Yee Men, Brethren, and Fathers, hearken: The God af glory appeared to our Father* ABRAHAM, *while he was in Mesopotamia, before hee dwelt in Charran.* But the seate of this city is not doubted of: for it is not onely remembred in many Scriptures, but, withall, exceeding famous for the death and ouerthrow of *Crassus* the Romane, who for his vnsatiable greedinesse was called *Gurges auaritiæ; The gulfe of auarice.* Whereof *Lucan:*

Lucan.l.1.105. *Assyrias Latio maculauit sanguine Carras.* 10

With Roman bloud th' Assyrian Carre he defil'd.

But this city Canne or Chalne is made manifest by *Moses* himself, where it is written

Gen.10.10. of NIMROD: *And the beginning of his Kingdomes was Babel, & Erech, & Acad, & Chalne, in the land of Sinaar* or *Shinar*: where *Moses* sheweth the first composition of the Babylonian Empire, and what cities and people were subiect vnto *Nimrod*, all which lay in the said Valley of Shinar, or neere it; and this Valley of Shinar is that Tract, afterwards called Babylonia and Chaldæa, into which also Eden stretcheth it selfe. *Chaldæa, Babylonia, Sinaar, idem sunt* (saith COMESTOR.) *Three names of one Country:* which Region of Babylonia took name of the Towre Babel; & the Towre, of the confusion of tongues. And that Shinar was Babylonia, it is proued in the eleuenth chapter of *Genesis*, in these words: *And as they went from the East, they found a Plaine in the Land of Shinar, and there*

Vers.2. *they abode:* in which Playne Babylon was built (as aforesaid.)

Now Shinar being Babylonia, & Canneh, in the first beginning of *Nimrods* greatnes, and before he had subdued any strange, or far-off Nations, being one part of his Dominion, and also named by *Moses* to be in Shinar, it proueth, that Canneh ioyneth to Babylonia; which also *Ezechiel* coupleth with Eden, and (further) affirmeth, that those of Eden were also the Merchants which traded with the Tyrians: and *Esay* in the threates of *Senacherib* against Ierusalem (with other Nations that *Senacherib* vaunted that his Fathers had destroyed) nameth the children of Eden which were at Telassar. But before I conclude where Eden it selfe lyeth, it is necessary to describe, those other Coun-

Vers.7. tries, which *Ezechiel* ioyneth therewith in the places before remembred, as, those of Sheba and Raamah. It is written in *Genesis* the tenth: *Moreouer the sonnes of* HAM *were* CVSH, *&c. And the sonnes of* CVSH *were* SEBA, *and* HAVILAH, *and* SABTAH, *and* RAAMAH, *&c. And the sonnes of* RAAMAH *were* SHEBA, *&c.* and anon after; CVSH *begat* NIMROD: so as *Sheba* was the grand-child of *Cush*, and *Nimrod* the sonne of *Cush*, whose elder brother was *Sebah*: though some there are that conceiue to the contrarie, that *Nimrod* was the elder in valour and vnderstanding, though not in time and precedence of birth; who inhabited that part of Shinar, where Babel was built; afterwards Babylonia. His brother *Raamah* or *Regma* tooke that part adioyning to Shinar, toward the Sea side and Persian gulfe (called afterward *Raama* and *Sheba*, by the Father and his Sons, which possessed it.) For (saith EZECHIEL) *the merchants of Raamah and Sheba were thy merchants, they occupied in thy Faires with the chiefe of all spices, and all precious stones, and gold.* So as Sheba was that Tract of Country, which parteth *Arabia Deserta* from *Arabia Fœlix*, and which ioyneth to the Sea where Tigris and Euphrates fall out, and render themselues to the Ocean. This part, and the confining Country, *Strabo* calleth

Strabo.l.16. Catabria, where the best Myrrhe and Frankincense is gathered; which people haue an interchange or trade with Elana, lying on the East side of the Persian gulfe. By this it appeareth who were the Shebeans, spoken of by *Ezekiel*, and said to haue beene the Merchants of Tyre, for gold, spices, and precious stones: of which they had not onely plenty of their owne, but were also furnished from that part of India (called Elana, according to *Strabo*) for exchange of their Aromatiques, and other proper commodities. For, as *Strabo* reporteth out of ERATOSTHENES: *In Persicæ oræ initio Insula est, in qua multi & pretiosi vniones gignantur: in alijs vero, clari & perlucidi lapilli.* ERATOSTHENES (saith *Strabo*) affirmeth, that in the *beginning of the Persian gulfe, there is an Island, in which there are many precious pearles bred: and in other, very cleare and shining stones.* Now, the difference betweene *Sheba*, the sonne of *Raamah*, and *Seba*, the sonne of *Cush*, is in this, That *Seba* is written with the Hebrew (*Samech*;) and *Sheba* with (*Schin:*)

but whatsoeuer the difference may bee in the Hebrew Orthography, their Countries and Habitations are diuers. For Sheba is that which bordereth the Persian Sea, & Saba (whence the Queene of Saba) neighboured the Red Sea; and so that place of the 72. *Psalme*: expounded, *Reges Arabum & Saba*, hath in the Hebrew this sense: *Reges Shebæ & Sabæ.*

The Shebans, *Ezechiel* nameth together with the Edenites, because they inhabited vpon the Out-let of the same Riuer, vpon which the Edenites were seated: and so those of Sheba, towards the Sea-coast, and vpon it, past vp the Countrey, by Tigris and Euphrates, being ioyned in one maine streame, and so through the Region of Eden, which

10 Tigris boundeth, thereby the better to conuey their merchandise toward Tyre. And as the cities of Charran, and Canneh, border Eden on the West and Northwest: so doth Sheba on the South, and Chilmad on the North-east: Chilmad being a Region of the higher Media, as appeareth in the Chaldæan Paraphrast; which Countrey by the Geographers is called *Coromitena*, *(L)* placed by exchange for *(R.)* which change the Hebrewes also often vse.

Thus much of those Countries which border Eden, and who altogether traded with the Tyrians: of which, the chiefe were the Edenites, inhabiting Telassar: for these *Senacherib* vaunted, that his Fathers had destroyed; and this place of Telassar lay most conuenient, both to receiue the Trade from Sheba and Arabia, and also to conuey it ouer

20 into Syria, and to Tyrus. Now to make these things the more plaine, wee must remember, that before the death of *Senacherib*, many parts of the Babylonian Empire fell from his obedience, and after his death these Monarchies were vtterly disioyned.

For it appeareth both in *Esay* the 37. and in the second of *Kings*, by the threates of *Rabsache*, the vvhile the Army of Assyria lay before Ierusalem, that the Cities of Gosan, Haran, Reseph, and the Edenites at Telassar, had resisted the Assyrians, though by them (in a sort) mastered and recouered. *Haue the gods of the Nations deliuered them,* Esay37.v.12. *whom my Fathers haue destroyed, as Gosan, and Haran, Reseph, and the children of Eden, which were at Telassar?* But it appeared manifestly after *Senacheribs* death, that these Nations formerly contending, were then freed from the others subiection: for *Esar-*

30 *Haddon* held Assyria, and *Merodach Baladan*, Babylonia. And after that the Army of *Senacherib*, commanded by *Rabsache* which lay before Ierusalem (*Ezechias* then reigning) while *Senacherib* was in Egypt, was by the Angell of God destroyed: the King 2.Kings.19.35. of Babel sent to *Ezechias*, both to congratulate the recouery of his health, and his victory obtained ouer the Assyrians. After which ouerthrow, *Senacherib* himselfe was 20.12. Esay39.1. slaine by his owne sonnes in the Temple of his Idols, *Esar-Haddon* succeeding him in Esy37.38. Assyria. To the Babylonian Ambassadours sent by *Merodach*, *Ezechias* shewed all his treasures, aswell proper as consecrate, which inuited the kings of Babylon afterward to Esay39.1. vndertake their conquest and subuersion. So as, the suspition of warre encreasing betweene Babylon and Assyria, the Edenites which inhabited the borders of Shinar to-

40 wards the North, and towards Assyria, were imployed to beare off the incursions of the Assyrians; and their Garrison-place was at Telassar: and the very word *(Telassar)* saith *Ianius*, signifying as much, as a bulwarke against the Assyrians. This place *Hierosolymitanus* takes for Resem, others for Seleucia: but this Telassar is the same, which *Am. Marcellinus* in the History of *Iulian* (whom hee followed in the enterprize of Persia) calleth Thilutha in stead of Telassar, who describeth the exceeding strength thereof in his 24. Booke: it is seated in an Island of Euphrates vpon a steepe and vnassaultable Rocke, in so much as the Emperour *Iulian* durst not attempt it; and therefore it was a conuenient place for a Garrison against the Assyrians, being also a passage out of Mesopotamia into Babylonia, and in which the Edenites of the Countrey adioyning were

50 lodged to defend the same. This place *Ptolomy* calleth Teridata, hauing Reseph (which Asia Tab.4. he calleth Resepha) on the left hand, & Canneh, (which he calleth Thelbe-canne) on the right hand, not farre from whence is also found the City of Mann-canne vpon Tigris; and all these seated together, as *Esay* and *Ezechiel* haue sorted them. But the vnderstanding of these places is the more difficult, because Assyria (which the Chaldæans call Atturia) and Mesopotamia, were so often confounded: the one taken for the other by interchange of Dominion. *Assyria & Mesopotamia in Babylonia nomen transierunt* (saith NIGER,) *Assyria and Mesopotamia tooke the name of Babylonia.* Lastly, it appeareth by Cosmog.Asiæ. those adiacent Regions by the Prophets named, in what part of the World Eden is seated,

seated,as,by *Charran* or *Heran* in Mesopotamia : also by *Cannch* and *Reseph*, according to the opinion of *Vatablus*, who in these words translateth this place : *Plantauerat autem* IEHOVAH *Deus hortum in Eden, ab Oriente, The Lord God planted a Garden in Eden, Eastward*: that is (saith hee in his Annotations) *Iusserat nasci arbores in Eden, Regione Orientali, in finibus Arabiæ & Mesopotamiæ, He commanded Trees to grow in Eden, an Easterne Region in the borders of Arabia and Mesopotamia.*

§.X.

Of diuers other testimonies of the Land of Eden; and that this is the Eden of Paradise.

AND for a more particular pointing out of this Eden, it seemes by the two Epistles of the Nestorian Christians, that inhabit Mesopotamia; which Epistles in the yeare 1552. they sent to the Pope about the confirming of their Patriarch, & *Andræas Masius* hath published them, translated out of Syriac into Latine. By these Epistles (I say) it seemes wee may haue some farther light for the proofe of that, which we haue said about the Region of Eden in those parts. For in them both there is mention of the Island of Eden in the Riuer Tigris, or at least, Tigris in both these Epistles is called the Riuer of Eden. This Island, as *Masius*, in his Preface to these Epistles saith, is commonly called *Gozoria* (as it were, the Island, by an eminency.) It hath (saith hee) ten miles in circuit, and was sometimes walled round about, which name of the Island Eden may (doubtlesse) remaine to this day; though in the rest of the Region so called, this name be swallowed vp, with the fame of those flourishing Kingdomes of Mesopotamia, Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldæa. This Island of Eden hath vp the Riuer, and not farre beyond it, the City of Hasan-Cepha, otherwise *Fortis Petra* : below it, it hath Mosal or Mosel, from which (as in that which followeth it shall appeare out of *Masius*) it is not aboue twelue miles distant. Neither is it to trouble vs, that Mosal or Mosel, by *Marius Niger* is remembred among the Cities higher vp Tigris, in these words. *Iuxta autem Tigrim, Ciuitates sunt Dorbeta prope Taurum montem, quæ nunc Mosel dicitur; magna sanè, &c.* (that is) *By Tigris are these Cities, Dorbeta neere vnto mount Taurus (which is now called Mosel) which is a great one, &c.* This opinion of *Niger*, displacing Mosel, and making it to be Dorbeta (I say) needs not here to trouble vs : seeing for this matter, the testimony of *Masius*, informed by the Christians that dwelt there (the Seat of whose Patriach it is) ought to be of credit, auowing that this Mosal (or Mozal) is in the Confines of Mesopotamia & Assyria, seated vpon Tigris, & in the neighbour-hood of Nineue; and that it is the famous *Seleucia Parthorum*. The Nestorian Christians in their former Epistle, call it Attur in these words : *Ex omnibus Ciuitatibus & pagis quæ sunt circum Ciuitatem Mosal (hoc est) Attur in vicinia Nineues; Of all the Cities and Townes which are about the Citie of Mozal (that is) Attur in the neighbour-hood of Nineue.* As also *Niger* acknowledgeth Ctesiphon, a City thereabout to be called Assur, (which is the same as Attur, after the Dialect of those Nations, which change *Sh* into *T*.) Neither is it much that he should mistake Ctesiphon, (which is not far off Seleucia) for Seleucia, to be Assur. By this then we may come somewhat neere the end of our purpose. For the Ile of Eden, which lieth in the brest of Tigris, is but twelue miles from Mosal, and that ancient City, which *Ptolomy* and *Tacitus* call Ninus, and the Scriptures Nineue; *Philostratus*, and *Simeon Sethi*, Mosula, and *Iohn Lean*, Mosal, others Mosse, (though it bee not the same with Mosal) is set but a little higher vpon the same Riuer of Tigris, neere Mosal : so that we are like to find this Ile of Eden hereabout. For the same *Andræas Masius*, which placeth it aboue Mosal, makes it to be below Hasan-cepha, which is vpon the same Riuer of Tigris.

Vt supra.

The onely difficulty is this, that some perhaps may thinke, that the words of the Nestorians in both their Epistles, speake not of any Ile in Tigris, called the Ile of Eden, but of an Ile in Tigris, a Riuer of Eden. But this sense of their words in my opinion seemeth the more vnprobable. And yet if this were the meaning here, we haue a testimonie from the Learned of those parts, that not onely Euphrates, but also Tigris was a Riuer of Eden, and that the name of Eden in those parts is not yet quite worne out, though the Region hath bin subiect to the same change, that all other Kingdomes of the world haue beene, and hath by conquest, and corruption of other Languages, receiued new and differing names. For the South part of Eden, which stretcheth ouer Euphrates, was after

after the floud called *Shinar*, and then of the Tower of *Babel*, *Babylonia*; and the North part of *Eden* is that Tract of *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, and *Armenia*, which embraceth both the bankes of *Tigris* betweene Mount *Taurus*, and *Seleucia*. And of this Region of *Eden* that ancient *Æthicus* maketh mention, (not that latter *Æthicus*, Disciple of *Gallinicus*, otherwise by *Plutarch* and *Athenæus* called *Istri*, who liued in Egypt in the Reigne of *Philadelphus*, but another of a farre higher and remote time) the same being made Latine out of the Greeke by Saint *Hierome*. And though by corruption of the ancient Copie it be written in *Aethicus*, *Adonis* for *Edenis*; yet *Adonis* being a Riuer of *Phœnicia*, cannot be vnderstood to be the Region named by *Æthicus*. For *Aethicus* makes it a Countrey, and not a Riuer, and ioyneth it with *Mesopotamia* and *Aethiopia*, calling the land of *Chus Aethiopia*, after the Vulgar, and Septuagint. And lastly, the Riuer which watereth the Regions, (saith *Aethicus*) falleth into the Gulfe of *Persia* : which Riuer he called *Armodius*, for *Tigris*; *Tigris* being but a name imposed for the swiftnesse thereof. And out of *Armenia* both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* haue their originall : for out of *Eden* came a Riuer, or Riuers, to water the Garden; both which Riuers (to wit) *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, come out of *Armenia*, and both of them trauerse *Mesopotamia*, Regions first of all knowne by the name of *Eden* for their beautie and fertilitie. And it is very probable, that *Eden* contained also some part of *Armenia*; and the excellent fertilitie thereof in diuers places, is not vnworthy the name of *Eden*. For in some part therof (saith *Strabo*) the leaues are alway green, & therefore therein a perpetuall Spring. Also STEPHANVS *de vrbibus*, mentioneth the Citie of *Adana* vpon *Euphrates*: and the name of *Eden* was in vse in *Amos* time, though he speake not of *Eden* in the East, but of *Eden* in *Cœlesyria*. But to the end I may not burden the Readers patience with too long a Discourse, it may suffice to know, that *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (once ioyned together, and afterward separate) are two of those foure heads, into which these Riuers which are said to water the Garden of Paradise, were diuided : whose courses being knowne, *Eden*, (out of which they are said to come) cannot be vnknowne. Now that *Hiddekel* and *Perath* were *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, it is agreed by all : for the Seuentie and all others conuert *Perath* by *Euphrates* : *& Hiddekel Tigrim omnes exponunt : & all men vnderstand Hiddekel by Tigris* (saith *Vatablus.*) And because that which I haue said of the Ile of *Eden*, shall not be subiect to the censure of selfe-inuention, I haue heere-vnder set downe the words out of the two generall Epistles of the *Nestorians*, as MASIVS *(ad verbum)* hath conuerted them into Latine. The occasion of those Letters and Supplications to the Pope, were, that the *Nestorian* Christians, which inhabit *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Persia*, *Babylonia*, & haue to this day (at least in Queen *Maries* time they had) fifteene Churches in one Citie called *Seleucia Parthorum*, or *Mosel* vpon the Riuer of *Tigris*; hauing no sufficient authoritie to choose themselues a Patriarch (which cannot bee done without foure or three Metropolitane Bishop at least) sent to the Bishop of *Rome*, in the yeare of Christ 1552. (as afore-said) a Petition to obtaine allowance vnto such an Election as themselues had made : hauing three hundred yeare before that vpon the like defect, sent one *Marius* thither to be confirmed; and in this negotiation they made knowne to the Bishop of *Rome* the state of the Christian Church in those parts : for vpon the death of their Patriarch (vvho of a couetous desire to enrich himselfe had forborne to institute Metropolitane Bishops, vvhen the places fell void) they all assembled themselues together to consult of the Church-gouernment. And because all the Patriarchs for an hundred yeares had beene of one House and Family to the preiudice of the Church, and that there yet remained one Bishop of the same Stocke and Kindred, vvho aspired to the same dignitie vvhich his Predecessors had held, the rest of the Professors refused to allow him. Vpon vvhich occasion, and for the choice of a Gouernour more sufficient, the Teachers in all the Churches assembled themselues. The vvords of the generall Epistle to the Pope are these about the middle of the said Epistle : *Verùm nos non acceptauimus neq; proclamauimus ipsum, sed subitò conuenimus ex omnibus locis Orientalibus, & ex omnibus Ciuitatibus & Pagis quæ sunt circum Ciuitatem Mosel (hoc est) Attur, in vicinia Nineues, ex Babylonia, ex Charra, ex Arbella, ex Insula quæ est in medio Tigris, fluminis Eden, ex Tauris Persiæ, ex Nisibi, &c.* which is : *But we did neither accept of this man, neither pronounced him : but suddenly we assembled our selues out of all parts of the East, and out of all the Cities and Villages which are about Mosel (or Attur) neighbouring Nineue, & out of Babylon, Carrha, Arbella, and out of the Iland which lyeth in the middle of Tigris,*

gris, a Riuer of Eden, or rather, *out of the Ile of Eden, which lyeth in the Riuer Tigris.* And in a second Epistle at the same time sent, they vse these words: *Neq; supersunt apud nos Metropolitæ, quorum est ordinare Catholicum, sed soli pauci Episcopi, Episcopus Arbelæ, Episcopus Salmasti, Episcopus Adurbeigan; en è vestigio conuenimus in Insulam, quæ est, intra Tigrim flumen, Eden, fecimusq; compactum inter nos, &c.* (which is) *Neither are there remaining among vs any Metropolitan Bishops, to whom it belongs to ordaine a Patriarch, but onely a few Bishops, as the Bishop of Arbela, the Bishop of Salmastus, and the Bishop of Adurbeigan: but lo, we assembled speedily in the Iland Eden, which is in Tigris, and agreed betweene our selues, &c.*

Now this Iland of *Eden Mastus* describeth with other places; which being well conceiued, the *Nestorian* Epistles, and the state of the Church may be in those parts (saith he) the better vnderstood. And after he hath distinguished the foure sorts of Christians in those parts of the World, and in the South part of *Africa*, which hee calleth *Nestorians, Iacobites, Maronitæ*, and *Cophti*, he goeth on in these words: *Mox audita illius morte, concurrisse aiebant tumultuariò in illam quam modò dixi Tigris Insulam, quæ duodecim circiter passuum millibus supra Mosal posita, decem ferè millia passuum suo ambitu continet, muris vndiq; cincta, & à paucis alijs quàm Christianis hominibus habitata:* which is, *Now hearing of the death of the Patriarch*, (as those that came to *Rome* reported) *they ran tumultuously together into that Iland of Tigris* or *Eden before spoken of, which Iland is situated about twelue miles aboue Mosel, containing vexy neere ten miles in compasse, and euerie where inuironed with a wall, inhabited by a few other men than Christians.* And afterward he maketh a recapitulation of the Christian Churches; among the rest hee addeth the Ile of *Eden* by the name of *Geserta, Insula Tigris: siue Geserta.* Furthermore, describing the Citie of *Hosan-cepha*, or *Fortis Petra*, he placeth it *supra prædictam Tigris Insulam rupi asperæ impositam; Aboue the aforesaid Iland of Tigris, being seated on a steepe Rocke.* Of this Iland of *Geserta*, *Andrew Theuet* maketh mention in his tenth Booke of his generall Cosmographie in these words: *Geserta ou Gesire est au milieu de la Riuiere du Tigre, & pense que c'est vne terre des plus fertiles de toute l'Asie, Geserta or Gesire is in the middle of Tigris, the Soyle the most fertile of all Asia.*

By this we see that the ancient name of *Eden* liueth, and of that *Eden* which lyeth Eastward from *Arabia Petræa*, and the Desert where *Moses* wrote, and that *Eden* which bordereth *Charran* according to *Ezechiel*, and that *Eden* which is seated according to the assertion of the said Prophet, and ioyned with those Nations of *Reseph, Canneh*, and *Charran*, and the rest which traded with the *Tyrians*, and is found at this day in the parting of the two Regions of *Assyria* and *Babylonia*, where the *Edenites* in *Thelassar* were garrisond to resist the *Assyrians*, whose displantation *Senacherib* vaunted of (as aboue written;) and lastly, the same *Eden*, which embraceth *Tigris*, and looketh on *Euphrates*, two of the knowne Riuers of those foure, which are by all men ascribed to Paradise.

§. XI.

Of the difficultie in the Text, which seemeth to make the foure Riuers to rise from one streame.

BVt it may be obiected, that it is written in the Text, *That a Riuer went out of Eden*, and not Riuers, in the plurall; which scruple *Matthew Beroaldus* hath thus answered in his Chronologie: The Latine Translation, saith hee, hath these words: *Et fluuius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum Paradisum, qui inde diuidebatur in quatuor capita: Quæ verba melius consentient cum rei narratione, & eiusdem explicatione, si ita reddantur. Et fluuius erat egrediens ex Edene, (hoc est) fluuij procedebant ex Edene regione ad rigandum pomarium; & inde diuidebatur, & erat in quatuor capita:* which is, *And a Riuer went out of the place of pleasure to water Paradise, and thence was diuided into foure heads:* Which words (saith *Beroaldus*) doe better agree with the narration and explication of the place, if they be thus translated: *And a Riuer was going forth of Eden (that is) Riuers went forth, and ran out of the Region of Eden to water the Orchard; and from thence it was diuided, and they became foure heads.* The *Tigurine* differs from the Vulgar or Latine; for it conuerts it thus: *Et fluuius egrediebatur de delicijs; And a Riuer went out of pleasure*, in stead of *Eden*; and the Latine addeth the word *locus*, or place, *Et fluuius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis; And a Riuer went out of the place of*

of pleasure: and so the word (place) may rightly be referred to Eden, which was (of all other) a Region most delightfull and fertile; and so also the word *(inde)* and *thence* was diuided, hath reference to the Countrey of Eden, and not to the Garden it selfe.

And for the word *(Riuer)* for Riuers, it is vsuall among the Hebrewes: for it is written: *Let the Earth bud forth the bud of the Herbe that seedeth Seede, the fruitfull Tree, &c.* Here the Hebrew vseth the Singular for the Plurall, *Herbe and Tree, for Herbs and Trees*; and againe, We eate of the fruit of the Tree, in stead of (Trees:) And thirdly, *The man and his wife hid themselues from the presence of God; In medio ligni Paradisi; In the middle of the Tree of the Garden*, for *(Trees.)* And of this opinion is *Dauid Kimchi*, and *Vatablus*, who vpon this place of *Genesis* say, that the Hebrewes doe often put the Singular for the Plurall, as *illud*, for *vnumquodq; illorum*, and hee giueth an instance in this question it selfe, as, *A Riuer* (for *Riuers*) *went out of Eden.*

Gen. 1. 11. 3. 2. 8.

And this answer out of diuers of the Learned, may, not without good reason, bee giuen to the obiection, That *Moses* speaketh but of one Riuer, from which the heads should diuide themselues. Howbeit I deny not, but with as good (and perhaps better) reason, wee may expound the foure heads, to bee foure notable passages into famous Countries. And so we may take the word (Riuer) Verse the tenth for one Riuer (to wit) Euphrates, as this name comprehendeth all the branches thereof. For this Riuer, (after he is past the place, where we suppose Paradise to haue bin, diuides it selfe, and ere long yeeldeth foure notable passages into seuerall Countries, though not all the way downe streame, (for this is no where in the Text) where it is noted, that following the Riuer downward, there is conueyance into the Countries named in the Text, though part of the way to one of the Countries (to wit, to Assyria) were vp Tigris.

To this end the Text speaking of Hiddekel, as it riseth from the Riuer of Eden, doth not say it compasseth or washeth the whole Region of Assyria, (as it had vsed this phrase of Pison and Gehon) but that it runneth toward Assyria. The first branch Pison, is Nahar-malcha, (by interpretation) *Basilius*, or *flumen regium*, which runneth into Tigris vnder Apamia; whence ariseth the name of *Past-tigris*, (as it were) *Piso-tigris.* This leadeth to the Land of *Hauila* or *Susiana.* The second branch *Gehon*, is that which in Historians is *Nabursares* or *Narragas*; for *Nahar-ragas*: both which names signifie *flumen deriuatum* (a Riuer deriued,) also *Acracanus, quasi Ranosus*, by reason of the froggie Fennes which it maketh: this Gehon leadeth to the first seate of Chus, about the borders of Chaldæa and Arabia, and it is lost at length in the Lakes of Chaldæa. The third branch Hiddekel, may be expounded the vpper streame of Pison, or Basilius, which runneth into Hiddekel, properly so called (that is, into Tigris) aboue Seleucia, where it sheweth a passage vp Tigris into Assyria: where, because at length it is called Hiddekel or Tigris, hauing before no knowne proper name, the Text in this place calleth it Hiddekel from the beginning. The fourth Perath, or Euphrates, so called *per excellentiam*, being the body of the Riuer Euphrates, which runneth through Babylon and Otris. But, bee it a Riuer or Riuers, that come out of Eden, seeing that Tigris and Euphrates are noted in the Text, there can bee no doubt, but that Paradise was not farre from these Riuers: for that Perath in *Moses* is Euphrates, there can be no question; and (indeede) as plaine it is that Hiddekel is Tigris. For Hiddekel goeth (saith *Moses*) Eastward towards Assur, as we find, that Tigris is the Riuer of *Assyria propriè dicta*, whose chiefe City was Nineue, as in *Genesis* the tenth it is written: That out of that Land (to wit) Babylonia, *Nimrod* went into Assur, and builded Nineue, which was the chiefe City of Assyria.

And as for the kind of speech here vsed in the Text, speaking of foure heads; though the heads of Riuers be (properly) their Fountaines, yet here are they to be vnderstood, to be spoken of the beginning of their diuision from the first streame. *Caput aquæ* (saith VLPIANVS) *illud est, vnde aqua nascitur; si ex fonte nascatur, fons, si ex flumine, vel ex lacu, prima initia, &c. If the beginning of the water bee out of a Fountaine, then is the Fountaine taken for the head: if out of a Lake, then the Lake*; and if from a maine Riuer any branch be separate and diuided, then where that branch doth first bound it selfe with new bankes, there is that part of the Riuer, where the branch forsaketh the maine streame, called the head of the Riuer.

§. XII.

§. XII.

Of the strange fertilitie and happinesse of the Babylonian Soile, as it is certaine that Eden was such.

IT may also bee demanded, whether this Region of Eden, by vs described, bee of such fertilitie and beautie, as Eden the seate of Paradise was: which if it be denied, then must we also consider, that there was no part of the Earth, that retained that fertilitie and pleasure, that it had before the curse: neither can we ascribe the same fruitfulnesse to any part of the Earth, nor the same vertue to any plant there-
Herod.Clia.li.1. on growing, that they had before the floud; and therefore this Region of Eden may be now no such flourishing Countrey, as it was when it was first created in his perfection. Yet this I finde written of it: First, in *Herodotus*, who was an eye-witnesse, and speaketh of the very place it selfe; for the Ile of Eden is but twelue miles or thereabout from Nineue, and so from Mosal. *Ex Euphrate exiens in Tigrim, alterum flumen, iuxta quod Vrbs Ninus sita erat. Hæc regio, omnium quas nos vidimus, optima est, &c. Where Euphrates runneth out into Tigris, not farre from the place where Ninus is seated. This Region, of all that we haue seene, is most excellent*; and hee addeth afterward: *Cereris autem fructu procreando adeo ferax est, vt nunquam non ferè ducenta reddat, &c.* (that is) *It is so fruitfull in bringing forth Corne, that it yeeldeth two hundred fold: The leaues of Wheate and Barley being almost foure fingers broad. As for the height of Millet and Sesame, they are euen in length like vnto Trees; which although I know to be true, yet I forbeare to speake hereof, well knowing, that those things which are reported of this fruitfulnesse, will seeme very incredible to those, which neuer were in the Country of Babylon. They haue commonly in all the Country Palme Trees growing of their owne accord, the most of them bearing fruit, out of which they make both Meates, and Wine, and Honey, ordering them as the Figge Trees.* Thus farre *Herodotus*.

To this Palme-tree so much admired in the East India, *Strabo* and *Niger* adde a fourth excellency, which is, that *it yeeldeth bread*; *Ex quibus panem, & mel, & vinum, & acetum conficiunt*; *Of which these people make Bread, Wine, Honey, and Vineger.* But *Antonius* the Eremite findeth a fift commodity, not inferior to any of those foure, which is, that from this selfe-same Tree there is drawne a kinde of fine Flaxe, of which people make their garments, and with which in East India they prepare the cordage for their ships. And that this is true, *Athanasius* in the life of *Antonius* the Eremite, confesseth, saying: *That hee receiued a Garment made thereof from the Eremite himselfe, which he brought with him out of this Region.* So therefore those Trees, which the East Indies so highly esteeme and so much admire (as indeede the Earth yeeldeth no Plant comparable to this) those Trees (I say) are in this vpper Babylon, or Region of Eden, as common as any Trees of the Field. *Sunt etiam* (saith STRABO) *passim per omnem Regionem Palmæ sua sponte nascentes*; *There are of Palmes ouer all the whole Region, growing of their owne accord.* Of this place *Quintus Curtius* maketh this report: *Euntibus à parte læua (Arabiæ odorum fertilitate nobilis) regio campestris interest inter Tigrim & Euphratem, iacens tam vbere & pingui solo, vt à pastu repelli pecora dicantur, ne satietas perimat*; (that is) *As you trauaile on the left hand of Arabia (famous for plentie of sweete Odours) there lyeth a Champaine Country placed betweene Tigris and Euphrates, and so fruitfull and fat a soile, that they are said to driue their Cattell from pasture, left they should perish by satiety. Bis in anno segetes Babylonij secant*; *The Babylonians cut their Corne twice a yeare* (saith *Niger*.) And as Countries generally are more fruitfull to the Southward, than in the Northerne parts: so we may iudge the excellency of this by that report which *Strabo* maketh of the South part of America, which is the North border of Eden, or a part thereof. His words be these in the Latine: *Tota enim hæc regio frugibus & arboribus abundat mansuetis, itemq; semper virentibus*; *This Region aboundeth with pleasant fruits, and Trees alwayes greene*: which witnesseth a perpetuall Spring, not found elsewhere but in the Indies only, by reason of the Sunnes neighbourhood, the life & stirrer vp of Nature in a perpetuall actiuity. In briefe, so great is the fertility of the ground, that the people are constrained twice to mow downe their Corne fields, and a third time to eate them vp with Sheepe: which husbandry the Spaniards wanting in the Valley of Mexico; for the first forty yeares, could not make our kind of Wheate beare seed, but it grew vp as high as the Trees, and was fruitlesse. Besides, those fields are altogether without weedes (saith

(saith *Pliny*) who addeth this singularitie to that soyle, That the second yeare the verie stubble (or rather falling downe of the seedes againe) yeeldeth them a haruest of corne without any further labour: his words are these, *Vbertatis tantæ sunt, vt sequenti anno sponte restibilis fiat seges.* Plin.Nat.hist. l.18.c.17.

§. XIII.

Of the Riuer Pison, and the land of Hauilah.

AFter the discouerie of Eden, and the testimonies of the fertilitie thereof, it resteth
10 to proue that *Pison* and *Gehon* are branches of *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. For, that the knowledge and certaintie of these two Riuers should trouble so many wise men, it is strange to me, seeing necessitie it selfe (*Tigris* and *Euphrates* being knowne) findeth them out: for *Euphrates*, or *Tigris*, or both, be that Riuer or Riuers of Eden, which water Paradise; which riuer or riuers *Moses* witnesseth afterward diuided into foure heads, whereof the one is called *Pison*, the other *Gehon* &c. Could there be a stranger fancie in the world, than when we find both these (namely) Tigris and Euphrates in Assyria and Mesopotamia, to seeke the other two in India and Egypt, making the one Ganges, and the other Nilus? Two riuers as farre distant as any of fame knowne or discouered in the world: the Scriptures making it so plain, that these riuers were diuided into foure
20 branches, and with the Scriptures, Nature, Reason, and Experience bearing witnesse. There is no errour, which hath not some slipperie and bad foundation, or some apparance of probabilitie, resembling truth, which when men (who studie to bee singular) finde out, (straining reason according to their fancies) they then publish to the world matter of contention & iangling; not doubting but in the variable deformitie of mens minds, to find some partakers or sectators, the better by their helpe to nurse and cherish such weake babes, as their owne inuentions haue begotten.

But this mistaking (and first for the Riuer of *Pison*) seemeth to haue growne out of the not-distinguishing of that Region in India, called Hauilah, from Hauilah which adioyneth to Babylonia, afterward knowne by the name of Susiana. For Hauilah vpon Tigris
30 tooke name from *Hauilah* the sonne of *Cush*; and Hauilah in India, from *Hauilah* the sonne of *Ioctan*; the one remembred by *Moses* in the description of Paradise, the other where *Moses* setteth downe the generations of *Noah*, and his sonnes after the Floud. For the sonnes of *Cush* were *Seba*, *Hauilah*, *Sabtah*, and *Raamah*, and the sonnes of *Ioctan* were *Ophir*, and *Hauilah* &c. of which latter (to wit) of *Ophir* and *Hauilah* the sonnes of *Ioctan*, that Iland of Ophir, (whence *Salomon* had gold) and Hauilah adioyning, had their names. Now because *Ganges* is a great and a famous riuer of the East India, and Hauilah a Country of the same, and is situated vpon *Ganges*, hence it came that *Ganges* was taken for *Pison*, which riuer is said by *Moses* to water the land of Hauilah. Or perhaps it was supposed that those foure riuers named by *Moses*, must of necessitie be foure
40 of the greatest in the world; whence (supposing that *Ganges* was the next great and famous riuer after Tigris and Euphrates) they chose out this riuer to make one of the foure. And yet certainly there is another riuer, whom in these respects they should rather haue chosen than *Ganges*: for the riuer *Indus* on this side India, for beauty, for neerenesse, & for ability, giueth no way place to *Ganges*, but exceedeth it in all. And how can any reasonable man conceiue, that *Ganges*, can be one of the foure heads, seeing *Indus* commeth betweene it and *Tigris*? and betweene *Tigris* and *Indus* is all that large Empire of *Persia*, consisting of many Kingdomes. And againe, farther towards the East, and beyond *Indus*, are all those ample Dominions of *India intra Gangem*, which lie be-
50 tweene those two proud Riuers of *Indus* and *Ganges*, now called the Kingdome of *Mogor*. So as if *Indus* be not accounted for any of the foure, because it is remoued from *Tigris* by all the breadth of *Persia*, then how much lesse *Ganges*; which falleth into the Ocean, little lesse than fortie degrees to the Eastward of *Indus*? Surely, whosoeuer readeth the Storie of *Alexander*, shall finde, that there is no Riuer in *Asia*, that can exceede *Indus*. For *Hydaspis* was of that breadth and depth, as *Alexander* thereon in great *Galles* transported himselfe, and the greatest part of his armie, and in sayling downe that branch of *Indus*, found it so large and deepe, and by reason thereof so great a billow, as it endangered his whole Fleete, which was ready to bee swallowed vp therein: *Hydaspis* (as aforesaid) being but one of many branches of *Indus*, comparable to it, and as

Gen.10.7.

10.29.

2.11.

great as it, hauing besides this, the Riuers of *Coas*, of *Suastus*, *Acesines*, *Adris* (otherwise) *Hirotis*, *Hispalis*, and *Zaradus*, all which make but one *Indus*, & by it are swallowed vp with all their Children and companions, which being all incorporated and made one streame, it crosseth athwart *Asia*, and then at *Cambaia* visiteth the Ocean Sea.

But because *Pison*, which compasseth *Hauilah*, as also *Gehon*, which watereth *Cush*, must
Gen.2.15. some-where be ioyned with the rest in one bodie, or at least be found to proceede out of the same Countrie of *Eden*, out of which the other two heads doe proceede; out of doubt they cannot eyther the one or the other, be *Ganges*, or *Nilus*: for *Nilus* riseth in the vttermost of the South, and runneth Northward into the *Mediterran* Sea; and the Riuer *Ganges* riseth out of the Mountaine *Imaus*, or (as others wil haue it) *Caucasus*, which diuides the Northerne *Scythia* from *India*, and runneth from North to South into the *Indian Ocean*. And as for *Perath* and *Hiddekel* (that is, *Euphrates* and *Tigris*) the one of them is begotten in *Armenia*, neere *Georgiana* or *Iberia*, the others not farre off in the same *Armenia*, by the *Gorgiæan* Mountaines; so as *Ganges*, who onely trauaileth in her owne *India*, and *Nilus* through *Æthiopia* and *Egypt*, neuer saw the land of *Eden*, or ioyned themselues in one channell, either with themselues, or with either of the other; and therefore could not at any time from thence be separated, or diuided into foure heads or branches, according to *Moses*.

Gen.2.v.12. Therefore the Riuer *Pison*, which enricheth *Hauilah*, is the same which by ioyning it selfe with *Tigris*, was therefore called *Pisi-tigris*, or *Piso-tigris*, of *Pison* and *Tigris*, which Riuer watereth that *Hauilah*, which *Hauilah* the Sonne of *Cush* gaue name vnto, and not *Hauilah* of *India*, so called of *Hauilah* the Sonne of *Ioctan*, who inhabited with his brother *Ophir* in the East. And this *Hauilah* of the *Cushites* had also Gold, Bdellium, and the Onyx stone. This Bdellium is a Tree, of the bignesse of an Oliue, whereof *Arabia* hath great plenty, which yeeldeth a certaine Gum sweet to smell to, but bitter in taste, called also Bdellium. The Hebrewes take the Load-stone for Bdellium. *Beroaldus* affirmeth, that *Bdela* in Hebrew signifieth Pearle: so doth *Eugubinus*; and *Hierome* calls it *Oleaster*: be it what it will, a tree bearing Gum or Pearle: *Hauilah* or *Susiana* hath plenty of both. Now this Countrie of *Susiana* or *Hauilah* stretcheth it selfe toward the North as farre as the Altars of *Hercules*, and from thence imbraceth all the Tract of Land Southward, as farre as the *Persian Gulfe*, on the East side thereof: from which East side had the *Shebans* (which traded with the Citie of *Tyre* according to *Ezekiel*) their great plenty of gold; which *Strabo* also witnesseth, as was shewed before.

Steuch. Hopk. de Par. The Greekes had a conceit, that *Pison* was *Danubius*: the *Rabbines* take it for *Nilus*. *Aben-Ezra* (sayth *Hopkins*) out of *Rabbi Saadia*, translateth *Pison* into *Nilus*: But *Nilus* findeth the same impossibility that *Ganges* doth: and *Danubius* hath the Sea of *Hellespont* and all *Asia* the lesse, betweene it and *Tigris*. Now *Pison*, which runneth through *Hauilah* or *Susiana*, doth to this day retaine some signe of this name; for where it and *Tigris* embraceth each other vnder the Citie of *Apamia*, there doe they agree of a ioynt and compounded name, and are called *Piso-tigris*. And it is strange vnto me, that from so great antiquitie there should be found remaining any resembling sound of the first name: for Babylon it selfe, which dwelleth so neere these Riuers, is by some writers
Post. Cosmog. Theuet. Cosmog. knowne by the name of *Bandas*, as, by *Postellus*, by *Castaldus*, of *Balduch*: by *Barius*, of
Asia tab.4. *Bagdad*; and of *Boughedor*, by *Andrew Theuet*; and yet all those that haue lately seene it, call it *Bagdet*. To this Riuer of *Pison*, *Ptolomie* indeede with many others giue the name of *Basilius* or *Regius*, and *Gehon* they terme *Mahar-sares* and *Marsias*, and *Baarsares*.
Plin.lib.5.c.24. So is *Euphrates*, neere the Spring and Fountaine, by *Strabo* and *Plinie* called *Pixirates*: by *Iunius*, *Puckperah*, out of the Hebrew (that is) The profusion, or comming forth of *Euphrates*: where it breaketh through the Mountaine *Taurus*, it takes the name of *Omyra*. *Plutarch* calls it *Medus* and *Zaranda*: the Hebrewes *Parath*, (saith *Ar. Montanus*:) *Pagninus*, *Perath*: *Iosephus*, *Phorah*; *Eusebius*, *Zozimus*: *Ammianus*, *Chalymicus*: *Gistilanus*, and *Colinutius* terme it, *Cobar*: which *Ezechiel* calleth *Chebar*; but this is but a branch of *Euphrates*. The *Assyrians* know it by the name of *Armalchar*, or *Nahor Malcha*: but now commonly it is called *Frat*.

The same confusion of names hath *Tigris*, as *Diglito*, and *Diglath*, *Seilax*, and *Sallax*: of the Hebrewes it was called *Hiddekel*: now of the inhabitants *Tegil*.

But *Mercer* vpon *Genesis* conceiueth rightly of these Riuers: for *Euphrates* and *Tigris* (saith he) streame into foure branches, two of which keepe their ancient names, and the other

other two are called Pison and Gehon. The reason, why these two riuers ioyned in one (below Apamia) lose their names, and are called *Pisi-tigris*, and the memorie of Euphrates extinguished, is, because the best part of Euphrates running through the channell of Gehon, sinketh into the Lakes of Chaldæa not farre from Vr, the Citie of *Abraham*, and fall not intirely into the Persian Sea, as Tigris accompanied with Pison, doth.

This errour that Pison was Ganges, was first broched by *Iosephus*, (whose fields, though they be fertile, yet are they exceeding full of weedes) and other men (who take his authoritie to be sufficient in matter of description, whereupon depended no other important consequence) were not curious in the examination thereof. For *Epiphanius*,
10 *Augustine*, and *Hierome*, take this for currant; whereof it followed, that as Pison was transported into the East India, to find out Hauilah: so was Gehon drawne into Africa, to compasse Æthiopia. But if Hauilah, whereof *Moses* speaketh in the description of Paradise, be found to be a Region, adioyning to Babylon on the one side, and Cush (which is falsly interpreted Æthiopia) fastened to it on the other side, we shall not need then to worke wonders (that is) to impose vpon men the transportation of riuers, from one end of the world to the other, which (among other vses) were made to transport men. Now it was in the Valley of Shinar, where *Cush* the sonne of *Ham* first sate downe with his sonnes *Shebah*, *Hauilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, *Nimrod*, *&c.* and of *Hauilah*, the sonne of *Cush*, did that Region take name, which Pison compasseth; and the land (called Cush)
20 which Gehon watereth, tooke name of *Cush* himselfe. For as the sonnes of *Ioctan*, *Ophir* and *Hauilah*, seated themselues as neere together as they could in India, so did the sons of *Cush* in Shinar or Babylonia, where *Nimrod* built Babel: for *Hauilah* or *Chauilah* was first *Chusea* of *Cush*; then *Chusa*, *Susa*, and *Susiana*.

From this Hauilah vnto the Desarts of Sur, did the Israelites and Amalekites possesse all the interiacent Countries: for *Saul* smote the Amalekites from Hauilah to Sur: 1.Sam.15.7.
which Sur, the Chaldæan Paraphrast conuerteth Hagra, and Hagra bordereth the red Sea. But this was not meant from Sur vpon the Red Sea, to Hauilah in the East India; for *Saul* was no such trauailer or Conquerour, and therefore Hauilah must be found neerer home, where the sonnes of *Ismael* inhabited, and which countrie *Saul* wasted: for
30 *Amalec* and the Amalekites possest that necke of Countrie, betweene the Persian Sea, and the Red Sea; Hauilah being the extreme of the one towards the East, and Sur of the other, towards Egypt and the West, leauing that great body of *Arabia fœlix* towards the South, and they spread themselues with the Midianites and Edumæans, from the East part, or backeside of the Holie Land, to the bankes of Euphrates, comprising the best part of *Arabia Petræa* and *Deserta*.

§.XIIII.

Of the Riuer Gehon and the Land of Cush, and of the ill translating of the Æthiopia for Cush, 2 CHRON.21.16.

40 NOw, as Hauilah in the East India drew Pison so farre out of his way thither, so I say did Cush (being by the Seuentie translated Æthiopia) force Gehon into Africa. For Cush being taken for Æthiopia by the Greekes, whom the Latines followed, Gehon cõsequently was esteemed for Nilus. But Æthiopians are, as much as *blacke or burnt faces*, whose proper Countries called Thebaides, lyeth to the Southward See more of this point, c.7.§.10.
of all Egypt. And although there bee many other Regions of Æthiopians, and farre South in Africa, yet those of Thebaides are those so often remembred in the Egyptian stories, and out of which Nation they had many times their Kings of Egypt: all which Æthiopians are very neere, or else directly vnder the Equinoctial line, which is very far
50 from that land inhabited by the Chusites; who are neither black of colour, nor in any sort neighbouring *Torrida Zona*. But this translation of the Septuagint, *Pererius* doth qualifie in this manner: There are (saith he) two Æthiopia's, the East, and the West: and this diuision he findeth in *Strabo*, out of *Homer*. Now because there is no colour to make Chus Æthiopia in Africa, *Pererius* will make Chush and the land of the Chusites (which is *Arabia Petræa*, and a part of Arabia the Happy, with the Region of Madian) to bee the East Æthiopia.

Now if it be granted, that Chush and the land of the Chusites, be that tract from Sur to Hauilah, according to the Scriptures: *Habitauit* ISMAEL *ab Hauilah vsq; Sur, quæ respicit* Gen.25.18.

Ægyptum

Ægyptum introeuntibus Assyrios; *Ismael dwelt from* Hauilah *vnto* Sur, *that is, towards Egypt, as thou goest toward* Assyria. The same sufficeth to proue that Gehon cannot bee Nilus, but a Riuer which watereth Cush, and not Æthiopia. But this place of Scripture, *Habitauit Ismael, &c.* hath this sense: *Ismael* dwelt from
Vers.16. Hauilah, which is the way of Assyria, or the Countrey bordering Assyria; and Sur, which lyeth toward Egypt, which is as much to say, as, The issues of *Ismael* (whereof there were twelue Princes) whom God had promised to make a great people, inhabited all those Regions betweene the border of Egypt and Assyria. And that they were (according to the Word of God) so increased and multiplyed, it well appeared,
2.Chron.14.9. when *Zearah* the Chusite, which others call *Tharantha*, brought an Armie of ten hun- 10
dred thousand against *Asa* King of Iuda. Which Armie came not out of Æthiopia beyond Egypt; for that had beene a strange progresse for such a multitude, as ten hundred thousand, hauing so mightie a King as the King of Egypt, betweene Palæstina and Æthiopia. But these were the Chusites, Amalekites, Madianites, Ismaelites, and Arabians. For it is written, that after *Asa* (strengthened by God) had defeated this world of an Armie, he in following his victorie tooke some of the Cities of King *Zearah* round about, as Gerar. Now that Gerar is a Citie of the Æthiopians, it cannot be suspected: for these bee the wordes of the Scripture disprouing it: *And*
Gen.10.v.11. ABRAHAM *departed thence toward the South Countrey, and dwelt betweene* Cadesh *and*
Exod.17.8. Sur, *and soiourned in* Gerar: Now Sur is that part, vpon which *Moses* and the Israelites 20
first set their feete after they passed the Red Sea, where the Amalekites in *Rephidim* set on them, supposing that they had beene wearie, and vnable to resist. Againe, in the
Gen.26.1. storie of *Isaac* it is written: *Wherefore* ISAAC *went to* ABIMELECH, *and the* Philistims *vnto* Gerar: and I am sure *Abimelech* and the Philistims were no Æthiopians.
10.19. And lastly, *Moses* himselfe, where hee describeth the bounds of Canaan, hath these words: *Then the border of the* Canaanites *was from* Sydon, *as thou commest to* Gerar: for Sydon was the frontier of Canaan towards the North, and Gerar by Gazah towards the South. But indeed, howsoeuer *Pererius* doth with an honest excuse salue his translation of Chus for Æthiopia, yet it appeareth plainely, that the Septuagint and *Iosephus* did altogether misunderstand this place. And first, for *Homers* East and West Æthiopia, 30
they are both found elsewhere: For *Plinie* in his fift Booke and eighth Chapter, citeth *Homer* for an Authour of these two Æthiopia's. But the East Æthiopia is that which compasseth Nilus to the South of Egypt, and is the South border thereof; now a part of the Empire of the Abyssines, vnder *Perster Iohn*; And the West Æthiopia is that, which ioyneth it selfe with the Riuer Niger, which we call Senega & Gam-
Plin.l.5.c.8. bra: for thereabouts are these Æthiopians called Perorsi, Daratites, with diuers other names, which *Plinie* numbreth. But all these are in Affrica, and beyond the Desarts thereof, saith *Plinie* out of *Homer*, *Agrippa*, and *Iuba*; which Regions indeede (I meane that of Niger, and that of *Prester Iohn*, and the Troglodytes) lye due East and West. But as for Cush and the Region of the Ismaelites, &c. they are extended direct- 40
ly North from that Æthiopia, which is beyond Egypt. Now, that *Iosephus* was exceeding grosse herein, it appeareth by that fiction, which hee hath of *Moses* when hee serued *Pharao*, in the warres against the Æthiopians: for in that (to make Chus, Æthiopia) hee transporteth Madian by miracle ouer the Red Sea, and beyond all Egypt, and setteth it in Æthiopia, as shall bee shewed more at large in the Chapter of the Worlds Plantation. Againe, that Gehon was improperly translated Nilus, *Pererius* confesseth, and layeth it rather to the corruption of the Greeke Copie, than otherwise. And whereas the Septuagint haue conuerted this place of the Prophet *Hieremie*;
C.2.v.18. *And what hast thou now to doe in the way of Egypt, to drinke the water of* Nilus? *Quid tibi vis in via Egypti, vt bibas aquam Gehon?* to this saith *Pererius*, *profectò Hebraicè ibi non* 50
est vox Gehon, sed Sichor, quæ significat nigrum & turbidum; *Truely* (saith *Pererius*) *the word Gehon in this place, is not found in the Hebrew, but Sichor, which signifieth blacke and troubled water.*

Furthermore, this is a manifest and vnanswerable argument, that Chus was ill taken
Ex.2.21 & 3.1 for Æthiopia: *Moses* married the daughter of *Iethro*, Prince and Priest of Madian, whom
Num.10.31. both the Greeke and Latine call a Madianite, and not *Æthiopissam*, as (with *Iosephus*) the Geneua conuerts it, though it helpe it a little with a marginall note. Now it is vvithout dispute, that *Zipporah* vvas of the Countrey of Madian, vvhich is that part of

Arabia

Arabia Petræa, bordering the Red Sea; for it is written in the second of *Exodus*, that
MOSES *fled from* PHARAO *into the Land of Madian, and sate downe by a Well, &c.* and a- Vers.15.
gaine in the third of *Exodus*; *When* MOSES *kept the sheepe of* IETHRO *his father in law,* Vers.1.
Priest of Madian, *&c.* Indeede, these foure nations are euery where mixt in the Scriptures, because they dwell confusedly together (to wit) the Madianites, the Ismaelites, the Amalekites, and the Chusites, which were all in one generall word, Arabians, and in the Scriptures sometimes called by one of these names, and sometimes by another; as in *Gen.37.v.25.27.& 28.* that *Ioseph* was sold to the Ismaelites; and in the same Chapter, *v.36.* it is written, that the Madianites sold *Ioseph* to *Putiphar*, *Pharao's* Steward. The
10 Geneuians, in a marginall note (to auoid this confounding of the Nations) say, that *Moses* wrote according to their opinion, who tooke the Madianites and Ismaeltes to be all one. But *Moses* wrote not after any mans opinion; he wrote the truth, and these were all Arabians: & so in this very place it appeareth by their merchandise, which they brought with them, when they bought *Ioseph*: for their Camels were loden with Spicery, and Gen.37.25.
Balme, and Myrrhe, which are the trades of *Arabia fœlix*: from whence chiefly, and from the East India, all the World is serued with Myrrhe and Frankincense; and their spices they receiued from the East side of the Arabian Gulfe, as aforesaid. And in the 39
Chap. it is said: That *Putiphar* bought *Ioseph* of the Ismaelites; which the Chaldæan *Pa-* Vers.1.
raphrast in the same place calleth Arabians. Now, to make this the more manifest, it is
20 written in the sixt of *Iudges*, That when Israel had sowne, then came vp the Madianites, Vers.3.
and the Amalekites, and they of the East, and came vpon them: they of the East, were Arabians of the Desart; so as where before in the buying of *Ioseph*, the Madianites and the Ismaelites were confused, here the Madianites & Amalekites are made one nation. For in the prosecution of the Story of *Gedeon*, the Madianites only are named, as com- Cap.7.
prehending both Nations; and in the eight Chapter, *v.24.* these Nations are all called Ismaelites, and neither Madianites nor Amalekites. As when *Gedeon* desired, that euery man would giue him the golden eare-rings, which they had taken after the victory against *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, Kings of Arabia, amounting to 1700. shickles of gold, it is written: *For they had golden eare-rings, because they were* Ismaelites. And these Isma- C.8.v.24.
30 elites were a great and valiant Nation, and euer in action of warre. *Manus eius contra omnes, & manus omnium contra eum*; *His hand* (saith God of ISMAEL) *shall be against all* Gen.16.12.
men, and euery mans hand against him. Of these Ismaelites came the *Mahometan Arabians*, though some Writers thinke *Mahomet* to be of the *Schenite*. And these Ismaelites, which inhabite chiefly in Cedar, and the Desarts of Sur and Pharan (saith *Iosephus*) vse poyson vpon their Arrowes, as the Indians doe. Towards the South-east are the Madianites, and Chusites: and beyond them, towards the Desarts of Arabia, the Amalekites; and all are one Nation, and all Arabians.

Lastly, the ill translation of Æthiopia for Chus, is among other places, made most apparant, in the second of *Chronicles*, in these words: *So the Lord stirred vp against* IE- 2.Chro.21.16.
40 HORAM, *the spirit of the* Philistines, *and the* Arabians, *which confine the* Æthiopians; so *Hierom* reades it: the Geneua translation hath it, *which were besides the* Æthiopians. Now how far it is off betweene the Philistines, & the Negro's or the Æthiopians, euery man that looketh in a Map may iudge. For the Philistines and Arabians doe mixe and ioyne with the Land of the Chusites, and are distant from Æthiopia about two and thirtie, or three and thirtie degrees, and therfore not their next neighbours, but all Egypt, and the Desarts of Sur and Pharan, are betweene them. So as this place of the second of *Chronicles*, should haue beene translated in these words: *So the Lord stirred vp against Ieboram, the spirits of the* Philistins, *and the* Arabians; *which confine and border vpon the* Chusites; who indeed are their next neighbours.* *Nulla superest dubitatio quin Æthiopia in Sacris* * Steuch.Fu-
50 *literis sit Arabiæ propinqua*; *There remaineth no doubt* (saith *Steuchius*) *but* Æthiopia *in* gub.in Gen.c.2.
the Scriptures, is taken for that Countrey, which ioyneth to Arabia.

Now, may we thinke, is it probable, or possible, that *Moses* could be ignorant of *Nilus*? No, he knew it, no liuing man so well, and therefore would neuer haue named Gehon, for Nilus, or Nilus, for Gehon. Surely, if *Moses* had meant Nilus, when hee named Gehon, he would haue called the Riuer (into which he was cast vpon Reeds, and preserued by God, working compassion in the Daughter of *Pharao*) a Riuer of Egypt, where- Exod.2.
in he was borne & bred, & wrought so many miracles. Besides, the Riuer of Nilus is often named in the Scriptures, but neuer by the name of Gehon. And if *Moses* had told the

Israelites,

Israelites, that Nilus had beene a Riuer of Paradise they might iustly haue thought, that he had derided them: for they had liued there all dayes of their liues, and found no such Paradise at all, not nay memory, or speech thereof; except wee shall beleeue the Paradise of Hesperides, where (saith *Plinie*) there was nothing found in his time, but wilde Oliues in stead of golden Apples. But Nilus is twice called Sichor, once in *Esay*, & once in the Prophet *Ieremie*; and yet in those places it is not said to be a Riuer of Æthiopia, but of Egypt. For in a word, the Israelites had neuer any communion or affaires with the Æthiopians, nor any intelligence, or trade, beyond Egypt, to the South; but the Enemies which they had on the South, and East parts, were these Nations of the Chusites, Philistines, Ismaelites, Amalekites and Madianites: who being often gouerned by many little Kings, or *Reguli*, were distinguished in names, according to the Fathers and heads of those Nations; but in one generall name were all *Arabians*. On the North side of Canaan, they were afflicted with the Cœlesyrians, with the Magogians, Tubalines, and others their adherents; and thirdly within themselues, the Nations, which remained of the ancient Canaanites, held the strongest Cities vpon the Sea-coast (as) Tyre, Sidon, Acon, Gaza, and many others: yea, Ierusalem it selfe was with-held from Israel (from the dayes of *Moses*, euen vnto the time of *Dauid*) by the Iebusites.

Plin.l.5.c.1.
C.23.v.3.
C.2.v.18.

That which now remaineth of most difficultie, is, that it doth not appeare, that any part of Gehon watereth that part of Arabia the stony, which the Chusites inhabited in the times of the Kings of Israell: and in this *Desart* it was that *Matt. Beroaldus* lost himselfe in seeking out Paradise: for he was driuen (to my vnderstanding) to create two Riuers, and call them Gehon, and Pison; to the end that the one might water Chus, and the other Hauilah; for I find none such *in rerum natura*, as he hath described: by which Riuers, he also includeth within Paradise, euen Arabia the Desart.

And as he well proued that Pison was not Ganges, nor Gehon, Nilus; so where to find them else-where it seemeth he knew not. Certainely this Riuer of Gehon, which he maketh to fall into the Mediterran at Gaza, and whose Springs he findeth farre East in Arabia, is but imaginary: for the Current by Gaza is but a small streame, rising betweene it and the Red Sea, whose head from Gaza it selfe is little more than twentie English miles, as shall appeare hereafter. But questionlesse, hence it comes that many were mistaken. They all considered of the habitations of the Chusites, as they were planted when the state of Israel stood, and when it flourished, being then their neere Neighbours, and neuer looked backe to the first seates and plantation of *Chus*. For after the Floud, *Chus* and his Children neuer rested, till they found the Valley of Shinar, in which, and neere which himselfe, with his sonnes, first inhabited. *Hauilah* tooke the Riuer-side of Tigris chiefly on the East, which after his owne name he called *Hauilah*, (now *Susiana*:) *Raamah*, and *Sheba* farther downe the Riuer, in the entrance of Arabia fœlix. NIMROD seated himselfe in the best of the Valley, where he built Babel, whereof that Region had afterwards the name of Babylonia. *Chus* himself and his brother *Mizraim* first kept vpon *Gehon*, which falleth into the Lakes of Chaldæa, and in processe of time, and as their people increased, they drew themselues more Westerly towards the Red or Arabian Sea: from whence *Mizraim* past ouer into Egypt, in which Tract the *Chusites* remained for many yeeres after. Now because there could be no such Riuer found in Arabia the stonie, which they might entitle *Gehon*, they translated *Chus*, *Æthiopia*, and *Gehon*, *Nilus*. And if wee doe examine this mistaking by example, wee shall the better perceiue it as it was. For let vs suppose, that *Brute*, or whosoeuer else that first peopled this Iland, had arriued vpon the Riuer of Thames, and called the Iland after his name *Britannia*, it might bee said that Thames or Tems was a Riuer that watered *Britannia*: and when afterwards in processe of time, the same *Brute* had also discouered and conquered Scotland, which he also intituled by the same name of *Britannia*, after ages might conclude that Scotland, was no part thereof, because the Riuer of Tems is not found therein. Or let vs suppose that *Europa*, the Daughter of the King of *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*, gaue the name to Europe, according to *Herodotus*, and that the first discouerers thereof arriued in the mouth of the Riuer in Thrace, which then watered as much of Europe, as he first discouered, shall wee in like sort resolue that France, Spaine, and Italie, &c. are no parts of Europe, because that Riuer is not found in them, or any of them? in like manner was it said by *Moses* in his description of *Gehon*, that it watered the whole Land of *Chus*; but not the whole Land which

Herod.l.1.c.4.

which the *Chusites* should or might in future time conquer, people, and inhabite, seeing in after-ages they became Lords of many Nations, and they might (perchance) haue beene Masters in time, (as the Saracens, which came of them, were) of a great part of the world. For, though the Babylonian Empire, which tooke beginning in *Nimrod* the sonne of *Chus*, consisted at the first but of foure Cities, (to wit) *Babel*, *Erech*, *Acad*, and *Chalne*, yet we find, that his Successours within a few yeares after, commanded all the whole World in effect: & the fame of Babel consumed the memorie of Chusea. For of this *Tower of Confusion* did all that Land take the name of Babylonia: and the greatnesse of that Empire, founded by *Nimrod*, a yonger sonne, obscured the name and nation of his father *Cush* in those parts, vntill they crept farther off, and in places not yet entituled, and farther from the Babylonian Empire, where the Chusites retained their names, which also they fastned to the Soile and Territorie by themselues afterwards inhabited and held. And we may not thinke, that *Chus* or any of his, could in haste creepe through those desart Regions, which the length of 130. yeares after the Floud had (as it were) fortified with Thickets, and permitted euery Bush and Bryar, Reede and Tree, to ioyne themselues (as it were) into one maine body and Forrest. For if we looke with iudgement and reason into the Worlds plantation, we shall find, that euery Family seated themselues as neare together as possible they could, and though necessitie enforced them, after they grew full of people, to spread themselues, and creepe out of Shinar or Babylonia; yet did they it with this aduice, as that they might at all times, resort and succour one another by Riuer, the fields being then (without all doubt) impassable. So *Nimrod*, who out of wit and strength vsurped dominion ouer the rest, sate downe in the very confluence of all those Riuers, which watered Paradise: for thither it was to which the greatest troupes of *Noahs* children repayred; and from the same place whence Mankind had his beginning, from thence had they againe their increase. The first Father of Men *Adam*, had therein his former habitation. The second Father of Mankind *Noah*, began from thence his dispersion.

Now as *Nimrod* the youngest, yet strongest, made his choice of Babel (as aforesaid) which both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* cleansed and enriched; so did *Hauilah* place himselfe vpon *Piso-Tigris*: *Raamah* and his sonne *Sheba* farther downe vpon the same Riuer, on the Sea-coast of Arabia: *Chus* himselfe vpon *Gehon*, the fairest branch of *Euphrates*. And when they began to spread themselues farther off, yet they alwayes fastened themselues to the Riuers sides: for *Ninive*, *Charran*, *Reseph*, *Canneh*, *Vr* in *Chaldæa*, and the other first-peopled Cities, were all founded vpon these nauigable Riuers, or their branches, by which the one might giue succour and assistance to the other; as is already often remembred.

§. XV.

A conclusion by way of repetition of something spoken of before.

BVt now to conclude this dispute, it appeareth to me by the testimonies of the Scriptures, that Paradise was a place created by God, and a part of this our Earth and habitable World, seated in the lower part of the Region of Eden, afterward called *Aram fluuiorum*, or *Mesopotamia*, which taketh into it also a portion of *Shinar* and *Armenia*: this Region standing in the most excellent temper of all other, (to wit) 35. degrees from the *Æquinoctiall*, and 55. from the North-pole: in which climate the most excellent Wines, Fruits, Oyle, Graine of all sorts are to this day found in abundance. And there is nothing that better proueth the excellency of this said soile and temper, than the abundant growing of the Palme-trees, without the care and labour of man. For wherein soeuer the Earth, Nature, and the Sunne can most vaunt, that they haue excelled, yet shall this Plant be the greatest wonder of all their workes: this Tree alone giueth vnto man whatsoeuer his life beggeth at Natures hand. And though it may bee said, that these Trees are found both in the East and West *Indies*, which Countries are also blessed with a perpetuall Spring and Summer, yet, lay downe by those pleasures and benefits the fearefull and dangerous Thunders and Lightnings, the horrible and frequent Earthquakes, the dangerous diseases, the multitude of venimous Beasts and Wormes, with other inconueniences; and then there will be found no comparison betweene the one and the other.

What

What other excellencies this Garden of Paradiſe had, before God (for mans ingratitude and crueltie) curſed the Earth, we cannot iudge; but I may ſafely thinke, that by how much *Adam* exceeded all liuing men in perfection, by being the immediate workemanſhip of God, by ſo much did that choſen and particular Garden exceede all parts of the Vniuerſall World, in which God had planted (that is) made to grow the Trees of Life, of Knowledge; Plants onely proper, and becomming the Paradiſe, and Garden of ſo great a Lord.

The ſumme of all this is, That whereas the eyes of men in this Scripture haue beene dimme-ſighted (ſome of them finding Paradiſe beyond our knowne World: ſome, aboue the middle Region of the Ayre: ſome, eleuated neere the Moone: others, as farre South as the Line, or as farre North as the Pole, &c.) I hope that the reader will be ſufficiently ſatisfied, that theſe were but like Caſtles in the Aire, and in mens fancies, vainely imagined. For it was Eaſtward in Eden (ſaith *Moſes*) Eaſtward, in reſpect of Iudæa; that God planted this Garden; which Eden wee find in the Prophets where it was, and whereof the name (in ſome part) remaineth to this day. A riuer went out of Eden to water this Garden, and from thence diuided it ſelfe into foure branches; and we find that both *Tigris* and *Euphrates* ſwimming through Eden, doe ioyne in one, and afterward taking wayes apart, doe water *Chus* and *Hauilah*, according to *Moſes*. the true ſeats of *Chus* and his Sonnes then being in the Valley of Shinar, in which *Nimrod* built Babel. That *Piſon* was *Ganges*, the Scripture, Reaſon, and experience teach the contrary: for that which was neuer ioyned, cannot be diuided; *Ganges*, which inhabiteth India, cannot be a branch of the riuers of Eden; That *Gehon* was *Nilus*, the ſame diſtance maketh the ſame impoſſibilitie; and this riuer is a greater ſtranger to *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, than *Ganges* is: for although there are betweene *Tigris* and *Ganges* aboue foure thouſand miles, yet they both riſe in the ſame quarter of the World; but *Nilus* is begotten in the Mountaines of the Moone, almoſt as farre off as the *Cape of good hope*, and falleth into the Mediterran Sea: and *Euphrates* diſtilleth out of the Mountaines of Armenia, and falleth into the *Gulfe* of *Perſia*: the one riſeth in the South, and trauaileth North: the other riſeth in the North, and runneth South, threeſcore and three degrees the one from the other. In this leafe following, I haue added a *Chorographicall* deſcription of this terreſtriall Paradiſe, that the Reader may thereby the better conceiue the preceding Diſcourſe; and this is the reward I looke for, that my labour may but receiue an allowance ſuſpended, vntil ſuch time as this deſcription of mine be reproued by a better.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the two chiefe Trees in the Garden of Paradiſe.

§. I.

That the tree of Life was a materiall tree: and in what ſenſe it is to be taken, that man by his eating the forbidden fruit, is made ſubiect to death.

FOr eating the forbidden fruit of the tree of Knowledge was *Adam* driuen out of Paradiſe, *in exilium vitæ temporalis, into the baniſhment of temporall life*, ſaith *Beda*. That theſe Trees of Life and Knowleddge were materiall Trees (though Figures of the Law and of the Goſpell) it is not doubted by the moſt religious and learned Writers: although the wits of men, which are ſo volatile, as nothing can fixe them, and ſo ſlipperie, as nothing can faſten them, haue in this alſo deliuered to the World, an imaginarie doctrine.

The Tree of Life (ſay the *Hebrewes*) hath a plurall conſtruction, and is to be vnderſtood, *Lignum vitarum, The Tree of liues*, becauſe the fruit thereof had a propertie, to preſerue both the growing, ſenſitiue, and rationall life of man; and not onely (but for *Adams* tranſgreſſion) had prolonged his owne dayes, but alſo giuen a durefull continuance to all poſteritie; and that, ſo long, as a body compounded of Elements could laſt.

Bart. ſept. 2. l. 1. 174.

And although it is hard to thinke, that fleſh and bloud could be immortall, but that it muſt once periſh and rot, by the vnchanged Law of God impoſed on his creatures,

Man

CAPADOCIÆ PARS
ARMENIÆ PARS
CILICIÆ PARS
Tarsus
Adana
Mallus
Issus
Sinus Issicus or Alexandretta
Alexandretta
Mara
CYRRESTICA
Edessa
Aleppo or Hierapolis
Antiochia
CYPRVS
CHALCIDICI
Laodicia
Apamia
Adada
Aradus
Antaradus
THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Tripolis
Byblis
Berytus
Botris
Archis
Sidon
Palmyra
PALMYRENA
CATANY
Libanus
COELESYRIA
Antelibanus
Damascus
Alsadamus
THE DESERT OF PALMERINA
Caesaria philippi
Berathi
Sauc. or Saba
Machati
Syria Soba
SACCEA
Gesuri
BATANEA
ARABIA DESERT
AGREI
Bassan
Caesaria p.
Amorites
Sicem
Hai
Bethel
Ammonites
Iopp.
MARTENI
Aurana
IERVSALEM
Moabites
ARABIA
AGVBENI
Ascalon
Midianites
PETREA
Idumites
Pharan desart
Petra deserti
Amalekites
Amalites
THE GREAT DESERT OF ARABIA
THE RED SEA
ARABIA THE HAPPIE
Darbeta
DORBETA or MOSEL
Hassansepha
HASANSEPHA
NISIBIS
The Isle of EDEN or Gezerta
Tigris fl.
Euphrates fl.
Gorgas fl.
Nin
Rechoboth
SINGARVS M.
MESOPOTAMIA
Thelbe Mancane
or Baldac
Charran
Chalne or Seleuia
SIPPHARA or SEPHAR
Hiddekel
TELASER or THILVTHA
Gihon
PARADISE
Achad aster ward. Anthanites
EVPHRATES
BABYLON
Ctesiphon
Apamia
Herculis Aræ
RHESIPHA once RETSEPH
GEHON
PISON
TIGRIS
The Arabians called AVCHABENI
The first plantation of Chus.
EREC or ARACCA
Chuduca sometime Chusea
The Arabians ÆSITÆ
CHALDEA
Gabara
Themna
The lakes of Chaldea
VR or VRCHOA the habitation of Abraham
MASSANI
Teredon now Bassara
The auncient outlet of Geon now desolate in the lakes of Chaldea
THE PERSIAN SEA
Calathua
The Arabians ORCHENI
Raama
RHABENI
Sheba
ARABIA THE HAPPIE THE NORTH PART

Man (notwithstanding) should haue enioyned thereby a long, healthfull, and vngreiued life: after which (according to the opinion of most Diuines) he should haue beene translated, as *Enoch* was. And as before the Floud, the dayes of men had the long measure of eight hundred or nine hundred yeeres; and soone after the floud, of two hundred yeers and vpwards, euen to fiue hundred: so if *Adam* had not disobeyed Gods first and easie Commandement, the liues of men on Earth might haue continued double, treble, or quadruple to any of the longest times of the first age, as many learned men haue conceiued. *Chrysostome, Rupertus, Tostatus*, and others were of beleefe, that (but for *Adams* fall and transgression) *Adam* and his Posteritie had beene immortall. But such is the
10 infinite Wisedom of God, as he foresaw that the earth could not haue contained Mankind; or else, that millions of soules must haue beene vngenerated, and haue had no being, if the first number, wherewith the Earth was replenished, had abode thereon for euer: and therefore that of *Chrysostome* must bee vnderstood of immortalitie of bodies, which should haue beene translated and glorified.

But of what kind or *Species* this Tree of Life was, no man hath taken on him to teach: in which respect many haue conceiued, that the same was not materiall, but a meere *Allegorie*, taking their strength out of *Salomon*, where Wisedome is compared to the Tree of Life, and from other places, where also *Christ* is called the Tree of Life; and out of the *Apocalypsis*, *I will giue to him that ouer commeth, to eate of the Tree of Life which* Apocal.2.7.
20 *is in the Paradise of God*. But to this place Saint *Augustines* answer may suffice, (which is) That the one doth not exclude the other, but that, as there was a terrestriall Paradise, so there was a celestiall. For although *Agar* and *Sara* were Figures of the *Old*, and *New Testament*, yet to thinke that they were not Women, and the Maide and Wife of *Abraham*, were meere foolishnesse. And so in this place the sense of the Scripture is manifest. *For God brought out of the earth euery Tree faire to the sight, and sweete to taste; the Tree also of Life in the midst of the Garden*: which sheweth, that among the trees, which the Earth by Gods commandement produced, the tree of Life was one, and that the fruit thereof was also to be eaten. The report of this Tree was also brought to the ancient Poets: for as from the indigested matter or *Chaos, Hesiodus, Homer, Ouid*, and others,
30 steale the inuention of the created World; so from the Garden of Paradise they tooke the Plat-forme of the Orchard of *Alcinous*, and another of the *Hesperides*: and from the Tree of *Life*, their *Nectar* and *Ambrosia*; for *Nectar*, according to *Suidas*, signifieth *making young*, and *Ambrosia*, *immortalitie*; and therefore said to be the meate and drinke of the gods.

§. II.

Of BECANVS *his opinion, that the Tree of knowledge was* Ficus Indica.

NOw for the Tree of Knowledge of good and euill, some men haue presumed
40 farther, especially *Goropius Becanus*, who giueth himselfe the honour to haue found out the kind of this Tree, which none of the Writers of former times could euer ghesse at, whereat *Goropius* much maruaileth. But as hee had an inuentiue braine, so there neuer liued any man, that beleeued better thereof, and of himself. Surely, howsoeuer his opinion may be valued, yet he vsurpeth the praise due to others, at least if the inuention be at that price at which he setteth it. For *Moses Bar-Cephas* fastened on this coniecture aboue sixe hundred yeeres before *Becanus* was borne: and *Bar-Cephas* himselfe referreth the inuention to an antiquitie more remote, citing for his Author *Philoxenus Maburgensis*, and others, whose very words *Goropius* vseth, both concerning the Tree, and the reasons wherewith he would induce other men to that be-
50 liefe. For *Moses Bar-Cephas* in his Treatise of Paradise (the first Part and *fol.*48.) saith, That the Tree of Knowledge was *Ficus Indica*; *The Indian Fig-Tree*, of which the greatest plentie (saith *Becanus*) are found vpon the bankes of Acesines, one of the Riuers which falleth into Indus, where *Alexander* built his Fleete of Gallies, in or neere the Kingdome of Porus.

This Tree beareth a fruit of the bignesse of a great Peaze, or (as *Plinie* reporteth) somewhat bigger; and that it is a tree, *se semper serens*; *alwaies planting itselfe*; that it spreadeth it self so farre abroade, as that a troope of horsemen may hide themselues vnder it. Plin.l.12.c.5.
Strabo saith, that it hath branches bending downewards, & leaues no lesse than a shield. Lib.15.p.2.

Aristobulus

Aristobulus affirmeth, that fiftie Horsemen may shadow themselues vnder one of these Trees. *Onesicritus* rayseth this number to foure hundred. This tree (saith *Theophrastus*) exceedeth all other in bignesse, which also *Plinie* & *Onesicritus* confirme: to the trunke of which, these Authors giue such a magnitude, as I shame to repeate. But it may bee, they all speake by an ill-vnderstood report. For this Indian Fig-tree is not so rare a plant, as *Becanus* conceiueth, who because hee found it no where else, would needes draw the Garden of Paradise to the Tree, and set it by the riuer Acesines. But many parts of the world haue them, and I my selfe haue seene twentie thousand of them in one Valley, not farre from Paria in America. They grow in moist grounds, and in this manner: After they are first shot vp some twentie or thirtie foot in length (some more, some lesse, according to the soile) they spread a very large top, hauing no bough nor twigge in the trunke or stemme: for from the vtmost end of the head branches there issueth out a gummy iuyce, which hangeth downeward like a cord or sinew, and within a few moneths reacheth the ground; which it no sooner toucheth but it taketh roote, and then being filled both from the top boughes, and from his owne proper roote, this cord maketh it selfe a Tree exceeding hastily. From the vtmost boughes of these young Trees there fall againe the like cords, which in one yeare and lesse (in that World of a perpetuall Spring) become also trees of the bignesse of the neather part of a Lance, and as straight as art or nature can make any thing, casting such a shade, and making such a kind of Groue, as no other Tree in the world can doe. Now, one of these Trees considered with all his young ones, may (indeed) shrowd foure hundred or foure thousand Horsemen, if they please; for they couer whole Vallies of ground where these Trees grow neare the Sea-banke, as they doe by thousands in the inner parts of Trinidado. The cordes which fall dovvne ouer the bankes into the Sea, shooting alway downeward to finde roote vnder water, are in those Seas of the Indies, where Oysters breede, intangled in their beds, so as by pulling vp one of these cordes out of the Sea, I haue seene fiue hundred Oysters hanging in a heape thereon; wherof the report came, that Oysters grew on Trees in India. But that they beare any such huge leaues, or any such delicate fruit, I could neuer finde, and yet I haue trauailed a dozon miles together vnder them: but to returne to *Goropius Becanus*. This Tree (saith he) was good for meate and pleasing to the sight, as the Tree of knowledge of good and euill is described to be.

Secondly, this Tree hauing so huge a trunke (as the former Authors report, and *Becanus* beleeueth) it was in this Tree that *Adam* and *Eue* hid themselues from the presence of God; for no other tree (saith he) could containe them. But first it is certaine, that this Tree hath no extraordinarie magnitude, as touching the trunke or stemme, for among ten thousand of them it is hard to finde any one bigger than the rest, and these are all but of a meane size. Secondly, the words of *Moses* translated, *in medio ligni*, are by all the Interpreters vnderstood in the plurall number (that is) *in the middest of the Trees*. But his third argument (or rather the argument of *Moses Bar-Cephas*, word for word) is, That when *Adam* and *Eue* found themselues naked, they made them breeches of Fig-leaues; which proueth (indeed) that either the tree it selfe was a Fig-tree, or that a Fig-tree grew neare it: because *Adam* being possest with shame, did not run vp and downe the Garden to seeke out leaues to couer him, but found them in the place it selfe; and these leaues of all other were most commodious by reason of their largenesse; which *Plinie* auoweth in these words: *Latitudo foliorum peltæ effigiem Amazoniæ habet; The breadth of the leaues hath the shape of an Amazonian shield*: which also *Theophrast* confirmeth; the forme of which Targets *Virgil* toucheth:

Gen. 3. 7.

Plin. l. 12. c. 5.

Ducit Amazonidum lunatis agmina peltis
PENTHESILAEA *furens.*

Virg. Aen. l. 1. 494.

The *Amazons* with Crescent-formed shield
PENTHESILAE A leades into the field.

Here *Becanus* desireth to be beleeued, or rather threatneth vs all that reade him, to giue credit to this his borrowed discouerie, vsing this confident (or rather cholericke) speech: *Quis erit tam impudenter obstinatus, si hæc à nobis de ficu hac ex antiquis scriptoribus cum* Mosis *narratione comparet, vt audeat dicere aliam arborem inueniri posse, quæ cum illa magis quadret? Who will be so impudently obstinate, if he compare these things which we*

we haue reported of this Fig-tree, and out of ancient Writers deliuered, with the narration of MOSES, *as to dare to auow, that any other Tree can bee found, which doth more properly answer, or agree therewith?* But for my selfe, because I neither find this Tree, sorting in body, in largenesse of leaues, nor in fruit to this report; I rather incline to the opinion of *Philo*: That the Earth neuer brought forth any of these trees neither before nor after; but I leaue euery man to his owne beliefe, for the matter is of no great weight as touching his kinde: onely thereby, and by the easie Commandement by God giuen to *Adam*, to forbeare to feede thereon, it pleased God to make triall of his obedience: *Prohibita, non propter aliud, quàm ad commendandum puræ ac simplicis Obedientiæ bonum; Being forbidden, not for any other respect, than thereby to commend the goodnesse of pure and simple Obedience.*

August. de Ciuit. Dei, l. 13. c. 20.

§. III.

Of BECANVS *his not vnwitty allegorizing of the story of his* Ficus Indca.

BVt in this I must doe *Becanus* right, that he hath very wittily allegorized this Tree, allowing his supposition of the Tree it selfe to bee true. The effects whereof, because his discourses are exceeding ample, I haue gathered in these few words. As this Tree (saith he) so did Man grow straight and vpright towards God, vntill such time as he had transgressed and broken the Commandement of his Creator; and then like vnto the boughes of this tree, he began to bend downeward, and stooped toward the earth, which all the rest of *Adams* posteritie after him haue done, rooting themselues therein, and fastning themselues to this corrupt world. The exceeding vmbragiousnesse of this tree, he compareth to the darke & shadowed life of man, through which the Sunne of iustice being not able to pierce, wee haue all remained in the shadow of death, till it pleased *Christ* to climbe the tree of the Crosse for our enlightning and redemption. The little fruite which it beareth, and which is hard to find among so many large leaues, may be compared (saith hee) to the little vertue, and vnperceiued knowledge among so large vanities, which obscure and shadow it ouer. And as this fruit is exceeding sweet, and delicate to the taste and palate: so are the delights and pleasures of the world most pleasing, while they dure. But as all those things which are most mellifluous, are soonest changed into choler and bitternesse: so are our vanities and pleasures conuerted into the bittrest sorrowes and repentances. That the leaues are so exceeding large, the fruit (for such leaues) exceeding little, in this, by comparison we behold (saith he) the many cares and great labours of worldly men, their sollicitude, their outward shewes, and publike ostentation, their apparant pride and large vanities; and if we seeke for the fruit, which ought to bee their vertuous and pious actions, we find it of the bignesse of the smallest peaze; glorie, to all the world apparant; goodnesse, to all the world inuisible. And furthermore, as the leaues, body, and boughes of this Tree, by so much exceede all other Plants, as the greatest men of power and worldly abilitie surpasse the meanest: so is the little fruit of such men, and such trees, rather fitting and becomming the vnworthiest Shrub, and humblest Bryar, or the poorest and basest Man, than such a flourishing statelinesse, and magnitude. Lastly, whereas *Adam*, after hee had disobeyed God, and beheld his owne nakednesse and shame, sought for leaues to couer himselfe withall, this may serue to put vs in minde of his and our sinnes, as often as we put on our garments, to couer and adorne our rotten and mortall bodies: to pamper and maintaine which, wee vse so many vncharitable and cruell practices in this world.

§. IIII.

Of the name of the tree of Knowledge of good and euill: with some other notes touching the storie of ADAMS *sinne.*

NOw, as touching the sense of this tree of Knowledge of good and euill, and what operation the fruit thereof had, and as touching the propertie of the Tree it selfe, *Moses Bar-Cephas* an ancient *Syrian* Doctor (translated by *Masius*) giueth this iudgement: That the fruit of this Tree had no such vertue or qualitie,

as that by the tasting thereof, there was any such knowledge created in *Adam*, as if hee had beene ignorant before; but as *Iunius* also noteth: *Arbor scientiæ boni & mali (id est) experientiæ boni & mali ab euentu; The Tree of knowledge of good and euill (that is) the experience of good and euill by the euent.* For thus much we may conceiue, that *Adam* being made (according to the Hebrew phrase) by the workmanship of Gods owne hand, in greater perfection than euer anie man was produced by generation, being (as it were) the created Plant, out of whose seed, all men liuing, haue growne vp; and hauing receiued immortalitie from the breath or spirit of God, hee could not (for these respects) be ignorant, that the disobeying of Gods commandement was the fearefullest euill, and the obseruation of his precepts the happiest good. But as men in perfect health do (notwithstanding) conceiue, that sicknesse is grieuous, and yet in no such degree of torment, as by the suffering & experience in themselues they afterwards witnesse: so was it with *Adam*, who could not be ignorant of the punishments, due to neglect and disobedience; and yet felt by the proofe therof in himselfe, another terror than he had fore-thought, or could imagine. For looking into the glasse of his owne guiltie soule, he beheld therin the horror of Gods iudgements, so as he then knew, he feelingly knew, and had triall of the late good, which could not be prized, and of the new purchased euil, which could not be expresst. He then saw himselfe naked both in bodie and mind; that is, depriued of Gods grace and former felicitie: and therefore was this tree called the tree of Knowledge, and not because the fruit thereof had anie such operation, by anie selfe qualitie or effect: for the same phrase is vsed in many places of the Scriptures, and names are giuen to Signes and Sacraments, as to acts performed, and things done. In such sort, as this tree was called the tree of Knowledge, because of the euent, as is aforesaid: so was the Well of contention therefore called *Esek*, and the Well of hatred *Sitnath*, because the Heardsmen of *Isaac* and *Gerar* contended for them; and the heape of Stones called the *heape of witnesse*, betweene *Iacob* and *Laban*; not that the stones bare witnesse, but for a memorie of the couenant. So *Iacob* called the house of God *Bethel*; and *Hagar*, the Well in the Desart, *Vinentis, & videntis.*

Num.20.13. Gen.26.20.21. Cap.31.48. Cap.28.19. Cap.16.14.

But *Adam* being both betrayed and mastered by his affections, ambitious of a farther knowledge than he had perceiued in himselfe, and looking but slightly (as all his issues doe) into the miseries and sorrowes incident, and greatly affecting the supposed glory which he might obtaine by tasting the fruit forbidden, he was transported and blowne forward, by the gentle winde of pleasing perswasions, vnawares; his progression being strengthened by the subtile arguments of Sathan, who laboured to poison mankind in the verie root, which he moistned with the liquor of the same ambition, by which himselfe perished for euer.

But what meanes did the Diuell find out, or what instruments did his owne subtilty present him, as fittest and aptest to worke this mischiefe by? euen the vnquiet vanity of the woman; so as by *Adams* harkning to the voyce of his wife, contrarie to the expresse commandement of the liuing God, Mankind by that her incantation became the subiect of labour, sorrow, and death: the woman being giuen to man for a comforter and companion, but not for a counsellor. *But because thou hast obeyed the voyce of thy wife &c.* (said God himselfe) *Cursed is the earth for thy sake, in sorrow shalt thou eate of it all thy life.* It is also to be noted, by whom the woman was tempted, euen by the most vgly and vnworthy of all beasts, into whom the Diuell entred and perswaded.

Bart.sem.2.l.2. Gen.3.17.

Secondly, what was the motiue of her disobedience? euen a desire to know what was most vnfitting her knowledge; an affection which hath euer since remained in all the posteritie of her sexe. Thirdly, what was it that moued the man to yeeld to her perswasions? euen the same cause which hath moued all men since to the like consent, namely, an vnwillingnesse to grieue her and make her sad, lest she should pine and be ouercome with sorrow. But if *Adam* in the state of perfection, and *Salomon* the sonne of *Dauid*, Gods chosen seruant, and himselfe a man endued with the greatest wisedome, did both of them disobey their Creator, by the perswasion and for the loue they bare to a woman, it is not so wonderfull as lamentable, that other men in succeeding ages haue been allured to so many inconuenient and wicked practices, by the perswasions of their Wiues, or other beloued darlings, who couer ouer and shadow many malicious purposes with a counterfeit passion of dissimulate sorrow and vnquietnesse.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of diuers memorable things betweene the Fall of ADAM, *and the Floud of* NOAH.

§. I.

Of the cause and the reuenge of CAINS *sinne: and of his going out from God.*

THe same Pride and Ambition which began in Angels, and afterward possest *Adam*, *Cain* also inherited: for *Cain* (enuious of the acceptation of his Brothers Prayer and Sacrifice) slew him, making himselfe the first Manslayer, and his Brother the first Martyr: the reuenge of which vnnaturall Murther, although, it pleased God to mitigate, when *Cain* cryed out that his punishment was greater than he could beare. For the same offence chiefly (wherwith the Sonnes of *Adam*, as it were, vrged and prouoked God) hee destroyed all Mankind, but *Noah* and his Family: for it is written, *The Earth also was corrupt before God*: of which in the same place *Moses* giueth a reason; for saith he, *The Earth was filled with cruelty*: and anon after, God himselfe made the cause knowne vnto *Noah*, saying; *An end of all flesh is come before me, for the Earth is filled with cruelty thorough them, and behold, I will destroy them with the Earth*, or *from the Earth*. Neither was this cruelty meant to haue beene in taking away the liues of men onely, but in all sorts of Iniustice and Oppression. After this Murther of ABEL, CAIN *went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the Land of Nod, towards the East-side of Eden*: in which words, The going out of *Cain* from the presence of the Lord, is not to be vnderstood after the litterall sense; God being wholly in all parts of the World: *Totus in cœlo est, totus in terra, non alternis temporibus, sed vtrumq; simul*; *God* (saith S. AVGVSTINE) *is wholly in Heauen, and wholly in Earth, not by enterchanged times, but all at once*; And that this is true, *Dauid* witnesseth: *If I be in Heauen* (saith DAVID) *thou art there; in Hell, thou art there also*. But what is meant therby? *Exijt à facie Dei* (saith CHRYSOSTOME) CAIN *went out from the presence of the Lord* (that is) *he was left of God, disfauoured and bereaued of his protection.*

Gen.6.v.11.13. Gen.4.v.16. Aug.de ciuit. Dei,l.12.c.19. Psal.139.8. Chrysost.in Gen.Hom.2.

§. II.

Of CAINS *dwelling in the Land of Nod: and of his City Enoch.*

THis word Nod or Naid, S. *Hierome* and many others vnderstand to signifie wandring or incertaine habitation: vexation or agitation, saith *Iunius*; but the Seuenty conuert it otherwise, and take Nod for the proper name of a Countrey, and so doth *Iosephus*. But it seemeth to me, that *Cain* was rather a Vagabond or Wanderer in his cogitations, than any thing else, and that his thoughts and conscience had no quiet or rest, in regard of the Murther committed, iustly fearing (by his owne words) the like violence: *And whosoeuer findeth me* (saith CAIN) *shall slay me*. Now that Nod or Naid was a Region wherein *Cain* inhabited, appeareth by the word (*dwelt*) for dwelling signifieth an abiding: and wee call those people Wanderers and Vagabonds that haue no dwelling place. And to make this dwelling & abiding more manifest, *Moses* teacheth in what part of the Earth this his habitation was, which he affirmeth towards the East-side of Eden. Secondly, it is said by *Moses*, that after *Cain* departed from the presence or fauour of God, he built a City, and called it by the name of his first-borne, *Enoch*; which sheweth that he feared to wander, and rather sought to fortifie himselfe against reuenge. *Cyrillus* saith, that *Cain* and *Abel* were figures of Christ, and of the Iewes; and that as *Cain* after that he had slaine *Abel* vniustly, had thence-forth no certaine abiding in the World: so the Iewes after they had crucified the Sonne of God, became Runnegates: and it is true, that the Iewes had neuer since any certaine Estate, Common-weale, or Prince of their owne vpon the Earth. Now this Land of Nod, *Iunius* taketh to be in *Arabia Deserta*, a Region of Nomades; but Arabia the Desert is not Eastward, or on the East part of Eden, neither are these Nomades any particular People or Nation. For all these, in what part of the World soeuer, which in old time liued by Pastorage, and fed (as

Hier.rad Heb. Ioseph.l.1.c.3. Gen.4.14. Gen.4.16. 17.

we call it in Ireland) vpon white meate, without tilling of the ground, are called by the Greekes, *Nomades*, and by the Latines *Pastores vagi*; as the Northren Tartarians, the Getulians, and Numidians in Africa, the ancient Brittans, and the Northren Irish: yea, such were the Inhabitants of Italy it selfe, till such time as *Italus* (who gaue them that name) taught them the Husbandry of tillage, vsed at this day. But the Region Eastward from Eden is that part of Assyria, called by *Ptolomy* Calena, which also might bee deriued of Carena, the country of *Cain*. And that *Cain* inhabited in those parts, it may be gathered by the first possession of his Father *Adam*; for thus it is written, *Genes.3. Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of Eden to till the Earth whence he was taken*: and in the Verse following: *Thus hee cast out man, &c. and at the East side of the Garden of Eden hee set the Cherubins*: which sheweth, that the entrie into Paradise was from the East, by which entrance *Adam* was cast out, and therefore inhabiting on that side of Paradise which was Eastward, according to the Text. *Cain* also in the same Region sought his dwelling place. Now, if the word *Nod* or *Naid* doe signifie *profugus*, that is, a fugitiue, we can giue no longer time to this vncertaine habitation of *Cain*, than till he built the City of Enoch, the first of the World, which hee inclosed either, for his owne defence, or (as *Iosephus* writeth) to oppresse others therby. So as for mine own opinion, I am resolued with the *Septuagint*, that Nod was the proper name of a Region; and for the word (Vagabond) which *Cain* vseth of himselfe, it seemeth by the perclose of the same Verse, that (Vagabond) is therein vnderstood for such an one as trauaileth in feare of reuengement: *for whosoeuer findeth me* (saith CAIN) *shall slay me*; or else (Vagabond) is taken for a man without protection, and cast out from the fauour of God.

Vers.23. 24.

And because these Henochians, so called of the City of Henoch, were the first society & ciuill assembly of all other, it is likely that the fame of these people (either for cruelty, strength, or other actions) liued in the memory of *Noah* and his Sonnes; so that after the Floud (as there were of all sorts of natures, some vertuously, some impiously disposed, and euery actiue minde setting before it whom to follow or imitate) those people, which delighted in cruelty and oppression, tooke on them their names whose natures they most liked and allowed; of whom these Henochians were not the least. Perchance the place it selfe where Henoch stood before the Floud, and whereof the Monuments might remain (as the Pillars or the foundation of Ioppe did) gaue occasion to the Planters of that place to call themselues by the same name: for of those Henochians there were many Nations in the borders of Pontus, & Colchis in Iberia, Segdiana, & Bactria; of the same name m any Mountains, as those which are otherwise called Coraxici. And seeing that it is hard to find out the truth of these things, which the most aged Time hath couered ouer or defaced, we may (according to the counsell of *Plato*) exceedingly reioyce, and therwith satisfie our selues, if of so great and almost worn-out Antiquity, if of the eldest peoples names & nations, there remain any print or foot-steps to Posterity.

Quotidiè aliquid in hoc magno orbe mutatur, noua vrbium fundamenta iaciuntur, noua Gentium nomina (extinctis nominibus priorib.) oriuntur. Sen. ad Albinum.

In * *Pliny*, *P. Mela*, *Strabo*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Lucan*, *Stephanus*, wee finde those *Henochei* described, though diuersly written; as in *Pliny*, sometimes *Heniochi*, in *Mela Eniochi*, in *Flaccus Heniochi*, in *Lucan Enochij*, all which inhabit vpon the Sea Euxinus, but yet none of these are on the East-side of Eden, or (according to *Moses* words) Eastward from Eden. For *Moses*, in all places where he describeth any Region, was so exceeding precise, as sometime he vseth the word East or South without borrowing or addition, at other times with a borrowing, as Eastward or Southward, or towards the East or South. In the place of *Genesis* the eleuenth, hee writeth the word (East) simply and directly. *And as they went from the East, they found a Plaine in the Land of Shinar*; but in this of *Cain* he addeth the word (towards) as, *in the Land of Nod towards the East side of Eden*; which may be taken, as inclining some one point or two either to the North or to the South of the East.

* *Plin.l.6.c.9. 11.& 16. Mel.l.1.c.vlt. Strabo lib.11. Val.Flacc.l.6. Lucan.l.3.v.35 v.2.*

But as we may coniecture that these Nations took name of Henoch the City of *Cain*, or of the Region wherein it stood, when the same was repeopled after the Floud: so it is probable that these *Henochij* of Colchis, & other parts adioining, were not the first of that name, after the Sons of *Noah* began to fill the World againe: because, had this Henoch the City of *Cain* stood in any of these parts, it had then bin seated North, & not East or Eastward from Eden. But as *Pliny* findeth their habitation towards Pontus, so afterwards hee goeth on Eastward, till hee tracke them or trace them out to their originall. For he calleth these of Colchis (now Mengrelia) *Sanni Heniochi*; *Ptolomy*, *Zani*; beyond which an

Plin.l.6.c.4.5. Plot.tab.Asie.3

an hundred and fifty mile Eastward hee findeth another Nation of them about Iberia and Albania; and beyond these hee againe discoueredh a third Nation, from whence all the rest tooke beginning, which inhabited on the West side of the Mountains of Paro-panisus, betweene them and the great Riuer of Oxus, which bordereth Bactria on the North side; and these Henochii are due East from the Region of Eden, and Eastward from the very Garden it selfe.

And although wee cannot bee assured that these Henochii tooke name from the memory of the City of Enoch directly; yet because they inhabited due East from Paradise, and afterwards spred themselues Westward (as all *Noahs* Sons did that came into Shinar) the coniecture is farre more probable, than that of *Annius* the Frier, who sets Henoch in Phœnicia, quite contrary to *Moses* word: Phœnicia from all parts of Eden being directly West.

And besides these seuerall Nations of the Henochii, *Stephanus* findeth a Region called Henochia, & the same also in the East, with diuers Mountaines about Bactria and Sogdiana, of the same name. Only the Grecians (according to their fabulous inuentions of all things else) out of the word *(Heniochi)* which signifieth Carts or Coach-men; make these Nations to haue sprung from the Waggoners of *Castor* and *Pollux* (to wit) *Amphites* and *Telchius*, who attended them in the enterprise of *Iason* into Colchis. And though I doe not deny, but that *Iason* with other Greeks ranged the Coasts of Asia the lesse in an open Boat or kind of small Galley, * of whom I shall speake in his owne time: yet no man doubteth but that the Tale of the Golden Fleece was for the most part Poeticall; and withall that in such an open Boat, which could hardly carry their owne Rowers, being 54. there was no place, and lesse vse of Coach-horses or Waggoners.

Steph. de Vrb.

Nat. comes calleth them Rhecas. Nat. Com. l.8.c.9 Strab. l.11.

* In the second Booke of this first Part, Cap. 13.§.5.

§.III.

of MOSES *his omitting sundry things concerning* CAINS *Generation.*

BVt of the remembrance and testimonies of the name of the City of Henoch in prophane Story, thus much may suffice; Now it followeth to answer some few Obiections against certaine particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of *Genesis*: against which for the first it is demanded, how it was possible for *Cain* (hauing no other assistance than his Sonne *Hanoch*) to performe such a Work as the building of a City, seeing there is thereto required so many hands, and so great a masse of all sorts of Materials? To which it is answered, that we are first to consider, That of *Cain* (because he was the Parent of an impious Race) *Moses* vseth no ample declaration; and so it best agreeth with his diuine Reason, seeing that he containeth the whole Story of the first Race, which wasted by the least account, 1656. yeares, in fiue short Chapters. Yet thus much may euery man borrow of his owne weakest reason, That seeing it pleased God to bestow on the first generations of mens liues so long a measure, as 800. & 900. yeares, that in such a space *Cain* had not want of leisure and means to build many such Cities as Henoch, be the capacity answering to what other of the World soeuer: for in what Age of *Cains* life he built it, the Scriptures are silent: as of whose times, and the times of his Issues *Moses* had the least care. And, as it was said of *Cain*, that he built a City: so it was said of *Noah*, that his three Sons peopled all the World, but in both, the processe of time required to be vnderstood: which aduice seeing *Moses* vseth where the space lesse requireth it, as knowing that hee writ the Scriptures to reasonable men, wee may easily vnderstand, that such was his meaning also in all reports of like nature. For in making but a difference betweene the Birth of *Abel*, and Oblation of *Cain*, he spake it in this sort, *Fuit autem post dies multos* or *à fine dierum* (that is) in processe of time, *it came to passe that* CAIN *brought an Oblation*. And therefore it is in like sort to bee vnderstood of *Cain*, that many yeares fore-gone, and when his people were increased, he built the City of Enoch or Henoch.

2.Kin.16.

And where it is written, as of *Cain*, that he built Enoch, so of *Salomon*, that hee built the Temple of Ierusalem; yet it is well knowne of *Salomon*, that hee employed in that Worke, 150000. Labourers: for this phrase or speech is common with our selues to say, The King inuaded, when he caused an inuasion to be made: & he built, when he cõmanded such a building. And therfore seeing we find that *Moses* had no regard to the ages, to the birth, or to the death of any of *Cains* Issues, it is not to be maruailed at, why he also

passeth

passeth ouer in a word the building of Enoch, without addition of any circumstance: for
Gen.4.17. of *Cain*, *Moses* writeth in this manner: CAIN *also knew his wife, who conceiued and bare*
HENOCH, *and he built a Citie, and called the name of the Citie after the name of his sonne*
HENOCH. *And to* HENOCH *was borne* IRAD, *and* IRAD *begat* MEHVIAEL, *and* ME-
18 HVIAEL *begat* METHVSAEL, *and* METHVSAEL LAMECH.

c.5.v.3. Now of *Seth*, *Moses*, writeth farre otherwise, and in this manner. *And* SETH *liued an hundred and fiue yeares, and begat* ENOCH, *and* SETH *liued after he begat* ENOCH 807. *yeare, and begat Sonnes and Daughters: so as all the dayes of* SETH *were* 912. *yeares, and he dyed.* as for the yeares & times of the wicked, they were not numbred *in libro viuentium*, saith *Cyril*. But in *Seth* was the Church of God established, from whom Christ descen-
ded, as touching his manhood: and therefore this way and worke *Moses* walked in, & finished it with care, passing ouer the Reprobate Generation (as aforesaid.) Of the Line of *Adam* by *Cain*, *Moses* remembreth but eight Generations, reckoning *Adam* for one, and of the Line of *Adam* by *Seth* ten, counting *Adam* also therein, as followeth:

I. ADAM.

2	*Cain.*	7	*Lamech*, who by *Ada* had *Iubal* and *Tubal*, & by *Silla Tubalcain*, and *Noëma*.	2	*Seth.*	7	*Henoch.*
3	*Henoch.*	8		3	*Enosh.*	8	*Methusalem.*
4	*Irad.*			4	*Cainan*,	9	*Lamech*, and
5	*Mahuiael.*			5	*Mahaleel.*	10	*Noah.*
6	*Mathusael.*			6	*Iarad.*		

These be the Generations of *Adam* by *Cain*, which the Scriptures mention: but *Iosephus* giueth vnto *Lamech* threescore and seuenteene Sonnes and Daughters, by his two Wiues *Ada* and *Silla*: and to these three sonnes of *Lamech*, *Moses* ascribeth the Inuention of Pastorage, of Musique, and the working in Metall; for it seemeth that *Iubal* first gathered together, and made familiar those beasts which formerly were vntamed, and
Gen.4.20.21.22 brought them into Heards and Droues: *Tubal* inuented Musicke, and *Tubalcain* the working in Brasse and Iron: the one being addicted to Husbandry, the other was Mechanicall, the third giuen to Idlenesse and Pleasure. In whom began these three meaner degrees of Shepheards, Handy-crafts-men, and Musicians. And in the Issues of *Seth* began the Seruices of God, Diuinity, Prophecy, and Astronomy: the Children of the one beheld the Heauens, the other the Earth.

§. IV.

Of the diuersities in the Ages of the Patriarchs when they begat their Children.

A Second scruple hath beene made, How it came to passe that the Patriarchs begat their Children at so diuers Ages, as *Cainan* or *Cenan* at seuenty yeares, *Mahaleel* and *Enoch* at threescore and fiue yeares, whereas *Iared* begat not any of his vntill he was 162. yeares old: *Mathusalem* begat at 187. *Lamech* at 182. and *Noah* at 500. yeares. Now this difference hath bin the more enforced, because it cannot bee conlectured, that either *Iared*, *Mathusalem* or *Lamech* abstained from Marriage out of the religion of Abstinence, seeing that *Enoch*, who was translated by God for his singular Sanctities, begat children before he was threescore and ten yeares old.

The apparant difference hereof ariseth in this, that *Moses* did not number the Generations before the Floud precisely, according to the first begotten and eldest sons of the Patriarchs, but hee drew downe the Line of *Noah* from *Seth*, and afterward from *Noah* to *Abraham*, by their true Ancestors, were they elder or yonguer, as he found them: for it is likely that *Henoch* was not the eldest of *Iared*, nor *Lamech* the first-borne of *Mathusalem*, nor *Noah* of *Lamech*; neither is there any thing knowne to the contrary, but that *Noah* might haue had many Sonnes before *Shem*, *Ham* and *Iaphet*, though these three were only named, & suruiuing, & which by God were reserued to be the Fathers of Mankind after the Floud; and therefore when we find *Mahaleel* to bee begotten by *Kenan* at threescore and ten yeares who was the first Sonne of *Kenan*, and then reckon that *Mathusalem* begat *Lamech* in the 187. year of his life, the difference seemeth strange, where *Lamech* is taken for the eldest. But *Moses* reiecteth all the other sonnes of *Mathusalem* but *Lamech* only, because hee was the Father of *Noah* as aforesaid. Of this Saint

Saint *Augustine* hath somewhat else in his twentieth and one and twentieth Chapters, *De Ciuitate Dei*.

But as *Moses* counted the Generations of the first Age, & so to *Abraham*, and the children of the Promise after him, so doth Saint *Matthew* recite the Genealogy of Christ, not by the eldest sonnes, but from those whom God had chosen and blessed, without respect of the first-borne, who haue hereby the prerogatiue in Estates, worldly and transitory only; and therefore the Euangelist nameth *Isaac*, and not *Ismael*, though *Ismael* Mat.1.2.
were first in time: so doth he take *Iacob* the yonguer, and not *Esau* the elder; neither is Christ deriued from any of the three eldest Patriarchs, *Reuben*, *Simeon*, or *Leui*, but from
10 *Iuda* a fourth Brother, and so from *Dauid* a yonguer sonne of *Iessai*; and lastly, we find, that the kingdome it selfe of Iuda was not giuen to the Heire in Nature, but to the Heire 1.Kings 2.
of Grace, namely *Salomon*.

§. V.

Of the long liues of the Patriarchs: and some of late memory.

THe third Obiection is, that the great difference of yeeres betweene those of the first Age, whereof some of them had well neere seene a thousand yeares, makes it disputable, whether the accouut of times were of the same measure as in after-
20 Ages, seeing, that soone after the Floud, men liued not a third part of that time, and in succeeding Ages and to this day, not the tenth.

They that haue hereon resolued that those yeares were but Lunary yeeres, (to wit) Sol.Pol.hist.c.3. Macrob. Satur. lib.1.cap.8.
of a Moneth or thereabouts, or Egyptian yeares, are easily confuted. For whereas *Seth* Plin.l.7.c.48.
begat *Enosh* in the yeare of his life an hundred and fiue, if those yeares bee taken but for Moneths, then had *Seth* liued but eight yeares, and one Moneth when hee begat *Enosh*: & if the time of *Enosh* haue the same allowance, when he begat *Kenan*, then could *Enosh* at that time haue beene but sixe yeares and forty eight weekes old; and so it may bee gathered of the rest, excepting only *Adam*, who was created perfect in his kind, as were the Trees in their kinde, bearing fruit and seed. But this were too ridiculous to imagine.
30 For to giue an ability of Generation at sixe, seuen or eight years, agreeth with the short liues of the Pigmies, and not with the constitutions of our first Fathers, who being descended from *Adam*, the workmanship of Gods hands, and begotten and borne in the strong youth of the Word, and length of dayes and ability of body agreeable. Againe, if we allow this idle conceit of the Lunary yeares, then there would follow this extremity, that those which liued longest, and vpwards of nine hundred yeares, had by that account but the time of fourescore and ten and odde yeares; which were not only lesse by farre than the Patriarchs liued after the Floud, but short of many mens liues in this decrepit Age of the World, wherein many exceed fourescore, & some a hundred yeers. Further (if need be) to disproue this reckoning, whereas it is written, *Gen.*25. That *A-*
40 *braham* dyed in a good Age, an old man, and of great yeares: all which (if the former account were of Lunary yeares) makes but seuenteene and an halfe of our yeares.

And if we seeke for a cause of this long life in Nature, then is it reasonable, that the first man, created in highest perfection, should also beget Children of equall strength or little differing: for of the first & purest seed there must of necessity spring vp the fairest and fruitfullest plants. Secondly, the Earth it selfe was then much lesse corrupt, which yeelded her increase, and brought forth fruit and food for man, without any such mixture of harmefull quality, as since that time the Curse of God, for the cruelty of mans heart, brought on it and Mankinde: Neither had the Waters of the Floud infused such an impurity as thereby the naturall and powerfull operation of all Plants, Herbes, and
50 Fruits vpon the Earth receiued a qualification and harmefull change. And as all things vnder the Sunne haue one time of strength, and another of weakenesse, a youth & beautie, and then age and deformity: so time it selfe (vnder the deathfull shade of whose wings all things decay and wither) hath wasted and worne out that liuely vertue of Nature in Man, and Beasts, and Plants; yea, the Heauens themselues being of a most pure Psal.102.v.26.
and clensed matter, shall waxe old as a garment; and then much more the power generatiue in inferiour Creatures, who by the ordinance of God receiue operatiue Vertue from the superiour.

But besides the old age of the World, how farre doth our education and simplicity

of

of liuing differ from that old time? the tender bringing vp of Children, first fedde and nourished with the Milke of a strange Dugge; an vnnaturall curiosity hauing taught all Women (but the Beggar) to finde out Nurses, which necessity only ought to commend vnto them: The hasty Marriages in tender yeares, wherein, Nature being but yet green and growing, we rent from her & replant her branches, while her selfe hath not yet any root sufficient to maintaine her owne top; and such halfe-ripe seedes (for the most part) in their growing vp wither in the bud, & waxe old euen in their Infancy. But aboue all things the exceeding luxuriousnesse of this gluttonous Age, wherein we presse Nature with ouer-weighty burdens, and finding her strength defectiue, wee take the worke out of her hands, and commit it to the artificiall helpe of strong Waters, hot Spices, and prouoking Sawces; of which *Lucan* hath these elegant Verses:

Pharsal.4.

O prodiga rerum
Luxuries nunquam paruo contenta paratu:
Et quæsitorum terra pelagoq; ciborum
Ambitiosa fames, & lauta gloria mensæ,
Discite quàm paruo liceat producere vitam:
Et quantum Natura petat.
Non auro myrrhâq; bibunt: sed gurgite puro
Vita redit: satis est populis fluuiusq; Ceresq;.

O wastfull Riot neuer well content
With low-priz'd fare; hunger ambitious
Of Cates by Land and Sea far fetcht and sent:
Vaine glory of a Table sumptuous,
Learne with how little life may be preserued.
In Gold and Myrrhe they need not to carouse,
But with the Brooke the peoples thirst is serued:
Who fed with Bread and Water are not sterued.

Pier.Hierog.l.2. The Egyptians affirme, that the longest time of mans life is a hundred yeares, because the heart in a perfect body waxeth and groweth to strength fifty yeares, and afterwards by the same degree decayeth and withereth. *Epigenes* findeth in his Philosophy, that the life of man may reach to the period of an hundred and twenty yeares, and *Berosus* to a hundred and seuenteene yeares. These opinions *Pliny* repeateth and reproueth, producing many examples to the contrary. In the last taxation, number and reuiew of the eighth Region of Italy, there were found in the Roll (saith *Pliny*) foure & fifty persons of an hundred yeares of age: seuen & fifty of an hundred and ten: two, of an hundred & fiue & twenty: foure, of an hundred and thirty: as many that were an hundred & fiue & thirty, or a hundred & seuen and thirty years old: & last of all three men of an hundred and forty: and this search was made in the times of *Vespasian* the Father and the Son.

Plin.l.7.c.29.

The simple dyet and temperate life of the Essæans gaue them long account of many years: so did it to the Secretaries of Egyptian Ceremonies, to the Persians Magicians & Indian Brachmans. The Greeks affirme out of *Homer*, that *Nestor* liued three Ages, & *Tiresias* six, *Sybilla* three hundred years, *Endymion* of the lesse Asia little less: Also *Masanissa* of Numidia liued very long, & *Dando* of Illyria. Among the kings of Arcadia many liued three hundred yeares (saith *Ephorus*.) *Hellanicus* affirmeth of the Epeians, that some of them liue full two hundred yeare; and so doth *Diodorus Siculus* of the Egyptians: & that these reports are not fabulous, *Iosephus* bringeth many witnesses with himselfe; as *Marethon*, *Berosus*, *Mochus*, *Estius*, *Hieronymus*, *Ægyptius*, *Hecataeus*, *Ephorus*, and others. And *Anthony Fume*, an Historian of good reputation reporteth, that in the yeare 1570. there was an Indian presented to *Solyman*, Generall of the Turkes Army, who had out-liued three hundred years. I my self knew the old Countess of Desmond of Inchiquin in Munster, who liued in the yeare 1589. & many years since, who was marryed in *Edward* the Fourths time, & held her Ioynture from all the Earles of Desmond since then; and that this is true, all the Noblemen & Gentlemen of Munster can witnesse. *Strozzius Cicogna*, out of *Torquemada Maffæus*, and the like Authors, telleth of some that haue not onely far exceeded the terme prescribed by *Epigenes*; but been repayred from the withered estate of decrepit Age to fresh Youth. But for length of life, if wee note but the difference betweene the ability of men in those daies wherin *Galen* the Physician liued, it may easily proue vnto vs what Reeds we are in respect of those Cedars of the first Age. For *Galen* did ordinarily let bloud six pound weight, wheras we (for the most part) stop at six ounces. But to conclude this part, there are three things (not counting Constellations) which are the naturall causes of a long and healthfull life; (to wit) strong Parents, a pure and

Iosant.l.13.c.8
Plin.l.7.c.48.

and thin Ayre, and temperate vse of dyet, pleasure, and rest: for those which are built of rotten timber, or mouldring stone, cannot stand long vpright; on Ayre we feed alwayes and in euery instant, and on meates but at times: and yet the heauie load of abundance, wherwith we oppresse & ouercharge Nature, maketh her to sinke vnawares in the midway; and therefore with a good constitution, a pure Aire, and a temperate vse of those things which Nature wanteth, are the only friends and companions of a long life.

§.VI.

Of the Patriarchs deliuering their knowledge by Tradition: and that ENOCH *writ before the Floud.*

A Fourth scruple hath beene made, How the certaine knowledge of the Creation came to *Moses*, seeing there was no Story thereof written; and if any such had beene, yet it is conceiued, that all memory of Antiquity perished in the Vniuersall Floud.

But if we consider the curiosity and policy of elder ages, we shall find, that knowledge was the greatest treasure that men sought for, and which they also couered and hid from the vulgar sort, as Iewels of inestimable price, fearing the irreuerent construction of the ignorant and irreligious: so as whatsoeuer was attained vnto concerning God, and his working in nature, the same was not left to publike dispute, but deliuered ouer by heart and tradition from wise men to a posterity equally zealous; *Ex animo in animum sine literis, medio intercedente verbo: From minde to minde without Letters, by way of tradition or word of mouth.* And it was thought by *Esdras*, *Origen*, and *Hilarius*, (as *Mirandula* conceiueth) that *Moses* did not onely vpon the Mount receiue the Law from God, but withall, *secretiorem & veram legis enarrationem; a more secret and true explanation of the Law*; which (saith he, out of the same Authors,) hee deliuered by mouth to *Iosuah*, and *Iosuah* to the Elders: For to teach these mysteries, which he called *secretiora*, to the rude multitude, were no other *quàm dare sanctum canibus, & inter porcos spargere Margaritas, than to giue holy things to Dogges, and to cast Pearles before Swine*. In succeeding times this vnderstanding and wisedome began to be written in Ciphers, and Characters, and Letters bearing the forme of beasts, birds, and other creatures; and to be taught onely to such as serued in their Temples, and to their Kings and Priests. Of the first the *Cabala* of the Iewes was an imitation: the inuention of the other is ascribed to *Zoroaster*, *Mercurius*, *Cadmus*, and others; but falsely.

Dion.Areop. Fol.18.

This *Cabala* importeth a Law, receiued by tradition and vnwritten. *Cabala* in Hebrew is *receptio* in Latine, and a *receiuing* in English. And this custome was also held by the Druids & Bards of our ancient Brittans, & of later times by the Irish Chroniclers called Rimers. If then such as would seem wisest in the vse of reason, wil not acknowledge, that the story of the Creation, or beginning of all things, was written by inspiration, the holy Ghost guiding the hand of *Moses*; yet it is manifest, that the knowledge thereof might by tradition (then vsed) be deliuered vnto him by a more certaine presumption, than any or all the testimonies which prophane antiquity had preserued & left to their successors: which their wise men (as they terme them) did lay vp and defend from the iniury of the time and other hazzards. For, leauing to remember that *Adam* instructed *Seth*, and *Seth* his children and successors, which cannot be doubted of, it is manifest, that *Methusalem* liued together with *Adam* himselfe two hundred forty and three yeares, and *Noah* with *Methusalem* no lesse than fiue hundred yeares: and before *Noah* died, *Abraham* was fifty and eight yeares old; from whence this knowledge by an easie and ordinary way might come to Israel, and so to *Moses*.

Cabala est scientia Theologiæ non reuelata, P.M. 82.
Miran.110.fol.

But besides this tradition, it is questionlesse, that the vse of letters was found out in the very infancy of the World, proued by those prophecies written on pillars of stone and bricke by *Enoch*: of which *Iosephus* affirmeth, that one of them remained euen in his time (meaning belike some ruine or foundation thereof) which pillars by others are ascribed to *Seth*. But of these prophecies of *Enoch*, Saint *Iude* testifieth; and some part of his Bookes (which contained the course of the Starres, their names and motions) were afterward found in *Arabia fœlix*, in the Dominion of the Queen of Saba (saith *Origen*) of which *Tertullian* affirmeth, that hee had seene and read some whole Pages. It is not therefore strange, that *Moses* came to the knowledge of the Creation, and story of

Ios.l.1.
Iud.Ep.v.14.
Origen.Homil. 1.in Num.

of the first Age, seeing he might receiue it both by tradition and letters, had not the spirit of God instructed and inspired him as it did: which also his many and strange miracles (performed before he wrote the Scriptures) make more manifest.

Orig. Homil.28. in Num.& Comment.in Euang.Iohan. Gelas.dist.15. Now for the Bookes of *Enoch*, howsoeuer some men make question of them, sure I am that *Tertullian, Origen, Augustine, Beda, Procopius, Gazeus*, (with others) cite them in their writings: although *Medina*, for an argument to proue them vnwritten traditions, alleadgeth that Pope *Gelasius* among other the Apochryphall Scriptures (which he reiecteth) named not these of *Enoch*; but that whatsoeuer was remembred out of them, the same was deliuered by Tradition from the Iewes. But I rather thinke with *Pererius*, that such a Book there was, & that the same was corrupted after the death of the Apostles, & many things added thereunto by Heretikes, who tooke occasion vpon the antiquity therof, and out of that place of *Michael* contending with the Deuill about the body of *Moses*, to frame and adde thereunto many inuentions of their owne. One of the greatest arguments against these Bookes, is, that neyther *Philo* nor *Iosephus* (the most diligent searchers of Antiquity) make mention thereof. But against it I will set this opinion of Saint AVGVSTINE, *Scripsisse quidem nonnulla diuina* ENOCH, *illum septimum ab* ADAM, *negare non possumus: That* ENOCH, *the seuenth from* ADAM, *did write diuers diuine things, we cannot deny.* Now his writings which came afterwards to light, were suspected because of the antiquity, and of fables of Giants, supposed to be begotten of Angels, and others; and by so much the more, because no such Book was found amongst those Canonicall Scriptures, kept by the diligence of the Hebrew Priests in *Armario Iudaico* (saith *Tertullian*) who yet affirmeth that this Booke might be preserued by *Noah*. Surely, that *Enoch* wrote the prophecies remembred by *Iude*, no man can deny; how they were deliuered to posterity, I know not; whether by the Iewes *Cabala*, or by what other mieanes, the same is but mans coniecture. And (certainely) by the knowledge ascribed to *Noah* of the motions of the Heauens, and of the natures and coniunctions of the Starres; and afterwards to some of his sonnes, to *Zoroaster*, and then to *Abraham*, it is very probable that *Noah* had seene and might preserue this Booke. For it is not likely, that so exquisite knowledge therein (as these men had) was suddenly inuented and found out, but left by *Seth* to *Enoch*, and by *Enoch* to *Noah*, as hath beene said before. And therefore if letters and arts were knowne from the time of *Seth* to *Enoch*, and that *Noah* liued with *Methusalem*, who liued with *Adam*, and *Abraham* liued with *Noah*, it is not strange (I say) to conceiue how *Moses* came to the knowledge of the first Age, be it by letters, or by *Cabala* & tradition, had the vndoubted word of God need of any other proofe than self-authority.

Tert.de habit. mulierum.

Hebr.11.5.

§.VII.

Of the men of renowne before the Flood.

NOw let vs consider the relation of *Moses*, who nameth seuen descents of *Cains* children, and of *Adam* by *Seth* ten: *Seth* being giuen by God in stead of *Abel*; and of *Seth* was *Enosh* begotten, in whose time men began to professe Religion, and to offer sacrifice in publique. For although *Adam* instructed his children in the knowledge of God their Creator, as appeared by the sacrifice offered by *Cain* and *Abel*; yet it seemeth that after the birth of *Enosh* men began publiquely to call on the name of the Lord, that is, they serued and praised God by Communion and in publique manner, or calling vpon the Name of the Lord; and thereby were the sonnes of God or the godly distinguished from the wicked. From the birth of *Enosh* the sonne of *Seth*, to the time of *Henoch* the sonne of *Iared*, there is nothing remembred by *Moses*, but their owne births, the birthes of their sonnes, the length of their liues, and deaths. But of *Henoch* it is written, *That hee walked with God, and hee was no more seene:* for God tooke him away. By that, *that he walked with God*, was meant, that hee was a iust and vpright man, and that he feared, loued, and obeyed God. For the same phrase *Moses* vseth of *Noah*; NOAH *was a iust and vpright man in his time, and* NOAH *walked with God.* The Seuenty conuert it, ENOCH *placuit Deo*; ENOCH *pleased God.* And although *Aben-Ezra* and others vnderstand this place, *(tulit eum Deus) scilicet, mortuus est*; *God tooke him away, (that is) hee dyed*, which (indeede) agreeth both with the phrase of the Scripture, and with our manner of speech to this day, to say, God tooke him away, when he dyed; yet the difference which *Moses* maketh betweene the piety of *Henoch*, and the rest of the Patriarchs,

Gen.5.24.

6.9.

triarchs, and by omitting the word (death) which he vseth to all else, makes it manifest, that *Henoch* was not dissolued as the rest. For to all the rest of the Patriarchs, *Moses* vseth these words, *And he dyed*; but of *Henoch* he spake otherwise, saying onely, *He was missing*, or *he was not seene*. *Et non inueniebatur* (saith the Apostle to the Hebrewes) *quia Deus eum transtulit*; *And he was not found, for the Lord tooke him away.* In the same place it is expresly added, *that he saw not death.*

But whether this taking away of *Henoch* were not with the same kinde of changing, which S. *Paul* promiseth, when he saith, that *when the end shall come, wee shall not all dye, but all shall be changed*, I leaue it to the learned Diuines. *1.Cor.15.51.*

After *Henoch*, *Moses* passeth ouer to *Mathusalem* and *Lamech*, remembring (as of the rest) the times of their birth and death: sauing that *Lamech* prophesied of his sonne *Noah*, saying, *This same shall comfort vs concerning our worke, and sorrow of our hands, as touching the earth which the Lord hath cursed.* Of *Noah*, *Moses* writeth more amply than of any of the rest of *Adams* children by *Seth*, being the last of the ten generations of the first Age, whom God (with his Family) preserued, because he was an vpright man in his time, and feared God. *Gen.5.29.* *Gen.6.9.*

But of the warre, peace, gouernement, and policy of these strong and mighty men, so able both in body and wit, there is no memory remaining: whose stories if they had bin preserued, and what else was then performed in that newnesse of the World, there could nothing of more delight haue been left to posterity. For the exceeding long liues of men (who to their strength of body and naturall wits, had the experience added of 800. and 900. yeares) how much of necessity must the same adde of wisedome and vndertakings? Likely it is, that their workes excelled all whatsoeuer can be told of after-times, especially in respect of this old age of the World, when wee no sooner begin to know, but we begin to die; according to HIPPOCRATES: *Vita breuis, ars longa, tempus preceps*; (which is) *Life is short, art is long, and time is headlong.* And that those people of the first age performed many things worthy admiration, it may be gathered out of these words of MOSES; *These were mighty men, which in old time were men of renowne.* But these men of renowne (whom the Scripture afterwards calleth Giants, both for strength of body, and cruelty of mind) trusted so much to their owne abilities, as they forgat altogether the piety of *Seth*, and the waies wherein *Henoch* walked: *for all the imaginations of their hearts were euill, onely euill, and continually euill.* And this wickednesse was not only found in the issues of *Cain*, but it was then vniuersall, when the children & sons of God (or of the godly) were corrupted and mis-led by their idolatrous wiues, the daughters of *Cain*, or of those other men, louing themselues and the world only. *Aphor.1.* *Gen.6.4.* *Vers.5.*

That these *sonnes of God* were Angels, which being taken with the beauty of women, accompanied them and begat Giants, some of the Fathers supposed, namely, *Lanctantius*, and *Eusebius*, mis-led by *Iosephus*: of whom I cannot doubt, but that they afterward changed their former opinions. And of this mistaking many Writers haue taken great aduantage, and haue troubled themselues with large answers, and very needelesse: the question being vncapable of dispute, especially since S. *Chrysostome* and S. *Augustine* haue answered it largely long agoe. For, that good and godly men were honoured with the title of Gods children, it doth euery where appeare in the Scripture; & on the contrary, to thinke that Angels, who (as Christ witnesseth) behold the face of God, (that is) alwaies attend his commandements, should after a separation from the rest which fel with *Lucifer*, forsake the glorious presence of their Creator, and become *Incubi*, or *Succubi*, contrary both to Nature and Grace, were more than madnesse to imagine. *Gen.6.v.4.*

§.VIII.

That the Giants by MOSES *so called, were indeed men of huge bodies: as also diuers in later times.*

OF these Giants which *Moses* calleth mighty men, *Goropius Becanus* an *Antuerpian* (who thought his owne wit more Giganticall than the bodies of *Nimrod* or *Hercules*) hath written a large discourse, intituled *Gigantomachia*, and strayned his braines to proue, that there were neuer any such men: his reasons (whosoeuer desires to lose time) he may finde them in the Treatises before named. It is true that *Cyrillus* reproues the Grecians Poets for their monstrous fictions: who affirme shamelesly, That

That the Giants haue in elder times not onely cast vp Mountaines vpon Mountaines, but remoued Ilands out of the Sea, with like fooleries. And for that inuention of casting vp Hils, and making warre with the gods, no doubt but that the same was borrowed out of the story of *Nimrod*, as before remembred; and euen out of this Scripture, That the Sonnes of God saw the Daughters of Men, of whom the first Giants were begotten, was that conceit taken of *Orpheus* and *Hesiodus*, That Giants were the sonnes of the Heauen and the Earth; meaning by the Heauens the sonnes of God, and by the Earth the daughters of Men: which verses of *Orpheus* are by *Iohn Cassam* (who hath written a witty discourse of this subiect) thus changed into Latine:

Nomine cœlestes illos dixêre Gigantes,
Orti quòd terrâ fuerint & sanguine cœli.

From the Earth, and from thy bloud, O heauen, they came,
Whom thereupon the gods did Giants name.

But what will not Opiniators and selfe-beleeuing men dispute of, and make doubt of; if they cannot conceine that there were in the first Age such kind of men; and of which there haue beene in all times since; seeing the Scriptures auow the one manifestly, and common experience the other?

And for that superlatiue strayning of words, and the meaning of them, that the name of Giants was giuen to Oppressors and Tyrants, and not to strength of body and eminent stature: such men might with better reason cal them Oppressors, because they were Giants; and therfore had ability to oppresse, than say, That they were called Gians only, because Oppressors. For first, *Moses* himselfe calleth them mighty men; which sheweth a strength surpassing others: and afterwards, men of renowne, (that is) of great vndertaking and aduenterous action. And if the same stature of body, and ability had not beene found among diuers Nations after the generall floud, then might this place of *Moses* haue more willingly hearkened to a dispute, and yeelded to interpretation.

But besides all these famous Giants found in prophane Histories (which I will reserue to accompany the Giants of Albion, in the story of Britanie) the Scriptures doe cleerly and without all allegoricall construction auow, That, besides *Nimrod*, there were found
Gen.14.5. of these Giants in the time of *Abraham*, of *Moses*, of *Iosua*, and of *Dauid*; namely, the
Num.15.34. Rephaims in Asteroth; the Zuzæi or Zanzummims in Ham, and the Emims which
Deut.2.v.21,20 dwelt anciently in the Land of Moab: whom *Moses* (for stature) compareth with the Anakims which dwelt in Hebron; for they also were taken for giants as the Anakims: Likewise where *Moses* speaketh of the Land of *Ammon* hee vseth these words: *That also was*
Verse 21. *taken for a land of Giants, for Giants dwelt therein afore-times*: &, *whom the Ammonites call Zamzummims: a people that was great, and many, and tall as the Anakims*. And these Giants
Amos 1. called Rephaims in Asteroth and Karnaim, & the Zuzæi or Zanzummims, *Chedorlaomer* king of Elam ouerthrew, assisted by other kings his associates. Also the Prophet *Amos* found among the Ammonites men of giant-like stature, whom he compareth to the Ce-
Bar.3.v.26. dar, & whose strength to the Okes; and the Prophet BARVCH, *These were the Giants famous from the beginning, that were of so great stature, and so expert in warre*. Particularly it
Deut.3.v.11. is written of *Og*, king of Basan, that his bed of yron was nine cubits long, and foure cubits broad: for only *Og* king of Basan remained of the remnant of the Giants, who commanded the Kingdome of Basan, foure hundred yeares after the Expedition of *Chedorlaomer*. Moreouer, those Discouerers and Searchers of the Land of Promise (sent by *Moses* from Cadesbarne in Paran) made report at their returne of the great stature of those
Num.13.v.34. people in generall, and especially of the sonnes of *Anak*, in these words: *All the people which we saw in it are men of great stature: for there we saw Giants, the sons of* ANAK, *which come of the Giants, so that we seemed in our sights like Grasse-hoppers, and so wee were in their sight*, (that is) the Searchers found in their owne iudgements a maruellous difference between the Anakims and themselues: insomuch that the Israelites were so stricken with
Ios.14.4. feare, as they rather sought and desired to return againe into Egypt, and were more willing to endure their former slauery, than to fall by the strokes of those fearfull Nations.
1.Sam.17.4. Furthermore, the Scriptures, put vs out of doubt, that *Goliah* the Philistine of Gath, was a Giant of sixe cubits & a span long: the Armour which he wore weighed fiue thousand shickles of brasse: the shaft of his speare was like a Weauers beame, and his speare-head
2.Sam.21.v.19. weighed sixe hundred shickles of yron. Also in *Samuel* there is mention of another *Goliah*

of another *Goliah*, surnamed *Getheus*, because he was of *Gath*: and of three other Giants of which the first was slaine by *Iehonathan*, *Dauids* Nephew, who had twelue fingers, and as many toes: a man of great stature, and his fingers were by sixes, euen foure & twenty.

Also that *Sampson* was of surpassing strength, no man doubteth, who tore a Lion as it had beene a Kid, and after slue thirty of the Philistines, & (after that) a thousand more of them with a Iaw-bone of an Asse: And lastly, hee tooke the gates of Azzah, and the two Posts, and lifted them away with the barres, and put them vpon his shoulders, and carried them to the top of the Mountaine before Ebron. If then it be approued by euery iudgement, that both Nature and the Heauens waxe old, and that the great age of Time
10 hath (with it selfe) infeebled and almost worne out the vertue of all things, then, I say, That as in all other kindes the Earth (before that Sinne had increased the curse and corruption) brought forth her yongue ones more strong and beautifull, than it did in after-ages: so also those Giants, those mighty men, and men of renowne, as far exceeded the proportion, nature, and strength of those Giants, remembred by *Moses* of his own time, and after him their successors, as the ordinary proportion of all men in generall, soon after the floud and in times farre off, exceeded the bulkes and bodies of men which are now borne in the withered quarter and Winter of the World. If therefore Giants were common in the third and fourth age, much more in the first flourishing youth and newnesse of the world.

20 But the wickednesse (especially in cruelty and oppression) of these men was such, as God therfore by the floud gaue end to all flesh, but to the iust *Noah* and his Family. *And God repented him that hee had made man*: which S. *Augustine* thus expoundeth; *Neq; enim* Gen.6.6.
sicut hominem, ita Deum facti sui pœnitet, cuius est de omnibus omnino rebus tam fixa senten- De Ciuit. Dei,
tia, quam certa præscientia. Sed si non vtatur Scriptura talibus verbis, non se quodammodo l.15.c.15.
familiarius insinuabit omni generi hominum, quibus vult esse consultum: vt & perterreat superbientes, & excitet negligentes, & exerceat querentes, & alat intelligentes; *God* (saith he) *doth not repent him of any thing which he hath done: (as men vse to doe) but if the Scripture did not vse those words or the like, it should not (in a sort) insinuate it selfe familiarly to all sorts of men, for whom it would prouide: that it might terrifie the proud, stirre vp the neg-*
30 *ligent, exercise the searchers of truth, and nourish those that vnderstand.*

CHAP. VI.

Of idolatrous corruptions, quickly rising, and hardly at length vanishing in the World: and of the Reliques of Truth touching these ancient times, obscurely appearing in Fables and old Legends.

40

§. I.

That in old corruptions we may finde some signes of more ancient truth.

HEre before we proceede any further, the occasion offereth it selfe for vs to consider, how the Greekes and other more ancient Nations, by fabulous inuentions, and by breaking into parts the Story of the Creation, and by deliuering it ouer in a mysticall sense, wrapping it vp mixed with other their owne trumpery, haue sought to obscure the truth thereof; and haue hoped, that after-ages, being thereby brought into many doubts, might receiue those inter-mixt discourses of God and Nature, for the inuentions of Poets & Philosophers,
50 and not as any thing borrowed or stolne out of the Bookes of God. But as a skilfull and learned Chymist can aswell by separation of visible elements draw helpfull medicines out of poyson, as poyson out of the most healthfull hearbs & plants (all things hauing in themselues both life and death) so, contrary to the purposes and hopes of the Heathen, may those which seeke after God and Truth, find out euery-where, and in all the ancient Poets and Philosophers, the Story of the first Age, with all the works and maruailes thereof, amply and liuely expreft.

§. II.

§. II.

That the corruptions themselues were very ancient: as in the Family of NOAH, *and in the old Egyptians.*

BVt this defection and falling away from God, which was first found in Angels, and afterwards in Men (the one hauing erred but once, the other euer) as concerning mankinde it tooke such effect, that thereby (the liberall grace of God being with-drawne) all the posterity of our first Parents were afterwards borne and bred in a world, suffering a perpetuall Eclipse of spirituall light. Hence it was that it produced plants of such imperfection and harmfull quality, as the waters of the generall floud could not so wash out or depure, but that the same defection hath had continuance in the very generation and nature of mankind. Yea, euen among the few sonnes of *Noah*, there were found strong effects of the former poyson. For as the children of *Sem* did inherite the vertues of *Sech*, *Enoch*, and *Noah*; so the sonnes of *Cham* did possesse the vices of the sonnes of *Cain*, and of those wicked Giants of the first Age. Whence the Chaldæans began soone after the floud to ascribe diuine power and honour to the Creature, which was onely due to the Creatour. First, they worshipped the Sunne, and then the fire. So the Egyptians and Phœnicians did not onely learne to leaue the true God, but created twelue seuerall gods, and diuine powers, whom they worshipped, and vnto whom they built Altars and Temples. For *Herodotus* saith, *Duodecim Deorum nominis primos Ægyptios in vsu habuisse, atque Græcos ab illis cepisse mutuatos, eosq; prius Aras, & Imagines, & Templa Dijs sibi erexisse*; *The Egyptians* (saith he) *first deuised the names of the twelue gods, which the Greekes receiued from them, who first erected vnto themselues Altars, Images, and Temples for the gods.*

Herodin Euterpe.

§. III.

That in processe of time these lesser errours drew on greater: as appeareth in the grosse Superstitions of the Egyptians.

BVt as men once fallen away from vndoubted truth, doe then after wander for euermore in vices vnknowne, and daily trauaile towards their eternall perdition: so did these grosse and blinde Idolaters euery Age after other descend lower and lower, and shrinke and slide downwards from the knowledge of one true & very God; and did not thereby erre in worshipping mortall men onely, but they gaue diuine reuerence, and had the same respect to Beasts, Birds, Fishes, Fowles, Windes, Earth, Water, Ayre, Fire, to the Morning, to the Euening, to Plants, Trees and Rootes, to Passions and Affections of the Minde, to Palenesse, Sicknesse, Sorrowes, yea to the most vnworthy and basest of all these. Which barbarous blasphemy, *Rhodius Anaxandrides* derideth in this manner:

Nat. com. l. 2. cap. 7.

Bouem colis, ego Deis macto bouem.
Tu maximum Anguillam Deum putas: ego
Obsoniorum credidi suauissimum.
Carnes suillas tu caues, at gaudeo
Hijs maximè: canem colis, quem verbero
Edentem vbi deprehendo fortè obsonium.

I sacrifice to God the Beefe, which you adore.
I broyle the *Egyptian* Eeles, which you (as god) implore:
You feare to eate the flesh of Swine, I finde it sweet.
You worship Dogges, to beate them I thinke meet,
When they my store deuoure

And in this manner IVVENAL.

Porrum aut cæpe nefas violare aut frangere morsu:
O sanctas gentes, quibus hæc nascuntur in hortis
Numina!

The *Egyptians* thinke it sinne to root vp, or to bite
Their Leekes or Onyons, which they serue with holy rite:
O happy Nations, which of their owne sowing
Haue store of gods in euery Garden growing!

§. IIII.

That from the reliques of ancient Records among the Egyptians and others, the first Idols and Fables were inuented: and that the first IVPITER *was* CAIN, VVLCAN, TVBALCAIN, *&c.*

BVt in so great a confusion of vanities, where among the Heathens themselues there is no agreement or certainty, it were hard to find out from what example the beginnings of these inuentions were borrowed, or after what ancient patterne they erected their building, were it not certaine, that the Egyptians had knowledge of the first Age, and of whatsoeuer was done therein, partly from some inscriptions vpon stone or metall remaining after the Floud; and partly from *Mizraim* the son of *Cham*, who had learnt the same of *Cham*, and *Cham* of his father *Noah*: for all that the Egyptians write of their ancient Kings, & date of times, cannot be fayned. And though other Nations after them had by imitation their *Iupiters* also, their *Saturnes*, *Vulcans*, & *Mercuries*, with the rest, which S. *Augustine* out of *Varro*; *Eusebius* out of many prophane Histories; *Cicero*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Arnobius*, and many more haue obserued, to wit the *Phœnicians*, *Phrygians*, *Cretians*, *Greeks*, and other Nations; yet was *Cain* the sonne of *Adam* (as some very learned men conceiue) called and reputed for the first and ancient *Iupiter*; and *Adam* for the first *Stature*: for *Iupiter* was said to haue inuented the founding of Cities; and the first Citie of the World was built by *Cain*, which he called *Enoch*, of whom were the *Henochij* before remembred. And so much may be gathered out of *Plato* in *Protagoras*, which also *Higinus* in his 275. Chapter confirmeth. For besides that many Cities were founded by diuers men; *Tamen primam latissimam à primo & antiquissimo* IOVE *ædificatam: yet the first and largest was built by the first and most ancient* IVPITER, seated in the East parts, or in India, according to that of MOSES: *And* CAIN *dwelt towards the East side of* Eden, *&c.* where also the *Henochij* were found after the Floud. And therfore was *Iupiter* by the Athenians called *Polieus*, a Founder of Cities, and *Herceios*, an incloser or strengthener of Cities; (say *Phornutus* and *Pausanias*) and that to *Iupiter Herceios* there were in very many places Altars and Temples erected. And that there were Cities built before the Floud, *Plato* also witnesseth, as may be gathered in this his affirming, that soone after mankind began to increase, they built many Cities; which, as his meaning, he deliuereth in plaine termes, in his third Booke of Lawes: for he saith, that Cities were built an exceeding space of time before the destruction by the great Floud.

Aug. l. 19. c. 22. De Ciuit. Dei. Euseb. l. 1. Præp. Euang. c. 7. & l. 2. c. 23. Cic. l. 2. de nat. Deorum. Arnob. 4. contra Gent.

Gen. 4. 16.

Phorn. l. de natura Deorum. Pausan. l. 4. 5. & 10. in Protago.

This first *Iupiter* of the Ethnickes was then the same *Cain*, the sonne of *Adam*, who marrying his owne Sister (as also *Iupiter* is said to haue done) inhabited the East, where *Stephanus de vrbibus* placeth the Citie *Henochia*. And besides this Citie of *Henoch*, *Philo Iudæus* conceiueth that *Cain* built sixe others, as *Maich*, *Iared*, *Tehe*, *Iesca*, *Selet* and *Gebat*: but where *Philo* had this I know not. Now as *Cain* was the first *Iupiter*, and from whom also the Ethnicks had the inuention of Sacrifice: so were *Iubal*, *Tubal* and *Tubalcain* (inuentors of Pastorage, Smiths-craft, and Musick) the same, which were called by the ancient prophane Writers, *Mercurius*, *Vulcan*, and *Apollo*; and as there is a likelyhood of name betweene *Tubalcain* and *Vulcan*: so doth *Augustine* expound the name of *Noema* or *Naamath*, the sister of *Tubalcain*, to signifie *Venusta*, or beautifull, *Voluptas*, or pleasure; as the wife of *Vulcan* is said to be *Venus*, the Ladie of pleasure and beautie. And as *Adam* was the ancient and first *Saturne*, *Cain* the eldest *Iupiter*, *Eua*, *Rhea*, and *Nomea* or *Naamath* the first *Venus*: so did the Fable of the diuiding of the World betweene the three Brethren the Sonnes of *Saturne*, arise from the true Storie of the diuiding of the Earth betweene the three Brethren the Sonnes of *Noah*: so also was the Fiction of those Golden Apples kept by a Dragon, taken from the Serpent, which tempted *Euah*: so was *Paradise* it selfe transported out of Asia into Africa, and made the Garden of the Hesperides: the prophecies, that *Christ* should breake the Serpents head, & conquer the power of Hell, occasioned the Fables of *Hercules* killing the Serpent of *Hesperides*, and descending into Hell, and captiuating *Cerberus*: so out of the taking vp of *Henoch* by God, was borrowed the conuersion of their *Heroes* (the inuentors of Religion, and such Arts as the life of man had profit by) into Starres and Heauenly Signes, and (withall) that leauing of the World, and ascension of *Astræa*; of which *Ouid*:

Gen. 4. 20. 21. 22.

Lact. l. 4. c. 27.

Ouid. Met. l. 1.

Vltima cœlestum terras Astræa reliquit;
Astræa last of heauenly Wights the Earth did leaue:

Nat. Com. l. 2. c. 2 For although thereby the *Ethnicks* would vnderstand Iustice it selfe to haue fayled, as it is a vertue abstract, and may bee considered without a person; yet as it is vsuall among the ancient Poets to describe Vertues and Vices by the persons of men and women, as Desire by *Cupid*, Valour by *Mars*, Beautie or Lust by *Venus*; so doe they also the persons of Men by like Vertues and Vices: and therefore by Iustice and *Astræa*, *Enoch*; the iustice and pietie of *Enoch* being in the same manner expreſt, as that of *Noah* was by *Moses*: for *Noah* was said to be a iust man, *And* NOAH *walked with God.* And of *Enoch* it is written, *That hee walked with God, and hee was no more seene: for God tooke him away.*

Gen. 7. Gen. 5. 22, 24.

From this storie also of the first Age, and from that part where *Moses* remembreth the Giants begotten by the sonnes of good men vpon the daughters of the wicked (whom *Moses* calleth mightie men, and men of renowne) did they steale those wondrous great acts of their ancient Kings, and powerfull Giants; and againe their warre vndertaken against the gods, from the building of the Tower of *Babel* by the Giant *Nimrod*, as Saint *Augustine* termeth him. Which warre of their Giants, *Cornelius Seuerus* thus describeth:

L. de Ciuit. Dei.

Tentauêre (nefas) olim detrudere mundo
Sydera, captiuiq; IOVIS *transferre Gigantes*
Imperium, & victo leges imponere cœlo.

The Giants did aduance their wicked hand
Against the Starres, to thrust them headlong downe;
And robbing *Ioue* of his Imperiall Crowne,
On conquered Heauens to lay their proud command.

Whereby was meant that *Nimrod* purposed to raise the building of *Babel* to that height, as God neither by drawing waters from the deepe, nor by any coniunction of the starres, should bury them vnder the moysture of a second Floud, but that by this building (if they had beene herein victorious) they would haue giuen the Law to Heauen it selfe. Also the making of leagues, peace and couenants among Heathen Nations and Kings, confirmed by sacrifice, whereof *Virgil* both in the eighth and twelfth of his *Æneides* hath a touch, was (as it seemeth) borrowed from *Moses*, *Exod.* 24. who when he read the Booke of the Couenant, sprinkled the people with bloud.

We find also many remembrances of *Seth*, the paternall Ancestor of *Henoch* and *Noah*: for *Amenophis*, the same King of *Ægypt*, which reigned at such time as *Moses* carried thence the children of *Israel*, (as of late some learned men, mistaking his time, supposed) called his sonne and successour *Setho*, of *Seth*: and of the same *Seth* (as many men of good iudgement haue granted) were the Princes of *Thrace*, called *Seuthes*, whereof there were many very famous. But herein was the memorie of *Seth* most manifestly preserued, that the *Ægyptians* worshipped *Seth*, as their most ancient parent, and of the first tradition: in honour of whom they called a principall Prouince *Setheitica*. We also finde in *Bithynia* the Citie of *Sethia*, and others of the same name elsewhere. And sure, from the *Ægyptians* did the *Græcians* borrow this kinde of Theologie, though they scorned to acknowledge any antiquitie preceding their owne: and that they might not seeme to learne elsewhere, they gaue the same names to their owne Idols, which the *Ægyptians* did to theirs.

Iosep. l. 1. contra Appian. Plut. in Iside. Strab. l. 17.

§. V.

Of the three chiefest IVPITERS; *and the strange storie of the third.*

BVt of all those armies of *Iupiters* remembred by the Ancients, *Cicero* maketh but three, because those were of most fame: which other Writers haue also done, who sought out, and laboured in their originals.

The first was *Iupiter*, the sonne of *Æther* and *Dies*, so called, because the one had reference to his celestiall conditions (for *æther* is as much as shining or pure fire;) the other discouered his naturall vertues; which dayes and times make more perfect, and are the witnesses of mens actions.

The second was said to be the sonne of *Cœlum* or Heauen, for the same former respect; and this *Iupiter* was an *Arcadian*, and King of *Athens*.

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The third, of whom all the Græcian fables were deuised, was of *Crete* (now *Candie*) the sonne of *Saturne* and *Ops*. The name deriued from the Latine is taken of *Iuuans Pater*, from the Greeke word *Zeus*; it signifieth life, but somewhat strayned. *Boccas* in his Genealogie of the gods, conceiueth, that his name was borrowed from *Iupiter* the Planet; but whether that starre had such a name, before the same was giuen to men, I know not. *Iupiter* is hot and moist, temperate, modest, honest, aduenturous, liberall, mercifull, louing, and faithfull, (that is) giuing these inclinations. And therefore those ancient Kings beautified with these conditions, might be called thereafter *Iupiter*; but howsoeuer they were, or were not with those vertues enriched, yet, by imitation, all Kings, in the eldest times assumed those Titles and Sir-names: great Princes affecting as high Titles of honour and reputation in the world, (howsoeuer deserued) as the worthyest, that euer were, acquired by their well deseruings. *Ioues omnes Reges vocârunt antiqui*; *The Ancients called all Kings Iupiters, as Tzetzes* in his *Varia historia* confirmeth: *Reges olim* IOVES *vocârunt omnes*; *In old times all Nations called their Kings Iupiters.* But where this last and most remembred *Iupiter* was borne, it is vncertaine. Some there are that make him of *Crete*: others, that hee was but sent thither by his mother *Ops* or *Opis*, to be fostered and hidden from the furie of *Titan* his vncle: because it was conditioned betweene *Saturne* and *Titan*, that *Saturne* being a younger brother, and reigning (for his owne life) by *Titans* permission, hee should put to death all his male children, lest the Titans might be interrupted by any of them in their succession; which agreement, because *Saturne* performed in his first borne, it is fayned that *Saturne* deuoured his owne children. Hereof *Lycophron*, thus turned into Latine;

Nat. Com. l. 1. c. 7.

Haud sit pinguior,
Crudis sepulchrum quòd sit ipse filijs.

Saturne to be the fatter, is not knowne,
By being the graue and buriall of his owne.

This composition betweene *Titan* and *Saturne*, *Sybilla* also witnesseth in these;

Conceptis verbis; TITAN *iurare coegit*
SATVRNVM, *de se natum ne nutriat vllum,*
Quo possint regnare senis post fata Nepotes.

Things thus agreed: *Titan* made *Saturne* sweare
No sonne to nourish; which by reigning might
Vsurp the right of *Titans* lawfull heire.

But *Opis* the mother of *Iupiter*, being deliuered at once both of *Iupiter* and *Iuno*, conueyed *Iupiter* (first called *Lysanias*) into *Crete*, as shee did afterwards his two brothers, *Neptune* and *Pluto*: where he was brought vp in Gnossus, the chiefe Citie of that Iland, by *Cresta* the King, or by the Curetes, a people and nation thereof.

Euseb. in Temp.

Other challenge him to be of Thebes and a Thebane: others call him an Arcadian: others make him of Messena. The like contention is found among the Greekes touching his education and first fostering. Some affirme, that he was fed by Hony-bees: in recompence whereof he changed their blacke coats and skins into yellow; a reward well fitting such a god: others, that he was nourished by Beares: others, by Goates: and of all these the idle Greekes haue many pretty tales. But in the end when *Titan* had knowledge, that *Saturne* had broken his faith, he set on him, and tooke him & his wife prisoners, whom *Iupiter* againe rescued and deliuered.

But lastly, the father and the sonne equally ambitious, the one doubted the other. *Suturne* being the lesse powerfull, fled into Italie, & left his Kingdomes in Greece to his sonne. And although this Prince at the first purchased great honour, and for his many vertues the name of *Iupiter* was giuen him; yet, after hee vvas once setled and became potent, he gaue himselfe ouer wholly to palliardize and adulterie, without all respect of Honour, Law, or Religion. And it is reported by such as doe ascribe the actions of many to one *Iupiter*, that not therewith satisfied, hee was afterwards knowne to offend in the sinne of Sodome with *Ganimedes* and others; and did not onely begin with incest, marrying his owne sister *Iuno*, but he rauished, betrayed, stole away, and tooke by strong hand all the beautifull women borne in his time, within the limits of his owne Kingdomes, or bordering them. Among whom these hereafter written, were of greatest fame; *Niobe*, *Laodemia*, and *Alcmena*, the wife of *Amphitryon*, by whome hee had *Pelasgus*, *Sarpedon*, *Argus*, and *Hercules*: by *Taygete* he had *Targetus*; of whom the Mountaine Taygetus tooke name, with another sonne called *Saon*, of whom *Saunna*:

by

by *Antiope* he had *Amphion* and *Zetus*: by *Leda*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Helen* and *Clytemnestra*: by *Danae*, *Perseus*: by *Iordana*, *Deucalion*: by *Charme* (the daughter of *Eubulus*) *Britomartis*: by *Protogenia*, he had *Athlius* the father of *Endymion*: and by *Io* (the daughter of *Inachus*) *Epaphus*, the founder of *Memphis* in *Egypt*: which *Epaphus* married *Libya*, of whom that Countrey tooke name, for so the Greekes afterward called *Africa*. He rauished *Aegina* the daughter of *Aesopus*, and carryed her into the Iland *Oenopia* or *Oenotria*, afterward called *Aegina*, on whom he begat *Aeacus*: by *Torrhebia* he had *Archesilaus* and *Carbius*: by *Ora*, *Colaxes*: hee had also *Dardanus* by *Electra*, who built *Dardanium*, afterward *Ilium* and *Troy*. He begat the brothers *Talici*, on *Thalia*, and on *Garamantis*, *Hiarbas*. He had besides these (if they belye not their chiefe God) *Phileus* and *Pilumnus*, inuenters of the Bakers craft; and I know not how many more; but I know well that he could not be father to all these, who were borne in ages so farre differing. And of these his seuerall rauishments, betrayings, stealing away of mens wiues, daughters, and sonnes, buying of virgins, and the like, came in all those ancient fables of his transformations into showres of gold, eagles, buls, birds, and beasts; and of him, and by him (in effect) all that rabble of *Græcian* forgeries. And yet did not the *Greekes* and *Romans* feare to entitle this Monster, *Optimus Maximus*, though *Cicero* in his second Booke, *de natura Deorum*, affirme, that hee deserued nothing lesse; and in his Oration, *pro domo sua*, reprocheth *Clodius* for his incest, by the name of *Iupiter*. His buriall was in *Crete* (saith *Lucian.*) *Cretenses non solùm natum apud se & sepultum Ionem testantur, sed etiam sepulchrum eius ostendunt*; *The Cretians or Candians doe not onely auow that Iupiter was borne aad buried among them, but they shew his graue and sepulchre*: which *Epiphanius* also confirmeth, for in his time there remayned the monuments of his tombe in the Mountaine *Iasius*. This *Callimachus* in his hymnes also witnesseth, but, as offended thereat, saith thus:

Luc. in Satrif.

The *Cretians* euer lyars were, they care not what they say:
For they a tombe haue built for thee, O King, that liu'st alway.

Diod. l. 2. c. 5.

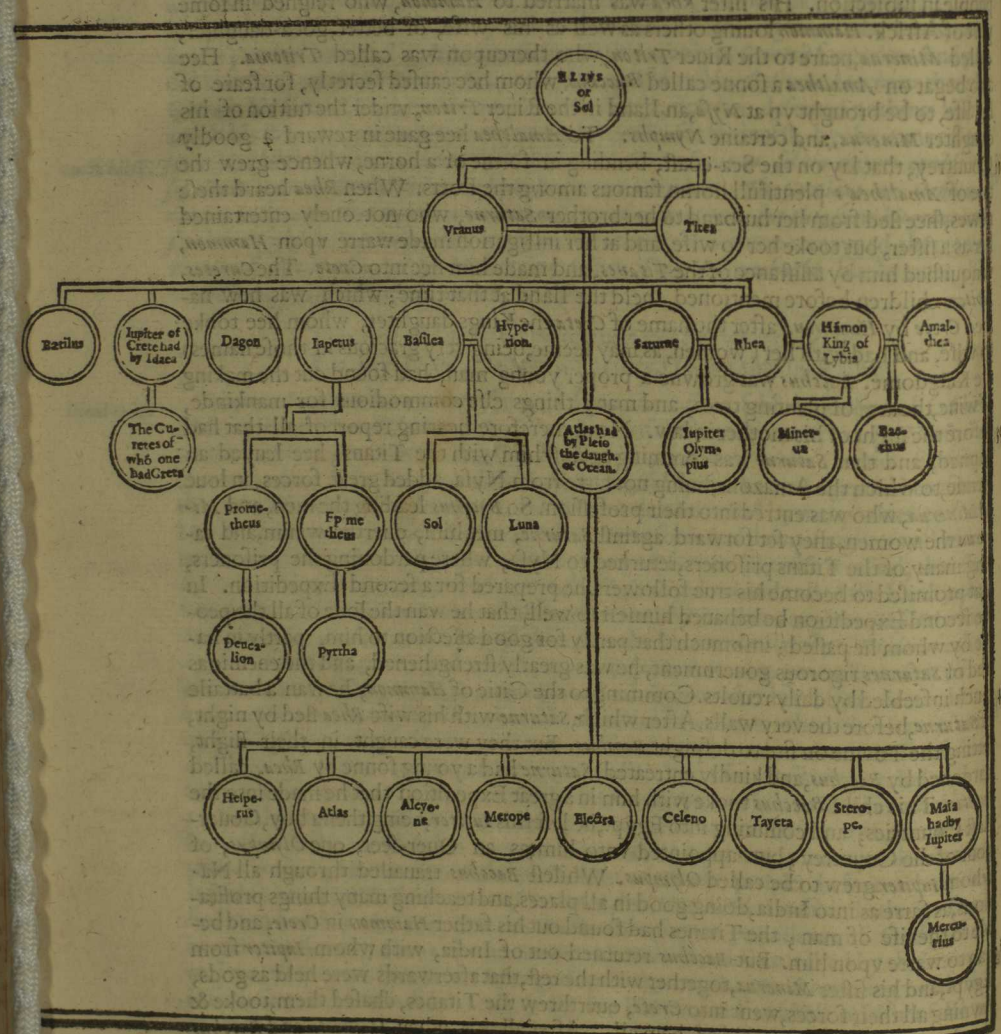
Diodorus Siculus tels by way of report from the *Libyan* fables, confirmed (as hee saith) by some *Greeke* Writers, that the originall of these gods was from the Westerne parts of *Africa*. For there among the *Atlantidæ* reigned one *Vranus* (which signifieth Heauen) called so for his great skill in *Astrologie*, and for his knowledge, and benefits to the people, honoured by them as a god after his death. He had by many wiues 45. sons; but by his principall wife *Titea*, he had seuenteene sonnes and two daughters, all which were called after their mothers name the *Titanes*. Of *Titea*, likewise it is said, that shee for her goodnesse was canonized as a goddesse, being dead, and called the Earth, as her husband was stiled Heauen. But of all the children of *Titea*, her daughter *Basilea* (which name sounding as Queene in *English*, shee is by the Latine translator of *Diodorus* called *Regina*) excelling the rest as farre in vertue as in yeares, was by generall consent of her brethren, and of the people, appointed to rule as Queene after her fathers death, being as yet a Virgin. Shee tooke to husband her brother *Hyperion*, to whom shee bare a sonne and a daughter, called *Sunne* and *Moone*. The beautie and towardlinesse of these children mooued her brethren to enuy, & bred in them a feare of being excluded from the succession: wherefore they tooke the boy and drowned him in the Riuer *Eridanus*, now called *Poe*. The losse of this child caused his sister to breake her owne necke; and the losse of both her children made the mother to play many mad pranks, dancing with Cymbals, after a wilde fashion, in sight of all the people, before whom shee is said to haue vanished away. Ere shee dyed, her sonne (as the fable hath it) signified vnto her in a dreame, that hee and his sister, by the prouidence of God, should become immortall, that also the *Sunne* and *Moone* should bee called by their names, and that their death should bee reuenged vpon the murderers. According to which it is said, that the people did so call those two Planets, and vvithall held her selfe as a goddesse, and termed her the great Mother, vvhich name they had formerly giuen to her, for her motherly care in cherishing her brethren vvhilest they were young. *Hyperion* and his Race being extinguished, the other sonnes of *Vranus* diuided the Kingdome. Of these *Atlas* and *Saturne* were chiefe. *Atlas* reigned ouer the countries lying about the Mountaines, which afterward bare his name; a iust and wise Prince, deepely skilfull in *Astrologie*, and for inuention of the *Spheare*, said to haue supported Heauen.

He

He had many sonnes; but the principall of them called *Hesperus*, being of his fathers qualities and studies, was said to haue beene carried away by the winde, from the top of an high Hill in the midst of his contemplations; and his name in honour of him, imposed by the people vpon the morning starre. The seuen daughters of *Atlas* were also said to haue beene excellent Ladies, who accompanying such as came to be Deified, or registred among the Worthies, brought forth children, answerable in qualitie to those that begat them. Of these it is held, that the seuen starres called *Pleiades* tooke name. *Saturne*, the brother of *Atlas*, reigned in *Sicilia*, part of Africk, and Italie. *Iupiter*, another of the sonnes of *Vranus*, reigned in *Crete*; who had ten sonnes which he called *Curetes*; he called that *Iland* after his wiues name, *Idea*; in which Isle hee dyed, and was buried. But this *Iupiter* must not haue beene that great one, but vncle to the great *Iupiter*, if these fables of the *Libyans* were true. *Saturne* (as these *Libyans* tell the tale) was a great Tyrant, and fortified strong places, the better to keepe his people in subiection. His sister *Rhea* was married to *Hammon*, who reigned in some part of Africk. *Hammon* louing others as well as his wife, or better, got a daughter, called *Minerua*, neare to the Riuer *Triton*, who thereupon was called *Tritonia*. Hee also begat on *Amalthea* a sonne called *Bacchus*, whom hee caused secretly, for feare of his life, to be brought vp at *Nysa*, an Iland in the Riuer *Triton*, vnder the tuition of his daughter *Minerua*, and certaine *Nymphs*. To *Amalthea* hee gaue in reward a goodly Countrey, that lay on the Sea-coast, bending in forme of a horne, whence grew the tale of *Amalthea's* plentifull horne, famous among the Poets. When *Rhea* heard these newes, shee fled from her husband to her brother *Saturne*, who not onely entertained her as a sister, but tooke her to wife, and at her instigation made warre vpon *Hammon*, vanquished him by assistance of the *Titanes*, and made him flee into *Crete*. The *Curetes*, *Iupiters* children before mentioned, held the Iland at that time; which was new named *Crete* by *Hammon*, after the name of *Creta* the Kings daughter, whom hee tooke to wife, and had with her (women, as may seeme, being very gracious in those names) the Kingdome. *Bacchus* was growne a proper young man, had found out the making of wine, the arte of planting trees, and many things else commodious for mankinde, before the flight of his mother in law. Now therefore hearing report of all that had hapned, and that *Saturne* was comming against him with the Titans; hee leuyed an Armie, to which the Amazons, liuing not farre from Nysa, added great forces, in loue of *Minerua*, who was entred into their profession. So *Bacchus* leading the men, and *Minerua* the women, they set forward against *Saturne*, met him, ouerthrew him, and taking many of the Titans prisoners, returned to Nysa; where pardoning the prisoners, that promised to become his true followers, he prepared for a second Expedition. In the second Expedition he behaued himself so well, that he wan the loue of all the people by whom he passed; insomuch that partly for good affection to him, partly in hatred of *Saturnes* rigorous gouernment, he was greatly strengthened, and the enemie as much infeebled by daily reuolts. Comming to the Citie of *Hammon*, he wan a battaile of *Saturne*, before the very walls. After which, *Saturne* with his wife *Rhea* fled by night, setting the Towne on fire to despight *Bacchus*. But they were caught in their flight, pardoned by *Bacchus*, and kindly entreated. *Saturne* had a young sonne by *Rhea*, called *Iupiter*. This child *Bacchus* tooke with him in a great Expedition that he made into the East Countries; and comming into Egypt, he left this *Iupiter*, being then a boy, Gouernour of the Countrey; but appointed vnto him, as an Ouer-seer, one *Olympus*, of whom *Iupiter* grew to be called *Olympus*. Whilest *Bacchus* trauailed through all Nations, as farre as into India, doing good in all places, and teaching many things profitable to the life of man; the Titanes had found out his father *Hammon* in *Crete*, and began to warre vpon him. But *Bacchus* returned out of India, with whom *Iupiter* from Egypt, and his sister *Minerua*, together with the rest, that afterwards were held as gods, ioyning all their forces, went into *Crete*, ouerthrew the Titanes, chased them, tooke & slue them, and freed the world of them all. After all this, when *Hammon* and *Bacchus* were dead, they were deified; and the great *Iupiter*, the sonne of *Saturne*, succeeding them, reigned Lord alone ouer all the world, hauiug none of the Titans left aliue, nor any other to disturbe him. Betweene this tale of the Libyan gods, and the Egyptian fables of *Osiris*, there is a rude resemblance, that may cause them both to be taken for the crooked Images of some one true historie. For the Expeditions of *Osiris*, and of

Bacchus; the warres of the Giants in the one storie, of the *Titanes* in the other; the Kingdome of Egypt giuen by *Hercules Lybicus* to *Orus*, by *Bacchus* to *Iupiter*, the rattles of *Isis*, and the cymbals of *Basilea*, with many petty circumstances, neerely enough resemble each other, howsoeuer not alike fitted to the right persons. *Sanchoniato* (as *Eusebius* cites him) would haue all these to be *Phœnicians*, and is earnest in saying, That it is a true storie, and no allegorie. Yet he makes it seeme the more allegoricall, by giuing to *Vranus* or Heauen for daughters, *Fate* and *Beautie*, and the like, with addition of much fabulous matter, omitted by *Diodorus*, though *Diodorus* haue enough. To the Genealogie he addes *Elius* or the *Sunne*, as father of *Vranus*, and among the children of *Vranus*, *Iapetus*, *Bætilus*, and *Dagon* (whom *Diodorus* doth not mention by their names) giuing withall to *Vranus* the proper name of *Terrenus* or *Indigena*, and of *Illus* to *Saturne*, but omitting *Iupiter* of *Creté*. The Pedigree of them is this:

Euseb.l.2.c.7.



§.VI.

§. VI.

Of CHAM, *and other wicked ones, whereof same gat, some affected the name of Gods.*

OF *Iupiter Belus*, the sonne of *Saturnus Babylonicus*, otherwise *Nimrod*, it seemeth that *Cicero* had not heard, (at least by that name) who was more ancient than any of the former three by him remembred: for long after these times were the Greekes but Saluages, if they seeke no further off for their Gods.

But the Egyptians, euen after the floud, began (somewhat before this *Chaldean Iupiter*) to intitle *Cham*, the parent of their owne *Mizraim*, *Iupiter Chammon*, or *Hammon*. For the Etymologie of this word (*Hammon*) which the Greekes deduce *ab arenis, from the sands*, is ridiculous (saith *Peucer*;) neither yet is his owne much better, who brings it from *Hammath*, which signifieth heate: because the said Temple of *Iupiter Hammon* was seated in Libya, where the ayre is exceeding hot & scortching. And as for the antiquitie of the latter *Iupiter* (among the Greekes & Romans the most renowned) it is certaine that he was borne not long before the warre of Troy, as by many of his sonnes is made manifest; namely, *Castor*, *Pollux*, *Hercules*, *Sarpedon*, and others, which liued in that age of *Priamus*, vnder whom, and with whom Troy was destroyed.

Peucer.de Oraculo.

Now seeing that mortall men, and the most wicked, were esteemed immortall among the Heathen; it was not to be wondred at, that *Alexander Macedon*, *Tyberius*, *Nero*, *Caligula*, & others, sought to be numbred among them, who were as deformed monsters as the rest: For by what reason could the same *Deitie* be denied vnto *Laurentia* and *Flora*, which was giuen to *Venus*? seeing they were as notorious and famous harlots as she was.

§. VII.

That the wiser of the ancient Heathen had farre better opinions of God.

BVt that euer *Pythagoras*, or *Plato*, or *Orpheus*, with many other ancient and excellently learned, beleeued in any of these fooleries, it cannot be suspected, though some of them (ouer-busily) haue mixed their owne inuentions with the Scriptures: for, in punshment for their fictions, did *Pythagoras* hang both *Homer* and *Hesiodus* in hell, where he fained that they were perpetually stung & pinched with Serpents. Yet it cannot be doubted, but that *Homer* had read ouer all the books of *Moses*, as by places stolne thence, almost word for word, may appeare; of which *Iustine Martyr* remembreth many in that Treatise conuerted by *Mirandula*. As for *Plato*, though hee dissembled in some things, for feare of the Inquisition of the *Areopagites*, yet Saint *Augustine* hath already answered for him (as before remembred) *Et mirificè ijs delectatus est, quæ de vno Deo tradita fuerant*; *And he was greatly delighted in the doctrine of one God*, saith *Iustine Martyr*. Now howsoeuer *Lactantius* pleased to reprehend *Plato*, because (saith he) *Plato* sought knowledge from the Egyptians, and the Chaldæans, neglecting the Iewes, and bookes of *Moses*; *Eusebius*, *Cyrillus*, and *Origen*, finde reason to beleeue the contrarie, thinking that from thence hee tooke the grounds of all by him written of God, or sauouring of Diuinitie: and the same opinion had Saint *Ambrose* of *Pythagoras*.

Euf.Præp.Euang.lib.11.
Cyril.cont.Iulian.
Origen.cont. Celsum.
Ambr.ad Iren. Ep.6.lib.1.

But whether it were out of the same vanitie, which possest all those learned Philosophers and Poets, that *Plato* also published (not vnder the right Authors names) those things which he had read in the Scriptures; or fearing the seueritie of the *Areopagites*, and the example of his Master *Socrates*, by them put to death by poyson, I cannot iudge. *Iustin Martyr* (as it seemeth) ascribeth it wholly to *Platoes* feare, whose words, among many other of the same effect, are these; PLATO MOSIS *mentionem facere, ob id, quod vnum solumq; Deum docuerat, sibi apud Atheniense tutum non putauit, veritus Areopagum*; PLATO *fearing the Areopagites thought it not safe for him among the Athenians to make mention of* MOSES, *that hee taught that there is but one God*. But for that Diuinitie which he hath written in TIMÆO; *id ipsum de Deo diseruit quod & Moses*; *He discoursed and taught the same of God* (saith *Iustine Martyr*) *which Moses did*. For where it pleased God by his Angell to answere *Moses*, *Ego sum existens* (which is) *Iam*; and, *existens misit me ad vos*; *I am hath sent me vnto you*; herein did *Plato* (saith *Iustine Martyr*) no otherwise differ than that *Areopagus*, or *domus seu mons Martis*, *Mars* his hill: a house wherein capitall matters were tryed: so called at first because *Mars* therein first pleaded his cause for the murder of *Hallirrothos*.

Pausan in Attic.
Nat.Com.l.2.c.7
Iust.Mart.adm. Gent.fol.8.
Idem sup.
Exod.3.14.

Moses vsed the word (*qui*) and *Plato* the word *quod*: MOSES *enim qui existit* (*inquit*,) PLATO

quod

quod existit; *For* MOSES *saith, He who is*; PLATO, *That which is.* Now of Gods incomprehensible nature; and of the difficultie either to conceiue, or expresse the same, hee giueth this testimonie: *Genitorem Vniuersitatis tam difficile est inuenire, quàm inuentum impossible dignè profari; It is as hard to find out the Creator of the Vniuersall, as it is impossible, if he were found, to speake of him worthily.* And what can be more agreeable to the Maiestie of Gods Nature, than this propertie by *Plato* acknowledged? *Deus bonus, & quidem, Deus causa bonorum: malorum autem omnium non causa; God is absolutely good, and so (assuredly) the cause of all that is good: but of any thing that is euill he is no cause at all:* and againe, *Charitas Dei fuit causa factionis mundi, & originis omnium rerum; The loue of God was the cause of the worlds creating, and the originall of all things.* APVLEIVS the Platonist; *Summus Deus infinitus est, non solum loci exclusione, sed etiam naturæ dignitate: Et nihil est Deo similius & gratius, quàm vir animo perfecto bonus; The most high God is also an infinite God, not onely by exclusion of place, but by the dignitie of nature: neither is there any thing more like or more acceptable to God than a man of a perfect heart.* THALES affirmed that God comprehended all things, and that God was of all things the most ancient: *Quia nunquam esse cœpit; Because he neuer had any beginning.* ZENO, that God beheld euen the thoughts of men. *Athenodorus*, that therefore all men ought to be carefull in the actions of their life, because God was euery where present & beheld all done. But what can be more agreeable to *Moses* storie of the Creation, than this opinion and description of the Worlds beginning in *Euripides*, Scholler of *Anaxagoras*?

In Timæo.

De Legib. 1.10.

Laertius.

Cœlum terraq; vnius formæ fuit:	Heauen and Earth one forme did beare:
Sed cum fuissent abiuncta amplexu mutuo,	But when dis-joyned once they were
Emersit omnis in lucem res progenita,	From mutuall embraces,
Arbores, aues, feræ, quasq; affert mare,	All things to light appeared then;
Genusq; mortalium.	Of trees, birds, beasts, fishes, and men
	The still-remaining races.

And as in *Pythagoras*, in *Socrates*, and in *Plato*: so we find the same excellent vnderstanding in *Orpheus*, who euery-where expressed the infinite and sole power of one God; though he vse the name of *Iupiter*, thereby to auoide the enuie and danger of the time: but that hee could attribute those things to the sonnes of men, and mortall creatures, which he doth to this *Iupiter*, there is no man who hath euer heard of God, that can imagine.

Nomina Deorum (saith MIRANDVLA) *quos* ORPHEVS *canit, non decipientium dæmonum à quibus malum & non bonum prouenit; sed naturalium virtutum diuinarumq; sunt nomina; The names of those Gods whom* Orpheus *doth sing, are not of deceiuing Deuils, from whom euill comes, and not goodnesse; but they are the names of naturall & diuine vertues.* Yea, that he yet reacheth higher, and speaketh of God himselfe, this his instruction to *Musæus*, and the *Hymne* following, teach vs: *Respiciens verò ad diuinum hunc sermonem ei diligenter animum aduerte, intendens cordis rationis capax conceptaculum: rectam autem ascende viam, & solum aspice mundi Regem. Vnus est ex se genitus, ex eo omnia nata sunt: ipse verò in illis versatur, nec quisquam eum intueri potest mortalium, sed ipse nihilominus omnes intuetur.*

Then marking this my sacred speech, but truely lend
Thy heart, that's reasons sphere, and the right way ascend,
And see the worlds sole King. First, he is simply one
Begotten of himselfe, from whom is borne alone
All else; in which hee's still: nor could it ere befall
A mortall eye to see him once, yet hee sees all.

And againe the same Author,

IVPITER *omnipotens, & primus, & vltimus idem;*
IVPITER *est caput & medium:* IOVIS *omnia munus.*
IVPITER *est fundamen humi & stellantis Olympi.*
IVPITER *& mas est, & fœmina nescia mortis.*
Spiritus est cunctis, validi vis IVPITER *ignis.*
Et pelagi radix, SOL, LVNA, *est* IVPITER *ipse*
Rex & origo simul rerum est, & terminus idem.
Nam prius occuluit, magno post numine, sacrum
Cor reserans bonus in dulcem dedit omnia lucem.

The

The first of all is GOD, and the same last is he.
GOD is the head and midst, yea from him all things be.
GOD is the Base of earth, and of the starred skie.
He is the male and female too, shall neuer die.
The spirit of all is GOD, the SVNNE and MOONE, and what is higher.
The King, th'originall of all, of all the end.
For close in holy breast he all did comprehend,
Whence all to blessed light, his wondrous power did send.

10 Now besides these former testimonies, that all the learned men of ancient times were not so stupid and ignorant, as the Egyptians, Græcians, and other Nations by them infected were, I will onely repeate two or three other opinions, and leaue the Reader to those large and learned Collections of *Iustine Martyr, Clemens, Lactantius, Eusebius, Eugubinus, Peucer, Plessis, Danæus*, and others. For *Cleanthes* the *Stoick*, being demanded of what nature God was, described him by these attributes and properties: *Bonus, iustus, sanctus, seipsum possidens, vtilis, speciosus, optimus, seuerus, liber, semper commodus, tutus, gloriosus, charitas, &c. Good, iust, holy, possessing himselfe, profitable, beautifull, best, seuere, free, alwayes doing good, safe without feare, glorious and selfe-charitie.* EPICHARMVS affirmed, that God who beheld all things, and pierced euery nature, was onely and euery where powerfull: agreeing with DEMOCRITVS: *Rex omnium ipse solus; Hee is the only King of kings*: and with *Pindarus* the Poet, *Deus vnus, Pater, creator summus, atq; optimus artifex, qui progressus singulis diuersos secundum merita præbet; One God, the Father, the most high Creator, and best artificer, who giueth to euery thing diuers proceedings according to their deserts. This God* (saith ANTISTHENES) *cannot bee resembled to any thing, and therefore not elsewhere knowne; Nisi in patria illa perenni, cuius imaginem nullam habes: Saue onely in that euerlasting Countrey, whose image thou hast none at all.* Hereof also XENOPHANES COLOPHONIVS: *Vnus Deus inter deos & homines maximus, nec corpore, nec mente mortalibus similis; There is one God among gods and men most powerfull, neither corporally, nor mentally like vnto mortals*: and XENOPHON, *Deus qui omnia quatit, & omnia quiescere facit, magnus potensq; quod omnibus patet: qualis autem forma sit, nemini patet, nisi ipsi soli, qui luce sua omnia perlustrat; God who shaketh all things, and setteth all things at rest, is great and mightie, as is manifest to all: but of what forme hee is, it is manifest to none, saue onely to himselfe, who illuminateth all things with his owne light.* Finally, *Plato* saith: *Totius rerum naturæ causa, & ratio, & origo Deus; summus animi genitor, æternus animantium sospitator, assiduus mundi sui opifex, sine propagatione genitor, neq; loco, neq; tempore vllo comprehensus, eoq; paucis cogitabilis, nemini effabilis; God is the cause, ground, and originall of the whole nature of things, the most high Father of the soule, the eternall preseruer of liuing creatures, the continuall framer of his world, a begetter without any propagation, comprehended neither in any place, nor time; therefore few can conceiue him in thought, none can expresse what hee is.* Therefore was it said by S. HIEROME, *Si enim cunctos Philosophorum reuoluas libros, necesse est, vt in eis reperias aliquam partem vasorum Dei, vt apud* PLATONEM, *fabricatorem mundi, Deum: apud* ZENONEM, *Stoicorum Principem, in eros & immortales animas &c. If thou consider all the bookes of the Philosophers, thou canst not but find in them some part of the Vessels of God, as in* PLATO, *God the Creator of the world: In* ZENO, *Prince of the Stoicks, Hell and immortall soules, &c.* And this is certaine, that if we looke into the wisedome of all Ages, we shall finde that there neuer was man of solid vnderstanding or excellent iudgement: neuer any man whose minde the Arte of education hath not bended; whose eyes a foolish superstition hath not afterward blinded; whose apprehensions are sober, and by a pensiue inspection aduised; but that he hath found by an vnresistable necessitie, one true God, and euerlasting being, all for euer causing, and all for euer sustayning; which no man among the Heathen hath with more reuerence acknowledged, or more learnedly exprest, than that Egyptian Hermes, howsoeuer it fayled afterward in his posteritie: all being at length by deuillish policie of the Egyptian Priests purposely obscured; who inuented new gods, and those innumerable, best sorting (as the Deuill perswaded them) with vulgar capacities, and fittest to keepe in awe and order their common people.

Hieron. in com. in Dan. in princip.

§.VIII.

§. VIII.

That Heathenisme and Iudaisme, after many wounds, were at length about the same time vnder IVLIAN *miraculously confounded.*

BVt all these are againe vanished: for the inuentions of mortall men are no lesse mortall than themselues. The Fire, which the Chaldæans worshiped for a God, is crept into euery mans chimney, which the lacke of fuell starueth, water quencheth, and want of ayre suffocateth: *Iupiter* is no more vexed with *Iunoes* ielousies; *Death* hath perswaded him to chastitie, and her to patience; and that *Time* which hath deuoured it selfe, hath also eaten vp both the Bodies and Images of him and his: yea, their stately Temples of stone and durefull Marble. The houses and sumptuous buildings erected to *Baal*, can no where befound vpon the earth, nor any monument of that glorious Temple consecrated to *Diana*. There are none now in Phœnicia, that lament the death of *Adonis*; nor any in Libya, Creta, Thessalia, or elsewhere, that can aske counsaile or helpe from *Iupiter*. The great god *Pan* hath broken his Pipes, *Apolloes* Priests are become speechlesse, and the Trade of riddles in Oracles, with the Deuills telling mens fortunes therein, is taken vp by counterfait Egyptians, and coozening Astrologers.

But it was long ere the Deuill gaue way to these his ouer-throwes and dishonours: for after the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos* (one of his chiefe Mansions) was many times robbed, burnt, and destroyed; yet by his diligence the same was often enriched, repayred, and reedified againe, till by the hand of God himselfe it receiued the last and vtter subuersion. For it was first robbed of all the Idols and Ornaments therein by the Eubæan Pyrates: Secondly, by the Phlegians vtterly sackt: Thirdly, by *Pyrrhus* the sonne of *Achilles*: Fourthly, by the Armie of *Xerxes*: Fiftly, by the Captaines of the *Phocenses*: Sixtly, by *Nero*, who carried thence fiue hundred brazen Images: all which were new made, and therein againe set vp at the common charge. But whatsoeuer was gathered betweene the time of *Nero* and *Constantine*, the Christian Armie made spoile of, defacing as much as the time permitted them; notwithstanding all this, it was againe gloriously rebuilt, and so remained till such time as *Iulian* the *Apostata* sent thither to know the successe of his Parthian enterprise, at which time it was vtterly burnt and consumed with fire from Heauen; and the Image of *Apollo* himselfe, and all the rest of the Idols therein, molten downe and lost in the earth.

The like successe had the Iewes in the same *Iulians* time, when by his permission they assembled themselues to rebuild the Temple of Ierusalem: for while they were busied to lay the foundations, their buildings were ouerthrowne by an Earthquake, and many thousands of the Iewes were ouerwhelmed with the ruines, and others slaine, and scattered by Tempest and Thunder: though *Am. Marcellinus* report it more fauourably for the Iewes, ascribing this to the nature of that Element. For, saith hee, *Allypius* and the Ruler of the Prouince of Iudæa, being by *Iulian* busied in the reedifying of this Temple, flaming Balls of fire issuing neere the foundation, and oft consuming the Workemen, made the enterprize frustrate.

Am. Mar. l. 23. cap. 1.

§. IX.

Of the last refuges of the Deuill to maintaine his Kingdome.

NOw the Deuill, because hee cannot play vpon the open Stage of this World (as in those dayes) and being still as industrious as euer, findes it more for his aduantage to creepe into the mindes of men; and inhabiting in the Temples of their hearts, workes them to a more effectuall adoration of himselfe than euer. For whereas hee first taught them to sacrifice to Monsters, to dead Stones cut into faces of Beasts, Birds, and other mixt Natures; he now sets before them the high and shining Idoll of glorie, the All-commanding Image of bright Gold. He tels them that truth is the Coddesse of dangers and oppressions: that chastitio is the enemie of Nature; & lastly, that as all vertue (in generall) is without taste; so pleasure satisfieth and delighteth euery sense: for true wisedome (saith he) is exercised in nothing else, than in the obtayning of power to oppresse, and of riches to maintaine plentifully our worldly delights. And if this *Arch-Politician* find in his pupils any remorse, any feeling or feare of Gods future Iudgement, he perswades them that God hath so great neede of mens soules, that hee

he will accept them at any time, and vpon any conditions: interrupting by his vigilant endeuours all offer of timefull returne towards God, by laying those great blockes of rugged pouertie, & despised contempt in the narrow passage leading to his diuine presence. But as the minde of man hath two Ports, the one alwaies frequented by the entrance of manifold vanities; the other desolate and ouer-growne with grasse, by which enter our charitable thoughts and diuine contemplations: so hath that of death a double and twofold opening: worldly miserie passing by the one, worldly prosperity by the other: at the entrance of the one we find our sufferings and patience to attend vs: (all which haue gone before vs to prepare our ioyes) at the other our cruelties, couetousnesse, licentiousnesse, iniustice, and oppressions (the Harbingers of most fearefull and terrible sorrow) staying for vs. And as the Deuill our most industrious enemie was euer most diligent: so is he now more laborious than euer; the long day of Mankind drawing fast towards an euening, and the Worlds Tragedie and time neere at an end.

CHAP. VII.

Of NOAHS *Floud.*

§. I.

Of Gods fore-warning: and some humane testimonies: and some doubting touching the truth of NOAHS *Floud.*

OF this destruction it pleased God to giue warning vnto *Noah*: who (saith *Iosephus*) fearing to perish among the rest, *Secedens cum suis in aliam regionem migrauit: He departed with his children, & trauailed into another Region.* And of these Giants from whom *Noah* withdrew himselfe, *Berosus* writeth in this manner; *That they exceeded in all sorts of inhumane and vnnatuall wickednesse*, and that they were *contemptores & religionis & Deorum; contemners of religion and of the Gods*: among which mightie men (saith *Berosus*) *vnus erat qui Deorum, venerantior, & prudentior cunctis, &c. huic nomen erat* NOAH, *There was one more wise and reuerencing the Gods than the rest, whose name was* NOAH: who with his three sons *Sem, Iaphetus*, and *Cham*, and with their Wiues, and the Wife of *Noah*, (namely, *Titea* the great, *Pandora, Noela*, and *Noegla*) preserued themselues in the *Arke*. This *Arke* God commanded *Noah* to prepare: *And God sayd vnto* NOAH, *Make thee an Arke of Pine-trees: thou shalt make Cabines in the Arke, and shalt pitch it within, and without with Pitch.* For God made *Noah* to know, that an end of all flesh was at hand, and that the graues of the rebellious and cruell Generations were already fashioned in the Cloudes, which soone after should swallow vp & couer all liuing creatures, which breathed in the Aire; *Noah* and his family excepted.

Iosep. l. 1. c. 4.

Gen. 6. 14. v. 13.

But this vniuersall graue of waters, and generall Deluge hath not beene receiued by all: for diuine testimonies doe not perswade all naturall men to those things, to which their owne reason cannot reach: *Dum obuoluta in obscuro veritas latet: whilst the truth lieth wrapt vp in obscuritie.* Many there are who haue disputed against the vniuersalitie of this ouerflowing, and haue iudged that this Floud of *Noah* fell but in some particular places and Kingdomes: moued so to thinke, because in elder ages there haue beene many other Flouds (as they suppose) of that nature. Hereof *Nicholas Damascenus* writeth in this manner, as his words are cited by *Iosephus*. *Est super Minyadam excelsus mons in Armenia, qui Baris appellatur, in quo multos confugientes sermo est diluuij tempore liberatos, & quendam simul in Arca deuectum in huius vertice hæsisse, lignorumq; reliquias multo tempore conseruatas, qui fortasse is fuit, de quo etiam* MOSES *Iudæorum Legislator scribit*: thus farre this Author. *There is* (saith he) *aboue Minyada* (or the Countrey of *Minyæ*) *an exceeding high Mountaine in Armenia, called Baris: on which it is reported, that many hauing fled thither, were saued in the time of the Deluge: and that one was carried in an Arke, and rested vpon the top of the Mountaine, whereon there remained a long time after certaine pieces thereof; and this might bee the same, of which* MOSES *the Law-giuer of the Iewes maketh mention.* And of this opinion were the

Lact. in præf. de falsa relig.

Iosep. ant. l. 1. c. 4. Euseb. de præp. l. 9. cap. 4.

Thal-

Thalmudists (saith *Annius*) that many Giants saued themselues vpon Mount Sion.

But *Berosus* (who after *Moses* was one of the most ancient, howsoeuer he haue beene since deformed & corrupted) doth in the substance of all agree with *Moses* as touching the generall Floud, taking from thence the beginning of his History in these words: *Ante aquarum cladem famosam, qua vniuersus perijt Orbis, &c. Before that famous destruction of Waters, by which the World vniuersall perished:* witnessing withall, that *Noah* with his wife *Titea*, & his three Sons with their wiues (in all eight persons) were only saued.

§. II.

Of the Floud in the time of OGYGES: *and that this was not* NOAHS *Floud.*

BVt from the vanitie of the Greeks, the Corrupters of all truth, (saith *Lactantius*) who without all ground of certainty vaunt their Antiquitie, came the errour first of all: who therin flattering themselues also, sought to perswade the world that there was no Floud preceded the Fould of *Ogyges*, King of the Thebans in Bœotia, or rather of *Attica*; and therefore (saith *Rhodoginus*;) *Ogygum id appellant Poetæ, tanquàm peruetus dixeris; ab Ogyge vetustissimo: The Poets gaue the name of Ogygia to things exceeding ancient, as of Ogyges the most ancient.* Rho. l. 15. c. 33.

But let *Ogyges* be as ancient as those men can make him, yet it is manifest, that he liued but in *Iacobs* time (though *Eusebius* makes him later, and in *Moses* time) and was borne 67. yeeres after him. There is also an opinion, that *Ogyges* was *Cadmus* (and then was he farre latter) as *Rhodoginus* in the ninth Booke of his Antiquities remembreth: *Sunt tamen qui in Ægypto regnâsse autument hunc: vnde sit* CADMVS *qui in Græciam profectus Thebas condidit, à Boue iugulato sic nuncupatas; quoniam Syrorum lingua Bos dicitur Thebe. There are* (saith he) *who thinke that this Ogyges did reigne in Egypt, whereby he should be* CADMVS, *who trauailing into Greece built Thebes, so named of a Beefe slaine: because in the Syrian Language, a Beefe is called Thebe.* Euseb. de præp. Euang. l. 10. c. 3. Ca. 22.

But this Floud of *Ogyges* fell in the yeere of the World 3440. according to *Eusebius*, who followed the account of the Septuagint: and the Floud of *Noah* in the yeere 2242. after the same account; and so there came 1200. betweene these Flouds, wanting but two, though herein *Eusebius* was much mistaken, and corrected this opinion in his *Chronologie*. Now although the very yeere and time of this ouerflowing in *Achaia*, or rather *Attica*, be not precisely set downe, but that there is a great difference among Writers, yet whosoeuer makes it most ancient, finds aboue 500. yeeres difference betweene that and the generall Floud.

For *Paulus Orosius* affirmes, that this tempest fell vpon the Athenians, but 1040. yeeres before Rome was built. *Bucholzerus* saith, it was 1043. elder than Rome; which was founded (according to the same *Bucholzerus*) in the worlds yeere 3219. though after the account which I follow (and whereof I will giue my reasons in the Story of *Abraham*) it was built in the Worlds yeere 3280. Now the generall Floud preceded the building of Rome (saith *Bucholzerus*) 1563. yeeres: and the Floud of *Ogyges* (as before) 1043. Hence it followeth by easie calculation, that (if he place *Ogyges* in his true age) the difference betweene these two Flouds must be 520. yeeres, to which we (allowing 60. more) find 580. And that this of *Ogyges* was not the same of *Noah* (except we call *Noah*, *Ogyges Priscus*, as some doe) it appeares by this, that the Floud of *Ogyges* then King of *Attica* or *Ogygia*, did not extend it selfe any further than the bankes of *Archi-Pelago*, or the *Ægæan* Sea. For whereas *Mela*, *Plinie*, and *Solinus* witnesse, that the Cittie of Ioppe in Iudæa was founded before the Floud; and that (notwithstanding the waight of Waters) there remained on certaine Altars of stone the Title of the King, and of his Brother *Phineus*, with many of the grounds of their Religion: sure it is no where found among prophane Historians nor in the Scriptures, that euer the Floud of *Ogyges* spred it selfe ouer any part of Syria, much lesse ouer all the Earth. But that it drowned both the Regions of *Attica* about *Athens*, and that of *Achaia* in *Peloponnesus*, it is very probble. For it seemeth that at that time it was, when *Helice* and *Bura* were swallowed vp (Cities seated on the North part of *Peloponnesus*:) of which *Ouid*:

Lib. 1. c. 7.

Xenophon. Anmanus.

Mela. lib. 3. Plin. lib. 5. Sol. cap. 47. Ioppe oppidum antiquissimum orbe toto, vt potè omnis inundationem terrarum conditum. Solinus ibid.

Ouid. Metam. lib. 15. 30. 3.

Si quæras Helicen, & Buran, Achaidos vrbes,
Inuenies sub aquis.

Bura

Si quæras Helicæn, & Buran, Achaidos vrbes,
Inuenies sub aquis. Ouid. Metam. lib. 15. 303.

Bura and *Helice*, on *Achaian* ground
Are sought in vaine, but vnder Sea are found.

Of this Floud of *Ogyges* vvas inuented the Fable of *Apollo* and *Diana*. For *Latona*, the daughter of *Cœus*, the sonne of *Titan*, being beloued and forced by *Iupiter*, and by him gotten with child, *Iuno* thereat enraged, permitted her (as they say) no part of the Earth to be deliuered on; & withall, caused the monstrous Serpent *Python* to follow & affright her, wheresoeuer she trauelled: till at length arriuing at the Ile of *Ortygia*, she was there receiued; in which she was deliuered, first of *Diana*, and then of *Apollo*, being Twins: whereof *Barlaam* makes this exposition: That at such time as the Deluge (which happened in *Ogyges* his reigne) ceased, out of the abundant moisture of the Earth (heat by putrifaction being thereto mixed) there were exhaled such thick mists and fogges, that in *Attica*, and along the Coasts of the *Aegean* Sea, neither the beames of the Sunne by day, nor of the Moone by night, could pierce the ayre, or be perceiued by the inhabitants: so as when at length (the Earth being dryed, and these vapours dissipated) the ayre began to be cleare, the people of *Ortygia* espyed the light of the Moone somewhat before day, & in the same morning the Sunne also appeared: fabulously (because *Diana* represented the Moone, and *Apollo* the Sunne) they were reported to be borne in the Ile of *Ortygia*, thereof afterwards called *Delos*; which signifieth manifestation. Nat. com. l. 1. c. 6. Plin. l. 4. c. 12.

And surely it is not improbable, that the Floud of *Ogyges*, being so great, as Histories haue reported it, was accompanied with much alteration of the ayre, sensibly discerned in those parts, and some vnusuall face of the Skyes. *Varro* in his Bookes *de gente populi Romani* (as he is cited by Saint *Augustine*) reporteth out of *Castor*, that so great a miracle happened in the Starre of *Venus*, as neuer was seene before, nor in after-times: For the colour, the greatnesse, the figure, and the course of it, were changed. This fell out, as *Adrastus Cyzicenus*, and *Dion Neapolites*, famous Mathematicians, affirmed, in the time of *Ogyges*. Aug. de Ciuit. Dei. l. 21. cap. 8.

Now concerning the course of that or any other Planet, I doe not remember, that I haue any where read of so good Astrologers, flourishing among the *Greeks*, or elsewhere in those dayes, as were likely to make any calculation of the reuolutions of the Planets, so exact, that it should need no reformation: Of the colour and magnitude. I see no reason, why the difference found in the Starre of *Venus*, should be held miraculous; considering, that lesser mists and fogges than those which couered Greece with so long darknesse, doe familiarly present our senses with as great alterations in the Sunne and Moone. That the figure should varie, questionlesse it was very strange: Yet I cannot hold it any prodigie: for it stands well with good reason, that the side of *Venus* which the Sunne beholds, being enlightned by him, the opposite halfe should remaine shadowed; whereby that Planet would, vnto our eyes, descrying onely that part whereon the light falleth, appeare to be horned, as the Moone doth seeme; if distance (as in other things) did not hinder the apprehension of our senses.

A worthy Astrologer now liuing, who by the helpe of perspectiue Glasses hath found in the Starres many things vnknowne to the Ancients, affirmeth so much to haue beene discouered in *Venus*, by his late obseruations. Whether some watrie disposition of the ayre might present as much to them that liued with *Ogyges*, as *Galilæus* hath seene through his Instrument; I cannot tell: sure I am, that the discouerie of a truth formerly vnknowne, doth rather conuince Man of ignorance, than Nature of error. One thing herein is worthy to be noted, that this great, but particular Floud of *Ogyges*, was (as appeareth by this of Saint *Augustine*) accompanied with such vnusuall (and therefore the more dreadfull, though naturall) signes, testifying the concurrence of causes with effects in that inundation; whereas the Floud of *Noah*, which was generall, and altogether miraculous, may seeme to haue had no other token, or fore-shewing, than the long preaching of *Noah* himselfe, which was not regarded: for they were eating and drinking, when the Floud came suddenly, and tooke them all away. Luke 17. v. 27.

§. III.

Of DEVCALIONS *Floud: and that this was not* NOAHS *Floud: nor the Vmbri in Italie a remnant of any vniuersall Floud.*

A Second Floud of great fame, and of which the time is more certaine, was that of *Deucalion* in *Thessalie*; of which S. *Augustine* out of *Varro: His temporibus (vt* VARRO *scribit) regnante Atheniensibus* CRANAO, *successore* CECROPIS *(vt autem nostri,* EVSEBIVS *&* HIERONYMVS *) adhuc eodem* CECROPE *permanente, diluuium fuit, quod appellatum est* DEVCALIONIS: (that is) *In these times (as* VARRO *reporteth)* CRANAVS *the successor of* CECROPS *gouerning the Athenians, or (as our* EVSEBIVS *and* HIEROME *say)* CECROPS *yet liuing, that Floud (called* DEVCALIONS *) happened.*

And in the beginning of the eleuenth Chapter of the same eighteenth Booke, he vseth these words: *Eduxit ergo* MOSES *ex Egypto populum Dei nouissimo tempore* Cecropis *Atheniensium Regis, cum apud Assyrios regnaret* Ascatades, *apud Sicyonios* Marathus, *apud Argiuos* Tripas: MOSES *led the people of God out of Egypt about the latter time of* Cercops *King of the Athenians,* Ascatades *raigning ouer the Assrians, ouer the Sicyonians* Marathus, *and ouer the Argiues* Triopas. So as leauing the curiositie of a few yeeres, more or lesse, it appeareth, that this Floud of *Deucalion* was either at the egression of the children of Israel out of Egypt, or neere it: and then after *Noah* 753. yeers, according to *Functius*, who makes *Cecrops* to liue in the yeere of the World 2409. or if we follow *Mercator*, then 739. yeeres after *Noah*, and in the yeere of the World 2395. But if *Deucalion* were borne in the age of the World 2356. according to *Codoman*; then giuing vnto *Deucalion* 40. yeeres of age when this Floud happened, it falleth within one yeere of *Mercators* account. But *Deucalion* by all approued Historians is said to haue beene 82. yeeres old at that time. Now *Clemens Alexandrinus* dates the time of this Floud of *Deucalion*, and the conflagration and burning in *Phaëtons* time, by the reigne of *Crotopus*, King of the *Argiues*; but *Crotopus* liued King of the *Argiues* sixe yeeres after Israel departed Egypt, which makes twenty yeeres difference, according to *Functius*, who will haue this Floud and Burning to haue fallen 14. yeeres before *Moses* left Egypt: for he gaue of the Worlds yeeres to the Floud and Burning the yeere 2440. and to *Moses* his egression the yeere 2454. And yet *Cedrenus* thinke that *Moses* was more ancient, and liued with *Inachus*; but that cannot be true: for then had the Floud of *Deucalion*, and the burning of *Phaëton*, preceded the Floud of *Ogyges*, which is denyed by all: for that of *Thessalie* (called *Deucalions*) followed that of *Attica* (called *Ogygis*) at least 250. yeeres, or thereabours. *Eusebius* in his Chronologie makes it 230. & so doth *P. Orosius*: *Eusebius* about the 50. yeere of *Moses* life, and *Cyrillus* about the 67. and both after *Noahs* Floud 770. yeeres: for these be *Clemens Alexandrinus* his words: *Fuit autem in Graecia tempore quidem* Phornei, *qui fuit post* Inachum, *inundatio quae fuit tempore Ogygis: There happened in Greece in the time of* Phorneus, *who liued after* Inachus, *the Floud of Ogyges.* Now if the Floud of *Ogyges* in *Attica* were 1020. or 1016. yeeres before the first *Olympiad*, according to *Eusebius* and *Orosius*, (as before) then is it manifest, that taking 763. out of this number of 1020. it fals out, that *Ogyges* Floud, happened before the Hebrewes left Egypt 250. yeeres, or 260. yeeres, according to the difference between the opinions of *Eusebius* and *Orosius*. And for my selfe (who rather follow those Chronologers, which giue 60. yeeres more to *Abraham* after the Floud, than the rest) I reckon the times which come betweene these Flouds in this sort. The generall Floud was in the yeere of the World 1656. *Iacob* was borne in the yeere of the World 2169. so as from the beginning of the Floud to *Iacobs* birth, there were consumed 513. yeeres. *Ogyges* Floud happened 100. yeeres after *Iacob* was borne; and therefore after the generall Floud 613. yeeres. Now *Deucalion* was borne in the yeere of the World 2356. and had liued 82. yeeres, when his Kingdome of *Thessalie* was ouerwhelmed; (which added to 2356. make 2438.) his Floud was after *Noahs* Floud ended, 782. yeeres. And hereto *Annius* his *Xenophon* agreeth, who makes 700. yeeres betweene the generall Floud and *Deucalions* birth; to which adde 82. yeeres of his Age (as before) and then the Floud of *Thessalie* followed the generall 782. yeeres. The words of that *Xenophon* are these: *Ab inundatione terrarum ad ortum Deucalionis, secundo anno Sphaeri, septingenti supputantur anni, qui natus anno duos & octoginta Thessaliam vidit inundatam: From the drowning of the world to the birth of Deucalion, in the second yeere of* SPHÆRVS, *are numbred 700. yeeres, and when* DEVCALION *was 82. yeeres old, he saw Thessalia drowned.* This Floud happened in the Winter time about *Parnassus*: witnesse *Aristotle* in the first of his *Meteors*. And *Varro* (whom Saint *Augustine* so often citeth for his excellent Learning, especially in Antiquities) findeth this Floud of *Deucalion* to haue happened in the time of *Cranaus*, who succeeded *Cecrops*: *Orosius* thinkes it somewhat later, *Amphytrion* reigning in *Athens*, the third from *Cecrops*: Onely this of *Deucalion* was very great, and reached not onely ouer *Thessalie* it selfe, and the Regions adioyning Westward, but it couered the greatest part of *Italie*: and either the same, or some other particular Floud then happening, opprest *Egypt*, saith *Eusebius*. And therefore did the *Greekes* eyther thinke it, or faine it to be vniuersall; and *Deucalion* then King, sauing himselfe and some others on the Mountaine of *Thessalie* (of all other the highest, saith *Solinus*) was by reason thereof (as *Strabo* witnesseth) said to be the preseruer of Mankind. That this Floud couered a great part of *Italie*, *Plinie* and *Solinus* make it probable, who affirme, that the people then inhabiting *Italie*, were therfore called ἄμβροτοι: *quia ab imbribus diluuij superfuissent*; and therefore also were they esteemed the most ancient Nation, as *Strabo* confirmeth in his first Booke, and *Trezenius* in his second: which *Vmbri* these Authors make the Parents of the *Sabines*, and the *Sabines* to be the Parents of the *Samnites*, *Piceni*, *Lucani*, *Brutij*, and all others inhabiting anciently the bankes of the *Mediterrane* Sea. But that these *Vmbri* were not the Inhabiters of *Italie* before the Floud of *Noah*, and so tooke name by sauing themselues vpon the *Appenine* Mountaines, the Scriptures teach vs; shewing who, and who onely then were preserued: which is sufficient. Report hath aduentured further, telling vs, that the first people which after the generall Floud inhabited *Italie*, were the *Camesenes*; (so named from *Camese*, whom CATO *in originibus*, another of *Annius* his Authors, names for a consort of *Ianus*) which people liued altogether a sauage life; till such time as *Saturne* arriuing on those Coasts, deuised Lawes to gouerne them by: the memorie of whose Acts in that Region, *Diodor* and *Thallus* among the *Greekes*, *Nepos Cassius* and *Varro* among the *Latines*, haue preserued; and of whom *Virgil*:

Primus ab aethereo venit SATVRNVS *Olympo,*
Arma IOVIS *fugiens, & regnis exul ademptis,*
Is genus indocile, ac dispersum montibus altis
Composuit, Legesq; dedit; Latiumq; vocari
Maluit.

SATVRNE descending from the Heauens high,
Fearing the Armes of IVPITER his Sonne,
His Kingdome lost, and banisht thence, doth flie.
Rude people on the Mountaine tops he wonne
To liue together, and by Lawes: which done,
He chose to call it *Latium*.

And afterward in the Verses following he speaketh of the *Ausones*, and after them, of the *Sicani*: Nations, which againe sought to dis-plant the ancient Inhabiters:

Tum manus Ausonia, & gentes venêre Sicani.
Then came th' *Ausonian* Bands, and the *Sicanian* Tribes.

Of these *Sicani* (which left *Spaine*, and sat downe in *Italie*) *Thucydides* and *Plinie* giue testimonie: who were again expelled by the *Ligij*, saith *Thucydides*. After all these plantations & replantations, came the *Vmbri*, descended of the *Gaules* (saith *Annius*,) not of those *Gaules* of *France*, but of those of *Scythia*, who commanded a great part of *Italie*, euen all *Hetruria* and *Campania*; as *Herodotus*, *Plinie*, and *Dionysius* haue assured vs: and therfore this Floud of *Deucalion* was long after that of *Noah*. For all those Nations were planted in *Italie*, and dispossest of *Italie* again, before the *Vmbri* were euer heard of, or had being. So that Kingdome was first called *Camasene*, then *Latium* or *Saturnia*, then *Ausonia*, then *Sicania*; before the *Vmbri* (in whose time *Deucalions* Floud happened) possest the same, about 306. yeeres before the Warre of *Troy*: *Lycaon* then gouerning *Arcadia*; who being the father of two and twentie sonnes, the youngest called *Oenotrius* inuaded *Italie*, who gaue it the name of *Oenotria*. This name it held vntill *Italus* of the same Nation changed it into *Italie*, after his owne name, about 250. yeeres before the fall of *Troy*. After these, came

Cedren. l. 1. f. 34.
Clem. Alex. 1. stro. ex Ctes.
Euseb in Chron.
c. 24.
Solin. l. 14. Strab. l. 5. Plin. l. 3. c. 14. Sol. c. 7. Plin. ibid.
Athenaus dipnosoph. l. 15. out of Draco Corcyreus saith, that Camese was the wife and sister of Ianus. Lact. l. 1. c. 13.
Aen. l. 8. 319.
Virg. l. 8. Aen.
Thucyd. l. 6. Plin. l. 3. c. 5. Annius ex Samuele Thalmudista. Herod. l. 1. Plin. l. 3. c. 5. Dion. l. 1. & 2.
Pausan. Arcad. lib. 8.
Arist. Pol. 7. c. 10.

came the *Pelasgi*, of whom *Plinie* in his third Booke and fifth Chapter, and *Strabo* in his fifth, *Thucydides* in his sixt, speakes at large: and after them the *Lydi*, vnder *Tyrrhenus* their Captaine, that gaue name to the *Tyrrheni*; who casting thence the *Vmbri*, tooke from them three hundred Castles, and built therein twelue Cities; to which (after they had possest and past ouer the *Appenine* Mountaines) they added diuers others, whereof *Telsina* (afterward *Bononia*) was one.

Hierod. l. 2. Plin. l. 3. c. 4.

Now that there was not anciently such a Nation as these *Vmbri* in those parts, I doe not affirme; hauing respect to the testimonies before repeated. And *Stephanus* thinkes, that the name was deriued from the *Greeke* word *Ombros*; but that these *Vmbri* of *Italie* were descended of the Nation of *Scythians* (called *Galli*) it shall be shewed hereafter.

§. IIII.

Of some other Records testifying the vniuersall Floud: and of two ancient Deluges in Egypt: and of some elsewhere.

SAint *Augustine* out of *Varro* affirmeth, that the *Greekes* and *Latines* made not any mention of the Vniuersall Floud, because they had nothing of Antiquitie foregoing that of *Ogyges*; and therefore (according to *Rhodoginus*, before remembred) were all things among the *Greekes* (which antiquitie had worne out of knowledge) called *Ogygia*, which we in *English* commonly call (worme-eaten) or of defaced date. But, as all the parts of the Earth vvere successiuely planted and peopled; and as all Nations had their proper times, and not their beginning at once and at the instant: so did euery Familie, vvhich afterward became a great People, with vvhom the knowledge of diuine Letters vvas not receiued, finde no Parent of more antiquitie, than such as they had themselues, nor allow of any before their owne; and as the *Græcians*, so did others vaunt themselues to be *Indigenæ*, and growing out of the Earth, or inuent some other prophane or ridiculous beginning. But the *Chaldæans* had certaine knowledge of *Noahs* Floud, as *Berosus* vvitnesseth; and *Nicolaus Damascenus* maketh particular mention thereof (as is aforesaid) though he also affirme by heare-say, that some Giants saued themselues vpon the Mountaines *Baris* in *Armenia*, but speaketh not thereof as from any authoritie approued: vsing the vword *Sermo est*; *That such a speech there was*. And *Eusebius* remembreth a place out of the ancient Historian *Abydenus*: who writteth, that *Sisithrus*, to preserue himselfe from a Floud fore-told him by *Saturnus*, fled to the Hils of *Armenia* by ship, *ad Armenian nauigio confugiebat*: who the third day (after the Waters were fallen) sent forth birds, that finding no land to rest on, returned againe; which hee also did a second time, but at the third returne the birds feet were couered with mudde and slime. To this effect are *Eusebius* words out of *Abydenus*, which may seeme a true description (though in other termes) of *Noahs* Floud.

Euf. de præp. Euang. l. 9. c. 1.

Cyrillus also affirmeth, that *Alex. Polyhistor* maketh mention of this generall Floud. And *Plato* in *Timæo* produceth an *Egyptian* Priest, who recounted to *Solon* out of the holy Bookes of *Egypt*, the storie of the Floud vniuersal, which (saith he) happened long before the *Græcian* inundations. Fryer *Annius* his *Xenophon* remembreth a third Floud, which also *Diodorus Siculus* confirmeth, somewhat more ancient than that of *Ogyges* in *Attica*. For he named the generall Floud for the first, which happened (saith he) vnder the old OGYGES. *Sub prisco Ogyge*, which was *Noah*; he calleth the second *Niliaca*: *Hercules* and *Prometheus* then liuing, 44. yeeres before that of *Attica*, in the 34. yeere of *Belchus* King of the *Assyrians*, though I doe not beleeue him as touching the time. But this Floud couered a great part of the nether *Egypt*; especially all that Region subiect to *Prometheus*; and hereof came the fable of the *Vulture* on *Prometheus* his Liuer, afterward slaine by *Hercules* of *Egypt*: which fiction *Diod. Siculus* deliuereth in these words: *Fluuium propter cursus velocitatem, profunditatemq; aquarum, Aquilam tunc appellatum*; HERCVLEM *cum consilij magnitudine, tum virtute, volunt è vestigio compressisse, & aquarum impetum ad priorem cursum conuertisse: Vnde & Græci quidam Poetæ rem gestam in fabulam verterunt*, HERCVLEM *tradunt Aquilam* PROMETHEI *iecur depascentem occidisse*; *This Floud* (meaning of *Nilus*) *for the swiftnesse of his course, as also for the depth, was in those day: called the Eagle: but* HERCVLES *by his great iudgement and vertue did againe compresse and straighten this Ruer, so sarre extended and ouer-spred, turning it into the old channels: Whence certaine Greeke Poets (conuerting this labour and worke of* HERCVLES *into a fable)*

Diod. l. 1.

Nat. Com. l. 4. c. 6.

fable) deuised, that HERCVLES *slew the Eagle which fed on* PROMETEVS *Liuer*; meaning, that he deliuered *Prometheus* of that sorrow & torment, which for the losse of his People and Countrey (by the Waters destroyed and couered ouer) he suffered.

A fourth Floud chanced about *Pharus* in *Egypt*, where *Alexander Macedon* built *Alexandria*, as *Annius* conceiueth out of his *Xenophon*, who in this briefe sort writeth of all these Inundations: *Inundationes plures fuere: prima nouimestris inundatio terrarum sub prisco* OGYGE: *secunda Niliaca, &c. There were many Inundations* (saith the same *Xenophon*:) *the first, which was vniuersall, of nine Moneths, and this happened vnder the first* OGYGES: *the second was Niliaca*, and of one Moneths continuance; in the time of *Hercules* and *Prometheus*, *Egyptians*: a third of two Moneths, vnder *Ogyges Atticus*: the fourth of three moneths, in *Thessalia*, vnder *Deucalion*: and a fifth of the like continuance (called *Pharonica*) vnder *Proteus* of *Egypt*, about the time of *Helens* rape. *Diodorus* in his fifth Booke and eleuenth Chapter, taking the *Samothraces* for his Authors, remembreth a Floud in *Asia* the lesse, and elsewhere, of no lesse destruction than any of the other particular Inundations, saying, that the same happened before that of *Deucalion*; the Sea of *Pontus* and *Hellespont* breaking in ouer the Land.

Xenop. de æquin. Comm. per Annium. fol. 37.

But there haue been many Flouds in diuers times, and ages, not inferior to any of these two last remembred, *Niliaca* and *Pharonica* in *Egypt*: as in the yeere of our Redemption 590. when in *October* of the same yeere, *Gregory* then being Bishop of *Rome*, there happened a maruellous ouerflowing in *Italy*, and especially in the *Venetian* Territorie, and in *Liguria*, accompanied with a most fearefull storme of thunder & lightning: after which followed the great Plague at *Rome*, by reason of the many dead Serpents cast vp & left vpon the Land, after the Waters decreased and returned. And in the yeere 1446. there perished 10000. people, by the breaking in of the Sea at *Dordroch* in *Holland*: of which kind I take that Floud to be of *Achaia* or *Attica*. Before that, and in the yeere 1238. *Trithemius* speaketh of an Earthquake, which swallowed many thousands: and after that, of a Floud in *Friseland*, in which there perished 100000. persons. *Strozius Sigog.* in his *Magia omnifaria*, telleth of an Inundation in *Italie*, in the time of Pope *Damasus*, in which also many Cities of *Sicil* were swallowed: another in the Papacie of *Alexander* the sixt: also in the yeere 1515. *Maximilian* being Emperor. He also remembreth a perillous ouer-flowing in *Polonia*, about *Cracouia*, by which many people perished. Likewise *Viginier* a *French* Historian speaketh of a great Floud in the South part of *Languedoc*, which fell in the yeere of our Lord 1557. with so dreadful a tempest, as all the people attended therein the very end of the World, and Iudgement Day; saying, That by the violent descent of the Waters from the Mountaines, about *Nismes* there were remoued diuers old heapes and mountures of ground, and many other places torne vp and rent: by which accident there was found both Coyne of Siluer and Gold, diuers pieces of Plate, and Vessels of other Mettall, supposed to be hidden at such time as the *Gothes* inuaded that Prouince, in the yeere 1156.

Munster.

Eclypsis, & terræ motus continui multa hominum millia oppresserunt. Frisia quoq; per maritimos fluctus tota pænè submersa fuit & perierunt plusquam 100000.

§. V.

That the Floud of NOAH *was supernaturall, though some say it might haue beene foreseene by the Starres.*

NOw howsoeuer all these Flouds, and many other, which haue couered at seueral times seuerall Regions, not only in these parts of the World, but in *America* also, (as I haue learned of some ancient Southsayers among them) may be ascribed to naturall causes and accidents; yet that vniuersall Floud (in the time of *Noah*) was powred ouer the whole face of the Earth by a power aboue Nature, and by the especial commandement of God himselfe, who at that time gaue strength of influence to the Stars, & abundance to the Fountaines of the Deepe: whereby the irruption of Waters was made more forcible, than any ability of nature could effect, or any second causes, by whatsoeuer vnion, could performe, without receiuing from the Fountain of all power strength, & faculties supernaturall. *Henricus Mechliniensis*, a Scholler of *Albertus Magnus*, in his Commentaries vpon the great coniunctions of *Albu Musar*, obserueth, that before the Floud of *Noah*, the like coniunction of *Iupiter* and *Saturne*, happened in the last degree of *Cancer*, against that constellation since called the *Ship of Argos*; by which the Floud of *Noah* might be fore-told, because *Cancer* is both a watrie Signe, and the House

of the *Moone*, which is the Ladie of the Sea, and of Moysture, according to the rules of *Astronomie*; and common experience. And this opinion *Petrus de Aliaco* vpon *Genesis* confirmeth, affirming, that although *Noah* did well know this Floud by diuine reuelation, yet (this coniunction being notorious) he could not be ignorant of the second causes thereof: for those were not onely signes, but also working causes, by strength receiued from the first cause, which is God himselfe: and further, that by * *Catarractæ Cœli* (Englished the Windores of Heauen) *Moses* meant this great and watrie coniunction; the word (*Catarractæ*) signifying flowing downe or comming downe. Now (saith *P. de Aliaco*) it pleased God to ordaine by the course of the Heauens such a constellation, by which all men might behold therein their destruction towards, and thereby forsake those wicked wayes wherein they walked, and call vnto God for mercy.

Also *de Concordia Theolog. & Astrolog. Gen. 7. 11.*

* The word καταρράκτης properly signifieth any place of stoppage, against which the force of the water being naturally carryed downwards, dasheth and breaketh; of ἀράσσω, *allido*, or *frango*. Hence because Windores doe not only open, but also shut, the word hath been expounded (*Windores*) for Barres or Floud-gates.

Of this iudgement was *Gul. Parisiensis*, who vnderstood, that the words *Catarractæ Cœli*, or Windores of Heauen, were to be taken for the former coniunction, or for these watrie Signes, *Cancer*, *Pisces*, *Pleiades*, *Hyades*, and *Orion*; and of the Plants, *Mars*, *Venus* and the *Moone*: which are the forcible causes of the greatest Inundations. His owne words are these: *Nondum intelligo Prophetam Hebræorum Catarractas Cœli vocásse, nisi partes illas Cœli, quæ generatiuæ sunt Pluuiarum & Inundationum Aquarum, quales sunt signa aquatica, vt Cancer, &c.* as aforesaid. As yet (saith he) *I perceiue not what the Prophet of the Hebrewes meaneth by those words (Catarractæ Cœli,* or Windores of Heauen) *vnlesse he thereby vnderstanding those Celestiall powers, by whose influences are engendred the Raine, and Inundations of Waters, such as are the watrie Signes of Cancer, &c.*

But in a word, as it might please God, that in the course of his vnsearchable Wisdom this coniunction should at such time be: so did he (as aforesaid) adde vigor and faculty, and gaue to euery operation encrease of vertues, violent eruptions to Springs & Fountaines, commanding them to cast out the whole treasure and heape of their waters; taking retention from the Clouds, and condensing ayre into water by the ministerie of his Angels, or howsoeuer else best pleased his All-powerfulnesse.

§. VI.

That there was no need of any new Creation of Matter to make the vniuersall Floud: And what are Catarractæ Cœli, GEN. 7. VERS. 11.

NOw if it be obiected, that God doth not create any thing of new; (for God resteth the seuenth day: (that is) he did not then after create any new *species*) which granted, it may seeme that then all the Earth and Ayre had not waters sufficient to couer the habitable World fifteene Cubits aboue the highest Mountaines. Of this proposition, whether God hath so restrayned himselfe, or no, I will not dispute; but for the consequent (which is) that the World had want of water to ouer-couer the highest Mountaines, I take that conceit to be vnlearned and foolish: for it is written, that *the Fountaines of the great Deepe were broken vp* (that is) the waters forsooke the very bowels of the Earth; and all whatsoeuer was dispersst therein, pierced & brake through the face thereof. Then let vs consider, that the Earth had aboue one and twentie thousand miles, the *Diameter* of the Earth, according to that circle, seuen thousand mile, and then from the *Superficies* to the *Center* some three thousand fiue hundred miles. Take then the highest Mountaine of the World, *Caucasus*, *Taurus*, *Olympus*, or *Atlas*, the Mountaines of *Armenia* or *Scythia*, or that (of all other the highest) in *Tenuerif*, and I doe not finde, that he that looketh highest, stretcheth aboue thirtie miles vpright. It is not then impossible, answering reason with reason, that all those waters mixed within the Earth three thousand fiue hundred miles deepe; should not well helpe to couer the space of thirtie miles in height, this thirtie miles vpright being found in the depths of the Earth one hundred and sixteene times: for *the Fountaines of the great Deepe were broken vp*, and the waters drawne out of the bowels of the Earth. Secondly, if we consider what proportion the Earth beareth to the extension of the Ayre ouer and aboue it, wee shall finde the difference exceeding great. If then it pleased God to condense but so much of this Ayre, as euery where compasseth and embraceth the Earth, which condensation is a conuersion of Ayre into Water, a change familiar in those Elements; it will not seeme strange to men of iudgement, yea but of ordinarie vnderstanding, that the Earth (God so pleasing) was couered ouer with Waters, without any new Creation.

Lastly,

Lastly, for the opinions of *Gulielmus Parisiensis*, and *Aliacensis*, to which I may adde *Berosus* and others, That such a coniunction there was, fore-shewing that destruction by Waters which followed; and that by the word *Catarractæ Cœli*, or Windores of Heauen, was meant this coniunction; there needes no other answer than that obseruation of *Ludouicus Viues*, who affirmeth, That by the graueſt *Astrologian* it was obserued, that in the yeere 1524. there should happen the like coniunction as at *Noahs* Floud; than which (saith he) there was neuer a more faire, drie, and seasonable yeere: the like destruction was prophecied of the yeere 1588. But *Picus* Earle of *Mirandula* proueth, that there could not be any such coniunction at that time.

To conclude, I find no other mysterie in the word *Catarractæ Cœli*, than that the clouds were meant thereby: *Moses* vsing the word *Windores of Heauen* (if that be the sense of the word) to expresse the violence of the Raynes, and powring downe of Waters. For whosoeuer hath seene those fallings of water, which sometimes happen in the *Indies*, which are called the Spowts, (where clouds do not breake into drops, but fall with a resistlesse violence in one body) may properly vse that manner of speech which *Moses* did; That the Windores or Floud-gates of Heauen opened: (which is) That waters fell contrarie to custome, and that order which we call naturall. God then loosened the power retentiue in the vppermost ayre, and the waters fell in abundance: *Behold* (sayth IOB) *he withholdeth the Waters, and they drie vp* (or better in Latine, *Et omnia siccantur*; *And all things are dryed vp*) *but when he sendeth them out, they destroy the Earth*: And in the 26. Chapter: *He bindeth the Waters in the Clouds*. But these Bonds God loosed at that time of the generall Floud, & called vp the Waters which slept in the great Deepe; and these ioyning together, couered the Earth, till they had performed the worke of his will: which done, he then commanded them to returne into their darke and vast Caues, and the rest (by a winde) rarified againe into ayre, formerly condensed into drops.

Iob c. 12. v. 15.

Gen. 8. 1.

§. VII.

Of some remainder of the memorie of NOAH *among the Heathen.*

NOAH, commanded by God, before the fall of those Waters, entred the Arke which he had built, with his own Wife, and his Sonnes, and his Sonnes Wiues, taking with them of euery Creature which tooke life by generation, seuen of the cleane, & of the vncleane, two. *Noah*, according to *Philo*, signifieth quietnesse: after others, and according to the prophecie of his Father *Lamech*, cessation; to whom aftertimes gaue many Names, answering his antiquitie, zeale, vertue, and other qualities: as, *The first Ogyges*, because in the time of the *Grecian Ogyges* there was also a great Floud of *Achaia*: *Saturne* they called him, because he was the Father of Nations: Others gaue him the Name of *Prometheus*, who was said to steale away *Iupiters* fire; fire in that place being taken and vnderstood for the knowledge of God and heauenly things. Others thinke, that he was so called for his excellent wisedome and foresight. He had also the Name of *Ianus*, (*id est*) *vinosus*, because *Iain* signifieth Wine in the *Hebrew*. And so *Tertullian* findes him written *in Libris Ritualibus*, *in the Bookes of Ceremonies*, preceding both *Saturne*, *Vranus*, and *Ioue*: which three enioyed an elder time than all the other ancientest fayned gods. And this Name *Iain* is taken from the *Hebrew* and *Syrian*, and not from the *Latine*: for it was in vse before there was any *Latine* Nation, or any Kingdome by that Name knowne. Of the antiquitie of *Ianus*, *Fabius Pictor* giueth this testimonie: IANI *ætate nulla erat Monarchia, quia mortalibus pectoribus nondum hæserat vlla regnandi cupiditas, &c. Vinum & Far primus populus docuit* IANVS *ad sacrificia: primus enim Aras & Pomœria & sacra docuit; In the time of* IANVS (saith he) *there was no Monarchie: for the desire of rule had not then folded it selfe about the hearts of men.* IANVS *first taught the people to sacrifice Wine and Meale: he first set vp Altars, instituted Gardens and solitarie Groues, wherein they vsed to pray; with other holy Rites and Ceremonies.* A greater testimonie than this there cannot be found among the Heathen, which in all agreeth so well with the Scriptures. For first, whilest *Noah* flourished, there was not any King, or Monarch; *Nimrod* being the first that tooke on him soueraigne authority. Secondly, *Noah* after the Floud was the first that planted the Vine, and became a Husbandman; and therefore offered the First-fruits of both (to wit) Wine and Meale. Thirdly, he was the first that rayſed an Altar, & offered sacrifice to God, a thanksgiuing for

Gen. 9. 20.

Gen. 8. 20.

for his merciful goodnesse towards him. *Noah* was also signified in the Name of *Bifrons* (which was giuen to *Ianus*) because he beheld the times both before & after the Floud.

Arn. cont. Gent. lib. 6. *Quia præterita nouerit, & futura prospexerit*, saith ARNOBIVS: *Because he knew what was past, and prouided for what was to come.* He was also in the person of *Ianus* shadowed by the Name of *Chaos*, and *Semen Orbis, The Seed of the World*: because as out of that confused Heape was drawne all the kinds of Beasts and Plants, so from *Noah* came all Mankind. Whereof *Ouid* in the person of *Ianus*:

Ouid. de Fastis. lib. 1.

Me Chaos antiqui (nam sum res prisca) vocabant,
Aspice quàm longi temporis acta cano.

The ancient call'd me *Chaos*: my great yeares
By those old times, of which I sing, appeares.

He was also intituled *Cælum* and *Sol*, *Heauen* and the *Sunne*, for his excellent knowledge in Astronomie: *Vertumnus*, *Bacchus*, and *Liber Pater*; not that latter, which *Diod. Siculus* and *Alex. Aphrodiseus* so call, because he was the restorer of the *Greekes* to their former libertie, but in respect of the Floud. For the *Greekes* called *Liber* [illegible], and his Nurses *Hyades*, of Rayne, because *Noah* entred the Arke when the Sunne ioyned with the Starres *Hyades*, a constellation in the Brow or Necke of *Taurus*, and euer after a Monument of *Noahs* Floud. He was also by others surnamed *Triton*, a Marine god, the sonne of *Neptune*; because he liued in safetie on the Waters. So was he knowne by the name of *Dionysus*, *quasi* [illegible], *mentem pungens*, *Bite-braine*, or *Wit-stinger*; though *Diodorus* conceiue otherwise, and deriue that name *à Patre & Loco*; *Of his Father, and the place of his Birth*, (to wit) of *Ioue*, and *Nisa*, a Towne of *Arabia fœlix*, saith *Suidas* out of *Orpheus*. He had also the by-name of *Taurus*, or *Taurophagus*; because he first yoked Oxen, and tylled the ground: according to that of *Moses*; *And* NOAH *became an Husbandman*. Now howsoeuer the *Grecians* vaunt of their *Theban Bacchus* (otherwise *Dionysus*) it is certaine, that the Name was borrowed, and the Inuention stolne from *Noah*. But this Name of *Bacchus*, more anciently *Boëcus*, was taken (saith *Gul. Stuckius*, and out of him *Danæus*) from *Noachus*, (*N*) being changed into (*B*); and it is the more probable, because it cannot be doubted but that *Noah* was the first planter of the Vine after the Floud: and of *Noah* (the first and ancient *Bacchus*) were all those fables deuised, of which *Diodorus* complayneth in his fourth Booke and fifth Chapter. This first *Bacchus* (to wit) *Noah*, was surnamed *Nysius*, of the Mountaine *Nysa* in *India*; where the *Grecian Bacchus* neuer came, whatsoeuer themselues faine of his enterprises: and these Mountaines of *Nysa* ioyne with those of *Paropanisus*, and those other *Easterne* Mountaines, on which the Arke of *Noah* rested after the Floud.

Nat. com. l. 5. c. 13. — Cælius. — Gen. 9. 20. — Stuckius in libris conuiualibus, & Danæus de primamundi ætate.

Furthermore, to the end that the memorie of this second Parent of Mankind might the better be preserued, there were founded by his Issues many great Cities, which bare his Name, with many Riuers & Mountaines; which oftentimes forgat that it was done in his regard, because the many Names giuen him brought the same confusion to places as to himselfe. Notwithstanding all which, we find the Citie of *Noah* vpon the bankes of the red Sea, and elsewhere: the Riuer of *Noas* in *Thrace*, which *Strabo* calleth *Noarus*; *Ptolomie*, *Danus*; diuiding *Illyria* from *Panonia*. Thus much for the Name.

Plin. l. 6. Steph. de Vrb. Herod. l. 4. Strabo l. 7.

§. VIII.

Of sundry particulars touching the Arke: as the place where it was made, the matter, fashion, and name.

NOw in what part of the World *Noah* built the *Arke*, it doth not appeare in the Scriptures, neither doe I find any approued Author that hath written thereof: onely *Goropius Becanus* in his *Indo-Scythia* conceiueth, that *Noah* built his *Arke* neere the Mountains of *Caucasus*, because on those Hils are found the goodliest Cedars: for when *Alex. Macedon* made the warre among a people, called *Nysæi*, inhabiting the other side of *Caucasus*, he found all their Burials & Sepulchers wrought ouer with Cedar. To this place (saith *Becanus*) *Noah* repaired, both to separate himself from the reprobate Giants, who rebelled against God & Nature, as also because he would not be interrupted in the building of the *Arke*; to which also he addeth the conueniencie of Riuers, to transport the Timber which he vsed, without troubling any other Carriages.

Onely

Onely this we are sure of, that the Arke was built in some part of the Easterne World; & to my vnderstanding, not far from the place where it rested after the Floud. For *Noah* did not vse any Mast or Sayle (as in other Ships) & therfore did the *Arke* no otherwise moue, than the Hulke or body of a Ship doth in a calme Sea. Also, because it is not probable, that during these continuall and downe-right Raines there were any Windes at all, therefore was the *Arke* little moued from the place where it was fashioned and set together: for it is written, *God made a Wind to passe vpon the Earth, and the Waters ceased.* And therefore it may be gathered, that during the fall of the Waters, there was not any Storme or forcible winde at all, which could driue the *Arke* any great distance from the place where it was first by the Waters lifted vp. This is also the more probable, if that ancient opinion be true, as it is very likely, that the *Arke* had *fundum planum*, *a flat bottom*, and not raysed in forme of a Ship, with a sharpenesse forward, to cut the waues, for the better speed. Gen. 8. 1.

This kind of Vessell the *Hebrewes* call *Thebet*, and the *Greekes Larnax*, for so they termed *Deucalions* Ship: and some say, that the Hill *Parnassus*, to which in eight dayes hee arriued, was first called *Larnassus*, and by the change of (*L*) into (*P*) *Parnassus*; but *Pausanias* thinkes that it tooke name of a Sonne of the Nymph *Cleodore*, called *Parnassus*, the Inuentor of *Auguration*. Steph. de Vrb. fol. 227.

Peucerus findes the word (*Parnassus*) to haue no affinitie with the *Greeke*, but thinkes it deriued from the *Hebrew* word *Nahas*, which signifieth *Auguration* and *Diuination*: or from *Har* or *Parai*, as in his Chapter of Oracles in the Leafe before cited. De Oracul. fol. 94.

Iosephus calls the *Arke Machina*, by the generall name of a huge Frame; and *Epiphanius* out of the *Hebrew*, *Aron*: but herein lyeth the difference betweene *Aron* and *Thebet*, That *Aron* signifieth properly the *Arke* of the *Sanctuarie*, but *Thebet* such a Vessell, as swimmeth, and beareth it selfe vpon the Waters. Epiph. in Ancor.

Lastly, this *Arke* of *Noah* differed from the fashion of a ship in this, that it had a Couer and Roofe, with a Crest in the middest thereof, and the sides declining like the Roofe of an House, to the end, both to cast off the Waters, and that thereunder *Noah* himself and his children might shelter, and separate themselues from the noysomnesse of the many Beasts, which filled the other roomes and parts of the *Arke*. Gen. 6. 4.

Of what Wood the *Arke* was built, it is vncertaine. The *Hebrew* word *Gopher* once and in this place onely vsed, is diuersly vnderstood: and though the matter be of little importance, yet this difference there is, That the *Geneua* Translation calls it Pine-tree; the *Rabbine*, Cedar; the *Seuentie*, square Timber; the *Latine*, smooth Timber. Others wil haue it Cypres Trees, as dedicated to the dead, because Cypres is worne at Funerals. But out of doubt, if the word *Gopher* signifie any speciall kind of Timber, *Noah* obeyed the voyce of God therin; if not, he was not then curious as touching the kind or nature of the wood, hauing the promise of God, and his grace and mercie for his defence: For with *Noah* God promised *to establish his couenant*. *Plinie* affirmeth, that in *Egypt* it was the vse to build ships of Cedar, which the wormes eate not; and he auoweth, that he saw in *Vtica*, in the Temple of *Apollo*, Cedar beames, laid in the time of the foundation of the Citie, and that they were still sound in his time, which was about 1188. yeers after: prouing thereby, that this kind of wood was not subiect to putrifying or mouldring in a very long time. But in that it is easie to cut, light to carie, and of a sweete sauour, lasting also better than any other wood, & because neere the place where the *Arke* rested, there are foūd great store of these Cedar trees, as also in all the mountains of the East, besides those of *Libanus*, it is probable enough that the *Arke* might be of that wood: which hath, besides the other commodities, the greatest length of Timber, and therefore fittest to build ships withall. *Pererius* conceiueth, that the *Arke* had diuers sorts of Timber, & that the bottome had of one sort, the decke & partition of another; all which may be true or false, if *Gopher* may be taken for Timber in generall. True it is, that Cedar wil serue for all parts of a Ship, as well for the body, as for Masts and Yards. But *Noah* had most respect to the direction receiued from God: to the length, breadth, and height, and to the partitions of the *Arke*; and to pitch it, and to diuide it into Cabines: thereby to seuer the cleane beasts from the vncleane, and to preserue their seuerall sorts of food; & that it might be capable of all kind of liuing creatures, according to the numbers by God appointed. All which when *Noah* had gathered together, he cast his confidence wholly on God, who by his Angels steered this Ship without a Rudder, and directed it V. 18. Plin. l. 16. c. 40.

without

without the helpe of a Compasse, or the North star. The Pitch which *Noah* vsed, is by some supposed to haue beene a kind of *Bitumen*, whereof there is great quantitie about the Valley of *Sodome* and *Gomorrha*, now the dead Sea, or *Asphaltes*, and in the Region of *Babylon*, and in the West *India*: and herein it exceedeth other Pitch, that it melts not with the Sunne, but by the fire onely, after the manner of hard Waxe.

Pererius.

§. IX.

That the Arke was of sufficient capacitie.

THe *Arke*, according to Gods commandement, had of length three hundred Cubites, fiftie of bredth, and thirtie deepe or high: by which proportion, it had sixe parts of length to one of bredth, and ten times in length to one of depth; of which S. AVGVSTINE: *Proculdubio figura est peregrinantis in hoc seculo Ciuitatis Dei, (hoc est) Ecclesiæ, quæ fit salua per lignum, in quo pependit Mediator Dei & hominum, homo Iesus Christus: nam & mensura ipsa longitudinis, altitudinis, latitudinisq; eius significat corpus humanum, in cuius veritate ad homines prænunciatus est venturus, & venit, &c. Without doubt* (saith he) *it is a figure of the Citie of God trauailing in this World as a stranger (that is) of the Church, saued by the Tree, whereupon the Mediator betweene God and Man, the Man Iesus Christ did hang: for euen the very measure of the length, height, and bredth, answereth the shape of Mans body, in the truth whereof the comming of Christ was fore-told and performed.*

De Ciuit. Dei, l. 15. c. 26.

By what kind of Cubite the *Arke* was measured, it hath beene a disputed question among the Fathers, and others; and the differences are in effect these: The first kind of Cubit (called the Common) containeth one foot and a halfe, measured from the sharpe of the elbow to the point of the middle finger. The second (the Palme-Cubit) which taketh one handfull more than the common. The third is called *Regius Cubitus*, or the *Persian* Cubit, which exceedeth the common Cubit three ynches. The fourth is the sacred Cubit, which containeth the common or vulgar Cubit double, wanting but a quarter or fourth part. Lastly, there is a fift Cubit, called Geometrical, which containeth six common Cubits. But of all these sorts, which were commonly measured by the vulgar Cubit, the alteration and diminution of mens statures hath made the difference. For as there is now a lesse proportion of bodies, so is the common Cubit, from the sharpe of the elbow to the point of the middle finger, of lesse length than it was in elder times.

S. *Augustine* considering the many sorts of Beasts and Birds which the *Arke* held, with their food and water, was sometimes of opinion, that the *Arke* had proportion after the Geometricall Cubit, which containeth almost sixe of the Common: For, measuring the *Arke* by the vulgar Cubit, it did not exceed the capacitie of that Vessell built by *Hiero* of *Syracuse*, or the Ship of *Ptolomie Philo-pater*. But S. *Augustine* (who at the first was led by *Origen*) changed his iudgement as touching the Geometricall Cubit; and found, vpon better consideration, that there needed not so huge a Body to preserue all sorts of Creatures, by God appointed to be reserued. For it was not needfull to take any kindes of Fishes into the *Arke*, because they were kept liuing (saith S. *Augustine*) in their owne element. *Non fuit necesse conseruare in Arca quæ possent in aquis viuere; non solùm mersa sicut Pisces, verùm super-natantia, sicut multæ alites: It was not needfull to conserue those Creatures in the Arke, which could liue in the Waters; and not onely Fishes which can liue vnder water, but also those Fowles which sit and swim on them.* And againe, *Terra, non aqua, maledicta, quia* ADAM *non huius, sed illius fructum vetitum comedit: It was the Earth, and not the Waters, which God cursed; for of the forbidden fruite of the Earth, and not of the Sea, did* ADAM *eat*. So as S. *Augustine* gathereth hereupon (as afore said) that so huge a Frame needed not.

Athen. dipnosop. lib. 4.
Plutar. in vita Demetrij.
Aug. de Ciuit. Dei, lib. 15. c. 27.

And if we looke with the eyes of iudgement hereunto, wee shall finde nothing monstrous therein; although the imaginations of men, who (for the most part) haue more of mischiefe and of ignorance, than of any reuerend reason, found many impossibilities in this worke of God. But it is manifest, and vndoubtedly true, that many of the *Species*, which now seeme differing, and of seuerall kindes, were not then *in rerum natura*. For those Beasts which are of mixt natures, either they were not in that age, or else it was not needfull to preserue them, seeing they might be generated againe by others: as the Mules, the *Hyena's*, & the like; the one begotten by Asses and Mares, and the other by

by Foxes and Wolues: And whereas by discouering of strange Lands, wherein there are found diuers Beasts & Birds, differing in colour or stature from those of these Northerne parts; it may be supposed by a superficiall consideration, that all those which weare red and pyed Skinnes, or Feathers, are differing from those that are lesse painted, and weare plaine russet or blacke; they are much mistaken that so thinke. And for my own opinion, I find no difference, but only in magnitude, betweene the Cat of Europe, and the Ownce of India; & euen those Dogges which are become wilde in *Hispagniola*, with which the Spaniards vsed to deuoure the naked Indians, are now changed to Wolues, and begin to destroy the breed of their Cattell, and doe also oftentimes teare asunder their owne Children. The common Crow and Rooke of India is full of red feathers in the drown'd and low Ilands of Caribana; and the Black-bird and Thrush hath his feathers mixt with blacke and carnation, in the North parts of Virginia. The Dog-fish of England is the Sharke of the South Ocean: For if colour or magnitude made a difference of *Species*, then were the Negro's, which we call the Blacke-Mores, *non animalia rationalia*, not Men, but some kind of strange Beasts: and so the Gyants of the South America should be of another kind, than the people of this part of the World. We also see it daily, that the natures of Fruits are changed by transplantation, some to better, some to worse, especially with the change of Clymate. Crabs may be made good Fruit by often grafting, and the best Melons will change in a yeere or two to common Cowcummers, by being set in a barren Soyle. Therefore taking the kindes precisely of all Creatures, as they were by God created, or out of the Earth by his Ordinance produced; the Arke, after the measure of the common Cubit, was sufficiently capacious to containe of all, according to the number by God appointed: For if we adde but halfe a foot of measure to the common Cubit, which had a foot and a halfe of Giantly stature (and lesse allowance we cannot giue to the difference betweene them and vs) then did the Arke containe 600. foot in length, and 100. foot in bredth, and 60. foot deepe.

Acost. hist. India

But first of all, to make it manifest that the Geometricall Cubit is not vsed in the Scripture, the stature of the Giants therein named may suffice. For if the Bed of *Og*, King of Basan, had beene nine Geometricall Cubites long, it had taken 54. Cubites of the common, which make 80. foot: and *Goliah*, who had the length of six Cubites and a handfull, which makes nine foot and a handfull (a proportion credible) if these Cubites had beene Geometricall, then had beene 54. foot in height, and vpwards, which were monstrous and most incredible: for (according to this proportion) had the head of *Goliah* beene nine foot long, and farre weightier and bigger than all *Dauids* bodie, who carried it away.

Deut. 3. 11.
1. Sam. 17. 4.

Againe, if the Geometricall Cubit had beene vsed for a Measure in the Scripture, as many Commenters haue obserued, then had the Altar (appointed to containe fiue Cubites of length, fiue of bredth, and three of height) haue reached the length of 27. foot vpright, and so must their Priests haue ascended by steps or Ladders to haue performed their Sacrifices thereon, which was contrarie to Gods Commandement, giuen in these words: *Thou shalt not goe vp with steppes vnto mine Altar, that thy shame be not discouered thereon*; and therefore was the Altar but three common Cubits high, which make foure foot, that their Priests standing thereby might execute their Office: Wherefore I may conclude, that the Cubit mentioned in the Scriptures was not the Geometricall, but the ordinarie Cubit of one foot and a halfe, according to the measure of Giantly stature; which measure (doubtlesse) might giue much the more capacitie to the Arke; although it be also probable, that as the Men were, so were the Horses whereon they rode, and all other creatures of a correspondent size. And yet (as I take it) though by this meanes there were not any whit the more roome in the Arke, it were not hard to conceiue, how all the distinct *Species* of *Animals*, whose liues cannot be preserued in the Waters, might according to their present quantities be contained in a Vessell of those dimensions which the Arke had; allowing to the Cubit one foot and a halfe of our now vsuall measure: whence it followeth of necessitie, that those large Bodies which were in the dayes of *Noah* might haue roome sufficient in the Arke, which was measured by a Cubit of length proportionable.

Exod. 20. 26.

How the appointed number of creatures to be saued, (that is) seuen of the cleane, two of the vncleane (with necessarie foode) might haue place in the *Arke*; *Buteo* hath very

learnedly declared: the briefe summe of whose discourse to that purpose, is this. *The length of the Arke was three hundred Cubites, which multiplyed by the bredth, namely fiftie Cubits, and the product by the height of thirtie Cubites, sheweth the whole Concauitie to haue beene* 450000. Now whereas the posts, walls, and other partitions of Lodgings may seeme to haue taken vp a great part of the hollow: the height of the roofe, which (the perpendicular being one Cubit) contained 7500. cubical Cubes, was a sufficient recompence: If therefore in a Ship of such greatnesse we seeke roome for 89. distinct *Species* of Beasts, or (lest any should be omitted) for 100. seuerall kinds, we shall easily find place both for them, and for the Birds, which in bignesse are no way answerable to them, and for meat to sustaine them all. For there are three sorts of Beasts, whose bodies are of a quantitie best knowne; the Beefe, the Sheepe, and the Wolfe: to which the rest may be reduced, by saying, (according to *Aristotle*) that one Elephant is answerable to foure Beeues, one Lyon to two Wolues, and so of the rest. Of Beasts, some feede on vegetables, others on flesh. There are one and thirtie kinds of the greater sort, feeding on vegetables: of which number, onely three are cleane, according to the Law of *Moses*, whereof seuen of a kind entred into the *Arke*, namely, three couples for breede, and one odde one for sacrifice: the other eight and twentie kindes were taken by two of each kinde, so that in all there were in the *Arke* one and twenty great Beasts cleane, & six and fiftie vncleane, estimable for largenesse as ninetie one Beeues; yet for a supplement (lest perharps any *Species* be omitted) let them be valued as a hundred and twentie Beeues. Of the lesser sort feeding on vegetables, were in the *Arke* sixe and twentie kinds, estimable with good allowance for supply, as fourescore Sheepe. Of those which deuoure flesh were two and thirtie kinds, answerable to threescore and foure Wolues. All these two hundred and eightie Beasts might be kept in one storie or roome of the *Arke*, in their seuerall Cabbines; their meate in a second: the Birds and their prouision in a third, with place to spare for *Noah* and his family, and all their necessaries.

§. X.

That the Arke rested vpon part of the Hill Taurus (or Caucasus) betweene the East Indies, and Scythia.

†. I.

A preterition of some questions lesse materiall: with a note of the vse of this question, to finde out the Metropolis of Nations.

WHat time *Noah* tooke to build the *Arke*, I leaue to others to dispute: but hee receiued the Commandement from God a hundred yeers before the waters fell; and had therefore choice of time and leysure sufficient. As for the number of Deckes & Partitions, which *Origen* diuides into foure, S. *Augustine* into three, I will not trouble the Reader with the controuersie: or whether those creatures which sometimes rest on the Land, other times in the Waters, as the Crocodiles (now called *Alegartos*) the Sea-Cowes or Sea-Horses, were kept in the *Arke*, or no, I thinke it a needlesse curiositie; and yet to this saith *Pererius*, and others before him, that a Fish-poole might be made as well within the *Arke*, as in *Hiero* his Ship of *Syracuse*. Lastly, to consider or labour to disproue the foolerie of the *Hebrewes*, who suppose that the *Arke* was lightened by a Carbuncle, or had Windows of Crystall to receiue in Light, and keep out Water, were but to reuiue the buried vanities of former times. But that which I seeke most to satisfie my selfe and others in, is, in what part of the World the *Arke* rested after the Floud: because the true vnderstanding of some of these places (as the Seat of the terrestriall *Paradise*, and the resting of the *Arke*) doe onely and truly teach the Worlds Plantation, and the beginning of Nations, before and after the Floud; and all storie, as well generall as particular, thereby may be the better vnderstood.

†. II.

A proposall, of the common opinion, that the Arke rested vpon some of the Hils of Armenia.

AND first, for the true place where the *Arke* rested after the Floud, and from what part of the World the Children of *Noah* trauailed to their first settlement and plantation, I am resolued (without any presumption) that therein the most writers were vtterly mistaken. And I am not led so to thinke out of my Humour or newnesse of opinion, or singularitie; but doe herein ground my selfe on the originall & first truth, which is the word of God, and after that vpon reason, and the most probable circumstances thereon depending. For whereas it is written; *that the Arke staied vpon one of the mountaines of Ararat*, which the *Chaldean Paraphrast* hath conuerted *Kardu*, meaning the hils *Gordæi* or *Gordiæi* in *Armenia* the greater: (as the words *Gordæi* and *Kardu*, seeme to be one and the same) of which opinion also the most of our Interpreters are; I finde neither Scripture nor reason which teacheth any such thing: (to wit) that it rested on that part of *Ararat*, which is in the greater *Armenia*. *Nicolaus Damascenus* cals this mountaine of *Ararat*, *Baris*, being the same which the *Chaldæan* nameth *Kardu*, to which mountaine the Fryer *Annius* (citing this place out of *Iosephus*) makes him finde another adioyning, called *Ocila*, and to say that the *Arke* (of which *Moses* the Lawgiuer of the Hebrewes wrote) did first take ground on this *Ocila*. But I doe not finde any such mountaine in being, as this *Ocila*; neither is there any mention of it in the place of *Iosephus*. *Strabo* remembreth a Promontorie in *Arabia fœlix*, of that name; and *Plinie* findes a Mart-towne so called in the same, which *Ptolomie* cals *Ocilis*, *Pinetus Acyla*, and *Niger Zidon*. But this *Ocila* of *Damascenus*, or rather of *Annius*, seemeth to bee one and a part of the *Armenian* mountaines. *Berosus* calleth those mountaines of *Armenia Gordiæi*, and *Curtius Cordæi*: *Ptolomie Gordæi* and *Gordiæi*: of which the Countrie next adioyning is by this *Nicolaus Damascenus* called *Ninyada*, perhaps (as *Becanus* coniectures) for *Milyada* or rather *Minni*: which word is vsed for *Armenia Minor*. And the very word of *Armenia* seemes to be compounded of this word *Minni*, and *Aram*: as if we should say *Minni* of *Syria*; for that *Armenia* also was a part of *Syria*, *Plinie* witnesseth. *Epiphanius* placeth the *Cardyes* about these mountaines, whom others call *Gordieni* or *Gordeni*. The mountaines are seated apart from all other to the North of that Ledge of the mountaines called *Taurus*, or *Niphates* in the plaines of *Armenia* the great, neere the Lake *Thospitis*: whence the Riuer of *Tigris* floweth in 75. degrees of longitude, and 41. and 42. degrees of latitude. One of the mountaines *Gordiæi* (that which surmounteth the rest) *Epiphanius* cals *Lubar*, which in the *Armenian* signifieth a place of descent: but this out of *Iosephus*; which name (saith *Iunius*) was of the euent, because of *Noahs* comming downe with his children. But this also I take to be a supposed euent; seeing any hil from whence on euery side we must descend, may thus be called: as *Iunius* corrects the place in *Iosephus* λούβαεις (*Kubaris.*) That the place is thus to be read, he coniectureth, because *Iosep. l.* 1. *c.* 4. sayes, the place is called ἀκροβατήριον (as it were the descent or comming downe) and *Epiphan. l.* 1. *contr. Hæres.* cals it λόφας. which word in the *Armenian* and *Ægyptian* tongue signifieth descent, of *Lubar*, which is to descend; whence also *Lubra* is a *Synagogue*, because it was commonly built on some high place: whereof also the Latine *Delubrum* may seeme to bee deriued; and *Act. 6. 9.* they that belonged to the *Synagogue* of the *Ægyptians* are called *Libertini*, for *Lubra tenu*. Yet this opinion hath beene embraced from age to age, receiuing a habit of strength by time, and allowance without any farther examination; although the name of *Lubar* might otherwise rightly bee giuen, especially to that mountaine, by reason that the passage was more faire, vp and downe vnto it, than to any of the rest adioyning.

Gen. 8. 4.

See c. §. 1.

Hiero. 51. 27.

Nat. hist. l. 5. cap. 12.

Iosepb. de Antiq. l. 1. c. 4.

†. III.

The first argument against the common opinion. They that came to build Babel, would haue come sooner, had they come from so neere a place as Armenia.

BVt there are many arguments to perswade me, that the *Arke* of *Noah* did not rest it selfe in any part of *Armenia*, and that the mountaine *Ararat* was not *Baris*, nor any one of the *Gordiæan* mountaines.

For the first, it is agreed by all which follow *Berosus*, that it was in the 130. yeere, or in the yeere 131. after the floud, when *Nimrod* came into the valley of *Shinar*, which Valley was afterward called *Babylonia*, *Chush*, and *Chaldæa*. If then the *Arke* had first found land in *Armenia*, it is very vnprobable, that the children of *Noah* which came into that valley could haue spent so many yeeres in so short a passage: seeing the Region of *Mesopotamia* war onely interiacent, which might by easie iourneyes haue beene past ouer in twenty

Berosi. l. 2.

twentie dayes; and to hasten and helpe which passage, the nauigable riuer of *Tygris* offered it selfe, which is euery where transpassable by boates of great burden: so as where the Desart on the one side resisted their expedition, the riuer on the contrary side serued to aduance it; the riuer rising out of the same Ledge of mountaines, or at the foote of them, vvhere the *Arke* of *Noah* vvas first supposed to settle it selfe; Then if the Nations vvhich followed *Nimrod* still doubted the surprise of a second floud (according to the opinions of the ancient Hebrewes) it soundeth ill to the eare of reason, that they would haue spent many yeeres in that low and ouerflowne Valley of *Mesopotamia*, so called of the many Riuers which imbroyder or compasse it: for the effects witnessed their affections, and the workes vvhich they vndertooke, their vnbelieife; being no sooner arriued in *Shinar*, but they began to prouide themselues of a defence (by erecting *Babel*) against any future or feared inundation. Now at *Babel* it was that *Nimrod* began his Kingdome, the first known Citie of the world, founded after the floud about 131. yeers, or (as others suppose) ten yeeres later: though (for my selfe) I rather thinke, that they vndertooke that worke in two respects; first, to make themselues famous, *To get vs a name* (saith the Text:) Secondly, thereby to vsurpe dominion ouer the rest.

Gen. 10. 10. Berof. l. 1.

†. IIII.

The second argument, That the Easterne people were most ancient in populositie, and in all humane glory.

FOr a second Argument: The ciuilitie, magnificence and multitude of people (wherein the East parts of the world first abounded) hath more weight than any thing which hath beene, or can be said for *Armenia*, and for *Noahs* taking land there. And that this is true, the vse of Printing and Artillerie (among many other things which the East had) may easily perswade vs, that those Sunne-rising Nations were the most ancient. The certaintie of this report, that the East *Indians* (time out of minde) haue had Gunnes and Ordnance of batterie, confirmed by the *Portugals* and others, make vs now to vnderstand, That the place of *Philostratus in vita Apollonij Tianei, l. 2. c. 14.* is no fable, though exprest in fabulous words: vvhen he saith, that the vvise men, vvhich dwell betweene *Hyphasis* and *Ganges*, vse not themselues to goe forth into battaile: but that they driue away their enemies vvith thunder and lightning sent from *Iupiter*. By which meanes there it is said, that *Hercules Ægyptius* and *Bacchus*, ioyning their forces, were defeated there; and that this *Hercules* there cast away his golden shield. For the inuention of letters vvas ignorantly ascribed to *Cadmus*, because hee brought them first into Greece: of which the people (then rude and sauage) had reason to giue him the honour, from whom they receiued the benefit. But it is true, that letters are no lesse ancient than *Seth* or *Henoch* were: for they are said to haue written on pillars of stone (as before remembred) long before the floud. But from the Easterne world it was that *Iohn Cutheuberg* a *Germane*, brought the deuice of Printing: by whom *Conradus* being instructed, brought the practice thereof to *Rome*: and after that *Nicholaus Gerson* a *Frenchman*, bettered both the letters and inuention. And notwithstanding that this mysterie was then supposed to be but newly borne, the *Chinaos* had letters long before either the *Egyptians* or *Phœnicians*; and also the Art of Printing, when as the Greekes had neither any ciuill knowledge, or any letters among them.

And, that this is true, both the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* haue witnessed, who about an hundred yeeres since discouered those Kingdomes, & doe now enioy their rich trades therein: for the *Chinaos* account all other Nations but Saluages, in respect of themselues.

And to adde strength to this argument, the conquest and storie of *Alex. Macedon* may iustly be called to witnesse, who found more Cities and sumptuositie in that little Kingdome of *Porus*, which lay side by side to the East *India*, than in all his other trauails & vndertakings. For in *Alexanders* time learning & greatnesse had not trauailed so far to the West as *Rome*: *Alexander* esteeming of *Italie* but as a barbarous Countrie, and of *Rome* as of a Village. But it was *Babylon* that stood in his eye, and the fame of the East pierced his eares. And if we looke as farre as the Sun-rising, and heare *Paulus Venetus* what hee reporteth of the vttermost Angle and *Island* thereof, wee shall finde that those Nations haue sent out, and not receiued; lent knowledge, & not borrowed it from the West. For the farther East (to this day) the more ciuill, the farther West the more saluage.

And

And of the *Isle* of *Iapan* (now *Zipingari*) *Venetus* maketh this report: *Incolæ religioni, literis, & sapientiæ sunt addictissimi, & veritatis indagatores acerrimi; nihil illis frequentius oratione, quam (more nostro) sacris in delubris exercent: vnum cognoscunt Principem, vnum Deum adorant, The Ilanders are exceedingly addicted to religion, letters, and Philosophie, and most diligent searchers out of truth: there is nothing among them more frequent than prayer, which they vse in their Churches, after the manner of Christians. They acknowldge one King, and worship one God.* The antiquitie, magnificence, ciuilitie, riches, sumptuous buildings, and policie in gouernment, is reported to be such by those who haue bin employed into those parts, as it seemeth to exceede (in those formerly named, and diuers other particulars) all other Kingdomes of the world.

†. V.

The third argument, From the wonderfull resistance which SEMIRAMIS *found in the East Indies.*

BVt for a third argument, and also of a treble strength to the rest, I lay the inuasion of *Semiramis* before the indifferent and aduised Reader: who may consider in what age shee liued, and how soone after the worlds new birth shee gathered her Armie (as *Diodorus Siculus* out of *Ctesias* reporteth) of more than three Millions to inuade *India*, to which hee adioyned also 500000. Horse, and 100000. Waggons: whereof if we beleeue but a third part, it shall suffice to prooue that *India* was the first planted and peopled Countrie after the floud. Now as touching the time wherein shee liued: All Historians consent, that shee was the wife of *Ninus*; and the most approued Writers agree, that *Ninus* was the Sonne of *Belus*, and *Belus* of *Nimrod*, that *Nimrod* was the Sonne of *Cush*, *Cush* of *Cham*, and *Cham* of *Noah*. And at such time as *Nimrod* came to *Shinaar*, hee was then a great Nation, as by the building of the Citie and Tower of *Babel* may appeare; and being then so multiplied and increased, the two descents cast betweene *Nimrod* and *Semiramus*, brought forth in that time those multitudes, whereof her Armie was composed. Let vs then see with whom shee encountred in that warre with this her powerfull Armie: euen with a multitude, rather exceeding, than equalling, her owne, conducted by *Staurobates* King of *India* beyond *Indus*; of whose multitudes this is the witnesse of *Diod. Siculus*. STAVROBATES *auitis maioribus quàm quæ erant* SEMIRAMIDIS *copijs*: STAVROBATES *gathering together greater troupes than those of* SEMIRAMIS. If then these numbers of *Indians* had beene encreased but by a *Colonie* sent out from *Shinaar*, (and that also after *Babel* was built, which no doubt tooke some time in the performance) this encrease in the East, and this Armie of *Staurobates* must haue been made of stone, or somewhat else by miracle. For as the numbers which *Semiramis* gathered might easily grow vp in that time, from so great a Troupe as *Nimrod* brought with him into *Babylonia* (as shall be demonstrated hereafter in the Storie of *Israel*) so could not any such time, by any multiplication natural, produce so many bodies of men as were in the *Indian* Armie victorious ouer *Semiramis*, if the *Colonies* sent thither had beene so late as *Bebel* ouerturned, and the confusion of Languages. For if wee allow 65. yeeres time after the Floud, before *Nimrod* was borne: of which, thirty yeeres to *Cush* ere hee begat *Seba*, after whom hee had *Hauilah*, *Sabtah*, *Raamah*, and *Sabtecha*: and then thirtie yeeres to *Raamah*, ere hee begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, both which were borne before *Nimrod*: and fiue yeeres to his fiue elder brothers, which make sixtie fiue, and then twice thirtie yeeres for two Generations more, as for *Nimrod*, *Sheba* and *Dedan* with others, to beget their sonnes; and that a third Generation might grow vp, which makes in all an hundred twenty fiue yeeres, there will then remaine sixe yeeres to haue bin spent in trauailing from the East, ere they arriued in *Shinaar* in the yeere after the Floud 131. And so the followers of *Nimrod* might bee of sufficient multitude. But as for those which make him to haue arriued at *Shinaar* in the yeere 101. and the confusion to haue beene at *Pelegs* birth, these men doe all by miracle: they beget whole Natious without the helpe of time, and build *Nimrods* Towre in the Ayre; and not on those low and marish grounds (which require sound foundations) in the Plaines af *Shinaar*. For except that huge Towre were built in a day, there could bee no confusion in that yeere 101. or at *Pelegs* birth. And therefore it is farre more probable, that *Nimrod* vsurped Regall authority in the 131. yeere

Gen. 10. 7.

after

Glyc. in Gen. & de Turriex structione. fol. 173.

after the Floud, (according to *Berosus*) and that the worke of *Babel* lasted forty yeeres (according to GLYCAS) *Hominibus in ea perficienda totis 40. annis incassum laborantibus; Men labouring in vaine 40. yeeres to finish it.* By which account it fals out, that it was 170. yeeres after the Floud, ere a *Colonie* was sent into *East India*; which granted (the one being the maine body, and the other but a Troupe taken thence) it can hardly be beleeued, that *Staurobates* could haue exceeded *Semiramis* in numbers: who being then Empresse of all that part of the world, gathered the most of Nations into one bodie.

†. VI.

The fourth Argument from diuers considerations in the person of NOAH.

FOurthly, it is no way probable, that *Noah*, who knew the world before the floud, & had liued therein the long time of 600 yeeres, was all that space 130. yeers after the floud, without any certaine habitation: No, it will fall out, and better agree with reason, that *Nimrod* was but the conducter of those people, by *Noah* destined and appointed to fill and inhabit that middle part of the earth and the Westerne world; (which trauailes *Noah* put ouer to young and able bodies) and that *Noah* himselfe then couered with many yeeres, planted himselfe in the same place which God had assigned him: which was where he first came downe out of the *Arke* from the waters: for it is witten, that after *Noah* came downe out of the *Arke* hee planted a Vineyard, and became a Husbandman: whose businesse was to dresse and manure the earth; and not to range ouer so many parts of the world, as from *Armenia* into *Arabia fœlix*, where hee should (if the tradition be sound) haue left certaine *Colonies*: thence into *Africa* towards *Triton*; then into *Spaine*, where they say he settled other companies, and built Cities after the names of *Noela* and *Noegla* his sonnes wiues: from thence into *Italie*, where they say hee found his sonne *Cham* the *Saturne* of *Egypt*, who had corrupted the people and subiects of *Gomer* in his absence: with whom *Noah* (as they make the storie) had patience for three yeeres; but then finding no amendement, they say he banisht him out of *Italie*. These be but the fancies of *Berosus Annianus*, a plaine imitation of the Græcian fables. For let euery reasonable man conceiue, what it was to trauaile farre in such a forrest as the World was, when after so great a rotting of the earth by the floud, the same lay waste and ouer-growne for 130. or 140. yeeres, and wherein there could hardly be found either part or passage through which men were able to creepe for woods, bushes and bryars that in those yeeres were growne vp.

And there are so many reasons, prouing that *Noah* neuer came into the valley of *Shinaar*, as we need not suspect his passage into *Italie* or *Spaine*: For *Noah*, who was Father of all those Nations, a man reuerenced both for his authority, knowledge, experience and pietie, would neuer haue permitted his children and issues to haue vndertaken that vnbeleeuing presumptuous worke of *Babel*. Rather by his presence and preualent perswasions he would haue bound their hands from so vaine labours, & by the authority which he receiued euen from God himselfe, hee would haue held them in that awfull subiection, as whatsoeuer they had vainely conceiued or feared, yet they durst not haue disobeyed the personall commandement of him, who in the beginning had a kinde of Regall authority ouer his children and people. Certainely, *Noah* knew right well, that the former destruction of mankinde was by themselues purchased through crueltie and disobedience; and that to distrust God, and to raise vp building against his Almighty power, was as much as in them lay, a prouocation of God to lay on them the same, if not a more sharpe affliction. Wherefore, there is no probabilitie, that euer he came so farre West as *Babylonia*; but rather, that hee sent those numbers, which came into *Shinaar* (being the greatest troupe, because they had the greatest part of the world to plant) vnder *Nimrod*, or those vpon whom he vsurped. *Nauclerus* and *Cœlestinus* take the testimony of *Methodius* Bishop of *Tyre* for currant, that there were three Leaders of the people after their encrease (to wit) *Nimrod*, *Suphene*, and *Iocian*: of which *Nimrod* commanded the issues of *Cham*, *Iocian* of *Sem*, and *Suphene* of *Iaphet*. This opinion I cannot iudge of, although I will not doubt, but that so great a worke as the worlds plantation, could not be effected without order and conduction.

Of the sonnes of *Sem*: *Iocian*, *Hauilah*, and *Ophir*, are especially noted to haue dwelt in the *East India*. The rest of *Sems* issues had also the Regions of *Persia* and the other adioyning

adioyning to *Indus*, and held also a part of *Chaldæa* for a time: for *Abraham* inhabited *Vr*, till he was thence called by God; and whether they were of the Sonnes of *Iocian*, or of all the rest a certaine number (*Cham* and his issue onely excepted) that *Noah* kept with himselfe, it cannot be knowne. Of which plantation I shall speake at large in the Chapter following.

Now another reason which mooues me to beleeue, that *Noah* stayed in the East far away from all those that came into *Shinaar*, is, that *Moses* doth not in any word make mention of *Noah* in all the story of the Hebrewes, or among any of those *Nations* which contended with them. And *Noah*, being the Father of all mankinde, and the chosen seruant of God, was too principall a person, to be either forgotten or neglected, had he not (in respect of his age and wearisome experience of the world) withdrawne himselfe, and rested a part with his best beloued, giuing himselfe to the seruice and contemplation of God and heauenly things, after he had directed his children to their destined portions. For he landed in a warme and fertile soile, where hee planted his Vineyard, and drest the earth; after which, and his thanke-giuing to God by sacrifice, hee is not remembred in the Scriptures, because he was so farre away from those Nations of which *Moses* wrote: which were the Hebrewes chiefly, and their enemies and borderers.

†. VII.

Of the senselesse opinion of ANNIVS *the Commentor vpon* BEROSVS: *who finds diuers places where the Arke rested; as the Gaspian and Gordican hils which are three hundred miles asunder; and also some place of Scythia.*

IT remaineth now that we examine the Arguments & authorities of Frier *Annius*, who in his Commentaries vpon *Berosus* and others, laboureth maruailously to proue, that the *Arke* of *Noah* rested vpon the *Armenian* mountaines called *Caspij*; which mountaines separate *Armenia* from the vpper *Media*, and doe equally belong to both. And because all his Authours speake of the mountaines *Gordiai*, he hath no other shift to vnitie these opinions, but by vniting those farre-distant mountaines together. To effect which, hee hath found no other inuention, than to charge those men with errour, which haue carefully ouerseene, printed, and published *Ptolimies* Geographie, in which they are altogether disseuered. For that last edition of *Mercators*, sets these hills fiue degrees (which makes three hundred English miles) asunder. And certainely, if we looke into those more ancient copies of *Villanouanus* and others, we shall find nothing in them to helpe *Annius* withall: for in those the mountaines *Caspij* stand seuen degrees to the East of the *Gordiei*, which make 420. miles. And for those Authours by whose authoritie *Annius* strengtheneth himselfe, *Diodorus* whom he so much followeth, giueth this iudgment vpon them in the like dispute. *Aberrarunt verò omnes, non negligentiâ, sed regnorum situs ignorantiâ, They haue all erred (saith he) not through negligence, but through ignorance of the situation of Kingdomes.* But for an induction, to proue that the *Arke* of *Noah* stood on the mountaines of *Armenia*, he beginneth with the antiquity of the *Scythians*: and to proue the same he citeth *Marcus Portius Cato*, who auoweth that 250. yeeres before *Ninus*, the earth was ouerflowne with waters, *& in Scythia Sagarenatum mortale genus; and that in Scythia the flocke of mortall men was renewed.* The same Authour also teacheth that the *Vmbri* before remembred (who were so called, because saued from *Deucalions* floud) were the Sonnes of the *Galli*, a Nation of the *Scythians*. *Ex hijs venisse* IANVM *cum* DYRIM, *& Gallis progenitoribus Vmbrorum; From these Sythians*, he saith, *that* IANVS *came with* DYRIM, *and with the Galli the progenitours of the Vmbri*; And againe, *Equidem principatus originis semper Scythis tribuitur, Certainely, the Prime antiquitie of off-spring is alway giuen to the Scythians.* And herein truely I agree with *Annius*, that those Regions called *Scythia* and now *Tartaria*, and by some Writers *Sarmatia*, *Asiatica*, were among the first peopled: and they held the greatest part of *Asia* vnder tribute till *Ninus* time. Also *Plinie* called the *Vmbri* which long since inhabited *Italie*, *Gens antiquissima, a most ancient Nation*, who descended of these *Scythians*. Now that which *Annius* laboureth is to prooue that these ancient *Scythians* (meaning the Nephewes of *Noah*) did first inhabite that Region of the mountaines, on which the *Arke* rested; and confessing that this great ship was grounded in *Armenia*, he faineth a nation of *Scythians* called *Araxea*, taking name of the mountain, *Ararat*, neere the Riuer of *Araxes*. And because his Author *Cato* helpeth him in part

Ptol. tab. Asiæ. 3

Diod. l. c. 3.

Cato de orig. pars prima.

Plin. l. 3. c. 14.

(to wit, That in *Scythia* mankinde was restored after the great floud, 250.yeares before *Ninus*) and in part vtterly destroyeth his conceit of *Armenia*, by adding the vword *Saga*; as, *In Scythia Saga renatum mortale genus, In Scythia Saga mankind was restored*, hee therefore in the *Proæme* of his Commentary vpon *Berosus*, leaueth out the addition of *Saga* altogether in the repetition of *Cato* his words, and writes, *homines in Scythia saluatos*. For *Scythia Saga* or *Sacæ*, is vndoubtedly vnder the Mountaines of *Paropanisus*; on which, or neare which it is most probable that the *Arke* first tooke ground: and from those East parts (according to *Moses*) came all those companies which erected the Tower of *Babel* in *Shinaar* or *Babylonia*.

Berosi.1.

Ptol.Asiæ.tab.7.

Gene.11.2.

But now the best authority which *Annius* hath, is out of *Diodorus*: where hee hath read, that the *Scythians* were originally *Armenians*, taking name *à Scytha Rege eorum, from Scytha their King*. But (in a word) wee may see his vanity, or rather (indeede) his falshood in citing this place. For *Diodorus*, a most approoued and diligent Author, beginneth in that place vvith these words: *Fabulantur Scythæ; The Scythians fable*: and his Interpreter in the table of that worke giueth this title to that very Chapter. *Scytharum origo & successus, fabula; The originall and successe of the Scythians, a fable.* And (indeede) there needs no great disproofe hereof, since *Ptolomy* doth directly delineate *Scythia Saga* or *Sacæ*, and sets them in 130. degrees of longitude: and the *Persians* (saith *Herodotus*) call all the *Scythians*, *Sacæ* which *Pliny* confirmeth: for in respect that these *Sacæ* (saith *Pliny*) are the next *Scythians* to the *Persians*, therefore they giue all the rest that name. Now that any Nation in *Armenia* can neighbour the *Persians*, there is no man beleeueth. But this supposed *Scythea Araxea* in *Armenia* lyeth in 78. degrees of longitude (that is) 42. degrees distant from the *Sacæ*; and the Country about *Araxes Ptolomy* calleth *Colthene* and *Soducene* and *Sacapene* without any mention of *Scythia* at all: and yet all those which are or were reputed *Scythians* either with *Imatus* or without, to the number of 100. seuerall Nations, are by *Ptolomy* precisely set downe.

L.6.c.17.

Tab.Asia.7.&8.

But to come to those later Authors, whereof some haue written, others haue seene a great part of those North-east Regions, and searched their antiquities with great diligence: First, *Marius Niger* boundeth *Scythia* within *Imaus*, in this manner: (for *Scythia* without these Mountaines is also beyond our purpose) *Scythia inter Imaum montem ea est, quæ proprio vocabulo Gassaria hoc tempore dicitur: ab Occasu Sarmatia Asiatica: ab Oriente Imao monte: à Septentrione terra incognita: à Meridiæ Saccis, Sogdianis, Margianiq; vsque ostia Oxæmnis in Hyrcanum mare exeuntis; & parte ipsius maris hinc vsq; ad Rha fluminis ostia terminatur: Scythia within the Mountaine Imaus is that part of the World, which in their owne speech is at this time called Gassaria; and the same is bounded on the West side by Sarmatia Asiatica* (or of *Asia*:) *on the East by the Imaan Mountaines: on the North by vnknowne Lands: on the South by the Saccæ* (which are in the *Sacæ*) *the Sogdiani, and the Margiani, to the mouth of Oxus, falling into the Hyrcan Sea, and by a part of the same Sea as the mouth of Rha.*

Rha.now.Volga

Now if *Niger* sets all *Sarmatia Asiatica*, to the West of *Scythia*, then *Sarmatia* (*quæ magna sanè Regio est, & quæ innumeras nationes complectitur*) *which is a great Region, comprehending innumerable Nations* (saith *Niger*) much of it being betweene *Scythia* and *Armenia*, doth sufficiently warrant vs, that *Armenia* can be no part of *Scythia*; and to make it more plaine, he disseuereth *Sarmatia* it selfe from any part of *Armenia*, by the Regions of *Colchis, Iberia, Albania*, which he leaueth on the right hand of *Sarmatia*, and yet makes *Sarmatia* but the West bound of *Scythia*.

Com.2.Asiæ. fol.472.

Ad meridiem flexo Bosphoro pars septentrionalis ponte Euxini vsq; in ostiũ Coracii fluuij: vnde relictis à parte dextra Colchis, Iberis, Albaniisq; in littus Hyrcani maris prouenit Spocbist. l.30.

And for *Paulus Venetus*, he hath not a word of *Armenia* among the *Tartarian* or *Scythian* Nations; neither doth his fellow Frier *Iohn Plancarpio* (cited by *Vincentius* in his description of *Scythia*) make any mention of *Armenia*; neyther doth *Haytonus*, an *Armenian* borne, of the bloud of those Kings (though afterward a Monke) euer acknowledge himselfe for a *Tartarian*, or of the *Scythian* Races descended: though he write that storie at large, gathered by *Nicholaus Salcuni*, and (by the commandement of Pope *Clement* the fifth) in the yeere 1307. published.

Neyther doth *Mathias a Michon* (a Canon of *Cracouia* in *Polonia*) a *Sarmatian* borne, and that trauailed a great part of *Sarmatia Asiatica*, finde *Armenia* any way within the compasse of *Tartaria, Scythia*, or *Sarmatia*; and yet no man (whose Trauailes are extant) hath obserued so much of those Regions as he hath done: prouing and disprouing many things, heretofore subiect to dispute. And among others he burieth that ancient and receiued

receiued opinion, That out of the Mountaines *Riphæi*, and *Hyperborei* in *Scythia*, spring the Riuers of *Tanais* or *Don*, *Volga* or *Edel*; prouiding by vnanswerable experience, that there are no such Mountaines *in rerum natura*; and (indeed) the Heads and Fountaines of those famous Riuers are now by the Trade of *Muscouia* knowne to euery Merchant, and that they arise out of Lakes, low, wooddie, and marish grounds. The Riuer of *Tanois* or *Don*, ariseth to the South of the Citie *Tulla*, some twentie *English* miles, out of a Lake called *Iwanowesero*, in the great Wood *Okenitzkilies* or *Iepiphanolies*. *Volga*, which *Ptolomie* calls *Rha*, and the *Tartars* call *Edel*, riseth out of a Lake called *Fronow*, in the great Wood *Vodkonzki*: from which Lake the two other famous Riuers flow of *Borysthenes* (now *Neyper*) and *Dsuina* or *Diuidna*. And this learned *Polonian* doth in this sort bound the *Europæan Sarmatia*. *In Sarmatia of Europe are the Regions of Russians, Lithuanians, Muscouians*, and those adioyning, bounded on the West by the Riuer of *Vissa*, the Name perchance mis-printed *Vissa* for *Vistula*, a Riuer which parts *Germanie* and *Sarmatia*: and for the East border he nameth *Tanais*, or *Don*. *Sarmatia Asiatica* he cutteth from *Europe* by the same Riuer of *Tanais*, and the *Caspian* Sea, to with-hold it from stretching farther East: this *Asian Sarmatia* being part of that *Scythia* which *Ptolomie* calleth *Scythia intra Imaum montem*: *Scythia within the Mountaine Imaus*. And the same *Mathias Michon* farther affirmeth, that the *Scythians* (which Frier *Annius* would make *Armenians*) came not into *Saramatia Asiatica* it self aboue three hundred and a few odde yeers before his owne time: these be his words: *Constat eam esse gentem nouam, & aduentitiam à partibus Orientis (mutatis sedibus) paulò plus abhinc trecentis annis Asiæ Sarmatiam ingressam: It is manifest* (saith he, speaking of the *Scythian* Nation) *that this is a late planted Nation, come from the coasts of the East: from whence they entred into Asia, and gat new seates a little more than 300. yeeres since*: For (indeed) before that time the *Gothes* or *Pouloci* inhabited *Sarmatia, Asiatica*. And this *Mathias* liued in the yeere 1511. and this his Discourse of *Sarmatia* was printed at *Augusta* in the yeere 1506. as *Bucholzerus* in his *Chronologie* witnesseth. Now these *Scythians* (saith he) came from the East, for in the East it was that the *Arke* of *Noah* rested, and the *Scythæ Sacæ* were those people which liued at the North foot of those Mountaines, of *Taurus* or *Ararat*, where they encounter or begin to mixe themselues with the great *Imaus*. And were there no other testimony than the generall description of the Earth now extant, and the witnesse of *Ptolomie*, it is plaine, that betweene all parts of *Armenia*, and *Schythia*, there are not only those three Regions of *Colchis, Iberia*, and *Albania*, but the *Caspian* Sea: on the East shore of which Sea, but not on the West, or on that part which any way toucheth *Armenia*, there are (indeed) a Nation of *Scythians* (called *Ariacæ*) betweene *Iaxartus* and *Iactus*; but what are these *Scythians* to any *Ariacæ*, or *Scythia Araxea*, which *Annius* placeth in *Armenia*, more than the *Scythians* of *Europe*?

Sig.Herberstein.

Crázeus calleth this Riuer Wislaus, Niger Dranamanza, Pom.Mela, Vistula, & Plin. Vistillus.

Sciuius Aeneid. Eutropius.

†.XIII.

The fift Argument, The Vine must grow naturally neere the place where the Arke rested.

TO this if we adde the consideration of this part of the Text, *That* NOAH *planted a Vineyard*, we shall find that the fruit of the Vine or Raysin did not grow naturally in that part of *Armenia*, where this resting of the *Arke* was supposed: for if the Vine was a stranger in *Italie* and *France*, and brought from other Countries thither; it is not probable that it grew naturally in *Armenia*, being a farre colder Country. For *Tyrrhenus* first brought Vines into *France*, and *Saturnus* into *Latium*: yea at such times as *Brennus* and the *Gaules* inuaded *Italie*, there were few or no Vines in *France*. For (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Camilus*) the *Gaules* remained betweene the *Pyrenæi* and the *Alpes*, neere vnto the *Senones*, where they continued a long time, vntill they drunke Wine, which was first brought them out of *Italie*; and after they tasted thereof they hasted to inhabite that Countrey, which brought forth such pleasant fruit: so as it appeareth, that the Plant of the Vine was not naturall in *France*, but from *Italie* brought thither; as by *Saturne* from else where into *Italy*.

Gen.9.20.

Now it is manifest, that *Noah* trauailed not farre to seeke out the Vine. For the Plantation therof is remembred, before there was any counsaile how to dispose of the World among his children: and the first thing he did, was, to till the ground, & to plant a Vineyard, after the Sacrifice and Thankesgiuing to God; and wheresoeuer the *Arke* rested, there

there did the Vine grow naturally. From whence it doth no where appeare, that he trauailed farre: for the Scriptures teach vs, that he was a Husband-man, & not a Wanderer.

†. IX.

An answer to an obiection out of the words of the Text: The Lord scattered them from thence vpon the face of the whole earth.

AND that all the children of *Noah* came together into *Shinaar*, it doth not appeare sauing that it may be inferred out of these words (*from thence*) because it is written: *So that the Lord scattered them from thence vpon all the earth*; which hath no other sense, but that the Lord scattered them (to wit) those that built this Towre: for those were from thence dispersed into all the Regions of the North and South, and to the Westward. And by these words of *Sybilla* (as they be conuerted) it seemeth that all came not together into *Shinaar*; for they haue this limitation: *Quidam eorum turrem ædificarunt altissimam, quasi per eam cœlum essent ascensuri: Certaine of them built a most high Towre, as if they meant thereby to haue scaled the Heauens.*

†. X.

An answer to the obiection of the name of Ararat, taken for Armenia: and the heighth of the Hils there.

BVt before I conclude this part, it is necessarie to see & consider, what part of Scripture, and what reason may be found out, to make it true or probable, that the *Arke* of *Noah* was forsaken by the waters on the Mountaines of *Armenia*. For the Text hath onely these words: *The Arke rested on* (or vpon) *the Mountaines of Ararat*; or *Armenia*, saith the marginall note of the *Geneua*: the *Chaldæan Paraphrast* cals it *Kardu*; of which, the highest hath the name of *Lubar*, saith *Epiphanius*. Now this *Ararat*; (which the *Septuagint* doe not conuert at all, but keepe the same word) is taken to be a Mountaine of *Armenia*; because *Armenia* it selfe had anciently that name: so as first out of the name, and secondly out of the heighth (which they suppose exceeded all other) is the opinion taken, That the *Arke* first sate thereon.

Gen. 8. 14.

Epiph. l. 1. contra Hæres.

But these suppositions haue no foundation: for neither is *Ararat* of *Armenia* alone, neither is any part, or any of those Mountaines of equall stature to many other Mountains of the World; and yet it doth not follow, that the *Arke* found the highest Mountaine of all other to rest on: for the Plaines were also vncouered, before *Noah* came out of the *Arke*. Now, if there were any agreement among Writers of this *Ararat*, and that they did not differ altogether therein, we might giue more credit to the conceit. For in the Bookes of the *Sybils* it is written, that the Mountaines of *Ararat* are in *Phrygia*, vpon which it was supposed that the *Arke* stayed after the Floud. And the better to particularize the place and seate of these Mountaines, and to prooue them in *Phrygia*, and not *Armenia*, they are placed where the City of *Cœlenes* was afterward built. Likewise in the same discription shee maketh mention of *Marsyas*, a Riuer which runneth through part of *Phrygia*, and afterward ioyneth it selfe with the Riuer *Mœander*, which is farre from the *Gordiæan* Mountaines in *Armenia*. We may also finde a great mistaking in IOSEPHVS (though out of BEROSVS, who is in effect the Father of this opinion) that IOSEPHVS sets *Ararat* betweene ARMENIA and PARTHIA, toward ADIABENE, and affirmeth withall, that in the prouince of *Cæron* (by others *Kairos* and *Arnos*, so called by reason that the waters haue from thence no descent, nor issue out) the people vaunt that they had in those dayes reserued some peices of *Noahs Arke*. But *Parthia* toucheth no where vpon *Armenia*, for *Armenia* bordereth *Adiabene*, a Prouince of *Assyria*: so that all *Media* and a part of *Assyria* is betweene *Parthia* and *Armenia*. Now whereas the discouerie of the Mountaines *Cordiei* was first borrowed out of *Berosus* by *Iosephus*; yet the Text which *Iosehus* citeth out of *Berosus*, differs far from the words of that *Berosus*, which wandreth vp and downe in these dayes, set out by *Annius*. For *Berosus*, cited by *Iosephus*, hath these words: *Fertur & nauigij huius pars in Armenia apud montem Cordieorum superesse, & quosdam Bitumen inde abrasum secum reportare, quo vice amuleti loco huius hominis vti solent*: (which is) *It is reported also that a part of this ship is yet remaining in Armenia vpon the Cordiæan Mountaines: and that diuers doe scrape from it the Bitumen or Pitch, and carrying it with them, they vse it in stead of an amulet.* But *Annius* his Edition

Edition of the Fragment of *Berosus* vseth these words: *Nam eleuata ab aquis in Gordiæ montis vertice quieuit, cuius adhuc dicitur aliqua pars esse, & homines ex illa Bitumen tollere quo maximè vtuntur ad expiationem: For the whole Arke being lifted vp by the waters, rested on the top of the Gordiæan Mountaines, of which it is reported that some parts remaine, and that men doe carry thence of the Bitumen to purge by Sacrifice therewith*: so as in these two Texts (besides the difference of wordes) the name is diuersly written. The ancient *Berosus* writes *Cordiei* with a (*C.*) and the Fragment *Gordiei* with a (*G.*) the one that the *Bitumen* is vsed for a preseruatiue against Poyson or Inchantment; the other in Sacrifice. And if it be said that they agree in the generall, yet it is reported by neither from any certaine knowledge, nor from any approued Authour: for one of them, vseth the word (*fertur*) the other (*dicitur*) the one, that so it is *reported*, the other, *that so it is sayd*; and both but by heare-say, and therefore of no authority nor credit. For common bruit is so infamous an Historian, as wise men neither report after it, nor giue credit to any thing they receiue from it.

Furthermore, these Mountaines which *Ptolomie* cals *Gordiei*, are not those Mountaines which himselfe giueth to *Armenia*, but he calleth the Mountaines of *Armenia Moschici*. These be his owne words: *Montes Armeniæ nominantur, qui Moschici appellantur, qui protenduntur vsq; ad superiacentem partem Ponti Cappadocum; & mons qui Paryardes dicitur: The Mountaines of Armenia are they which are called Moschici, stretcht along to the higher part of Pontus of the Cappadocians: also the Hill which is called Paryades*: which Mountaines *Plinie* calleth *Pariedri*, & both which lye to the North of *Gordiei* or *Baris*, in 43. and 44. and a halfe; and the *Gordiæan* Mountaines in 39. and a halfe: from the Northermost of which did the *Georgians* take their names, who were first *Gordians* and then *Georgians*, who amidst all the strength of the greatest Infidels of *Persia* and *Turkie*, doe still remaine *Christians*. Concerning the other suppositions, that the Mountaines of *Gordiei*, otherwise *Baris Kardu* or *Lubar* (which *Ptolomie* calleth *Torgodiaion*) are the highest of the World, the same is absolutely false.

Ptol. Asiæ. tab.

Plin. l. 6. c. 9.

†. XI.

Of Caucasus, and diuers farre higher hils than the Armenian.

FOr the best *Cosmographers* with other, that haue seene the Mountaines of *Armenia* find them farre inferiour, and vnder-set to diuers other Mountaines euen in that part of the World, and else where: as the Mountaine *Athos* betweene *Macedon* and *Thrace*, which *Ptolomie* cals *Olympus*, now called *Lacas*, (saith *Castaldus*) is farre surmounting any Mountaine that euer hath beene seene in *Armenia*: for it casteth shade three hundred furlongs, which is seuen and thirtie miles and vpwards: of which *Plutarch*: *Athos adumbrat latera Lemnia bouis: Athos shadoweth the Cow of Lemnos*. Also the Mount of *Olympus* in *Thessalie*, is said to be of that heighth, as neither the Windes, Cloudes or Raine ouertop it. Againe, the Mountaine of *Antandrus* in *Mysia*, not farre from *Ida*, whence the Riuer *Scamandrus* floweth, which runneth through *Troy*, is also of a farre more admiration than any in *Armenia*, and may be seene from *Constantinople*. There are also in *Mauritania* neere the Sea, the famous Mountaines of *Atlas*, of which HERODOTVS: *Extat in hoc mari Mons cui nomen Atlas, ita sublimis esse dicitur, vt ad illius verticem oculi mortalium peruenire non possint: Vpon this Coast there is a Mountaine called Atlas, whose heighth is sayd to be such, as the eye of no mortall man can discerne the top thereof*. And if we may beleeue *Aristotle*, then are all these inferiour to *Caucasus*, which he maketh the most notorious both for breadth and height: *Caucasus Mons omnium maximus, qui æstiuum ad ortum sunt, acumine atq; latitudine, cuius iuga à Sole radiantur vsq; ad conticinium ab ortu: & iterum ab occasu*; *Caucasus* (saith ARISTOTLE) *is the greatest Mountaine both for breadth and heighth of all those in the North-east, whose tops are lightned by the Sun-beames, vsq; ad conticinium* (which is, saith *Macrobius*) *betweene the first crowing after mid-night and the breake of day*: Others affirme, that the top of this Mountaine holds the Sunne-beames when it is darke in the Valley; but I cannot beleeue either: for the highest Mountaine of the World knowne is that of *Tenerife* in the *Canaria*: which although it hath nothing to the Westward of it for 1000. Leagues together but the Ocean Sea, yet doth it not enioy the Suns company at any such late houres. Besides these Mountaines which *Aristotle* calleth *Caucasi*, are those which separate *Colchis* from *Iberia*;

Plut. Munst. Cosm.

Arist. Met. cor. l. 1. c. 13.

Iberia; though (indeed) *Caucasus* doth diuide both *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* from *Sarmatia*: for hee acknowledgeth that the Riuer of *Phasis* riseth in the same Mountaine, which himself calleth *Caucasus*, and that *Phasis* springeth from those Hils which sunder *Colchis* from *Iberia*, falling afterward into *Euxinus*: which Riuer (it is manifest) yeeldeth it selfe to the Sea, two degrees to the North of *Trapezus* (now *Trabesunda*) howsoeuer *Mercator* bring it from *Peryardes*.

†. XII.

Of diuers incongruities if in this Storie we should take Ararat for Armenia.

10 SO as it doth first appeare, that there is no certaintie what Mountaine *Ararat* was: for the Bookes of the *Sybils* set it in *Phrygia*, and *Berosus* in *Armenia*: and as for *Berosus* authoritie, those men haue great want of proofes that borrow from thence.

Secondly, that *Baris* was the highest Hill, and therefore most likely that the *Arke* grounded thereon, the assertion and supposition haue equall credit: for there are many Hils which exceed all those of *Armenia*; and if they did not, yet it doth not follow (as is before written) that the *Arke* should sit on the highest.

Thirdly, it cannot be proued that there is any such Hill in *Armenia*, or *in rerum natura*, as *Baris*: for *Baris* (saith *Hierome*) signifieth high Towres: and so may all high Hils be called indifferently; and therefore we may better giue the name of *Baris* to the 20 Hils of *Caucasus* (out of which *Indus* riseth) than to any Hils of *Armenia*. For those of *Caucasus* in the East, are vndoubtedly the highest of *Asia*.

Fourthly, the Authours themselues doe not agree in what Region the Mountaines *Gordiæi* stand: for *Ptolomie* distinguisheth the Mountains of *Armenia* from the *Gordiæan*, and calleth those of *Armenia Moschici* and *Paryardes*, as aforesaid. Now *Paryardes* is seated neere the middle of *Armenia*, out of which on the West-side riseth *Euphrates*, and out of the East-side *Araxis*: and the Mountaines *Moschici* are those Hils which dis-ioyne *Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania* (now the Country of the *Georgians*) from *Armenia*.

†. XIII.

Of the contrary situation of Armenia, to the place noted in the Text: and that it is no maruaile that the same Ledge of Hils running from Armenia to India, should keepe the same name all along: and euen in India be called Ararat.

LAstly, we must blow vp this Mountaine *Ararat* it self, or else we must digge it down, and carry it out of *Armenia*, or find it else where, and in a warmer Country, and (withall) set it East from *Shinaar*; or else we shall wound the Truth it selfe with the weapons of our owne vaine imaginations.

Therefore to make the mistaking open to euery eye, we must vnderstand, that *Ararat* (named by *Moses*) is not any one Hill, so called, no more than any one Hill among 40 those Mountaines which diuide *Italie* from *France* is called, the *Alpes*: or any one among those which part *France* from *Spaine* is the *Pyrenian*; but as these, being continuations of many Hils, keep one name in diuers Countries: so all that long Ledge of Mountaines, which *Plinie* calleth by one name *Taurus*, and *Ptolomie* both *Taurus*, *Niphates*, *Coatras*, *Coronus*, *Sariphi*, vntill they enconnter and crosse the Mountaines of the great *Imaus*, are of one generall name, and are called the Mountaines of *Ararat* or *Armenia*, because from thence or thereabout they seeme to arise. So all these Mountaines of *Hyrcania*, *Armenia*, *Coraxis*, *Caspij*, *Moschici*, *Amazonici*, *Heniochi*, *Scythici*, (thus diuersly called by *Plinie* and others) *Ptolomie* cals by one name *Caucasus*, lying betweene the Seas *Caspium* and *Euxinus*: as all those Mountaines which cut asunder *America*, euen 50 from the new Kingdome of *Granado*, to the streight of *Magellan*, are by one name called *Andes*. And as these Mountaines of *Ararat* runne East and West, so doe those maruailous Mountaines of *Imaus* stretch themselues North and South; and being of like extent well-neere, are called by the name of *Imaus*, euen as *Plinie* calleth these former hils *Taurus*, and *Moses* the hils of *Ararat*. The reason of seuerall names giuen by *Ptolomie*, was, thereby the better to distinguish the great Regions and Kingdomes, which these great mountaines bound and disseuer; as *Armenia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Assyria*, *Media*, *Susiana*, *Persia*, *Parthia*, *Caramania*, *Aria*, *Margiana*, *Bactria*, *Sogdiana*, and *Paropanisus*: haueing

Plinie in his description of Lycia. l. 5. c. 27.

uing all these Kingdomes either on the North or South side of them. For all the mountaines of *Asia* (both the lesse and the greater) haue three generall names, (to wit) *Taurus*, *Imaus*, and *Caucasus*: and they receiue other titles, as they seuer and diuide particular places and regions. For these mountaines which sunder *Cilicia* from the rest of *Asia* the lesse on the North side, are called *Taurus*; and those mountaines which part it from *Comagena* (a Prouince of *Syria*) are called *Amanus*: the mountaines called *Taurus* running East and West, as *Imaus* doth North and South. Though *Taurus* the Riuer of *Euphrates* forceth her passage, leauing the name of *Amanus* to the mountains on her West-banke; and on her East side the mountaines are sometimes knowne by the name 10 of *Taurus*, (as in *Ptolomies* three tables of *Asia*) and sometimes *Niphates*; (as in the fourth) retaining that vncertaine appellation so long as they bound *Armenia* from *Mesopotamia*: and after the Riuer of *Tygris* cutteth them asunder, they then take the name of *Niphates* altogether, vntill they separate *Assyria* and *Media*; but then they call themselues *Coatras*, though betweene the vpper and nether *Media*, they doe not appeare, but altogether discontinue. For at *Mazada* in *Media* they are not found, but runne through the Easterne *Media* by pieces: in the middle of which Region they call themselues *Orontes*, and towards the East part *Coronus*; out of the Southerne part whereof the Riuer of *Bagradus* riseth, which diuideth the ancient *Persia* from *Caramania*: and then continuing their course Eastward by the name of *Coronus*, they giue to the *Parthians* and 20 *Hyrcanians* their proper Countries. This done, they change themselues into the mountaines of *Sariphi*, out of which riseth the Riuer *Margus*, afterward yeelding her selfe to *Oxus* (now *Abia*): and drawing now neere their wayes end, they first make themselues the South border of *Bactria*, and are then honoured with the Title of *Paropanisus*; and lastly of *Caucasia*, euen where the famous Riuer of *Indus*, with his principal companions *Hydaspis* and *Zaradrus*, spring forth and take beginning. And here doe these Mountaines build themselues exceeding high, to equall the strong Hils called *Imaus* of *Scythia*, which encounter each other in 35. 36. and 37. degrees of Latitude, and in 140 of Longitude: of the which the West parts are now called *Delanguer*, and the rest *Nagracot*; and these Mountaines in this place onely are properly called *Caucasi* (saith *Ptolomie*) that is, betweene *Paropanisus* and *Imaus*: and improperly, betweene the two Seas of 30 *Caspium* and *Pontus*. *Ptol. tab. Asiæ.*

†. XIIII.

Of the best Vine naturally growing on the South side of the Mountaines Caucasi and toward the East Indies: and of other excellencies of the soile.

NOw in this part of the World it is, where the Mountaine and Riuer *Ianus*, and the Mountaine *Nyseus* (so called of *Bacchus Niseus* or *Noah*) are found: and on these highest Mountaines of that part of the world did *Goropius Becanus* conceiue that the *Arke* of *Noah* grounded after the Floud: of all his coniectures the most probable, and by best 40 reason approued. In his *Indoscythia* he hath many good Arguments, though mixt with other fantasticall opinions of this subiect. And as the same *Becanus* also noteth; that as in this part of the world are found the best Vines: so it is as true, that in the same Line, & in 34. 35. & 36. degrees of Septentrionall Latitude, are the most delicate Wines of the World, namely, in *Iudæa*, *Candia*, and other parts of *Greece*: and likewise in this Region of *Margiana*: and vnder these Mountaines *Strabo* affirmeth, that the most excellent Vines of the World are found; the clusters of Grapes containing two Cubits of length: & it is the more probable, because this place agreeth in Climate with that part of *Palestina*, where the searchers of the land, by *Moses* directiõ, found bunches of equal bignes at *Escol*. *Numb. 13. 24.*

The fruitfulnesse of this place (to wit) on the South bottome of these Hils, *Curtius* wit-50 nesseth. For in *Margiana* neere the Mountaines of *Meros* did *Alexander* feast himselfe & his Armie ten daies together, finding the most delicate Wine of all other.

†. XV.

The conclusion, with a briefe repeating of diuers chiefe points.

AND therefore to conclude this opinion of *Ararat*, it is true, that those Mountaines doe also trauerse *Armenia*: yea, and *Armenia* it selfe sometime is knowne by the name

L. 5. c. 27. name of *Ararat*. But as *Plinie* giueth to this ledge of high Hils, euen from *Cilica* to *Paroponisus* and *Caucasus*, the name of *Taurus*: and as the Hils of *France* and *Germanie* are called the *Alpes*: and all betweene *France* and *Spaine* the *Pyrenes*: and in *America* the continuation of Hils for 3000. miles together, the *Andes*: so was *Ararat* the generall name which *Moses* gaue them; the diuersitie of appellations no otherwise growing, than by their diuiding and bordering diuers Regions and diuers Countries. For in the like case doe we call the Sea, which entreth by *Gibraltar*, the *Mediterran* and inland Sea; and yet where it washeth the Coasts of *Carthage*, and ouer against it, it is called *Tyrrhenum*: betweene *Italie* and *Greece*, *Ionium*: from *Venice* to *Durazzo*, *Adriaticum*: betweene *Athens* and *Asia*, *Aegeum*: betweene *Sestus* and *Abydus*, *Hellespont*: and afterward *Pontus*, *Propontis*, and *Bosphorus*. And as in these, so is the Ocean to the North-east part of *Scotland* called *Deucaledonycum*: and on this side, the *Brittaine* Sea: to the East, the *Germane* and *Baltick*, and then the *Frozen*.

For a final end of this question we must appeale to that Iudge, which cannot erre, euen to the Word of Truth; which in this place is to be taken and followed according to the plaine sense: seeing it can admit neither distinction, nor other construction than the words beare literally, because they are vsed to the very same plain purpose of a description, and the making of a true and precise difference of places. Surely, where the sense is plaine (and being so vnderstood, it bringeth with it no subsequent inconuenience or contrarietie) we ought to be warie, how we fancie to our selues any new or strange exposition; And (withall) to resolue our selues, that euery word (as aforesaid) hath his weight in Gods Booke. And therefore we must respect and reuerence the testimonies of the Scriptures throughout, in such sort as S. *Augustine* hath taught vs touching the Gospell of CHRIST IESVS (vvhich is) *Nequis aliter accipiat (quod narrantibus Discipulis Christi) in Euangelio legerit, quàm si ipsam manum Dei, quam in proprio corpore gestabat, conspexerit; That no man otherwise take or vnderstand that which he readeth in the Gospel (the Disciples of Christ hauing written it) than if he had seene the very hand of the Lord, which he bare in his owne body, setting it downe.*

Gen. 6. 11. v. 2. The vvordes then of *Moses* vvhich end this dispute, are these: *And as they went from the East, they found a Playne in the land of Shinaar, and there they abode*: vvhich prooueth vvithout controuersie, that *Nimrod*, and all with him, came from the East into *Shinaar*; and therefore the *Arke* of *Noah* rested and tooke land to the East-ward thereof. For vve must remember, that in all places vvheresoeuer *Moses* maketh a difference of Countries, he alwaies precisely nameth toward vvhat quarters of the world the same vvere seated: as vvhere he teacheth the plantation of *Ioctan*, he nameth *Sephar*, a Mount in the East: where he remembreth *Cains* departure from the presence of God, he addeth: *And* CAIN *dwelt in the land of Nod towards the East-side of Eden*: And vvhen he describeth the Tents and Habitations of *Abraham* after hee departed from *Sechem*, hee vseth these vvordes: *Afterwards remooving thence vnto a Mountaine East-ward from Bethel, he pitched his Tents: hauing Bethel on the West-side, and Hai on the East*: and afterward in the ninth Verse of the same Chapter, it is vvritten; *And* ABRAHAM *went forth iourneying towards the South*: also vvhen *Ezechiel* prophecied of *Gog* and *Magog*, he sheweth that these Natious of *Togorma* vvere of the North quarters: and of the Queene of *Saba* it is vvritten, that *she came from the South to visit* SALOMON: And the *Magi (or wisemen) came out of the East to offer presents vnto Christ*. And that all Regions, and these trauailes vvere precisely set downe vpon the points of the Compasse and quarters of the world, it is most manifest: for *Eden* was due East from *Iudæa*, *Saba* South from *Hierusalem*: the vvay from *Bethel* to *Egypt* directly South; and the *Cœlesyrians*, the *Tubalines* and *Magogians* inhabited the Regions directly North from *Palestina*, and so of the rest. But *Armenia* answereth not to this description of *Shinaar* by *Moses*. For to come out of *Armenia*, and to arriue in that Valley of *Babylonia*, is not a iournying from the East, nor so neere vnto the East as the North: for *Armenia* is to the West of the North it selfe; and we must not say of *Moses* (vvhose hands the holy Ghost directed) that he erred *toto cœlo*, and that he knew not East from West. For the body of *Armenia* standeth in fortie three degrees Septentrionall, and the North part thereof in forty fiue; and those *Gordiæan* Mountaines, vvhereon it was supposed that the *Arke* rested, stand in fortie one. But *Babylonia*, and the Valley of *Shinaar* are situated in thirtie fiue; and for the Longitude (vvhich maketh the difference betweene East and West) the *Gordiæan* Mountaines stand in 75. degrees, and the

Gen. 10. 30. Gen. 4. 16. Gen. 12. 8. Ezech. 38. 6. Matth. 12. 42. Matth. 2. v. 1.

the Valley of *Shinaar* in 79. and 80. And therefore *Armenia* lyeth from *Shinaar* North-west, ninetie fiue degrees from the East; and if *Armenia* had beene but North, yet it had differed from the East one whole quarter of the Compasse. But *Gregorie* and *Hierome* warne vs, *In scripturis ne minima differentia omitti debet: nam singuli sermones, syllabæ, apices, & puncta in diuina Scriptura plena sunt sensibus; In the Scriptures the least difference may not be omitted: for euery speech; syllable, note, or accent, and point in diuine Scriptures are replenished with their meanings*. And therefore seeing *Moses* teacheth vs that the children of *Noah* came from the East, we may not beleeue Writers (of little authority) who also speake by heare-say and by report, *vt fertur, & vt dicitur*, as *Berosus* and *Nicolaus Damascenus*, determining herein without any examination of the Text, at all ad-uenture. But this is infallible true, that *Shinaar* lyeth West from the place where the *Arke* of *Noah* rested after the floud; and therefore it first found ground in the East, from whence came the first knowledge of all things. The East parts were first ciuill, which had *Noah* him selfe for an Instructer: and directly East from *Shinaar* in the same degree of 35. are the greatest grapes and the best Wine. The great Armies also which ouer-topped in number those Millions of *Semiramis*, proue, that those parts were first planted. And whereas the other opinion hath neither Scripture nor Reason sufficient: for my selfe I build on his wordes who in plaine termes hath told vs, that the Sonnes of *Noah* came out of the East into *Shinaar*, and there they abode. And therefore did the *Arke* rest on those Easterne Mountaines, called by one generall name *Taurus*; and by *Moses* the Mountaines of *Ararat*, and not on those Mountaines of the North-west, as *Berosus* first fained, whom most part of the Writers haue followed therein. It was, I say, in the plentifull warme East where *Noah* rested, where hee planted the Vine, where hee tilled the ground & liued thereon. *Placuit vero* NOACHO *agriculturæ studium, in qua tractanda ipse omnium peritissimus esse dicitur: ob eamq; rem sua ipsius lingua* ISH-ADAMATH *(hoc est) telluris vir appellatur celebratusq; est; The studie of Husbandrie pleased* NOAH (saith the excellent learned man ARIAS MONTANVS) *in the knowledge & order of which it is said, that* NOAH *excelled all men: and therefore was he called in his owne language a man exercised in the earth*. Which also sheweth, that he was no Wanderer; and that he troubled not himselfe with the contentions, beginning againe in the world, & among men, but stayed in his destined places, and in that part of the world, where hee was first deliuered out of the prison of the *Arke*, whereinto God had committed him, to preserue him and mankind.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the first planting of Nations after the Floud; and of the Sonnes of NOAH, SHEM, HAM, *and* IAPHET, *by whom the earth was repeopled.*

§. I.

Whether SHEM *and* HAM *were elder than* IAPHET.

OF these Sonnes of *Noah*, which was the eldest, there is a question made. Saint *Augustine* esteemed *Shem* for the eldest, *Ham* for the second, and *Iaphet* for the yongest: and herein the opinions of Writers are diuers. But this we finde euery where in the Scriptures; and especially in *Moses*; that there was neuer any respect giuen to the eldest in yeeres, but in vertue; as by the examples of *Henoch*, *Abraham*, *Iacob*, and *Dauid*, is made manifest. In a few wordes, this is the ground of the controuersie; The *Latine* translation, and so the *Geneua*, hath conuerted this Scripture of *Genesis* the 10. v. 21. in these wordes: *Vnto* SHEM *also the Father of all the Sonnes of* HEBER, *and elder brother of* IAPHET, *were children borne*. But *Iunius*, agreeing with the *Septuagint*, placeth the same wordes in this manner: *To* SHEM *also the Father of all the Sons of* HEBER, *and brother of* IAPHET *the eldest sonne, were children borne*: So the transposition of the word *(elder)* made this difference. For if the word *(elder)* had followed after *Iaphet*, as it is in the vulgar translation placed before it, then had it beene as plaine for *Iaphet*, as it is by these translations for *Shem*. Now (the matter being otherwise indifferent) seeing Gods blessings are not tyed to first and last in bloud

Aug. de ciuit. Dei, l. 16. c. 3.

bloud, but to the eldest in pietie, yet the arguments are stronger for *Iaphet* than for *Shem*. And where the Scriptures are plainely vnderstood without any danger or incouenince, it seemeth strange why any man of iudgement should make valuation of coniecturall arguments, or mens opinions. For it appeareth that *Noah* in the fiue hundreth yeere of his life, begate the first of his three Sonnes, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Iaphet*: and in the sixe hundreth yeere (to wit) the hundreth yeere following, came the generall floud; two yeeres after
Gen. 11. 10. which *Shem* begate *Arphaxad*, which was in the yeere 602. of *Noahs* life, and in the yeere of *Shems* life one hundred: so as *Shem* was but 100. yeeres old, two yeeres after the floud: and *Noah* begat his first borne being 500. yeeres old; & therefore, were *Shem* the elder, he had then beene a hundred yeeres old at the floud, and in the sixe hundreth yeere of *Noahs* life, and not two yeeres after. Which seeing the Scriptures before re-
Gen. 9. v. 24. membred hath denyed him, and that it is also written: *Then* NOAH *awoke from his wine, and knew what his yonger sonne had done vnto him (to wit)* HAM; of necessitie the first place doth belong to *Iaphet*. This *yonger sonne*, so conuerted by the vulgar and *Geneua*, *Iunius* turnes it *filius minimus*; *His yongest sonne*; but S. *Chrysostome* takes it otherwise, and findes *Cham* to bee the middle or second brother, and *Iaphet* the yongest sonne of all: which *Cham* for his disobedience and the contempt of his Father (whose nakednesse he derided) was dis-inherited, & lost the preeminencie of his birth, as *Esau* and *Ruben* did.
In Gen. *Pererius* conceiueth that *Ham* was called the yonger in respect of *Shem* the eldest, but auoweth withall, that the *Hebrew* hath not that precise difference of *yonger* and *yongest*, because it wanteth the comparatiue degree. It is true that *Shem* himselfe was alwaies named in the first place, yet whereas in the first Verse of the tenth Chapter of *Genesis*, *Shem* is accounted before *Iaphet*: in the second Verse *Moses* leaueth to begin with the issue by *Shem*, and reciteth the children of *Iaphet* first. So the first place was giuen to *Shem* for his election and benediction, and for this weightie respect, that the *Hebrew* Nation, *Abraham*, the *Prophets*, *Dauid*, and *Christ* our Sauiour were descended of him. And therefore, whether we shall follow the Vulgar *Pagninus*, and the *Geneua*, who agree in this conuersion, SHEM *Frater* IAPHET *maior*; or with the *Septuagint*, *Iunius*, and *Tremelius*, SHEM *fratris* IAPHET *maioris*; or with *Pererius*, SHEM *frater* IAPHET *ille magnus*: inferring that *Shem* was the great and famous brother of *Iaphet*, let the Reader iudge. But for ought that I haue seene to the contrarie, it appeareth to me that *Iaphet* was the eldest. For where *Pererius* qualifieth the strength of the former Argument, That *Shems* age at the time of the floud did not agree with the eldership (with a supposition that the Scriptures tooke no account of smaller numbers) I doe not finde in the Scrip-
Gen. 11. v. 10. tures any such neglect at all: for it is written, that SHEM *was an hundred yeeres old, & begat* ARPHAXAD *two yeeres after the floud*; and againe in the 12. Verse: *So* SHELA *liued after he begat* EBAR, *foure hundred and three yeeres*, *&c.* so as the number of two yeeres, of three yeeres, of fiue yeeres, and afterward of two yeeres, were alwayes precisely accounted.

§. 11.

Of diuers things that in all reason are to be presumed, touching the first planting of the world; as that all Histories must yeeld to MOSES: *that the world was not planted all at once, nor without great direction: and that knowne great Lords of the first ages were of the Issue of* HAM.

BVt let vs go vnto the Worlds plantation after the floud, which being rightly vnderstood, we shall find that many Nations haue supposed or fayned themselues those Ancestors and Fathers, which neuer saw or approached the bounds of their Countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch descended. For it is plaine in the Scriptures how the sonnes and issues of *Noah* were distributed, and what Regions were first planted by them, from whence by degrees the rest of the world was also peopled. And if any prophane Author may receiue allowance herein, the same must bee with this caution, That they take their beginning where the Scriptures end. For so farre as the storie of Nations is therein handled, we must know, that both the truth and antiquitie of the bookes of God finde no companions equall, either in age or authoritie. All record, memorie, and testimonie of antiquitie whatsoeuer, which hath come to the knowledge of men, the same hath

beene borrowed thence, and therefore later than it, as all carefull obseruers of time haue noted: among which thus writeth *Eusebius* in the *Proæme* of his Chronologie: MOSES *is found more ancient than all those whom the Grecians make most ancient*, *as* HOMER, HESIOD, *and the Traian warre*; *and farre before* HERCVLES, MVSÆVS, LINVS, CHIRON, ORPHEVS, CASTOR, POLLVX, ÆSCVLAPIVS, BACCHVS, MERCVRIVS, *and* APOLLO, *and the rest of the gods of the nations, their Ceremonies, or holy Rites, or Prophets: and before all the deeds of* IVPITER, *whom the Greekes haue seated in the top and highest Turret of their Diuinitie.*

For of the three *Iupiters* remembred by *Cicero*, the ancientest was the sonne of *Æther*, Cicero de Nat. Deorum, l. 3.
10 whose three sonnes begotten on *Proserpina*, were borne at *Athens*, of which *Cecrops* was the first King: and in the end of *Cecrops* time did *Moses* bring the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*: *Eduxit* MOSES *populum Dei ex Egypto nouissimo tempore* CECROPIS *Atheniensis Regis*; MOSES *brought the children of Israel out of Egypt, in the last dayes of* CECROPS, *King of the Athenians*, saith S. *Augustine*: and yet was not *Cecrops* the Foun- De Ciuit. Dei
der of the Citie it self, but *Theseus* long after him. But because the truth hereof is diuersly l. 18 c. 11.
prooued, and by many learned Authors, I will not cut a sunder the purpose in hand, by alleaging many authorities in a needlesse question, but leaue it to the proper place.

20 The Sonnes of IAPHET were, { *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, *Iauan*, *Tubal*, *Meshach*, and *Tiras*.
- *Gomer*: The Sonnes of GOMER were, { *Askenaz*, *Riphath*, *Togorma*.
- *Iauan*: The Sonnes of IAVAN were { *Elisha*, *Tarshis*, *Kittim*, and *Dodanim*.

First, we are to consider, that the world after the Floud not planted by imagination, neither had the children of *Noah* wings to flie from *Shinaar*, to the vttermost border of
30 *Europe*, *Africa* and *Asia* in haste, but that these children were directed by a wise Father, who knew those parts of the world before the Floud, to which he disposed his children after it, and sent them not as Discouerers, or at all-aduenture, but assigned & allotted to euery Sonne and their issues, their proper parts. And not to harken to fabulous Authours, who haue no other end than to flatter Princes (as *Virgil* did *Augustus* in the fiction of *Æneas*) or else to glorifie their owne Nations; Let vs build heerein vpon the Scriptures themselues, and after them vpon Reason and Nature. First therefore wee must call to minde and consider, what manner of face the earth euery-where had in the 130. yeere after the great inundation, and by comparing those fruitfullest Vallies, with our own barren and cold ground, informe our selues thereby, what wonderfull Desarts
40 what impassable fastnesse of woods, reeds, bryars, and rotten grasse, what Lakes and standing Pooles, and what Marishes, Fens, and Bogs, all the face of the earth (excepting the Mountaines) was pestered withall. For if in this our Climate (where the dead and destroying Winter depresseth all vegetatiue and growing Nature, for one halfe of the yeere in effect) yet in twenty or thirty yeers, these our grounds would not all ouergrow and be couered (according to the nature therof) either with Woods, or with other offensiue Thickets and Bushments: much more did all sorts of Plants, Reedes, and Trees, prosper in the most fruitfull Vallies, and in the Climate of a long and warme Summer, and hauing withall the start of 130. yeeres, to raise themselues without controlment.

This being considered, it will appeare, that all these people which came into *Shinaar*,
50 and ouer whom *Nimrod* either by order or strength tooke the Dominion, did after the confusion of Languages, and at such time as they grew to be a mighty People, disperse themselues into the Regions adioyning to the said Vallie of *Shinaar*, which contained the best part of *Mesopotamia*, *Babylonia*, and *Chaldæa*; and from the borders thereof in time they were propagated: some of them towards the South, others towards the West and North. And although there were allotted to *Shem* many Regions, both East and West from *Shinaar*, with the Dominion of *Palæstina*, which the *Canaanits* first possest; yet could he not enioy the lot of his inheritance on the suddaine, but by time and degrees. For wee finde, that *Abraham*, the true successour of *Shem*, dwelt in

Chaldea at *Vr*; and from thence (called by God) hee rested at *Charran* in *Mesopotamia*, from whence after the death of *Thare* hee trauailed to *Sichem* in *Palestina*: and yet there had passed betweene *Shem* and *Abraham* (reckoning neither of themselues) seuen Descents, before *Abraham* moued out of *Chaldea*; where, and in *Babylonia*, all those people by *Nimrod* commanded, inhabited for many yeeres, and whence *Nimrod* went out into *Assyria*, and founded *Nineue*. Indeed the great Masters of Nations (as farre as wee can know) were, in that Age of the Issues of *Ham*, the blessing of God giuen by *Noah* to *Shem* and *Iaphet* taking lesse effect, vntill diuers yeeres were consumed, and vntill the time arriued, which by the wisedom of God was appointed. For of *Chu*, *Mizraim*, and *Canaan*, came the People and Princes, which held the great Kingdomes of *Babylonia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*, for many Descents together.

§. III.

Of the Iles of the Gentiles in IAPHETS *portion of* BEROSVS *his too speedie seating* GOMER *the sonne of* IAPHET *in Italie; and another of* IAPHETS *sonnes* TVBAL *in Spaine: and of the Antiquitie of Longinque Nauigation.*

TO beginne therefore (where *Moses* beginneth) with the sonnes of *Iapheth*, among whom the Iles of the *Gentiles* were diuided: which diuision, as well to *Iaphets* sonnes as to the rest which came into *Shinaar*, was (if the diuision were made at *Phalegs* birth) in the yeere of the World 1757. or 1758. and (by that account) in the yeares after the Floud one hundred and one, of which question elsewhere.

The habitations proper to the sonnes of *Iaphet* were the Iles of the *Gentiles*, which include all *Europe* with all the Ilands adioyning; and compassing it about: *Europe* being also taken for an Iland, both in respect that the Sea *Hellespont* and *Ægeum*, *Bosphorus* and *Euxinus* cut is off from the great Continent of *Asia*, as also because *Europe* it selfe is (in effect) surrounded with water, sauing that it is fastned to *Asia* by the North, for it hath those Seas before named to the East, the *Mediterran* to the South and Southwest, the Ocean to the West, and *Brittish*, *Germane*, and *Baltick* Sea, with that of *Glaciale* to the North North-east, and North-west. Besides, it hath about it all the *Cyclades* or Iles lying betweene *Greece* and the lesser *Asia*, and the Iles of *Rhodes*, *Cyprus*, *Creete*, or *Candia*, *Sicilia*, *Corsica*, *Sardinia*, *Malta*, the Iles of *Brittanie* and *Zealand*, with their young ones adiacent.

This partition and portion of *Iapheth*, with the part which hee held in *Asia*, and the North, which was also very great, answereth to that blessing of God by *Noah*, *Dilatet Deus* IAPHETH; *Let God spread abroad* (or increase the Posteritie of) IAPHETH, *and let him dwell in the Tents of* SHEM. For though *Iunius* heere vseth the word (*alliciat*) and not *dilatet*: and the *Geneua persuadeat*; yet the *Septuagint* haue *dilatet* or *amplificet*; and such was the blessing giuen to our Fathers, which God promised to *Abraham* and his Seede for euer. And the dwelling in the Tents or Tabernacles of *Shem* was a blessing by God to the Posteritie of *Iapheth*: noting not onely an enlargement of Territories, but that thereby they should bee made participant of Gods Church. But to come to *Iaphets* sonnes, of whom *Gomer* is the eldest. This *Gomer* (if we may beleeue *Berosus* and *Annius*, whose authoritie the greatest number of all our late Writers haue followed) did in the tenth yeare of *Nimrods* Reigne depart from *Babylonia*, and planted *Italie*: which also *Functius* confirmeth in these words, *Anno decimo* NIMRODI, *&c. In the tenth yeere of* NIMRODS *Reigne*, GOMERVS GALLVS *planted a Colonie in that Land afterward called Italie: and in the twelfth yeere of the same* NIMRODS *Reigne* TVBAL *seated himselfe in Austuria in Spaine (now called Biscay) which was in the* 140. *and in the* 142. *yeeres after the Floud, according to* BEROSVS. But this opinion is very ridiculous. For before the confusion of Tongues the children of *Noah* did not separate themselues, at least so many of them as came with *Nimrod* into *Shinaar*. Let vs therfore consider with reason, what time the building such a Citie and Towre required, where there was no prepared matter, nor any readie meanes to performe such a worke as *Nimrod* had erected (and as *Functius* himselfe out of his Author *Berosus* witnesseth) *ad altitudinem & magnitudinem montium*; *To the heighth and magnitude of the Mountaines.* Sure that both this Citie and Towre was almost builded, the Scriptures witnesse: *But the*

Gen. 9. v. 27.

Functi. chronol.

the Lord came downe to see the Citie and Towre, which the Sonnes of men builded. Let vs then but allot a time sufficient for the making of Bricke to such a Worke, of the greatest heighth (and therefore of circuit and foundation answerable) that euer was. For where the vniuersall Floud couered the highest Mountaines fifteene Cubits; *Let vs build vs a Citie and a Tower* (saith NIMROD) *whose top may reach vnto the Heauen*: meaning, that they would raise their Work aboue fifteene Cubits higher than the highest Mountaine, otherwise they could not assure themselues from the feare of a second inundation: a great part whereof was finished before it fell, and before they left the Worke. They also began this building vpon a ground, the most oppressed with waters of all the world: as by the great ruine which these waters, forcibly ouer-bearing and ouer-flowing, made in the time of the succeeding Emperours, is made manifest, approoued also by the Prophet *Hieremie*, speaking of *Babylon* in these words: *Thou that dwellest vpon many waters.* It cannot be doubted but that there needed a substantiall foundation, for so high a raised building on a marish ground: and to which, *Glycas* vpon *Genesis* giueth fortie yeeres. For it seemeth, that the Tower was neere finished when God ouerthrew it: it being afterward written, *So the Lord scattered them from thence vpon all the Earth, and they left to build the Citie.* Out of which place it may be gathered (because the Towre is not then named) that they very neere had performed the Work of their supposed defence, which was the Tower: and that afterward they went on with the Citie adioyning, wherein they inhabited. It is also to be noted, that till such time as this confusion seized them (wherupon the Towre was throwne down) these Nations did not disperse themselues: for *from thence the Lord scattered them vpon all the Earth*, (that was) when they perceiued not one anothers speech. Now to thinke that this Worke in the newnesse of the Word (wanting all instruments and materials) could be performed in ten yeares; and that *Tubal* and *Gomer* in the same yeere could creepe through 3000. miles of Desart, with Women, Children, and Cattell: let those light Beleeuers, that neyther tye themselues to the Scripture, nor to reason, approue it, for I doe not. And if the *Arke* of *Noah* was 100. yeares in building, or but neere such a time, (and then) when the World had stood 1556. yeares, it were more than foolisnnesse and madnesse it selfe, to thinke that such a Worke as this could be performed in ten; when the World (from the Floud to the arriuall at *Babel*, and beginning of this building there) had but 131. yeares, and whereof they had spent some part in trauailing from the East. Againe, if all *Asia* set to their helping hands in the building of the Temple of *Diana*, and yet they consumed in that Work 400 yeares (or be it but halfe that time) and in such an Age as when the World flourished in all sorts of Artificers, and with abundant plentie of materials & carriages: This Worke of the Tower of *Babel* could hardly (with all the former wants supposed) be erected in those few yeers remembred. And for conclusion, let all men of iudgement weigh with themselues how impossible it was for a nation or Family of men, with their Wiues, and Children, and Cattell, to trauaile 3000. miles through Woods, Bogs, and Desarts, without any Guide or Conductor; and we shall find it rather a Worke of 100. yeers than of 100. dayes. For in the West *Indies*, of which the *Spaniards* haue the experience, in those places where they found neither Path nor Guide, they haue not entred the Countrey ten miles in ten yeeres. And if *Nimrods* people spent many yeeres by the account before remembred in passing from the East *India* or the higher part thereof, which standeth in 115. Degrees of Longitude, vntill they came into *Shinaar* which lyeth in 79. Degrees (the distance betweene those places contayning 36. Degrees, which makes 720. Leagues, which is 2160. miles) & did all the way keep the Mountaines and hard ground, then the difference betweene *Babylon* and *Biscay* is much more: for the bodie of *Biscay* lyeth in ten Degrees, and *Babylon* or *Shinaar*, (as aforesaid) in 79. so the length of way from *Shinaar* to *Austuria* or *Biscay* is 69. Degrees, which make 1380. Leagues, or of miles 4140. And therefore if *Nimrod* tooke diuers yeeres to find *Shinaar*, which was but 2160. miles: or (supposing that the *Arke* rested in *Armenia*) little aboue 400. miles: there is no cause to the contrary, but to allow as many yeeres to *Gomer* & *Tubal* to trauaile 3000. miles, to Countries lesse known vnto them by far, than the Land of *Shinaar* was to *Nimrod*. For *Paradise* was knowne to *Noah* before the Floud: and so was the Region of *Eden* by *Moses* afterward remembred; but what hee vnderstood of most part of the World else it is vnknowne. And therefore did *Annius* ill aduise himself to plant *Gomer* in *Italie*, and *Tubal* in *Spaine*, in the tenth & twelfth of *Nimrods*

Gen. c. 11.

Gen. 11.

Plin.

Isa.66.v.8. *rgas* Reigne: *Shall the Earth be brought forth in one day, or shall a Nation be borne at once?* But it may be obiected, That the Sonnes of *Iapheth* might come by Sea, and so saue this great trauaile through Desarts by Land. But we neuer reade of any Nauigation in those dayes, nor long after. Surely he that knoweth what it is to imbarke so great a people as we may iustly suppose those Conductors carryed with them, will not easily beleeue that there were any Vessels in those dayes to transport Armies, and (withall) their Cattell, by whose Milke they liued and fed their Children: For Milke and Fruit were the banquetting Dishes of our Fore-Fathers. And in the eldest times, euen the Kings and Fathers of Nations valued themselues by the Heards and numbers of their Cattell: who had Flockes of Sheepe, and great Droues and Heards of their own, and their own Sheep-heards and Heardsmen. Now if *Tubal* had past by Sea from any part of *Palestina*, *Syria*, or *Cilicia*, he might haue made good choice within the Streights, and not haue ouer gone *Granado*, *Valentia*, and other Prouinces in that Tract: past the Streights of *Gibralter*, disdayned all *Andalusia* and *Portugal*, with all those goodly Ports and Countries; and haue sought out the yron, woody, and barren Countrey of the World (called *Biscay*) by a long and dangerous Nauigation. But before the iourney of the *Argonautæ*, there were scarce any Vessels that durst crosse the Seas in that part of the world: and yet that which *Iason* had (if the Tale be true) was but a Galley, & a poore one (God knowes) and perchance such as they vse this day in *Ireland*: which although it carryed but foure and fiftie Passengers, yet it was farre greater than any of the former times: *Erat enim antea paruarum nauicularum vsus: For in formes times they vsed very smal Vessels.* I deny not but that the *Tyrians* gaue themselues of old to farre-off Nauigations, whence *Tibullus* ascribed the inuention of Ships vnto them:

Diod.Sicul.l.4. c.4.fol.115.

Tibull.Eleg.7. Strabo.l.16.

Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros.

Tyrus knew first how Ships might vse the Wind.

Diod.Sicul.l.1. Plin.l.7.c.56.

And for those Boates called *longæ naues* or Gallies, *Pliny* saith that *Ægesias* ascribeth the deuice to *Paralus*: and *Philostephanus* to *Iason*: *Ctesias* to *Samyras*; and *Saphanus* to *Semiramis*: *Archimachus* to *Ægeon*: to which inuention the *Erythræi* are said to haue added certaine numbers of Oares: and then *Aminocles* the *Corinthian* to haue increased them: the *Carthaginians* afterwards to haue brought them to foure Bankes: the *Quinq; Remi* first to haue beene vse by *Nesichthon* the *Salaminian*, with which Vessels in those parts of the World, the *Romans* serued themselues in the *Punicke* Warre. But these bee perhaps but the partialities of Writers, or their ignorance. For there are that as constantly cast the deuising of these Gallies on *Sesostris*, though *Semiramis* vsed them in the passage of her Armie ouer *Indus* in *Abrahams* time. So it is said, that *Danaus* was the first that brought a Ship into *Greece*: and yet the *Samothracians* challenge the inuention; and yet *Tertulian* (on the contrarie) giues it to *Minerua*: others to *Neptune*; *Thucydides* to the *Corinthians*. And so ignorant were the people of those Ages, as the *Egyptians* vsed to coast the Shores of the Red Sea vpon rasses, deuised by King *Erythrus*: and in the time of the *Romans*, the *Brittans* had a kind of Boat (with which they crost the Seas) made of small twigs, and couered ouer with Leather: of which kind I haue seene at the *Dingle* in *Ireland*, and elsewhere. *Naues excorio circumsutæ in Oceano Britannico* (saith *Textor*:) of which *Lucan* the Poet:

Thucyd.

Plin.l.7.c.56. Euseb.de præp. Euang.c.1. Tert.de Coron. mil.

Primùm cana salix, madefacto vimine, paruam
Texitur in puppim, cæsoq; induta iuuenco,
Vectoris patiens tumidum superenatat amnem.
Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusoq; Britannus
Nauigat Oceano.

The moystned Osyer of the hoarie Willow
Is wouen first into a little Boat:
Then cloth'd in Bullockes Hide, vpon the billow
Of a proud Riuer, lightly doth it float
Vnder the Waterman:
So on the Lakes of ouer-swelling *Poe*
Sailes the *Venetian*: and the *Brittaine* so
On th' out-spred Ocean.

And

And although it cannot be denyed, when *Noah* by Gods inspiration was instructed in so many particulars concerning the *Arke*, that then many things concerning Nauigation were first reuealed; yet it appeares that there was much difference between the *Arke* of *Noah*, and such Ships as were for any long Nauigation. Yea, ancient Stories shew, that it was long after these times, ere any durst presume vpon any long Voyages to Sea, at least with multitudes of Women, and Children, and Cattell: as also common reason can tell vs, that euen now when this Art is come to her perfection, such Voyages are very troublesome and dangerous. So as it doth appeare, that there was not in that Age of *Nimrod* any Ship, or vse of Ships fit for any long Nauigation. For if *Gomer* & *Tubal* had passed themselues and their people by Sea; the exercise of Nauigation would not haue beene dead for so many hundred yeares after. Leauing therefore the fabulous to their Fables, and all men else to their fancies; who haue cast Nations into Countries far off, I know not how, I will follow herein the Relation of *Moses* and the Prophets: to which Truth there is ioyned both Nature, Reason, Policie, and Necessitie: and to the rest, neither probabilitie, nor possibilitie.

§.IIII.

Of GOG *and* MAGOG, TVBAL, *and* MESHECH, *seated first about Asia the lesse; out of* EZECHIEL, CAP.38.39.

NOw although many Learned and Reuerend men haue formed (I know not whereby led) a Plantation of the World, which also hath been and is receiued; yet I hope I may be excused, if I differ altogether from them in many particulars. Certainly, that great Learned man of this latter Age, *Arias Mountanus* was also in some things much mistaken: and for *Iosephus*, as hee hath many good things, and is a Guide to many errours withall, so was hee in this Plantation of the World very grosse and fabulous; whereby both *Eusebius*, *Hierosolymitanus*, *Epiphanius*, and others, that haue taken his testimonies for currant, haue beene by him farre misse-led. But the better to conceiue what Regions of the World *Gomer* the first sonne of *Iaphet* possest, as also *Tubal*, it is needefull to begin with *Magog*: because the Scriptures take most knowledge of *Gog* and *Magog*: which two names haue troubled many Commentators, saith *Matth. Beroaldus*, who hath laboured herein with great diligence, and whom (of all that euer I read) I find most iudicious in the examination of this Plantation. Hee takes authoritie from the Prophet *Ezechiel* chiefly, who in the 38. and 39. Chapters directeth vs, what Nations the *Gomerians*, *Tubalines*, and *Togormians* were, together with the *Magogians*: of which *Gog* was Prince or Chiefe Conductor in their Attempts against *Israel*. For besides the portions of *Europe*, and the North-east parts of the greater *Asia*, which *Iapheths* Issues possest, all *Asia* the lesse was peopled by them. And that those of the Issue of *Iapheth* (whom *Ezechiel* speakes of) were seated hereabout, it may best appeare, if we consider the circumstances of the place, and the dependencie vpon the former Prophesie in the 37. Chapter. For in that 37. Chapter, *Ezechiel* prophesieth of the vniting of the two Kingdomes of *Israel* and *Iuda*, after their deliuerie from captiuitie. c.37.v.19.

By which Prophesie of *Ezechiel*, it appeareth, that God purposed to gather together his people, to giue life to dead bones, and to rule them by one Prince. For to that purpose it is written; *And* DAVID *my Seruant shall bee King ouer them, and they shall haue one Sheepheard*, (that is) they shall be vnited as they were in *Danids* time. Hereupon in the 38. Chapter *Ezechiel* prophesieth against those Nations, which should seeke to impeach this Vnion, and disturbe the people of *Israel*, whom God purposed to receiue to grace, and promised to restore. And so in the same Chapter are those Nations coupled together, which infested the *Israelites* after their returne, and sought to subiect them: all which were the Subiects or Allies of *Gog*, Prince of the *Magogians*, or *Cælesyrians*, next bordering *Palestina*, or the holy Land, followed also by the rest of the Nations of *Asia* the lesse, which lay North from *Iudæa*. The words of *Ezechiel* are these: *Sonne of man, set thy face against* GOG, *and against the Land of* MAGOG, *the chiefe Princes of* MESECH (or MOSOCH) *and* TVBAL: and afterward; *Behold, I come against the chiefe Prince of* MESECH *and* TVBAL: and in the sixth verse; GOMER *and all his Bands, and the House of* TOGORMA *of the North quarters.* Herein *Ezechiel* hauing first deliuered c.38.v.2.

the

the purpose of his Prophecie, teacheth what Nations they were, that should in vanitie assayle *Israel*. He ioyneth them together vnder their Prince *Gog*, and sheweth that their habitations were on the North quarters of *Iuda*, and how seated and ioyned together. *Gog* signifieth in the *Hebrew* (saith Saint *Hierome*) *tectum* or *couering of a house*: and *Pintus* vpon *Ezechiel* affirmeth that by *Gog* is meant *Antichrist*: for (saith hee) *Antichristus erit Diaboli tegumentum sub specie humana: That Antichrist shall be the couering of the*
18 Ezek. *Deuill vnder humane forme*. He addeth, that *Magog* is as much to say as *Gog*: the Letter (*M*) being an *Hebrew* Preposition, and importeth as much as *of* or *from*: so hee taketh *Magog* for those people which follow *Antichrist*. So farre *Pintus*; at least in this not amisse, that he expoundeth *Magog* not for any one person, but for a Nation; with which agreeth this obseruation of *Beroaldus*. *Magog* (saith he) in *Hebrew* is written *Ham-Magog*, which sheweth *Magog* to be a Region or Nation: for the Letter (*He*) which is vsed but for an *Emphasis* (which the *Hebrewes* call *Heliaiedia*) is neuer added to proper names of men, but often to place. So as *Gog* was Prince of that Nation (called either *Magog*, or, according to others, the people of *Gog*) also Prince of *Meshech*, (or *Mosech*) and of *Tubal*: as by the first Verse of the 29. Chapter is made manifest: *Behold I come against thee* GOG *the chiefe Prince of* MESHECH *and* TVBAL. This must needes bee meant by the Successours of *Seleucus Nicanor*, who did not (as other conquering Nations) seeke to make the *Iewes* their Tributaries only, but endeuoured by all meanes, and by all kind of violence to extinguish the Religion it selfe (which the *Hebrewes* profest) and the acknowledging of one true God: and to force them to worship and serue the mortall and rotten gods of the Heathen; of which nothing remayned but the very name, and dead
L. 2. de Fide. Images. Saint *Ambrose* and *Isidore* take *Gog* for the Nation of the *Goths*: belike because they inuaded *Europe*, and sacked *Rome*, and many other places and Cities thereabout. *Hermolaus Barbarus* out of *Pomp. Mela* deriues the *Turkes* from the *Scythians*, esteemed *Magogians* of *Gog*. Many take *Gog* for the proper name of a Man: others of a Region: others for a Nation inhabiting a Region, as *Iunius*, who sayes that *Gog* is the name of a Nation, denominated from him whom the *Greekes* Stories call *Gyges*: who in former time hauing slaine *Candaules* the *Lydian*, gaue his owne name to that Nation, thence after called *Gygades*: and thereof also the *Gygean* Lake; which Lake *Strabo* also
Strab. l. 13. findeth in *Lydia*, (of which *Gyges* was King) fortie Furlongs from *Sardis*. *Plinie* calleth it *Gygeum stagnum*. *Herodotus* and *Nicander* set it about the Riuers of *Hyllus*, and *Mæander*; but the difference is not great. *Marius Niger* maketh mention of this *Gyges* King of *Lydia*: who after hee had subdued the Countrey about the Riuer *Rhodius* which runneth into the *Hellespont*, called the Promontorie *Trapese* after his owne name
Suid. col. 207. *Gyges*. These Opinions doe also seeme to strengthen that of *Iunius*. For *Magog*, saith
Iun. in Ezech. 38. hee, is that part of *Asia* the lesse, which *Halyattes* obtained, and after him his Sonne *Croesus*; who (as *Iunius* further notes) hauing mastred all those Regions as farre South as *Libanus*, in that Border built the Citie *Gigarta* or *Gogkarta* (which in the *Syrian* signifieth the Citie of *Gog*) seated in *Cœlesyria*, whose people were the ancient Enemies of the *Iewes*.

Now that *Magog* is found in *Cœlesyria*, *Plinie* affirmeth, saying; *Cœlesyria habet Bambycen quæ alio nomine Hierapolis vocatur, Syris verò Magog. Cœlesyria hath in it Bambyce, which by another name is called Hierapolis, but of the Syrians Magog*. Hee further telleth vs that the monstrous Idoll *Atergatis*, called by the *Greekes Derceto*, was here worshipped. *Lucian* makes mention hereof, saying that the Citie had anciently another name, which yet hee expresseth not; forbearing perhaps the word *Magog*, as sounding nothing ele-
Strab. l. 16. gantly in the *Greeke*. But if we may beleeue *Strabo*, then was *Edessa* in *Mesopotamia* the same *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*, where the same Idoll was worshipped. *Ortelius* is doubtfull whether one of these Authors did not mistake the place of this *Bambyce* or *Hierapolis*. It may well enough bee that the same name and Religion was common to them both. Certaine it is, that both of them lay due North from *Palastina*, and were both subiect vnto the Kings of the Race of *Seleucus*. Now I doe not condemne the Opinion of *Hermolaus Barbarus* following *Iosephus*, but grant, that perhaps *Magog* might also bee the Father of the *Scythians*; notwithstanding that in this place, where *Gog* is made the Prince of *Magog*, the Nations of *Cœlesyria* and the North parts adioyning bee meant by *Magog*: for by a latter Plantation from these parts they might bee propagated into *Scythia*. Yet it is not to be denyed, that the *Scythians* in

in old times comming out of the North-east wasted the better part of *Asia* the lesse, and possest *Cœlesyria*, where they built both *Scythopolis* and *Hierapolis*, which the *Syrians* call *Mogog*. And that to this *Magog Ezechiel* had reference, it is very plaine: for this Citie *Hierapolis* or *Magog* standeth due North from *Iudea*, according to the words of *Ezechiel*, that from the North quarters those Nations should come. For as the Kings of the South which infested the *Israelites* were the *Ptolomies*, Kings of *Egypt*: so those of the North were the Kings of *Asia* and *Syria*, the Successours of *Seleucus*, the Successour of *Alexander Macedon*. *Gulielmus Tyrius* thinkes that this *Hierapolis* is that *Rages*, menti-
Lib. 4. cap. de bello Sacro. oned in the Storie of *Tobias*. *Plinie* takes it not onely to haue beene called *Bambyce*, as
30 we haue said, but also *Edessa*: not that by *Euphrates*; but another of the same name, now the known name is *Alleppo*: for so *Bellonius* expounds this *Hierapolis*, or *Magog*. This Citie had the Title of Sacred, as the Sacred Citie, (for so the word *Hierapolis* signifieth) yet was it a place of most detested Idolatry, and wherein was worshipped the Idoll of the Mermayde *Atergatis*, or *Atirgitis*, according to *Plinie*, which the *Greekes* call *Derceto*.

If then we conferre the words of *Ezechiel* in the third verse of the thirtie eight Chapter, wherein he ioyneth together *Gog*, *Mesech*, and *Tubal*: and withall remember that *Hierapolis* was the Citie of *Magog*, which also is seated directly North from *Iudea*: with whom also *Ezechiel* coupleth *Gomer*, and all his bands of the North quarters; wee may (as I conceiue) safely conclude, that these Followers and Vassals of *Gog* (which were
20 Northerne Nations in respect of *Iudea*) were not the *Gomerians* of *France*, nor the *Tubalines* of *Spaine*, but a people of the lesser *Asia*, and *Cœlesyria*: and therefore that the opinions of *Berosus*, *Iosephus*, and whosoeuer else hath followed them therein are to be reiected. But if *Iosephus* referre himselfe to later times, and thinke that some *Colonie* of the *Tubalines* might from *Iberia* and *Asia* passe into *Spaine* (to wit) from that piece of Land betweene *Colchis* (or *Mengrelia*) and *Albania*, (most part possest by the *Georgians*) then is his iudgement of better allowance. For without any repugnancie of opinions, it may be granted, that in processe of time these people might from their first habitation, passe into the Countries neere the *Euxine* Sea, and from thence in after-Ages into *Spaine*.

Iosephus makes mention of the *Iberi*, saying, that they were anciently called *Thobelos*,
30 as of *Tubal*, from whence (saith *Iustine*) *they passed into Spaine to search out the Mines of that Region*: hauing belike vnderstood that it was a Southerly Countrie and Mountainous. For it seemeth that the *Tubalines* called *Chalybes* liued altogether by the exchange of Iron, and other Metals, as *Apollonius* witnesseth in these following Verses, telling how the *Argonautes* did visit them:

Hæc gens tellurem rigido non vertit aratro,
Sed ferri venas scindit sub montibus altis:
Mercibus hæc mutat, quæ vitæ alimenta ministrant:

40 The *Calybes* plough not their barren foyle
But vndermine high Hils for Iron Veines:
Changing the purchase of their endlesse toyle
For Marchandize, which their poore liues sustaines.

But it is more probable, that *Spaine* was first peopled by the *Africans*, who had euer since an affection to returne thither, & to repeople it anew. This appeared by the *Carthaginians* of old, who were easily drawne to passe ouer the Streights into that Countrey; and after by the *Moores* who held *Granado*, and the South parts eight hundred yeeres, till the time of *Ferdinand* and *Isabel*. And either of these opinions are more probable,
50 than that in the twelfth yeere of *Nimrods* Reigne, *Tubal* past into *Spaine*, and therein built Saint *Vual*: a poore Towne, and a poore deuice, God knowes. Certaine it is that we must finde *Mosoch* or *Mesech*, and *Tubal* Neighbours, and *Gomer* and *Togarma* not farre off, or else we shall wrong *Ezechiel*: for he called *Gog* the Leader or Prince of *Mesech* and *Tubal*, and maketh *Gomer* and *Togarma* their Assistants. And that *Mesech* inhabited *Asia*, *Functius* (though he followed *Berosus*) confesseth, for these bee his words: MESACVS, *qui à* MOSE MESECH, *priscos Mesios ab Aaula monte vsq; ad Ponticam regionem posuit: hac regio posteà Cappadocia dicta est, in qua vrbs Mazica, &c. hac est terra* MAGOG *principalis*; MESACVS, *whom* MOSES *calleth* MESECH, *placed the ancient*

Mesians

Mesians from the Mount Adulas, vnto the Coast of Pontus. This Region was afterward called Cappadocia, in which is the Towne Mazica, &c. this is the principall Country of MAGOG. And this doth *Annius* also auow, and yet forgets that *Geg* was Prince both of *Mesech* and *Tubal*; and therefore, that the one was a Nation of *Spaniards*, the other of *Cappadocians*, is very ridiculous; *Spaine* lying directly West, and not North from *Iudæa*. Also *Ezechiel* in the 27. Chapter, where he prophecieth of the destruction of *Tyre*, nameth *Mesech* and *Tubal* ioyntly. And for a finall proofe, that these Nations were a Northren Neighbour Land (how farre soeuer stretched) *Ezechiel* in the 38. Chapter makes them all Horsemen. *Thou, and much people with thee, all shall ride vpon Horses, euen a great multitude and a mightie.* Then if any man beleeue that these troupes came out of *Spaine* ouer *the Pyrenes*, and first passed ouer a part of *France*, *Italie*, *Hungarie*, and *Sarmatia*, and imbarqued againe about the *Hellespont*, or else compassed all *Pontus*, and *Euxinus*, to come into the lesser *Asia*, which is halfe the length or compasse of the then knowne World; he may be called a strong beleeuer, but he shall neuer be iustified thereby. But on the contrarie it is knowne, that *Seleucis* was a Prouince neighbouring *Palestina* or *Iudæa*, and that *Hierapolis* (or *Magog*) ioyned vnto it: whose Princes commanded all *Syria*, and *Asia* the lesse, (namely the *Selencida*) and held it, till *Scipio*, *Asiaticus* ouerthrew *Antiochus* the Great: after which they yet posseft *Syria* till the time of *Tigranes*: and whether *Meshech* be in *Cappadocia*, or vnder *Iberia*, yet is it of the *Tubalines*, and one and the same Dominion.

Of *Gomer* the like may be said. First, he seated himselfe with *Togorma*, not farre from *Magog* and *Tubal*, in the borders of *Syria* and *Cilicia*. Afterward hee proceeded further into *Asia* the lesse; and in long tract of time his valiant Issue filled all *Germanie*, rested long in *France* and *Brittanie*, and possessed the vtmost borders of the earth, accomplishing (as *Melanchon* well notes) the signification of their parents name, which is *Vtmost bordering*. But when these borderers wanted further place, wherein they might exonerate their swelling multitudes that were bounded in by the great *Ocean*, then did they returne vpon the Nations occupying the Countries, through which they had formerly passed, oppressing first their Neighbours, afterwards the people more remote. Hereupon it was (as the worthy restorer of our Antiquities, *M. William Cambden* hath noted) that they were called *Cimbri*, which in their old Language doth signifie Robbers; necessitie inforcing them to spoyle their Neighbours, to whom in their originall they were as neere ioyned, as afterwards in the feates which they possessed. For that the Warlike nations of *Germany* were in elder Ages accustomed to be beaten by the *Gaules*, the authoritie of *Cæsar* affirming it is proofe sufficient. But in times following they pursued richer Conquests, and more easie though further distant, by which (to omit their other enterprizes not here to be spoken of) they were drawne at length into *Asia* the lesse, and occupyed those parts, which had formerly beene held by their Progenitours. I say not that they claymed those Lands as theirs by Descent; for likely it is, that they knew little of their owne Pedigree. Neyther can any man therefore deny, that they were of olde seated in *Asia*, because in late Ages they returned thither; vnlesse hee will thinke, that all those Nations which from farre parts haue inuaded and conquered the Land of *Shinaar*, may by that Argument bee proued not to haue issued from thence at the first.

Now concerning *Samothes*, for his excellent wisedome sirnamed *Dis*, whom *Annius* makes the Brother of *Gomer* and *Tubal* (which Brother *Moses* neuer heard of, who spake his knowledge of *Iaphets* sonnes) they must find him in some olde Poet: for *Functius*, a great *Berosian*, confesseth: *Quis hic* SAMOTHES *fuerit incertum est*; *who this* SAMOTHES *was, it is vncertaine*; neither is there any proofe that he was that same *Dis*, whom *Cæsar* saith the *Gaules* suppose to bee their Ancester; yea, and *Vignier* confesseth with FVNCTIVS: *Mais on ne scayt qui il estoit*; *No man knowes who he was.*

In Chron.

Cæsar. Comment.

Vigni. pars 1. Chron.

§. V.

Against the fabulous BEROSVS *his fiction, That the Italian* IANVS *was* NOAH.

BVt before I goe on with *Noah* his Sonnes, I thinke it necessarie to disproue the fiction which *Annius* hath of *Noah* himselfe: an inuention (indeed) very ridiculous, though warranted (as hee hath wrested) by those Authours of whom him-

himselfe hath Commented: as the Fragment of *Berosus*, *Fabius*, *Pictor*, *Cato*, *Lauinius* and others. For *Annius* seekes to perswade vs, that *Noah* (surnamed *Ianus*) was the same which founded *Genoa*, with other Cities in *Italie*, wherein he liued 92. yeeres. This to disproue, by *Moses* silence, is a sufficient argument to me, if there were nothing else to disproue it. For if he vouchsafed to remember the building of *Babel*, *Erec*, *Achad*, *Chalne* and *Nineue* by *Nimrod*, *Noah* was a man of too great marke to be forgotten, with all the acts he did in 92. yeares. But it were a needlesse labour for me to disproue the authoritie of that *Berosus*, on whom *Annius* groundeth, seeing so many learned men haue so demonstratiuely proued that Fragment to be counterfeit. Besides that, *Tatianus* the *Assyrian* in his Oration against the *Greekes*, auoweth, that the ancient and true *Berosus* wrote onely three Bookes, dedicated to *Antiochus* the successor of *Seleucus Nicanor*: but *Annius* hath deuised fiue Bookes, wherewith he honoureth *Berosus*. And whereas *Berosus* handled onely the estate of the *Chaldæans* and *Assyrians*, *Annius* hath filled this Fragment with the businesse of all the World. And if wee may beleeue *Eusebius* better than *Annius*, then all the Kings of the *Latines* (before *Æneas*) consumed but 150. yeers: wheras no man hath doubted, but that from *Noah* to *Æneas* arriual into *Italy* there past 1126. (after the least rate of the *Hebrew* account) and (after *Codoman*) 1291. For *Ianus* (who was the first of their Kings) liued at once with *Ruth*, who marryed *Booz*, in the Worlds yeare (as some reckon) 2717. after the Floud 1064. and *Noah* dyed 350. yeares after the Floud: and so there past betweene *Ianus* of *Italie* and *Noah* surnamed *Ianus* 704. yeers. For *Saturnus* succeeded *Ianus*, *Picus* after *Saturnus*, *Fannus* after *Picus*, and *Latinus* followed *Fannus*: which *Latinus* liued at once with *Tautanes* the 27. King of *Assyria*; with *Pelasgus* of *Peloponnesus*; with *Demophoon* of *Athens*; and *Sampson* Iudge of *Israel*. Now all these fiue Kings of the *Latines* hauing consumed but one hundred and fiftie yeares; and the last of them in the time of *Sampson*: then reckoning vpwards for one hundred and fiftie yeares, and it reacheth *Ruth*, with whom *Ianus* liued.

Ann. de Hetrus.

Pict. de aur. saeculo.

Cato de origin.

Lanin. illust. de Gall.

Ioseph. l. 1.

True it is, that the *Greekes* had their *Ianus*; but this was not *Noah*: so had they *Ion* the sonne of *Xuthus*, the sonne of *Deucalion*, from whom they draw the *Iones*, who were indeed the children of *Iauan*, the fourth sonne of *Iapheth*. For the vulgar Translation (where the *Hebrew* word is *Iauan*) writes *Greece*, and the *Septuagint*, *Hellas*; which is the same. So had they *Medus* the son of *Madea*, whom they make the Parent of the *Medes*, though they were descended of a far more ancient Father (to wit) *Madai* the third sonne of *Iapheth*.

Ezech. 27. 19. 13 & so the place of Esay 66. 19. (for Iauan) Hellada: and (for the plurall Iuamin) Hellena.

Lastly, we see by a true experience, that the *Brittish* Language hath remayned among vs aboue 2000. yeares, and the *English* speech euer since the inuasion of the *Angles*, and the same continuance haue all Nations obserued among themselues, though with some corruption and alteration. Therefore, it is strange if either *Noah* (by them called *Ianus*) had left in *Italie* his grand-child *Gomer*, after him, or *Tubal* in *Spaine*, that no plaine resemblance of the *Hebrew*, *Syrian*, or *Scythian* (which no time could haue quite extinguished) should haue beene found in the Languages of those Countries. For which reasons we doubt not but these personall Plantations of *Ianus*, *Gomer*, *Tubal*, *&c.* in *Italie*, *Spaine*, or *France*, are meerely fabulous. Let the *Italians* therefore content themselues with the *Græcian Ianus*, which commanded them and planted them, and who preceded the fall of *Troy* but 150. yeeres (saith *Eusebius*) which was in the time of *Latinus*, the fift King: which also Saint *Augustine* and *Iustine* confirme: and this agreeth with reason, time, and possibilitie. And if this be not sufficient to disproue this vanitie, I may out of themselues adde thus much: That whereas some of them make *Vesta* (others *Camasena*) the wife of this *Ianus*, who instituted the holy Fire of the *Vestal Virgins* in *Rome* (the *Latines* and *Romans* taking from *Ianus* all their Idolatrous and Heathenish Ceremonies) there is no man so impious, as to beleeue that *Noah* himselfe (who is said by *Moses* to *haue walked with God*, to be a iust man, and whom God of all Mankind made choice of) could be either ignorant of the true and only God, or so wicked and vngratefull, to set vp or deuise any Heathen, Saluage, or Idolatrous adoration, or haue instituted any Ceremonie, contrarie to that which he knew best pleasing to God himselfe.

§. VI.

§. VI.

That GOMER *also and his sonne* TOGORMA *of the Posteritie of* IAPHETH, *were first seated about Asia the lesse: and that from thence they spread Westward into Europe, and Northward into Sarmatia.*

TO turne now to the sons of *Noah*, and the Worlds Plantation after the Floud: therein I obserue, that as both reason and necessitie taught them; so, when they multiplyed in great numbers, and dispersed themselues into the next Countries bordering to their first habitations, and from thence sent forth *Colonies* elsewhere, it was in such a manner as that they might repayre to each other, and keepe intelligence by Riuer: because the Land was yet Desart, and ouer-prest with Woods, Reeds, Bogs, & rotten Marishes. As when *Nimrod* seated in *Babylonia*, *Chus* took the South part of *Chaldæa*, down the riuer of *Gehon*, by which he might passe to & fro from *Babylon* to his own Plantation: those also, which were of the Race of *Shem*, inhabiting at *Vr* or *Orchoa* neere the Lakes of *Chaldæa*, might by the same riuer get vp to *Babylon*, and receiue succour from thence. All which Tract of Land vpon *Gehon* Southward, *Moses* in the description of *Paradise* calleth the Land of *Chush*: because the Dominion and Empire was then in the hands of *Nimrod* a *Chusite*, by whom the children of *Shem* (which came into that Valley and stayed not in the East) were for a while oppreſt, till God afterward by the seed of *Abraham* made them his owne Nation and victorious. *Hauilah*, the brother of *Nimrod*, and sonne of *Cush*, tooke both bankes of *Tygris*, especially on the East side of the Riuer: by which Riuer his people might also passe to and fro to *Babel*.

The Imperiall seate of which Region of *Hauilah* or *Susian*, was anciently called *Chusian* or *Chusan*, afterward *Susa*. *Cush* himself tooke the Bankes of *Gehon*, and planted those Countries Westward, and Southwest-ward towards *Arabia* the Stony, and the Desart, where *Ptolomie* placeth the Citie of *Chusidia*, first *Chusia*. *Ptol. Asiæ, tab. 4.*

Seba, and *Sheba*, with the rest that planted *Arabia fœlix*, had *Tygris* to conuey them into the *Persian gulfe*, which washeth the bankes of *Arabia fœlix* on the East side: so as those sons of *Cush* might take Land downe the Riuer as they pleased. Also the Citie of *Nineue* was by *Nimrod* founded on the said Riuer of *Tygris*; and from thence a *Colonie* past to *Charran*, standing also vpon a nauigable branch of *Euphrates*. In like manner did *Iapheths* sonnes settle themselues together, and tooke their seates in *Asia* the lesse: from whence they might indifferently stretch themselues Northward, and Westward, into the next parts of *Europe*, called the Isles of the *Gentiles*. And it seemeth very agreeable to reason, that both *Gomer*, *Magog*, and *Tubal*, sate downe first of all in that part of *Syria*, to the North of *Palestina* and *Phœnicia*: and from thence *Gomer* or his children past on into *Asia* the lesse, as those of *Magog* and *Tubal* did; from whence the *Tubalines* spred themselues into *Iberia*: and the *Magogians* more Northerly into *Sarmatian*. The first *Gomerians*, and first Planters in *Asia* the lesse, held the Country of the *Cymmerians* (witnesse *Herodotus*) the same Region which was afterward by the *Gallo-Greeks* called *Galatia*, to whom Saint *Paul* wrote his Epistle so intituled. This Nation of the *Cymmerians* (whom the inuincible *Scythians* afterwards dispersed, and forced from their first Plantations) gaue names to diuers places, as to the Mountaines about *Albania* (called *Cymmerini*) and to the Citie of *Cymmeris* in *Phrygia*: also *Bosphorus Cymmerius* tooke appellation from this Nation, in the out-let whereof was also a Citie of that name, called *Cymmerian*: which *Plinie* saith (mistaking the place) had somtime the name of *Cerberion*; but *Cerberion* was a Towne in *Campania*, so called of the vnhealthfull waters, sauouring of Brimstone, which *Augustus* caused to be cleansed by letting in the water of the Lake *Lucrinus*. *Lib. 4.*

The children of *Tubal* ranged as farre as *Iberia*, to whom the *Moschici* were Neighbours, which others write *Meshech*. The Prophet *Ezechiel* (coupling them together) calleth *Gog* the Prince of *Meschech* and *Tubal*. For these *Meschi* (which *Ptolomie* calleth *Moschi*) inhabit *Syracena* a Prouince of *Armenia*, directly South from the Mountaines *Moschici*, in the Valley betweene the Mountaines *Moschici*, and the Mountaines *Paryaraes*: out of whose North part springeth the Riuer *Phasis*; from the East part *Araxis*; and from the West *Euphrates*: and of this *Meschech* are descended also the *Moscouians* (saith *Melanchton*) and it may bee, that in processe of time some of them inhabited those Regions also: For *Meshech* (saith *Melanchton*) signifieth *extendens*, *enlarging* or *stretching*

forth.

forth. Togorma also at first did inhabite amongst his parents and kinred. The *Togormians* were also called *Giblei*, a people neighbouring the *Sydonians* in *Gabala*, a *Tetrarchie* of *Phœnicia*; the same which *Pliny* calleth *Gaben*: from whence *Salomon* had his most excellent Masons, which hewed stones for the Temple of *Hierusalem*. Thence the *Togormians* stretched into the lesse *Armenia*, whose Kings were hence called *Tigranes*, and their Cities *Tigranokartæ*: of which Cities *Tigranes*, subdued by *Lucullus* the *Roman*, built one. *Hierosolymitanus* hath planted the *Togormians* in *Barbary*; forgetting the prophesie of *Ezekiel* against the *Tyrians*. *They of the house of Togorma, brought to thy Faires horses, and horse-men, and mules*; which could not well bee driuen ouer the whole length of the Mediterran Sea, but from the neighbour Countries by land. But *Iosephus* takes them for the parents of the *Phrygians*; which I doe not deny, but they might be in the ensuing ages: and so might the *Tubalines* be of the *Spaniards*; but it was from *Iberia*, and many hundred yeares after the twelfth of *Nimrods* reigne. The *Iewes* conceiue that the *Turkes* came of those *Togormians*, because their Emperor is called *Togor*. The *Chaldæans* make them the Fathers of the *Germanes*. But *Laonicus* affirmes, that the *Turkes* descended of the *Crim Tartar*, which borders *Muscouia*. But for these subderiuations it were infinit to examine them. Only of the first and second plantation, and of the first Nations after the floud, is the matter which I labour to discouer; and therein to open the ignorance of some, and the corruption of other fabulous Writers. And this we must *Note*, that those grand-children of *Noah* which were of a more quiet, or (perchance) of lesse vnderstanding, & had not therefore the leading of *Colonies* sent out, their proper habitations could bee hardly knowne: onely reason hath taught vs, that they dwelt among the rest, and were couered with the fame of others, who tooke on them the Conduction and Dominion ouer the rest. *1. Kin. 5. 18.* *Iun. in Gen. 10. vers. 3.* *Iudg. 17. 14.* *Note.*

From *Madai* the third sonne of *Iapheth*, were the *Medes*. The *Grecians* bring them (as before) from *Medus* the sonne of *Medea*.

§. VII.

Of Iauan *the fourth son of* Iapheth: *and of* Mesch, *of* Aram, *and* Meshech *of* Iapheth.

OF *Iauan* the fourth sonne of *Iapheth* came the *Iones*, which were afterwards called the *Greekes*: and so the *Latine* and *Greek* Interpreters for *Iauan* write *Greece*, as in *Esay*: *Et mittam ex ijs qui saluati fuerint ad gentes, in mare, in Italiam, & Græciam*: *And I will send those that escape of them to Nations in the Sea, in Italy and in Greece*. The *Geneua* here vseth the word (*Tarshish*) for *Tarsus*, a City in *Cilicia*, though *Tarsis* in many places be taken for the Sea. The *Tigurine* and the *Geneua* vse the names *Tubal* and *Iauan*, and not *Italy* and *Greece*: keeping the same *Hebrew* words. Of the *Iones* were the *Athenians*, though themselues dreame that they were *Aborigines*, or men without Ancesters, and growing (as it were) out of the soile it selfe: who abounding in people, sent Colonies into *Asia* the lesse, of whom came the *Iones* of those parts. Others deriue the *Athenians* from *Ion* the sonne of *Xuthus*, the son of *Deucalion*; but the antiquity of *Iauan* marres the fashion of that supposition, who so many years preceded *Xuthus*, *Ion*, or *Deucalion*. *Pausanias* tels vs that *Xuthus* stole out of *Thessaly* with all his Fathers treasure, and his Brothers portions, and arriuing at *Athens*, hee was graciously receiued by *Erictheus*, who gaue him his Daughter in marriage; of whom he receiued two sonnes, *Ion* and *Achæus*, the supposed Ancesters of the *Athenians*: (For *Attica* was called *Ionia*, saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Theseus*;) who, when he had ioined *Megara* to *Attica*, erected a pillar in that *Isthmos* or *Strait*, which fastneth *Peloponnesus* to the other part of *Greece*: writing on that part which looketh towards the East, these words: *Hæc non sunt Peloponnesus, ast Ionia*; *These Countries are not of Peloponnesus, but of Ionia*: and on the other side which looked towards the South, and into *Peloponnesus*, this: *These parts are Peloponnesus, and not Ionia.* *Thucyd.*

Strabo out of *Hecataus* affirmeth, that the *Iones* came out of *Asia* into *Greece*; which is contrary to the former opinion: That the *Iones* of *Greece* transporting certain companies into *Asia* the lesse, the name of *Iones* was thereby therein retained. And though *Strabo* knew no more thereof than hee learned of the *Greeks* themselues, yet I finde this coniecture of *Hecataus* reasonable enough. For though it were to him vnknowne, yet sure I am that *Asia* the lesse had people before *Greece* had any: and that *Iauan* did not flie from

Babylonia into *Greece*, but tooke *Asia* the lesse in his passage; and from thence past ouer the neerest way, leauing his owne name to some maritimate Prouince on that side, as hee did to that part of *Greece* so called. But yet *Strabo* himselfe beleeued, that *Ionia* tooke the name from *Ion* the son of *Xanthus*: for so much he had learned from themselues; which was also the opinion of *Pausanias*. True it is, that the *Greekes* in after-times cast themselues into that part of *Asia* the lesse, opposite vnto them, which they held for diuers years. And howsoeuer the *Greeks* vaunt themselues to be Fathers of Nations, & the most ancient; yet all approued Historians (not their owne) deride and disproue their pride, and vanity therein. For this dispute of Antiquity (among prophane Writers) rested betweene the *Scythians* and the *Egyptians*, as *Iustine* out of *Trogus*, in the warre betweene *Vexoris* of *Egypt*, and *Tanais* of *Scythia*, witnesseth: which preceded farre the reigne of *Ninus*, and was long before the name of *Greece* was euer heard of. And it is also manifest, that in *Cecrops* time the *Greekes* were all saluages, without law or religion, liuing like brute beasts in all respects: and *Cecrops* (saith Saint *Augustine*) liued together with *Moses*. *Lib.18.de ciu. Dei,c.10.*

The sixth sonne of *Iapheth* was *Meshech*, whom the *Septuagint* call *Mosech*: (a part of those Nations commanded by *Gog* the chiefe Prince of *Meshech* and *Tubal*.) But this we must remember, that betweene *Mesech* the sonne of *Aram*, and *Meshech* (or *Mosech*) the sonne of *Iapheth*, there is little difference in name, and both by diuers Interpreters diuersly vvritten. *Montanus* with the Vulgar vvriteth *Mesch*, the sonne of *Aram*, *Mes*; the *Geneua*, *Mash*; *Iunius*, *Mesch*. But it may be gathered out of the 120. *Psalme*, that eyther *Meshech* the sonne of *Iapheth*, was the parent of those people, or gaue name to that Prouince wherein *Dauid* hid himselfe: or else (vvhich may rather seem) that it tooke name from *Mesch* the sonne of *Aram*. For *Dauid* bewayling his exile (while he liued among a barbarous and irreligious People) vseth these words: *Woe is me that I remaine in Mesech, and dwell in the Tents of Kedar*: vvhich *Iunius* conuerteth thus: *Hei mihi quia peregrinor tam diu: habito tanquam Scenitæ Kedareni*: The *Septuagint* giues it this sense: *Woe is me because my habitation* (or abode) *is prolonged, who dwell with the Inhabitants of Kedar*: vvith vvhich this of the *Latine* agreeth; *Heu mihi, quia incolatus meus prolongatus est, habitaui cum habitantibus Kedar*: The *Chaldæan* otherwise, and in these vvords: *O me miserum, quia peregrinatus sum Asianis, habitaui cum tabernaculis Arabum*; *O wretch, that I am, for I haue trauailed among those of Asia: I haue dwelt in the Tabernacles of the Arabians*. But howsoeuer or which soeuer conuersion be taken for the best, yet all make mention of *Kedar*: which is a Prouince of *Arabia Petræa*; and the *Chaldæan* putteth *Asia* in stead of *Mesech*, but the *Hebrew* it self hath *Mesech*. And if it be to be taken for a Nation, (as it is most likely, because it answers to *Kedar*, the name of a Nation) seeing *Mesh* the sonne of *Aram*, 1.*Chron*.17. is called *Meshec*, it is indifferent whether this Nation tooke name from *Meshech* or *Mesh*, both bordering *Iudæa*, and like enough to be commanded by one Prince; for so *Ezechiel* makes *Mesech* and *Tubal*. But as for those that take *Mesech* out of the word *Mosoch* (giuen by the *Septuagint*) to be the *Muscouian*: sure they presume much vpon the affinity of names, as aforesaid. And sure I am that *Dauid* neuer trauelled so farre North; (for to him *Muscouia* was vtterly vnknown) but about the border of *Kedar* (it may be) he was often in all the time of his persecution: the same being a City on the Mountains of *Sanir* or *Galaad*. And yet *Arias Montanus* makes *Mosoch* the Father of the *Muscouians*: and herein also *Melanchton* runnes with the tide of common opinion, and sets *Mesech* in *Muscouia*, though with some better aduice of iudgement; as, first seated in *Cappadocia*, and from thence trauelling Northward: expounding the places of the 120. *Psalme*, (*Hei mihi quòd exulo in Mesech*) to signifie, *Gentis eius feritatem insignem esse*; *That the ferity of that Nation exceeded*: which fiercenesse or brutality of the *Muscouians*, *Dauid* neuer proued, or (perchance) neuer heard of. But the same ferity or cruelty which those Northerne *Muscouians* had, may aswell bee ascribed to the *Arabians* and *Kedarens*. For this Country tooke name of *Kedar* the second sonne of *Ismael*, of whom a people of equall fiercenes to any of the world were begotten, both in those times and long after, euen to this day (if the *Arabians*, *Ismaelites*, and *Saracens*, may bee accounted one people:) the same being foreshewed by the speech of the Angell to *Hagar*, *Gen*.16.*v*.12. *And he shall be a wilde man: his hand shall be against euery man, and euery mans hand against him*. Now *Arabia* the *Desart* (saith *Pliny*) confronteth the *Arabians Cochlei* on the East, and the *Cedrei* Southward, both which ioyne together vpon the *Nabathei*. So it appeareth (as before *Psal.120.v.5.* *Gen.25.13.*

before) that *Mesech*, *Tubal*, *Gomer*, *Togorma*, and *Magog*, neighboured *Canaan* and *Israel*, and that *Kedar* also did ioyne to *Mesech*: all which vvere Regions of *Syria*, or of *Asia* the lesse, commanded by the Successors of *Seleucus*, enemies of the re-establishment of *Israel* and *Iuda*. But (as I haue already said) it might well bee, that long after the first plantation the issue of *Mesech* (or *Mosoch*) might passe into *Cappadocia*, and thence into *Hyrcania*, and giue names, both to *Mazega* in the one, and to the Mountaines *Moschici* in the other, and from thence might send people more Northerly into *Muscouia*, & so all opinions saued. But all saluage Nations ouer-growne and vncultiuated, doe (for the most part) shew a late plantation, euen as Ciuility, Letters, and magnificent Building, witnesse antiquity.

10 *Tiras*, the seuenth sonne of *Iapheth*, vvhich *Montanus* reckons among the sonnes of *Gomer*, was the Father of the *Thracians*, as all Authors (worthy the examination) affirme. *Iosephus* vvas the first that determined hereof: and because the Scriptures are altogether silent, what part of the world *Tiras* peopled, the coniectures are indifferent, and giue no ground at all of dispute. It followeth now to speake of the sonnes of *Gomer*, vvhich vvere three, *Mont.in chr.*

Ascanez, *Riphath*, and *Togorma*.

§.VIII.

20 *Of* Ascanez *and* Riphath, *the two elder Sonnes of* Gomer.

ASCANEZ vvas the Father of those which the *Greeks* call *Regini*, (saith *Iosephus*) but he giues no reason vvhy.

Eusebius makes *Ascanez* the Father of the *Goths*. The *Iewes* in their *Thargum* make him the roote of the *Germane Nation*, but their expositions are commonly very idle. *Pliny* findeth *Ascania* in *Phrygia*, neere the Riuers of *Hilas* and *Cios*: *Melanchton* being of the same opinion, that the *Tuiscones* vvere descended of the *Ascanez*: (for *Tuiscones*, saith he, is as much to say, as of the *Ascanez*, *præposito articulo die Ascanez*) and that the word signifieth a Religious Keeper of fire: it being an ancient superstition to pray at 30 the fire of Sacrifices, as afterwards at the Tombes of Martyrs. Not farre from *Phrygia* was the lake *Ascania*, knowne by that name in the *Romanes* time. And among the Kings which came to the succour of *Troy*, was *Ascanius* (*Deo similis*, saith *Homer*) *like vnto God*; because he was beautifull and strong: for in the same manner doth *Virgil* grace *Aeneas*, *Os humerosq; Deo similis*; *in face and body like one of the Gods*: *Virgil* also remembreth such a Riuer, together with the Hils *Gargara*: as, *Illas ducit amor trans Gargara, transq; sonantem* Ascanium; *Appetite leads them both ouer the Mountains Gargara, and the roaring* Ascanius. But this *Pliny* maketh more plaine in the description of *Phrygia*. For he placeth the City of *Brillion* vpon the Riuer *Ascanius*, which is adioyning to *Mysia*, and is neere the border of the *Troian Empire*: and the Lake *Ascanez* he directs vs to finde by the description 40 of *Prusia*, founded by *Hannibal* at the foot of *Olympus*, which lieth far within the Countries of *Bithynia*: and then from *Prusia* to *Nicea* are accounted 25. miles, in which vway this Lake lyeth, euen betweene *Prusia* and *Nicea*. And so *Iunius* (as I conceiue him) takes them of *Ascanez*, to be the Inhabitants of *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*, and those North parts of *Asia*. *Stephanus de Vrbibus* makes it a City of *Troas*, built by *Ascanius* the son of *Æneas*: saying, that there vvas another of that name in *Mysia*. Of *Ascania* a Lake of *Bithynia*, *Ptolomy* vvitnesseth: and *Strabo* giueth *Ascania* both a Lake, a Riuer, and a Towne in *Mysia*, neere vnto *Cio*; which also agreeth vvith *Pliny*. For *Pliny* findeth *Prusia* (before spoken of) neere *Cio*, and calleth the Islands before *Troy* *Ascanes*. *Melanch.in cap. lib.1.* *Hom.Iliad.2.* *Virg.Georg.l.3.*

Now, vvhether these places tooke name of *Ascanez* the son of *Gomer*, or of *Ascanius* 50 the sonne of *Æneas*, it might be questioned: sure it is, that *Ascanius* which brought succour to the *Troians*, could not take his name from *Æneas* son, who vvas then either exceeding young, or rather vnborne: and it seemeth that the Countries vvhence those succours came, vvere not out of any part of *Phrygia* or *Mysia*, but farther off, and from the North parts of all *Asia* the lesse, vvhich by *Hieremy* is called *Ascanez*, by the figure *Synecdoche*, as *Iunius* thinketh. Out of those testimonies therefore which deceiue not, we may confidently determine. For of the Prophet *Hieremy* vvee shall learne of vvhat Nation the *Ascanez* vvere, vvhose words are these: *Set vp a Standard in the Land, blow the Trumpet among the Nations against her, call vp the Kings of Ararat, Minni, and Ascanez* *c.51.v.27.*

against

against her, &c. meaning against the *Babylonians. Ararat* was *Armenia* the greater, as most Interpreters consent, so called of the Mountaines of *Ararat* vvhich runne through it: *Minni* the lesser *Armenia: Armenia* being compounded of *Aram* and *Minni.* For *Minni* vvas the ancient name: (saith *Ianius* and others before him,) and *Aram* anciently taken for *Syria,* vvhich contained all that Tract from *Euphrates* to the Sea-coasts of *Phanicia,* and *Palæstina*; and therefore *Mesopotamia* being in elder times but a Prouince of *Syria,* the Scriptures difference it in the story of *Iacob* and *Esau,* and call it *Aram-padan.* Then if these two Nations were of the *Armenians* and *Ascanez* ioined with them (who altogether vnited vnder *Cyrus* and *Darius,* came to the spoyle of the *Babylonian Empire*) we shal erre much to call *Askenaz Germany* or *Almaine:* for we heare of no swart *Ruttiers* at that siege. But the *Askenaz* were of those Nations which were either subiect or allied to the *Medes:* of which if any of them came afterward into *Phrygia,* I know not: for the dispersion of Nations was in aftertimes without account. But for the opinion of *Eusebius,* who makes them to be *Goths*; or that of *Iosephus,* who cals them *Rhegini*; or of the *Iewes,* who will haue them to be *Almaines*; when they confirme it either by Scriptures or Reason, I will thinke as they doe.

Of *Riphath* the second sonne of *Gomer* there is mention in the first of *Chronicles. Beroaldus* and *Pererius* thinke that he wandered farre off from the rest of his Brothers, and therefore no memory of his plantation. But I see nothing to the contrary, but that hee might seate himselfe with the rest of his Family: for there wanted no roome or soyle in those dayes for all the sonnes and Grand-children of *Noah.* Therfore I take it to be well vnderstood, that the *Riphei* were of *Riphath,* vvhich the *Greeks* afterwards (according to *Iosephus*) called the *Paphlagones*: and *Riphei* (saith *Melanchton*) signifieth Gyants. These people vvere very famous in the North parts, and in *Sarmatia*: the most of number and power among them, *Sarmatarum gens maxima Heneti, The greatest number of the Sarmatians were the Heneti*; who spake the ancient *Polac*: which being first called *Riphei* (for the loue of some of their Leaders or Kings) changed their names and became *Heneti,* (a custome exceeding common in those times) and dwelt first in *Paphlagonia,* as *Homer* witnesseth, and so doth *Apollonius* in his *Argonauticks*: Now, when these *Riphei* (afterward *Heneti*) sought new Regions, they came along the shores of *Euxinus,* and filled the North-part of *Europe,* containing *Russia, Lituania,* and *Polonia.* From thence they croſt thwart the Land, and peopled *Illyria,* desirous (saith *Melanchton*) of a warmer soile of Fruit and Wine. These *Heneti* or *Veneti,* whom *Melanchton* taketh to be one people, filled all that Land betweene the *Baltick* and *Adriaticke* Sea; and to this day the name of the Gulfe *Venedicus* is found in *Russia.* This Nation, after they were posseſt of *Lituania* and *Polonia,* disturbed the plantation of the *Boij* and *Hermondurij.* Therfore, it seemeth to me, that of *Riphath,* came the *Riphei* afterward *Heneti*; and so thinketh *Arias Montanus,* first seated in *Paphlagonia,* but in course of time Lords of *Sarmatia,* and those other parts before remembred, chiefly betweene the Riuers of *Vistula* and *Albis.* The name (saith *Melanchton*) signifieth Wandering or Wanderers, or *Nomades:* a people which liued by Whitemeats and fruits, as (indeed) all Nations did in the first Ages.

Melanch. in Carion.

Of the third sonne of *Gomer, Togorma,* I haue spoken already; now therefore of *Iauans* children, vvhich vvere foure:

Elisa, Tharsis, Cethim, Dodanim.

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§. IX.

Of foure sonnes of Iauan: *and of the double signification of Tharsis, either for a proper name, or for the Sea.*

OF *Elisa* or *Elipha,* came the *Æoles*: and of this *Elisa,* all the *Greekes* vvere called *Hellenes,* saith *Montanus. Melanchton* makes *Elisa* the Father of the *Æoles* in *Asia* side: others of *Elis* in *Peloponnesus*; or of both. And seeing the *Greekes* were descended in generall of *Iauan,* it is probable that the *Æoles* & the *Elei,* tooke name of *Elisa,* his eldest Sonne. *Ezechiel* in the 27. speaking of *Tyre,* nameth the Isles of *Elisa. Hyacynthus & purpura de insulis Elisæ facta sunt operimentum tuum: Blue Silke and Purple, brought from the Isles of Elisa, was thy couering*: The *Chaldæans* for *Elisa* write *Italia*: but the *Vulgar,* the *Tigurine,* the *Geneua,* and *Iunius,* keepe the vword *Elisa*: and so I thinke they might doe vvith reason. For there was not found any such Purple Dye in *Italia* in

V. 7.

in those dayes, nor since, that I can read of: but those Isles of *Elisa,* were by a better coniecture the Isles of *Greece*; and the best Purple was found afterward at *Tyre* it selfe: & before that, among the *Cyclades,* and on the coast of *Getulia.*

Tharsis, the second Sonne of *Iauan,* inhabited *Cilicia,* of which *Tharsis* is the *Metropolis. Montanus* for *Tharsis* in *Cilicia,* vnderstands *Carthage* in *Africa*; but (reseruing the respect due to so learned a man) he vvas much mistaken in that coniecture. The *Chaldæan Paraphrast* puts *Carthage* for *Tharsis,* but it hath no authority nor warrant of reason therein. So likewise, where it is vvritten, that the Ships of *Salomon* went euery three yeares to *Tharsis,* and brought thence Gold, Siluer, Elephants teeth, &c. the *Chaldæan Paraphrast* translates *Tharsis (Africa.)* But *Salomons* Ships vvere prepared in the Red Sea at *Esion-Gaber,* in the Bay of *Elana,* neere vnto *Madian,* vvhere *Iethro (Moses* Father in Law) inhabited; a Prouince of *Arabia Petræa, Idumæa,* or of the *Chusites*; and they sayled to the higher part of the East *India.* For it had beene a strange Nauigation to haue spent three yeares in the passage betweene *Iudæa* and *Carthage,* or any other part of *Africa,* vvhich might haue beene sayled in sixe or ten daies. And if so great riches might haue bin found within the bounds of the *Mediterran* Sea, all the other neighbouring Princes would soon haue entertained that Trade also. But this enterprize of *Salomon* is in this sort written of in the first of *Kings: Also King* Salomon *made a Nauie of Ships in Esion-Gaber, which is beside Elath and the brinke of the Red Sea in the Land of Edom: and* Hyram *sent with the Nauie his seruants, that were Mariners, and had knowledge of the Sea, with the seruants of* Salomon: *and they came to Ophir, and fet from thence 420. Talents of Gold, &c.* But as the Nations about *Pontus* thought no Sea in the vvorld like vnto their owne, and doubted whether there were any other Sea but that onely: (whereof it came, that *Pontus* was a word vsed for the Sea in generall) so, because the *Israelites* and the *Phœnicians* knew no other Sea than that of the *Mediterran* in the beginning; and that the people of *Tharsis* had the greatest Shippes, and were the first Nauigators in those parts vvith such Vessels, they vvere therfore called men of the Sea: and the word *Tharsis* vsed often for the Sea. And vvhereas it is said that the Shippes of *Salomon* vvent euery three yeares to *Tharsis,* that phrase is not strange at all; for vve vse it ordinarily wheresoeuer vve nauigate, (namely) that the Kings Ships are gone to the Sea, or that they are set out euery yeare, or euery three yeare to the Sea, and therefore *Tharsis* was not therein named, either for *Carthage, Africa,* or *India,* but vsed for the Sea it selfe. But in this place *Tharsis* is truely taken for *Tharsis,* the chiefe City in *cilicia,* founded by *Tharsis,* the second sonne of *Iauan,* or by his Successors in memory of their first parent. To this City arriued *Alex. Macedon,* before he gaue the first ouerthrow to *Darius,* and casting himselfe into the Riuer to bathe and vvash his body, hee fell into an extreame Feuer, and great danger of death: and in this City of *Tharsis* was S. *Paul* borne. Now this agreeth with the reason and nature of a Plantation. For (*Gomer* and his other sonnes inhabiting *Asia* the lesse, and that part of *Syria* adioyning) *Iauan,* who vvas to passe ouer the Sea into *Greece,* tooke the edge of the same Coast, and first planted the *Iones* on that shore: gaue the Islands betweene *Asia* the lesse and *Greece,* to *Elisa,* and left *Tharsis* vpon the Sea-side in *Cilicia*; of vvhom that City tooke name.

The third sonne of *Iauan* vvas *Cethim,* of whom were the *Romanes* and *Italians,* saith *Beroaldus,* but I allow better of *Melanchtons* opinion, vvho makes *Cethim* the Father of the *Macedonians. Cethim* is a voice plurall (saith he) and signifieth *percussores,* though in that respect it may be meant by either. But it seemeth more probable, that the place of *Esay* 23. (according to *Melanchton*) had relation to *Alexander* and the *Macedonians: Hæc calamitas ab* Esai *prædicta est, qui capite vicesimo tertio inquit, venturos esse euersores Tyri ex terra Cittim; This calamity* (saith Melanchton) *was foreshewed by* Esai *the Prophet, who in the three and twentieth Chapter pronounced, that the Destroyers of Tyre were come out of Cittim.* And although the children of *Israel* esteemed all men Islanders, vvhich came to them by Sea, and separate from that Continent; (and so also *Cittim* might be taken for *Italy,* saith *Beroaldus*) yet wee must take the first performance of the former Prophesie, which tooke effect by the destruction of the *Tyrians* by *Alexander,* who after 7. Moneths siege, entred that proud City, and cut in pieces seuen thousand principall Citizens; strangled two thousand, & changed the freedome of 13. thousand others into bondage and slauery. Now, that *Macedon* vvas taken for *Cethim,* it doth appeare plainely in the first of the *Macchabees*, in these vvords: *After that* Alexander *the Macedonian, the*

the sonne of Philip, *went forth of the Land of Cethim, and slew* Darius *King of the Persians, and Medes. Iosephus* sets *Cethim* in the Isle of *Cyprus*, in which (saith hee) there remaineth the Citie *Citium*, the Countrey of *Zeno* the Philosopher (witnesse *Laertius*;) which City *Pintus* vpon *Ezechiel* affirmeth, that it stood in Saint *Hieromes* time. So it may bee that all the Islands in ancient times by the Hebrewes vvere called the Islands of *Cethim*: and in that sense might *Cyprus* be so called also; & yet because *Tharsis* was the very next Port to *Cyprus*, and directly ouer against it, it is also very probable, that *Cethim* dwelt by his brother *Tharsis*: and finding that Island too streight for his people after they were increased, & that the rest of the Coasts, both on *Asia* side and *Greece*, were inhabited by his Father and Brothers, he sent *Colonies* ouer the *Ægæan* Sea, and inhabited *Macedonia*.

Dodanim the fourth sonne of *Iauan*, and the yongueſt Brother (by the most opinions) sate downe at *Rhodes*, as neere *Cethim*, *Tharsis*, and *Elisa*, as hee could. For *Dodanim* and *Rhodanim* are vsed indifferently by many Translators: the *Hebrew (D)* and the *Hebrew (R)* are so like, as the one may easily be taken for the other, as all *Hebricians* affirm. There is also found in *Epirus* the City of *Dodona*, in the Prouince of *Molossia*. And as *Cethim*, vvhen he wanted soyle in *Cyprus*: so *Dodanim* (seated in a far lesse Island) did of necessity send his people farther off; and keeping alongst the Coast, and finding *Peloponnesus* in the possession of *Elisa*, he passed a little further on the Westward, and planted in *Epirus*. And though the City of *Dodona*, was not then built, or (perchance) not so ancient as *Dodanim* himselfe, yet his Posterity might giue it that name in the memory of their first parent, as it hapned all the World ouer. For names were giuen to Cities, Mountaines, Riuers, and Prouinces, after the names of *Noahs* children and grand-children; not in all places by themselues, but by their successors many yeares after: euery of their Families being desirous to retain among them by those memories, out of what branch themselues vvere taken, and grafted elsewhere. And because great Kingdomes were often by new Conquerers newly named, and the greatest Cities often fired and demolished, therefore those that hoped better to perpetuate their memories, gaue their own names, or the names of their Ancestors, to Mountaines and Riuers, as to things (after their iudgements) freest from any alteration.

Thus then did *Iauan* settle himselfe and his children, in the edge and frontier of *Asia* the lesse, towards the Sea-shore: and afterward in *Greece*, and the Islands and neighbour Prouinces thereof, as *Iapheth* their Father had done in the body of the lesser *Asia*, together with *Iauans* brethren, *Gomer*, *Magog*, *Madai*, *Tubal*, *Mesech*, and the rest round about him. And in like sort did *Chush* (the sonne of *Cham*) people *Babylonia*, *Chaldæa*, and the borders thereof towards the West and South-west: and the sonnes of *Chush* (all but *Nimrod*, who held *Babylonia* it selfe) trauelled Southward in *Arabia fœlix*, and Southwestward into *Arabia petræa*: the rest of his children holding the Regions adioyning to *Nimrod*. *Mizraim* the brother of *Chush* in like manner tooke the vvay of *Egypt*: and his brother *Canaan* the Region of *Palæstina* adioyning. The sonnes of *Canaan* had their portions in *Canaan*, of whom all those Nations came, which were afterward the Enemies both to the *Hebrews*, and to those of the sons of *Shem*, which spread themselues towards the West, and the borders of the *Mediterran* Sea: of which I shall speake hereafter. But first of the sons of *Cham* or *Ham*, which were foure:

Chush, *Mizraim*, *Phut*, and *Canaan*.

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§. X.

That the seat of Chush *the eldest son of* Ham, *was in Arabia, not in Æthiopia: and of strange Fables, and ill Translations of Scripture, grounded on the mistaking of this point.*

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†. I.

Of Iosephus *his Tale of an Æthiopesse wife of* Moses, *grounded on the mistaking of the seat of* Chush.

THat *Ham* was the Father of the *Egyptians*, it is made manifest in many Scriptures, as in the 105. *Psalme*, *verse* 51. *Then* Israel *came to Egypt*, *and* Iacob *was a stranger in the land of* Ham: and in the 78. Psalme, *Hee slew all the first-borne in Egypt, euen the beginning of their strength, in the Tabernacles of* Ham. There is also

also found a great City in *Thebaida*, called *Cheramis*: (as it vvere the City of *Ham*) of which name *Herodotus* also discouers an Iland in the same Region. But because *Chush* is the elder sonne of *Ham*, it agreeth vvith order to speake first of him. Now though I haue already in the description of *Paradise* handled this question, and (I hope) proued that *Chush* could not be *Æthiopia*: yet seeing it commeth now to his turne to speake for himselfe, I will adde some farther proofe to the former. For, the manifestation hereof sets many things straight, which had otherwise very crooked constructions, and senselesse interpretations. Surely, howsoeuer the *Septuagint* and *Iosephus* haue herein failed, that *Chush* could not be *Æthiopia*, but *Arabia*: (to wit) both that *Arabia* called *Petræa*, and a part of *Arabia* the Happy and the Desart: which Regions *Chush* and the *Chusites* presently planted, after they left *Babylonia* to *Nimrod*, wherein they first sate down altogether. And there is nothing which so well cleereth this Controuersie, as the true interpretation of the place, *Num.* 12. *v.* 1. where *Moses* his Wife is called a *Chusite*; together with some places which speake of *Nabuchodonosors* Conquests. For vvhereas *Iosephus* and the *Septuagint* in the place, *Num.* 12. *v.* 1. as also elsewhere, vnderstand *Chush* for *Æthiopia*, we must giue credit to *Moses* himselfe herein; and then it vvill appeare that *Iosephus* was grosly mistaken, or vainely led by his owne inuention. For *Iosephus* presuming that *Chush* was *Æthiopia*, and therefore that the Wife of *Moses* (which in Scripture, *Num.* 12. *ver.* 1. is called a woman of *Chush*) was a woman of the land of *Æthiopia*, faineth that *Tharbis* the Daughter of the King of *Aethiopia*, fell in loue with the person and fame of *Moses*, while he besieged *Saba* her Fathers City; and to the end, to obtaine *Moses* for her Husband, she practised to betray both her Parents, Country, and Friends, vvith the City it selfe, and to deliuer it into *Moses* hands. The Tale (if it bee vvorth the reciting) lyeth thus in *Iosephus*. After he hath described the strength of the *Aethiopian* City *Meroe*, which he saith at length *Cambyses* called so from the name of his Sister, (the old name being *Saba*) he goeth on in these words: *Hic cum* Moses *desidere exercitum otiosum ægrè ferret, hoste non audente manus conserere, tale quiddam accidit. Erat Æthiopum Regi filia nomine* Tharbis, *&c.* vvhich tale hath this sense in English: *When* Moses *was grieued that his Army lay idle, because the Enemy besieged, durst not sally and come to handy strokes, there happened this accident in the meane while. The Aethiopian King had a Daughter called* Tharbis, *who at some assaults giuen, beheld the person of* Moses, *and withall admired his valour. And knowing that* Moses *had not only vp-held and restored the falling estate of the Egyptians, but had also brought the conquering Aethiopians to the very brinke of subuersion: these things working in her thoughts, together with her owne affection, which daily increased, shee made meanes to send vnto him by one of her trustiest seruants, to offer her selfe vnto him, and become his Wife; which* Moses *on this condition entertained, that shee should first deliuer the City into his possession, whereunto she condescending, and* Moses *hauing taken oath to performe this contract, both the one and the other were instantly performed.*

Herod. in Euterpe.

Antiq. l. 2. c. 5.

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†. II.

A dispute against the tale of Iosephus.

THis Tale (whereof *Moses* hath not a word) hath *Iosephus* fashioned, and therein also vtterly mistaken himselfe, in naming a City of *Arabia* for a City of *Aethiopia*: as he names *Aethiopia* it selfe to haue beene the Country of *Moses* his Wife, vvhen (indeede) it was *Arabia*. For *Saba* is not in *Aethiopia*, but in *Arabia*; as both *Strabo* and all other Geographers, ancient and moderne, teach vs, saying, that the *Sabæans* are *Arabians* and not *Aethiopians*; except *Iosephus* can perswade vs, that the Queene of *Saba* which came from the South to heare the wisedome of *Salomon*, were a *Negro*, or *Blacke-Moore*. And though *Damianus à Goes* speake of certaine Letters to the King of *Portugall* from *Prester Iohn*, of the *Abissines*: wherein that *Aethiopian* King would perswade the *Portugals* that he was descended of the Queene of *Saba* and of *Salomon*; yet it doth no where appeare in the Scriptures, that *Salomon* had any Son by that great Princesse: which had it beene true, it is likely that when *Sishac* King of *Egypt* inuaded *Roboam*, and sackt *Hierusalem*, his Brother (the Sonne of *Saba* and *Salomon*) who ioyned vpon *Egypt*, would both haue impeached that enterprize, as also giuen aide and succour to *Roboam* against *Ieroboam*, who drew from him ten of the twelue Tribes to his owne obedience. Neither is it any thing against our opinion of *Moses* his Wife, to haue been an *Arabian*, that the Scriptures teach vs,

vs, that *Moses* married the daughter of *Iethro* Priest of *Midian* or *Madian*: which standing on the North Coast of the Red Sea, ouer against the body of *Egypt*, and neere *Eſion-Gaber*, where *Salomon* prouided his Fleet for *India*, in the Region of *Edom*, may well be reckoned as a part of *Arabia*, as the Red Sea is called *Sinus Arabicus*. For *Edumæa* ioyneth to the Tribe of *Iuda* by the North, to *Arabia Petræa* by the East, to the *Mediterran* by the West, and to the Red Sea by the South-east. And if wee marke the way which *Moses* tooke when he left *Egypt*, and conducted *Israel* thence, it will appeare that he was no stranger in *Arabia*: in the border whereof, and in *Arabia* it selfe, hee had formerly liued fortie yeeres; where it seemeth, that besides his carefull bringing vp in *Egypt*, he was instructed by *Iethro* in the *Egyptians* learning. For *Iosephus* confesseth, and Saint *Stephen* confirmeth, that he was learned in all the wisedome of the *Egyptians*. But on the other side this Text makes much against *Iosephus*, where it is written in *Exodus* the second *Therefore* Moses *fled from* Pharao, *and dwelt in the Land of Madian* or *Midian*, and not in *Æthiopia*. And in the third Chapter it is as plaine as words can expresse, in what Region *Madian* was, where it is written, *when* Moses *kept the sheepe of* Iethro *his Father in Law Priest of Madian, & draue the Flocke to the Desart, and came to the Mountaine of* God *in Horeb*. Now that Mount *Horeb* is not in *Æthiopia*, euery Infant knoweth. And if we may beleeue *Moses* himselfe, then was not the Wife of *Moses* purchased in that manner which *Iosepus* reporteth (which was for betraying her Countrey and Friends) neither had shee the name of *Tharbis*, but of *Sippora*, or *Zippora*: neither was shee a *Negro*, but a *Madianitesse*. And as God worketh the greatest things by the simplest meanes: so it pleased him from a Shepheard to call *Moses*, and after him *Dauid*, and by them to deliuer his people first and last. For *Moses*, sitting by a Well (as disconsolate and a stranger) defended the daughters of *Reguel* from the other shepherds, and drew them Water to water their sheepe: vpon which occasion (by God ordained) he was entertained by *Iethro*, whose Daughter he married: and not for any betraying of Townes or Countries.

V. 15.

Exod. 2.

From hence also came *Iethro* to *Moses* at *Rephidim*, not farre from *Idumæa*, and finding the insupportable gouernment of such a multitude, hee aduised him to distribute this weightie charge, and to make Gouernours and Iudges of euery Tribe and Familie. And if *Iethro* had beene an *Aethiopian*, it had beene a farre progresse for him to haue passed through all *Egypt* with the Wife and Children of *Moses*, and to haue found *Moses* in the border of *Idumæa*: the *Egyptians* hating *Moses* and all that fauoured him. But the passing of *Moses* through *Arabia Petræa* (which ioyneth to *Madian*) proueth that *Moses* was well acquainted in those parts, in which the second time he wandred forty yeares, and did by these late trauailes of his, seeke to instruct the children of *Israel* in the knowledge of one true God, before he brought them to the Land of plenty & rest. For he found them nourished vp with the milke of Idolatry, and obstinate in the Religion of the *Heathen*, & finding that those stiffe plants could not be bowed or declined, either by perswasion or by miracle, he ware them out in the Desarts, as God directed, and grafted their branches anew, that from those hee might receiue fruit, agreeable to his owne desire, and Gods Commandements.

Lastly, this opinion of *Iosephus* is condemned by *Augustinus Chrisamensis*, where also he reprehendeth *Apollinaris*, who auowed that *Moses* had married both *Tharbis* and *Sephora*: His owne words haue this beginning: *Mentitur etiam* Apollinaris *duas uxores habuisse* Moses, *&c.* Apollinaris *also lyeth, in affirming that* Moses *had two wiues: and who doth not perceiue these things fained by them? for it is manifest that the Wife of* Moses *was* Zephora, *Daughter to the Priest or President of Madian: and that Madian cannot bee taken for Aethiopia beyond Egypt; being the same that ioyneth to Arabia*: so farre *Chrysamensis*.

Sixt. Senens. Bibl.

†. III.

Chush ill expounded for Aethiopia. Ezech. 29. 10.

NOw as *Chush* is by the *Septuagint* conuerted *Aethiopia*, and the wife of *Moses* therefore called *Æthiopissa*: so in the conquest of *Nabuchodonosor* is *Aethiopia* written for *Arabia*. For by the words of *Ezechiel*, it is manifest that *Nabuchodonosor* vvas neuer in *Aethiopia*. *Behold* (saith *Ezechiel*, speaking of the person of this great *Assyrian*) *I come vpon*

Ezech. 29. 10.

vpon thee and vpon thy Riuers, and I will make the Land of Egypt vtterly waste and desolate, from the Towre of Seueneh, euen to the borders of the blacke-Moores: vvhich last words should haue beene thus conuerted: *From the Towre of Seueneh to the borders of the Chusites* or *Arabians*: betweene which two is situated all *Egypt*. For to say, from the borders of *Seueneh* to the *Æthiopians*, hath no sense at all. *Seueneh* it selfe being the border of *Egypt*, confronting and ioyning to *Æthiopia*, or the Land of the blacke-Moores. So as if *Nabuchodonosors* conquest had beene but betweene *Seueneh* and the border of *Æthiopia*, it were as much to say, and did expresse no other victory than the conquest of all that Land and Countrey, lying betweene *Middlesex* and *Buckingham*, where both the Countries ioyne together; or all the North parts of *England*, betweene *Barwick* and *Scotland*: for this hath the same sense with the former, if any man sought to expresse by these two bounds, the Conquest of *England*: *Barwick* being the North border of *England*, as *Seueneh* or *Syene* is the South bound of *Egypt*, seated in *Thebaida* which toucheth *Æthiopia*. But by the words of *Ezechiel* it appeareth, that *Nabuchodonosor* neuer entred into any part of *Æthiopia*, although the *Septuagint*, the *Vulgar*, the *Geneua*, and all other (in effect) haue written *Æthiopia* for *Chush*,

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†. IIII.

Another place of Ezechiel, *cap.* 30. *vers.* 9. *in the like manner mistaken.*

ANd as the former, so is this place of *Ezechiel* mistaken, by being in this sort conuerted: *In die illa egredientur nuncij à facie mea in trieribus ad conterendam Aethiopiæ confidentiam*: Which place is thus turned in *English* by the *Geneueans*: *In that day shall there Messengers goe forth from me in ships to make the carelesse Moores affraid*. Now the *Latine* for (ships) hath the *Greeke* word *Trieres* for *Triremes* which are Gallies of three bankes, and not ships. But that in this place the Translation should haue beene (as in the former) amended by vsing the word *Chush* or *Arabia* for *Aethiopia* or the blacke Moores, euery man may see which meanely vnderstandeth the *Geography* of the World, knowing, that to passe out of *Egypt* into *Aethiopia* there needé no Gallies nor Ships, no more than to passe out of *Northampton* in *Leicestershire*: *Aethiopia* being the conterminate Region with *Egypt*, and not diuided so much as by a Riuer. Therefore in this place of *Ezechiel* it was meant, that from *Egypt*, *Nabuchodonosor* should send Gallies alongst the coast of the Red Sea, by vvhich an Army might bee transported into *Arabia* the *Happy* and the *Stony* (sparing the long wearisome march ouer all *Egypt*, and the Desart of *Pharan*) which Army might thereby surprise them vnawares in their security and confidence. For vvhen *Nabuchodonosor* was at *Seueneh* within a mile of *Aethiopia*, he needed neither Galley nor Ship to passe into it: being all one large and firme Land with *Egypt*, and no otherwise parted from it, than one In-land shire is parted from another; and if hee had a fancy to haue rowed vp the Riuer but for pleasure, hee could not haue done it: for the fall of *Nilus* (tumbling ouer high and steepy Mountaines) called *Catadupæ Nili*, were at hand.

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Lastly, as I haue already obserued, the sonnes of euery father seated themselues as neer together as possibly they could, *Gomer* and his sonnes in *Asia* the lesse; *Iauan* and his sons in *Greece*, and the Ilands adioyning; *Shem* in *Persia* and Eastward. So the Sons & Grandchildren of *Chush* from the Riuer of *Gehon* (their Fathers first seate) inhabited vpon the same, or vpon some other contiguat vnto it, as *Nimrod* and *Hauilah* on the one side, and *Saba*, *Sheba*, and *Sabtecha* (with the rest) did on the other side. And to conclude in a word, the *Hebrews* had neuer any acquaintance or fellowship, any war, treaty of peace, or other intelligence with the *Aethiopian* black Moores, as is already remembred in the Chapter of *Paradise*.

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†. V.

A place, Esay 18. v. 1. *in like manner corrupted, by taking Chush for Aethiopia.*

AND as in these places before remembred, so in diuers other is the vword *Aethiopia* put for *Arabia* or *Chush*, which puts the story (vvhere it is so vnderstood) quite out of square; one Kingdome therby being taken for another. For what sense hath this part of

of Scripture, *Esay* 18. *Væ terræ Cymbalorum alarum quæ est trans flumina Æthiopiæ*, or according to the *Septuagint* in these words: *Væ terræ nauium alarum quæ est trans fluuios Æthiopiæ? woe to the land shaddowing with wings, which is beyond the Riuers of Aethiopia, sending Embassadours by sea, euen the vessels of reeds vpon the waters. Væ terræ vmbrosæ oræ; woe to the Land of the shadie coast*, saith *Iunius*. The former Translators vnderstand it in this sense; That the waters are shaddowed with the sails, which are significatiuely called the wings of the ships, the other, that the coast of the Sea was shaddowed by the height of the Land.

But to the purpose: That this Land here spoken of by the Prophet *Esay*, is *Egypt*, no Interpreter hath doubted. For they were the *Egyptians* that sent this message to the *Israelites* which *Esay* repeateth, & by the former translation euery man may see the transposition of Kingdomes: for hereby *Egypt* is transported vnto the other side of *Aethiopia*, and *Aethiopia* set next vnto *Iudæa*, when it is the Land of *Chush* and *Arabia* indeed that lyeth betweene *Iudæa* and *Egypt*, and not *Aethiopia*, vvhich is seated vnder the *Equinoctiall* Line. And of this *Beroaldus* asketh a materiall question, (to wit) what Region that should be, of which the Prophet speaketh, and placeth it beyond the Riuers of *Aethiopia*. *Nam de ignota agi regione dici nequit; For it cannot be said that he treateth of an vnknowne Region.* Now if *Aethiopia* it selfe be vnder the *Equinoctiall* line, with whom the *Iewes* had neuer any acquaintance, why should any man dream that they had knowledge of Nations far beyond it againe, and beyond the Riuers of *Aethiopia*? except we shall impiously thinke that the Prophet spake hee knew not what, or vsed an impertinent discourse of those Nations, which vvere not discouered in 2000. yeares after, inhabiting as far South as the *Cape of good Hope*, commonly knowne by the name of *Bona esperanza*.

†. VI.

That vpon the like mistaking, both Terrhaca *in the story of* Senacherib, *and* Zera *in the story of* Asa *are vnadusedly made Aethiopians.*

AND by this translation is the story of *Senacherib* vtterly mistaken in the cause of his retrait. For *Senacherib* vvas first repulsed at *Pelusium*, at the very entrance of *Egypt* from *Iudæa*: when hauing certaine knowledge that *Thirrhaca*, (which all the Interpreters call King of *Aethiopia*) was on the way to set on him, hee began to with-draw himselfe: and fearing to leaue his Army in two parts, hee sent threatning Messengers to *Ezechia* King of *Iuda*, perswading him to submit himselfe: the Tenor whereof is set down in the second of *Kings* in these words: *Haue any of the gods of the Nations deliuered his Land out of the hands of the King of Assur? Where is the god of Hamah, &c.* By vvhich proud Embassage, if he had obtained entrance into *Ierusalem*, he then meant to haue vnited that great Army before *Ierusalem*, commanded by *Rabsekeh*, with the other which lay before *Pelusium*, a great City vpon the branch of *Nilus* next *Arabia*. For *Senacherib* had already mastered the most part of all those Cities in *Iudæa* and *Beniamin* vvith a third Army, (which himselfe commanded) being then at the siege of *Lebna*. But vpon the rumor of that *Arabian* Army led by their King *Thirrhakeh* (whom *Iosephus* cals *Tharsices*) *Rabsakeh* hasted from the siege of *Hierusalem*, and found *Senacherib* departed from *Lachis*, and set downe before *Lebna*, which was afterwards called *Eleuthoropolis*, as some haue supposed. But while he had ill successe at *Pelusium* and feared *Thirrhakeh*, God himselfe whom he least feared, strook his Army before *Ierusalem* by the Angel of his power, so as 185000. were found dead in the place, as in the life of *Ezechias* is hereafter more largely written. And that this Army of *Tirrakeh* was from *Arabia*, *Iosephus* himselfe makes it plaine. For he confesseth in the tenth Book, the first Chapter of the *Iewes* Antiquities, that it vvas come to *Senacheribs* knowledge, that the Army which was a foote (both to relieue the *Egyptians* and the *Iewes*) marched towards him by the vvay of the *Desart*: Now the *Desart* vvhich lay indifferent betweene *Hierusalem* and *Pelusium*, vvas that of *Pharan* or *Sur*, which also toucheth on the three *Arabia's*, to wit, the *Stony*, of which it is a part: the *Desart*, and the *Happy*; and by no other vvay indeed could the *Arabians* come on to succour either *Pelusium* or *Hierusalem*. But that there is any Desart betweene *Pelusium* and the South part of *Egypt* hath neuer yet beene heard of, or described by any *Cosmographer* or *Historian*. So then this description of the second of *Kings*, vers. the ninth, hath the same mistaking as the rest. For here the word (*Chush*) is also translated *Aethiopia*; and in this sense haue all the Interpreters, (but *Iunius*) expressed the beginning of the ninth Verse:

Ios. l. 10. c. 1.

2. Kings 19.

Antiq. l. 10.
2. Kings 19.

Lib. 10. cap. 1.

He heard also men say of Thirrhakeh *King of Æthiopia, &c.* whereas it should haue beene thus conuerted with *Iunius*: *Audiens autem de* Thirrhakeh *Rege Chushi; Hee heard also of* Thirrakeh *King of the Chushites.* For they were the *Chusites* and *Arabians*, whose Houses and Cities were next the fire, and vpon whom the very smoake of *Iuda* flaming was blowne, being their neerest Neighbours: and so were not the *Æthiopian* black-Moores vnder the *Equinoctiall*, whom neither war nor peace (which discouereth all Regions) euer found out, saith *Pliny*. For this King was no more King of *Æthiopia* than *Zerah* was, who inuaded *Asa* King of *Iuda*, with an Army of a Million, and three thousand Charriots. Indeed, how such an Army & those Charriots should passe through all *Egypt*, (the Kings of *Egypt* being mighty Kings) let all men that know how these Regions are seated, and how farre distant, iudge. For Princes doe not easily permit Armies of a Million to run through them; neither was there euer such strength of Black-Moores heard of in that part of the World, or elsewhere. Neither are these *Æthiopians* such trauailers or Conquerors; and yet is this King *Zerah* also called King of *Aethiopia*. But the vvord *Chush* being first so conuerted for *Aethiopia*, the rest of the Interpreters (not looking into the seates of Kingdomes, or the possibilities of attempts, or inuasions) followed one another in the former mistakings.

Plin. l. 5. c. 9.

2. Chron. c. 14.

†. VII.

A farther exposition of the place, Esay 18. 1.

CONcerning these words in that eighteenth Chapter of *Esay*, *Nauium alarum*, *Winged ships*, (so the *Septuagint* turne it) or *Cymbalo alarum* (according to the *Latine*) *sayles whistling in the windes*, or *terræ vmbrosæ oræ* (after *Iunius*) *the Land of a shaddowed coast*, or *the Land shaddowing with wings*, as our *English Geneua* hath it. The two first interpretations of the *Septuagint* and S. *Hierome*, haue one sense in effect. For the sailes are commonly called the wings of a ship; & we vse to say ordinarily when our ships saile slowly, that she wanteth wings: (that is) when her sailes are either worne or too narrow: and we also vse the same phrase of the winde whistling in the sailes. And it may be that the *Egyptians* emploied so many of those smal ships, as their sails were said to giue a shaddow ouer the Red Sea. But to make both interpretations good, *Pintus* (vpon *Esay*) affirmeth, that the vvord (*Sabal*) doth signifie both to shaddow and to gingle (vvhich is) to make a kinde of *Cymbaline* sound: so as the meaning of this place (saith *Pintus*) is this: *Woe to thee, O Egypt, which doest promise to others safeguard, vnder the shaddow of thy wings*; vvhich (indeede) seemeth to agree with the argument of the eighteenth Chapter of *Esay*: and this phrase is often elsewhere vsed, as in the sixteenth Psalme: *Sub vmbra alarum tuarum protege me; Defend me vnder the shaddow of thy wings.* The Boates of reede spoken of are of two kindes; either of basket-willow couered with hides (as anciently in *Brittain*) or a Tree made hollow in the bottome, and built vpon both sides with Canes. Of the one sort I haue seene in *Ireland*, of the other in the *Indies*.

§. XI.

Of the plantation and antiquities of Egypt.

†. I.

That Mizraim *the chiefe planter of Egypt, and the rest of the sonnes of* Ham, *were seated in order, one by another.*

THE second sonne of *Ham* was *Mizraim*, (who according to the place of a second brother) was sent somewhat farther off to inhabite. For *Chush* first possest *Chaldæa* on the West side of *Gehon* chiefly: and from thence, as he increased in people, so he entred *Arabia*, and by time came to the border of the Red Sea, & to the South-east-side of *Iudæa*. *Mizraim* his brother (with *Phut*) past ouer into *Africa*. *Mizraim* held *Egypt*: and *Phut* (as a third brother) was thrust farther off into *Mauritania*. *Canaan* tooke the Sea-coast, and held the side of *Palæstina*: and these foure brothers possest all that Tract of Land, from *Gehon* in *Chaldæa*, as farre to the West as the *Mediterrane* Sea: comprehending all *Arabia Deserta*, and *Petræa*, all *Canaan* which embraceth *Galilæa*, *Samaria*, and

and *Iudea*;with the two *Egypts*,wherof the neather is bounded by *Memphis* on the South, and by the *Mediterrane* Sea on the North: and *Thebaida* (called the vpper *Egypt*)stretcheth it self toward the South as far as *Syene*,the border of the *Æthiopians* or black-*Moors*. All the rest of the coast of *Africa* Westward,*Phut* peopled; which brothers had not any other Nation or Family that dwelt between them. And in the same manner did all their sons againe,and all the sons of the rest of *Noahs* children,sort themselues.

†.11.

Of the time about which the name of Egypt began to be knowne: and of the Egyptians Lunarie yeeres,which made their antiquities seeme more fabulous.

THis flourishing Kingdome possest by *Mizraim*, changed her ancient name, and became *Egypt*,as such time as *Ægyptus*(otherwise *Ramesses*,as some thinke)the sonne of *Belus*,chased thence his elder brother *Danaus*,shifting him into that part of *Greece* now called *Morea*,by whom the *Argiues* were made *Danai*,abandoning their proper names: which happened 877.yeeres after the Floud,in the time of *Iosua*, as St. *Augustine* coniectureth out of *Eusebius*. But in *Homers Odysses* it appeareth that the *Egyptians* vvere so called at the time of the *Troian* Warre. And before this,*Egypt* was knowne by diuers other names,as *Oceana,Aria,Osiriana,&c.* And *Manethon*(whom *Iosephus* citeth in his first booke against *Appion*)numbreth all the Kings of *Egypt* after *Moses* departure,who consumed 393.yeares. By vvhich other men coniecture, that the *Egyptians* tooke on them that name 330.yeares after *Iosua*,and about 1000. yeares after the Floud. But where *Iosephus* in the same booke taketh *Israel* to be those *Hycsos*,which he also calleth *Pastores* or Shepherds, which are said to haue reigned in *Egypt* 511. yeares: whom also he calleth his Ancestors,(meaning the Ancestors of the *Iewes*)in this I am sure he was grosly deceiued,or that he vainly boasted: for the *Israelites* had no such Dominion as *Manethon* faineth,nor abode in *Egypt* so long a time by many yeares.

Of the *Egyptian* Antiquities there are many fancies in *Trogus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, *Diod. Siculus*, *Mela*,and others. For they affirme (saith *Pomp.Mela*)that there had reigned in *Egypt* 330.Kings before *Amasis*,who vvas contemporary with *Cyrus*; and that they had memory and story of 13000. yeares; and that the Stars had foure times changed their course,and the Sunne twice set in the East. These Riddles are also rife among the *Athenians* and *Arcadians*, vvho dare affirme, that they are more ancient than *Iupiter* and the *Moone*; vvhereof *Ouid*:

Ante Iouem *genitum terras habuisse feruntur*
Arcades: *&* Luna *gens prior illa fuit.*

The Arcadians the earth inhabited
Ere yet the *Moone* did shine,or *Ioue* was bred.

But for those 13000.yeares it may well be true; seeing it is certaine that the *Egyptians* reckon their yeares by Moneths,which makes after that account not aboue 1000.or 1100.years,whether we take their Moneths or Lunary yeares to haue beene of the first kinde of 27.dayes and eight houres; or otherwise 29.dayes and twelue houres; or after any other of those fiue diuersities of their Lunary yeares.

†. III.

Of certaine vaine assertions of the Antiquity of the Egyptians.

GErardus *Mercator* in his *Chronology*, reasoneth for the *Egyptians* Antiquity in this manner: That the sixteenth *Dynasty* (where *Eusebius* begins to reckon the *Egyptians* times) had beginning with the generall Floud: and that therfore the first of the other fifteene reached the Creation,or soone after it. To which coniecture of *Mercator*,*Pererius* maketh this answer; That therein *Mercator* was first deceiued, because he taketh it for granted,that the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynastie* vvas at once with the generall Floud: which *Eusebius* maketh 292.years after,and in the time of *Abraham*. Secondly, *Mercator* maketh the beginning of the shepherds *Dynastia* (being in number 17.) in the time of their first King,*Saltii*, to haue beene in the yeere of the Word 1846. which *Eusebius* findeth in the Worlds age 2140. For the 16.*Dynastia* was begun but in the 292. yeeres after the Floud, as they account, and continued 190. yeeres. Thirdly, whereas *Mercator* maketh euery *Dynastia* to endure 115.yeers,*Eusebius* reckoneth many of them at lesse than 100.yeeres; for the 28.had but sixe yeeres, the 29.but 20.and the 30.but 18.yeeres.

Now *Annius* in his Supplement of *Manethon* affirmeth,That all these 15.*Dynasties* lasted but 162.yeeres: and that the first of the 15. began but in the 131. yeere after the floud: so as where *Mercator* makes all the 15.to precede the floud, and the 16. to haue beene then in being at the time of the floud, *Annius* makes them all after it. But the contrariety of falshood cannot be hidden, though disguised. For *Annius* had forgotten his former Opinion and Assertion, that it was in the 131. yeere that *Nimrod*,with the sons of *Noah*,came into the Valley of Shinaar: so he forgets the time which was consumed in the building of Babel: & that before the confusion of Speech there was no dispersion, nor far-off plantation at all. And though he hastily conueyed *Gomer* into Italy, and *Tubal* into Spaine,in the tenth yeer of *Nimrods* reigne: (which was ten yeeres after his arriual into Babylonia)yet herein he is more vnaduised. For he makes Egypt possest, & a gouernment established in the very first yeere of the arriuall of *Nimrod* into Shinaar,before all partition,or any expedition farre off or neer in question: for *from thence*(that is, from Babel) *did the Lord scatter them vpon all the earth*.

†. IIII.

Against Pererius: *that it is not vnlikely, but that Egypt was peopled within 200.yeeres after the Creation; at lest,that both it,and the most parts of the World were peopled before the Floud.*

BVt wheras *Pererius* seeketh to ouerthrow this Antiquity of the Egyptians touching their *Dynastics*,(which *Eusebius* doth not altogether destroy,but lessen)I do not find any great strength in this opinion of *Pererius*; (to wit) that it was either vnlikely or impossible that Egypt should bee peopled within 100. or 200. yeeres after *Adam*, in the first Age. And whereas he supposeth that it was not inhabited at all before the generall Floud, I doe verily beleeue the contrary: and that not onely of Egypt, but the better part of all the World was then peopled: *Pererius* his words are these: *Quomodo enim primos mundi ducentos,vel etiam centum annos* Adami *proles adeò multiplicari potuit, vt ad Egyptum vsq; habitandum & complendum propagata sit,&c. For how could the children of* Adam *be so multiplied in the first two hundred,or in the first hundred yeeres of the World, and so propagated as to inhabite and fill Egypt?* for allowing this (saith *Pererius*) wee must also confesse,that there were then both the Assyrians and other Nations.

Now seeing that the Scriptures are silent herein,and that it is no point of our sauing beleefe,it is lawfull for euery man to be guided in this and the like questions by the best reason, circumstance,and likelihood; and herein,as in the rest, I protest that I doe not gainsay any mans opinion out of any crossing or cauilling humour: for I thinke it the part of euery Christian,rather to reconcile differences,where there is possibility of vnion,than out of froward subtlety, and preiudicate resoluednesse, to maintaine factions needlesse,and dangerous contentions.

First therefore,to this opinion,that Egypt was not planted so soone after *Adam*, no, not at all before the Floud, I say, that there is no reason why wee should giue a lesse increase to the sonnes of *Adam*, than to the sonnes of *Noah*. For their length of life, which exceeded those which came after the Floud double; & (after a few yeeres) treble, is an infallible proofe of their strength and ability, to beget many Children: & at that time they obserued no degrees of kindred, nor consanguinity. And that there was a speedy increase of people,and in great numbers,it may in some sort appeare by this, that *Cain*, who (being fearefull that the death of *Abel* would haue beene reuenged on him) withdrew himselfe from the rest,which were afterward begotten, and dwelt in the Land of *Nod*, and there, by the helpe of his owne issues built a City,(called Enoch) after the name of his first-borne. Now if it be gathered that *Nimrod* came into the Valley of Shinaar with so many multitudes, as sufficed to build the City and Towre of Babel: and that to this increase there was giuen but 130.yeeres by *Berosus*,and after the account of the Scriptures (reckoning, as it is commonly vnderstood, by the birth of *Arphaxad*,

Selah, Heber, and *Phaleg*) but one hundred and one yeere: I see no cause to doubt, but that in the infancy of the first age, when the bodies of men were most perfect, euen within 130. yeeres, the same (if not a greater) number might be increased; and so within 70. yeeres after (that is, by such time as the World had stood 200. yeares) aswell *Assyria, Syria*, and *Egypt* might bee possest before the Floud, as they were within the same or lesse time after it. Neither doth it agree with the circumstance or true Story of the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian Empire*, that all those people, which were increased in the first hundred or 130. yeeres after the Floud, came into *Shinaar* and *Babylonia*. For that euer *Noah* himselfe came out of the East, as there is no Scripture or Authority to proue it, so all probable coniecture and reason it selfe denies it. Againe, those multitudes and powerfull numbers, which *Semiramis* (but the third from *Nimroa*) found in *India*, considered with her owne Army of three Millions, (and she left not all her Kingdomes empty) doe well proue, that if the World had such plenty of people in so few yeeres after the Floud, it might also be as plentifully filled in like time before it. For after their owne account *Ninus* gouerned *Babylonia* and *Assyria* but 292. yeeres after the Floud of *Noah*. And these Troupes of *Semiramis* were gathered out of all those Easterne Kingdomes, from *Media* to the *Mediterran* Sea; when there had now past from the Floud to the time of this her inuasion, somewhat lesse or more than 360. yeeres: for much more time the true *Chronology* cannot allow; though I confesse, that in respect of the strange greatnesse of *Semiramis* Army, and the incredible multitudes gathered, this is as short a time as can well be giuen. And if but one halfe bee true of that which is said, That her Army consisted of 1300000. Footmen, and 500000. Horsemen, it must needes bee, that long before *Semiramis* Reigne, the greatest part of *Asia* (whence her huge Armie was gathered) was full of people: yea *Arabia* it selfe (much part whereof is barren) must long before this time of *Semiramis* haue beene plentifully peopled; when *Ninus* hauing a determination to make himselfe Master of all Nations, entred (notwithstanding) in League with the King thereof: whom therefore hee either feared, or sought his assistance. And if *Arabia* were then so well replenished, I see no cause but *Egypt* might also bee peopled. Now if wee may beleeue *Trogus Pompeius* (*Epitomiz'd* by *Iustine*) *Egypt* was a most flourishing and magnificent Nation before *Ninus* was borne. For these bee his owne words, speaking of *Ninus*. *Fuère quidem temporibus antiquioribus* Vexoris *Rex Ægypti, &c. But there were in times more ancient* Vexoris *King of Egypt, and* Tanais *King of the Scythians*: of which the one inuaded *Pontus*, the other *Egypt*. And how full of people all that part of the World was, the Conquests of *Ninus* witnesse, who subdued with no small force the *Armenians*, the *Medes*, and afterwards the *Bactrians*; yea, all that whole body of *Asia* on this side *India*. For *Diodorus* out of *Ctesias* numbreth the Armies wherewith *Ninus* inuaded *Zoroaster*, at 1700000. Footmen, and 200000. Horsemen: and the Stories generally shew, that though *Zoroasters* Armie was farre short of this, yet it was greater than any that those parts of the World euer since beheld. But to what end should I seeke for foreigne authority? for no man doubteth but that *Egypt* was possest by *Mizraim*, the sonne of *Ham*; and that it was an established Kingdome, filled with many Cities in *Abrahams* time, the Scriptures tell vs. And sure, to prepare and cultiue a desolate and ouergrown ground, to beautifie it with many Cities, Lawes, and Policies, cannot bee esteemed a labour of a few dayes: and therefore it must be inhabited in a lesse time than 200. yeeres after the Floud; and in the same time (if not in a shorter) before the Floud. For if so many Millions of men were found within 300. yeeres after the generall Floud; so as not onely *Babylon*, and *Assyria, Bactria, Armenia, Media, Arabia, Egypt, Palestina*, yea, the farre-off *Lybia* on the one side, and *India* on the other, and *Scythia* (inferiour to neither) were all filled: into what small corners could then all those Nations be compressed, which 1656. yeeres brought forth before the Floud? euen necessity, which cannot bee resisted, cast the abundance of mens bodies into all parts of the knowne World; especially, where Death forbare the Father, and made no place for the Sonne, till hee had beheld liuing Nations of his owne body.

†. V.

†. V.

Of some other reasons against the opinion of Pererius.

FOr what a strange increase did the long liues of the first Age make, when they continued 800. or 900. yeeres? Surely, we haue reason to doubt, that the World could not containe them, rather than that they were not spred ouer the World. For let vs now reckon the date of our liues in this Age of the World: wherein if one exceede 50. yeeres, ten for one are cut off in that passage, and yet wee finde no want of people; nay we know the multitude such, as if by warres or pestilence they were not sometimes taken off by many thousands, the earth with all the industry of man could not giue them food. What strange heapes then of soules had the first Ages, who enioyed 800. or 900. yeares, as aforesaid? These numbers, I say, cannot bee counted nor conceiued. For it would come to the same reckoning in effect, as if all those which haue beene borne in *Brittaine* since 3. or 4. hundred yeeres before the *Norman Conquest* (sauing such as by accident or by violence were cut off) were now aliue; and if to these there were added as many as by *Polygamy* might haue beene increased. For (to omit, that the Gyants and mighty ones of the first Age obserued no law of Matrimony) it is to bee thought that those Louers of the world and of pleasure, when they knew the long and liberall time which Nature had giuen them, would not willingly or hastily present themselues to any danger which they could flye from or eschew. For what humane argument hath better perswasion to make men carelesse of life, and fearelesse of death, than the little time which keepes them asunder, and that short time also accompanied with so many paines and diseases, which this enuious old Age of the World mingleth together, and soweth with the seedes of Mankinde?

Now if that *Berosus* or *Annius* may be alleadged for sufficient Authours, whom *Pererius* himselfe in this question citeth, then is it by them affirmed, and by *Iosephus* confirmed, that the City of *Enoch* was seated neere *Lybanus* in *Syria*: and if other parts of *Syria* were peopled in *Cains* time, I see no cause why *Palæstina* (which is also a Prouince of *Syria*) and *Egypt* (which neighboureth it) could be left desolate both all the life time of *Cain*, and all those times betweene his death and the Floud, which were by estimation 700. or 800. yeares. And sure though this Fragment of *Berosus* with *Annius* his Comment be very ridiculous in many places (the ancient Copies being corrupted or lost) yet all things in *Berosus* are not to bee reiected. Therefore Saint *Hierome* for such Authours giues a good rule: *Bona eorum eligamus, vitemus contraria*; *Let vs choose what is good in them, and reiect the rest.* And certainly in the very beginning of the first Booke, *Berosus* agreeth (in effect) with *Moses*, touching the generall Floud: and in that first part *Berosus* affirmeth, that those mighty men and Gyants which inhabited *Enoch*, commanded ouer all Nations, and subiected the vniuersall World: and though that phrase (*of all the World*) be often vsed in the Scriptures for a part thereof; as in the second of the *Acts*, *That there were dwelling at Hierusalem Iewes: men that feared God of euery Nation vnder Heauen*: yet by words which follow in *Berosus*, it is plaine, that his words and sense were the same: for he addeth, from the Sunnes rising to the Sunnes setting; which cannot be taken for any small part thereof. Againe, we may safely coniecture, that *Noah* did not part and proportion the World among his sonnes at aduenture, or left them as Discouerers, but directed them to those Regions which he formerly knew had been inhabited. And it cannot be denyed that the earth was more passable and easie to trauaile ouer before the Floud, than after it. For *Pererius* himselfe confesseth, that *Attica* (by reason of mud and slime which the water left vpon the Earth) was vninhabited 200. yeeres after *Ogyges* Floud; whereby we may gather, that there was no great pleasure in passing into farre Countries, after the generall Deluge, when the earth lay (as it were) incopsed for 100. or 130. yeeres together. And therefore was the face thereof in all coniecture more beautifull, and lesse cumbersome to walke ouer, in the first Age, than after the generall ouerflowing.

§. VI.

Of the words of Moses, Gen. 10. v. *vltimo, whereupon* Pererius *grounded his opinion.*

LAstly, whereas *Pererius* drawes this Argument out of the last Verse of the tenth of *Genesis*, *And out of these were the Nations diuided after the floud: Quo significatur talem diuisionem non fuisse ante diluuium; By which it appeareth* (saith *Pererius*) *that there was no such diuision before the Floud*; which hee also seeketh to confirme out of the eleuenth of *Genesis*, because the diuision of tongues was the cause of the dispersion of the people. This cõsequence, *quo significatur, &c.* seemeth to me very weake: The Text it selfe rather teacheth the contrary: *For out of these* (saith Moses) *were the Nations diuided in the earth after the Floud*; inferring, that before the Floud the Nations were diuided out of others, though after the Floud out of these onely. But whatsoeuer sense may bee gathered from this place, yet it can no way be drawne to the times before the Floud, or to any Plantation or diuision in that age: for if there were none else among whom the earth could be diuided after the Floud, but *Noahs* Sonnes, wherein doth that necessary diuision controule the planting of the World before it? And whereas it is alleaged that the confusion of speech was the cause of this dispersion; it is true, that it was so for that present; but if *Babel* had neuer beene built, nor any confusion of Languages at all, yet increase of people and time would haue enforced a farther-off and generall Plantation: as *Berosus* sayes well, that when Mankinde were exceedingly multiplyed, *Ad comparandas nouas sedes necessitas compellebat*, *They were driuen by necessitie to seeke new Habitations*. For we finde (as it is before said) that within 300. yeeres after the Floud, there were gathered together into two Armies, such multitudes as the Valley about *Babylon* could not haue sustained those numbers, with their increase, for any long time; all *Asia* the greater and the lesser; all *Scythia*, *Arabia*, *Palæstina*, and *Ægypt*, with *Greece*, and the Islands thereof; *Mauritania* and *Lybia*, being also at that time fully peopled. And if wee beleeue *Berosus*, then not onely those parts of the World, but (within 140. yeares after the Floud) *Spaine*, *Italie* and *France* were also planted: much more then may we thinke, that within 1656. yeeres before the Floud, in the time of the chiefe strength of Mankind, they were replenished with people. And certainly seeing all the World was ouerflowne, there were people in all the World which offended.

Lib. 3.

†. VII.

A conclusion, resoluing of that which is most likely, touching the Ægyptian Antiquities: with somewhat of Phut *(another Sonne of* Ham*) which peopled Lybia.*

THerefore, for the Antiquitie of the *Ægyptians*, as I doe not agree with *Mercator*, nor iudge with the *Vulgar*, which giue too much credit to the *Ægyptians* Antiquities: so I doe not thinke the report of their Antiquities so fabulous, as either *Pererius* or other men conceiue it. But I rather incline to this, that *Ægypt* being peopled before the Floud, and 200. or 300. yeeres, more or lesse after *Adam*, there might remaine vnto the Sonnes of *Mizraim* some Monuments in Pillars or Altars (of stone or mettall) of their former Kings or Gouernours: which the *Egyptians* hauing added to the List and Roll of their Kings after the Floud, in succeeding time (out of the vanitie of glory, or by some corruption in their Priests) something beyong the truth might be inserted. And that the memory of Antiquitie was in such sort preserued, *Berosus* affirmeth it of the *Chaldeans*, and so doth *Epigenes*. For they both write, that the vse of Letters and the Art of Astronomie was knowne to the *Babylonians* 3634. yeeres before *Alexanders* Conquest: and this report *Annius* findeth to agree and reach to the time of *Enoch*, who was borne 1034. yeeres before the Floud, and wrote of the Worlds destruction, both by Water and Fire; as also of *Christ* his comming in iudgement, as Saint *Iude* hath witnessed. But leauing these Antiquities to other mens iudgements, and euery man to his owne reason, I will conclude this Plantation of *Egypt*. It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by *Mizraim*, and that it tooke the name of *Egypt* from *Egyptus* the sonne of *Belus*, as aforesaid. Being diuided into two Regions, that part from *Memphis* or *Nicopolis* to the *Mediterran* Sea, was called the inferiour *Egypt*; surnamed also *Delta*: because the seuerall branches of *Nilus* breaking asunder from one body of the Riuer, gaue it the forme of the *Greeke* letter *Delta*, which is the forme of a *Triangle*. That branch, which ran toward the North-east and imbraced the Sea, next vnto the Desarts of *Sur* and *Pharan*, had on it the City of *Pelusium*, where *Senacherib* was repulsed: The other branch, which yeelded it selfe to the Salt-water towards the North-east, is beautified by that famous City of *Alexandria*: The vpper part of *Egypt* is bounded betweene *Memphis* and *Syene* neere *Æthiopia*, and had the name of *Thebaida*, of that ancient City of *Thebes*; which (according to *Homer*) was adorned with 100. Gates; and therefore called *Ciuitas centum portarum*; and by the *Greeks Diospolis*; in the Scriptures *No-hamon*, which signifieth multitudes of Inhabitants, exceeding beliefe. *Iosephus* cals *Egypt Mersin* of *Mizraim*: and *Herodotus* affirmes that it had once the name of *Thebais*.

Ios. l. 1. Ant. c. 7. Hero. Euterpe.

Phut the third sonne of *Ham* tooke the next portion of Land to his brother *Mizraim*, and inhabited *Lybia*: whose people were anciently called *Phutei*, (saith *Iosephus*) and *Pliny* mentioneth the Riuer *Phut* in *Mauritania*: which Riuer from the Mountain *Atlas* (known to the Inhabitants by the name of *Dyris*) he maketh to be distant the space of two hundred miles. It also appeareth in the thirtieth Chapter of *Ezechiel*, that *Phut*, *Chush* & *Lud* were *contermini* and Associates with the *Egyptians*.

L. 5. c. 1.

§. XII.

Of the eleuen sonnes of Canaan, *the fourth sonne of* Ham.

†. I.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan: with the names of his eleuen sonnes.

CAnaan (the fourth sonne of *Ham*) possest all that Region called by the *Romanes Palæstina*; in the Scriptures *Galilæa*, *Samaria*, and *Iudæa*; in the latter times known by the name of the Holy Land and *Iurie*: the limits whereof are precisely set downe by *Moses*, *Genesis* the tenth, *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon as thou goest to Gerar vntill Azzah, and as thou goest vnto Sodome and Gomorrha, and Admah, and Zeboim, euen vnto Lasha*. Now howsoeuer these words of the *Hebrew* Text (*as thou goest*) be conuerted, *Moses* meaning was that *Gerar* was the South bound of *Canaan*, and *Zidon* the North; *Sodome* & *Gomorrha* the East, and the other Cities named stood on the Frontiers thereof. For *Gerar* standeth in a right Line from *Gaza* in the way of *Egypt*, the vttermost Territory of *Canaan* Southward: and this was properly the Land of *Canaan*.

Now the sons of *Canaan* which possest this Country, and inhabited some part of the borders thereof, were in number eleuen:

1. *Zidon*.
2. *Heth* or *Chethus*.
3. *Iebusi* or *Iebusæus*.
4. *Emori* or *Emoreus*, or *Amoreus*.
5. *Girgeshi* or *Girgeseus*.
6. *Heui* or *Chiueus*.
7. *Arki* or *Harkeus*.
8. *Seni* or *Sinæus*.
9. *Araadi* or *Aruadæus*.
10. *Zemari* or *Samareus*, or *Tzemareus*.
11. *Hamathi* or *Hamatheus*, or *Chamatheus*.

Of which the most renowned were the *Hethites*, *Gergesites*, *Amorites*, *Heuites*, *Iebusites*, and *Perizzites*: which *Perizzites* were descended of *Zamari* or *Samareus*, or from some of his.

†. II.

Of the portions of Zidon *and* Heth.

ZIdon the first borne of *Canaan*, built the famous City of *Zidon* in *Phœnicia*, which afterward fell in partition to the Tribe of *Asser*: for *Asser*, *Zabulon*, and *Nephtali* had a great part of the ancient *Phœnicia* distributed among them; but the *Asserites* could neuer obtaine *Zidon* it selfe.

The second sonne of *Canaan* was *Heth* or *Cethus*: of whom came the *Hethites*, or *Hittites*, one of those seuen principall Nations (Commanders of *Canaan*) appointed by God to be rooted out; namely, the *Gergesites*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Perizzites*, the
Gen.10.19. *Henites*, and the *Iebusites*. The *Hittites* inhabited about *Bersabe*, and towards *Hebron* neere the Torrent *Besor*, and about *Gerar*, which *Moses* maketh the vttermost limit of *Canaan*,
Gen.23. hauing the Desart of *Pharan* to the South: for about *Bersabe* (otherwise *Puteus iuramenti*) foure miles from *Gaza* dwelt *Heth* and his Posterity, as far to the Northeast as *Hebron*, & *Mamre*; and of *Ephraim* the *Hittite* did *Abraham* buy the field of *Sarahs* buriall. Of which
Gen.27.46. Nation *Rebecca* bewailed her selfe to *Isaac*, saying, *That she was weary of her life for the Daughters of* Heth. The Giants *Anakim* were of these *Hittites*, a strong & fierce Nation, to
4.Kin.7.6. whose entertainment by the kings of *Israel* against them the *Syrians* greatly feared: as in the fourth of the *Kings*; *Israel hath hired against vs the Kings of the Hittites.*

†.III.
Of the Iebusites and Amorites.

Iebusæus, the third sonne of *Canaan*, of whom came the *Iebusites*, and whose principall seat was *Iebus*, (afterward *Hierusalem*) were also a valiant and stubborne Nation, and held their City and the Country neere it, till such time as *Dauid* by Gods assistance recouered both: yet were not the *Iebusites* extinguished, but were Tributaries to *Salomon*.

Amoreus was the fourth sonne of *Canaan*, of whom the *Amorites* tooke name, who inhabited that Land to the East of *Iordan* below the Sea of *Galilee*, hauing *Arnon* and the Mountaines of *Galaad* on the East, and *Iordan* on the West: of whom *Og* (King of *Basan*) and *Sihon* (ouerthrowne by *Moses*) were Princes.

The *Amorites* had also many other habitations dispersed within the bounds of *Canaan*: as behinde *Libanus* in the edge of *Cœlesyria*, or *Syria Libanica*. They had also their being
Deut.1. in the Mountaines of *Iuda*, and in *Idumæa* neere the *Metropolis* thereof, called *Dumæa*.
Num.13. And hereof it came that all the *Canaanites* were sometime called *Amorites*: as in *Genesis* the fifteenth: *For the wickednesse of the Amorites is not yet full.* And that this was also a powerfull Nation, wee finde in the Prophet *Amos*: *Yet destroyed I the*
Amos 2. *Amorite before them, whose heighth was like the heighth of a Cedar, and he was strong as the Oake.*

†.IIII.
Of the Gergesites, Heuites, and Harkites.

The fift sonne of *Canaan* was *Gergeseus* or *Gergesion*, (otherwise *Girgasi*) who inhabited on the East side of the Lake of *Tiberias*, or the Sea of *Galilee*, where *Ptolomy* sets the City *Gerasa*, which *Iosephus* cals *Gesera*, in the Territory of *Decapolis*. Here it was that Christ dispossest the possessed with Diuels; and the *Gergesites* desired him to depart their Coasts: because their Swine, filled with the euill spirits, drowned themselues in the Sea of *Galilee*. *Gergeseus* also built *Beritus* (sometime *Geris*) afterward *Fœlix Iulia*, three miles from the Riuer *Adonis* in *Phœnicia*: in which the *Romans* held a Garrison: and to which *Augustus* gaue many large priuiledges.

Heueus the sixth sonne, and Father of the *Heuites*, inhabited vnder *Libanus* neer *Emath*. These *Heuites*, howsoeuer the *Caphthorim* expelled a good part of them (as in *Deuteronomy* the second is remembred) yet many of them remained all the warre of *Iosua*, and afterward to the time of *Salomon*. For God was not pleased vtterly to root out these Nations, but they were sometimes made Tributaries to the *Israelites*, and at other times serued (in their falling away from the true worship of God) to afflict them: for as it is written, *Iudges* the third: *They remained to proue* Israel *by them, whether they would obey the Commandements of God.*

The seuenth sonne was *Araceus* or *Harki*, who between the foote of *Libanus* and the *Mediterran* Sea, (ouer against *Tripolis*) built the City of *Archas*, *Arce*, or *Arca*, afterwards *Arachis*.

†.V.
Of Sini *and* Aruadi.

Sineus the eight son, *Hierosolymitanus* sets at *Caparorsa*, which *Ptolomy* findes in *Iudæa*; not farre from *Iebus*; to the South thereof, saith *Iunius*. But it is more probable, that *Sineus* founded *Sin*, which S. *Hierome* calls *Sim*: *Ptolomy*, *Simyra*: *Mela* and *Pliny*, *Simyrus*: *Brochard*, *Sycon*, (called *Synochis*) neere *Arca*. *Pererius* thinkes that *Sineus* inhabited the Desarts of *Sinai*, or thereabout; but hereof there is no other certainty than the re-
10 port of *Brochard*, who tooke view of all these places, affirming, that *Sineus* built *Synochis*, as *Zidon* built *Zidon*. There is also another Nation of *Cini* (written with the letter *C*. otherwise *Kenæi*) who descended of *Hobab* the son of *Ragnel* the *Madianite*, who assisted the *Israelites* in their conduction through the Wildernes of *Pharan*. But these *Cinæi* were admitted among the *Israelites*, and had a portion of Land with the *Nephtalims*, beside their habitations with the *Amalekites*: against these *Cinæi*, *Balaam* prophecied, that they should be destroyed by the *Assyrians*. *Iudg.4.* *Iosua 19.33.*

The ninth sonne was *Aradeus* or *Aruadeus*, who in the Ile of *Aradus* built the City *Arados*: opposite against which Iland on the Maine of *Phœnicia*, they founded another City of that name, which for opposition was afterwards called *Antaradus*. To this City *Gul.Tyr.Vir.*
20 came S. *Peter* (saith *Clement*) & in this Ile preached the Gospell, and founded a Church in honour of our Lady: but wee finde no such worke of his in the *Acts* of the Apostles. Both these two were very famous, and places of skilfull Sea-men: whom *Ezechiel* remembreth in his prophecies against the *Tyrians*: *The inhabitants of Zidon and Aruad were thy Mariners.* *Cap.27.v.8.*

†.VI.
Of Zemari.

30 OF *Samareus*, or *Zemari*, the tenth sonne, there are diuers opinions. Some think that he inhabited in *Cœlesyria* at *Edessa*, and founded *Samaraim*, which in *Iosua* is placed in the Tribe of *Beniamin*. There is also *Samaraym* (of the same Orthography) vpon the Mountains of *Ephraim* (saith *Beroaldus*) mentioned in the second of *Chronicles*, *c.13.v.4.* *Beroal.in Chro. lib.4.* which the *Latine* conuerteth amisse (saith he) by *Semeron*. The *Hierosolymitan Paraphrast* makes *Samareus* (of whom were the *Perizzites*) the parent of the *Emissani*, which *Pliny* calls the *Hemisseni*, in *Cœlesyria*; and it may be that it was their first habitation, and that they afterwards inhabited those other places before remembred. But that they founded *Samaria*, both the Hebrew Orthographie, and this place in the first of *Kings* (speaking of *Omri*) disproueth: *And he bought the Mountaine Samaria of Shemeron of one* Shemer, *for two talents of siluer, and built in the Mountaine; and called the name of the City which* *1.Kin.16.28.*
40 *hee built, after the name of* Shemer, *Lord of the Mountaine, Samaria.* But of all these places I shall speake more at large in the conquest of the holy Land, by the children of *Israel*. Of whomsoeuer the *Samaritanes* were descended, sure I am, that they were euer a perfidious Nation, and base: for as long as the state of the *Iewes* stood vp, they alwaies called themselues *Iewes*: when it suffered or sanke, they then vtterly denied to be of that Nation or Family; for at such time as they were returned from their first captiuitie, they became à mixt Nation; partly of the Colonies of the *Assyrians*, and partly of the Naturalls.

†.VII.
Of Hamathi.

THe last of *Canaans* sonnes was *Hamatheus*, or (according to the *Hebrew*) *Hamathi*, of *Hamath*, (saith *Beroaldus*:) of which (the aspiration taken away) the same is pronounced *Emath*, whereof *Hamatheus* was present. *Iosephus* & Saint *Hierome* confound *Emath* with *Antioch*: not that *Antioch* which standeth on the Riuer *Orontes*, on the frontier of *Comagena*, betweene the Mountaine *Casius* and the Prouince of *Pieria*, and *Seleucis*, of which Saint *Peter* was Bishop, and in which Saint *Luke* and *Ignatius* were borne; but *Antioch*, surnamed *Epiphania*, as *Beroaldus* supposeth, which standeth betweene

Apamea and *Emesa* in *Cassiotis*. Yet, indeed, *Emath* cannot be taken for either: for both that *Antioch* vpon *Orontes*, and that which neighboureth *Emesa*, are farther off seated from *Canaan*, than euer any of those Nations straggled. And whereas S. *Hierome* setteth *Emath*, which he confoundeth with *Epiphania*, in the Tribe of *Nephtali*; it is manifest, that *Epiphania*, which standeth to the North of *Emesa*, hath all the Prouince of *Laodicea* betweene it and any part of the Land diuided. And if *Libanon* it selfe were not shared among the Tribes, then could not *Epiphania* belong vnto them: for both the Prouinces *Laodicea* and *Libanica*, are betweene *Epiphania* and any part of the holy Land: & therefore *Emath* so taken could not be a part of *Nephtali*, as in the thirteenth of *Iosua* is directly proued. For *Iosua* counting the lands that remained vnpossest, reckoneth all Mount *Libanon* towards the Sunne-rising, from *Baalgad* vnder Mount *Hermon*, vntil we come to *Hamath*. And this reason (among others) is vsed, that *Emath* was not in *Nephtalim*, or any way belonging to the children of *Israel*: because *Dauid* accepted the presents of *Tohu* King of *Emath*, and (therewithall) conditions of peace: which hee would not haue done, if that Territory had euer belonged to the children of *Israel*, but would haue recouered it without composition, and by strong hand, as he did the rest. But this Argument (as I take it) hath no great weight. For if the promise which God made, be considered, as it is written in *Deuteronomy*, then might *Emath* bee comprehended, though seated altogether without the bounds of the Land promised, according to the description of *Moses* and *Iosua*: for *Emath* is indeede situate on the other side of the Mountaine of *Hermon*, which ioyneth to *Libanus*: and is otherwise called *Iturea*. But whereas *Hamath* is named in *Iosua* the 19. *v.* 35. and written in the *Latine* conuersion *Emath*, therein (saith *Beroaldus*) was S. *Hierome* mistaken. *Emath* or *Iturea* is that ouer the Mountaines, and the City in *Nephtalim* should be written *Hamath*: and so the *Septuagint* (vnderstanding the difference) write it *Ammath* and not *Emath*, the same which indeede belonged to the *Nephtalims*, seated on the South side of *Libanus*, to the East of *Assedim*: which City S. *Hierome* writes *Emath*; *Iosephus Hamah*; others, *Emathin*, or *Amatheos*, and the people *Amathein*; of which (as I take it) *Rabsakeh* vaunteth in the second of *Kings*: *Where is the god of Hamath?*

2. Sam. 8. 9.

Cap. 11. v. 24.

Cap. 18. & 19.

§. XIII.

Of the sonnes of Chush *(excepting* Nimrod,*) of whom hereafter.*

The sonnes of *Chush* were, { *Seba*, *Hauila*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, *Sabteca*, *Nimrod*, } And the sonnes of *Raama* were, { *Sheba*, and *Dedan*.

†. I.

That most of the sonnes of Chush *were seated in Arabia the Happy: and of the Sabæans that robbed* Iob: *and of the Queene that came to* Salomon.

SEba or *Saba* was the eldest sonne of *Chush*, the eldest sonne of *Ham*; to make a difference betweene Him and his Nephew *Sheba*, the sonne of his brother *Raama*, or *Regma* (or *Ragma* after *Montanus*:) his name is written with a single *(S) Samech*, and *Sheba* the sonne of *Regma* with an *(S)* asperate, which is the *Hebrew Schin*. *Seba* the eldest sonne of *Chush*, *Regma* his brother, and *Sheba* the sonne of *Regma*, possest both the shores of *Arabia Fœlix*. *Saba* tooke that part toward the Red Sea, as neerest his Father *Chush*, and the Land of the *Chusites*: *Regma* and *Sheba* the East coast of the same *Arabia*, which looketh into the Gulfe of *Persia*; of which *Pliny*: *Sabæi Arabum populi, propter thura clarissimi ad vtrag; maria porrectis gentibus habitant*; *The Sabæans people of Arabia, famous for their Frankincense, extending their Nations, dwell along both the Seas*, (to wit) *the Persian, and the Arabian*, or *Red Sea*. This Countrey was afterwards called *Arabia, à populi mixtione*, saith *Postellus*. To this agreeth *Ptolomy*, who setteth the City of *Saba* towards the *Arabian* or *Red Sea*, and the City *Rhegama* towards the *Persian*, with whom also we may leaue *Sabta*: for so much *Montanus* gathereth out of *Ptolomy*, because

because he remembreth a (Nation called *Stabæi*) neere the *Persian* Sea; and *Massabathæ* which descended of them. But *Montanus* hath sent *Regma*, or (as he calls him) *Rhama* into *Carmania*, for which I see no reason. *Iosephus*, who onely attended his owne fancies, hath banished *Saba* or *Seba* to the border of *Ethiopia*. But *Beroaldus* thinkes it strange, that the *Sabæi*, which stole away *Iobs* Cattle, should runne through all *Egypt*, and all *Arabia Petræa*, and finde out *Iob* in *Traconitis*, betweene *Palæstina* and *Cœlesyria* 1200. miles off. Now, as this coniecture was more than ridiculous, so do I thinke, that neither the *Sabæi* on the Red Sea, nor those toward the *Persian* Sea, could by any meanes execute the stealth vpon *Iob*, which soeuer *Beroaldus* shall take for neerest. But these were the *Sabæi* of *Arabia* the Desart, where *Guilandinus Melchior* affirmeth out of his owne experience, that the Citie *Saba* is seated: the same which *Ptolomie* calls *Saue*, now *Semiscasac*: and from this *Saba* in *Arabia* the Desart, came those *Magi*, or *Wise men* which worshipped *Christ*, saith *Melchior*, whose words are these: *The Magi came neither out of Mesopotamia* (as *Chrysostome*, *Hierome*, and *Ambrose* supposed) *nor out of Arabia the Happie, as many wise men doe beleeue, but out of Saba in Arabia the Desart: which Citie when my selfe was there, was (as I iudged it) called Semiscasac.* And to approue this opinion of *Guilandinus*, it appeareth that these *Sabæi* were neighbours to *Iob*, and lay fit to inuade and rob him. For both the other Nations (as well those on the *Persian* Sea, as those on the Red Sea) are so dis-ioyned with large Desarts, as there is no possibilitie for strangers to passe them, especially with any numbers of Cattell, both in respect of the Mountaines, of the sands, and of the extreame want of water in those parts: *Vbi nec homines, nec bestiæ videntur, nec aues, imò nec arbores, nec gramen aliquod, sed non nisi montes saxosi, altissimi, asperimi; Where there are found neither men, nor beasts, no not so much as birds, or trees, nor any pasture or grasse, but onely sharpe, and high stonie, and craggie mountaines.* *Beroaldus* and *Pererius* conceiue, that the Queene of *Saba* which came to visit *Salomon*, was of the *Sabæi* on the East side of *Arabia Fœlix*; but the contrarie seemeth more probable, and that she was Queene of *Saba* towards the Red Sea: for *Salomon* at that time commanding all that part of *Arabia Petræa*, twixt *Idumæa* and the Red Sea, as farre downe as *Midian* or *Madian*, and *Ezion Gaber*: and this Queene of *Saba* which inhabited the West part of *Arabia Fœlix*, being his neighbour, might without any farre trauaile enter his Territories, free from all danger of surprise by any other Prince or Nation.

But to auoid tediousnesse, it is manifest that *Seba* or *Saba*, *Sabta*, *Raama*, or *Regma*, with his Sonnes *Sheba* and *Dedan*, and *Sabteca*, were all the possessors of *Arabia* the Happy, & the Desart: onely *Hauilah* & *Nimrod* dwelt together on the East side of *Chush*, who held *Arabia Petræa*. Now for *Sabta*, there is found of his name the Citie of *Sabbatha* or *Sabota* in the same *Arabia*: of which both *Plinie* and *Ptolomie*; who withall nameth *Sabotale*, within the walls whereof there were sometimes found sixtie Temples. *Ezekiel* ioyneth the Father and the Sonne together, *The Merchants of Sheba and Raama were thy Merchants*. And that they were the Easterne *Arabians*, their merchandise witnesseth, formerlie repeated in the Chapter of *Paradise*. For *Iosephus* his fancies, that *Saba* was the parent of the *Ethiopians* about *Meroe*, and *Sabta* of the *Ethiopians Astabari*, they be not worthie any farther answer than hath already beene giuen: especially seeing these Cities, preseruing the memorie of the names of *Saba*, & of *Sabta* in *Arabia*, were yet remaining in *Ptolomies* time, though in some letters changed. As also in the coasts adioyning, the names of other of the brethren of the familie of *Cush*, with little alterations are preserued. In *Arabia* the Desart is found the Citie *Saba* or *Saue*, (now *Semiscasac*) with the Citie of *Rhegana* for *Rhegma*; & the Nation by *Ptolomie* himselfe called *Raabeni* of *Raamah*. In *Arabia* the Happie is found the Citie of *Rhegama*, and *Rahana*; which also keepeth the sound of *Rhegma*, the Citie of *Saptha* or *Saptah*, not farre from the East-coast of *Arabia*: as also the *Metropolis* and chiefe Citie in the bodie of the South part of *Arabia*, called without difference or alteration *Sabatha*; and to the West of *Sabatha* towards the Red Sea the great Citie of *Saba*; and the Nation adioyning, *Sabai*: and to the South thereof againe toward the streight entrance of the Red Sea, the Region of *Sabe*. To all these his Brothers and Nephewes which were seated on the East side of *Arabia*, *Hauilah* by the passage of *Tigris* was a neighbour, to whom hee might passe by Boate euen vnto *Rhegma* the Citie of *Raama*, or *Rhegma*, set neere the Riuer of *Lar* towards the mouth of the *Persian* Sea, which stood in *Ptolomies* time.

Plin. l. 12. c. 14. Ptol. tab. 6. Asiæ. Ezek. 27. 22.

†. II.

†. II.

Iosephus *his opinion of* Dedan, *one of the issue of* Chush, *to haue been seated in the West Aethiopia, disproued out of* Ezech: *and* Hieremie.

AND whereas *Iosephus* (whom in this S. *Hierome* followeth, as not curious heerein) sent *Dedan* the son of *Raamah* into West *Aethiopia*, it is strange that *Ezechiel* should couple *Sheba*, *Raamah*, and *Dedan* together; *Dedan* in the 15. Verse, and *Sheba*, and *Raamah* in the 22. Verse, to be the Merchants of *Tyre*, if *Dedan* had dwelt in West *Aethiopia*, which is distant from *Raamah* and *Sheba* (the habitation of his father and brother) aboue foure thousand miles. Besides which, the merchandise that the *Dedanites* brought to *Tyre* doth not make them naked Blacke-moores. For they of *Dedan* (saith *Ezechiel*) were thy Merchants in precious clothes for thy Chariots; and these Westerne *Aethiopians* neuer saw cloth, till the *Portugals*, seeking those Coasts, traded with them: the merchandise of the Countrie being Hides, Elephants teeth, some Gold and Amber, Ciuet Cats, and Rice, but nothing at all of any manufacture: and all these they exchanged for linnen, or yron chiefly.

But in those dayes the West part of *Africa* within the body of the land was knowne onely by imagination: and, being vnder the burnt *Zone*, was held vninhabitable. And therefore that the *Negros* of the West *Aethiopia*, which inhabite about *Serra Liona*, or *Niger*, could either passe by Sea or Land to *Tyre*, in the bottome of the *Mediterran* Sea, were a strange, or rather a foolish fancy. Now to put it out of dispute that *Dedan* also dwelt by the rest of the children of *Chush*, which seates they held by that name in the time of *Hieremy* the Prophet, let vs heare *Hieremy* his owne words: *Fly, ye Inhabitants of Dedan, for I haue brought the destruction of* Esau *vpon him.* Heereby it appeareth, that *Dedan* was a Neighbour to the *Idumæans*: and *Idumæa* is a Prouince of *Arabia Petræa*: and *Dedan* which dwelt on the North part of *Arabia fœlix*, ioyned in that part to *Petræa*, the seat of his Grand-father *Chush*; which neighbourhood and fellowship of *Dedan* and the *Idumæans*, is also confirmed by *Ezechiel*: *I will stretch out my hand vpon Edom, and destroy Man and Beast out of it, and I will make it desolate from Teman: and they of Dedan shall fall by the sword.*

Ezech. 15. 15.

§. XIII.

Of the issue of Mizraim: *and of the place of* Hieremie, *Chap. 9. Vers. 7.*

The termination *im* in the *Hebrew*, is commonly a signe of the plurall number, as *aim* of the *dual*.

AFter *Chush* it followeth to speake of *Mizraims* sonnes, whose names (saith Saint *Augustine*) were plurall, to signifie the Nations, which came of them. *Ludim*, the elder sonne of *Mizraim*, was the Father of the *Lybians* in *Africa*: and the rest of his Brothers dispersed themselues into all the Regions adioyning. Among the sons of *Shem* there is also *Lud*; but hee is differenced from *Lud* the sonne of *Mizraim* by the singular number: the sonne of *Shem* being written *Lud*, the sonne of *Mizraim*, *Ludim*: and yet these Names and Nations are often confounded, notwithstanding the apparant difference both of Names and Nations. For, that *Ludim* the sonne of *Mizraim* was the parent of the *Lybians* in *Africa*, and that he was seated not farre from *Mizraim* his father, appeareth by the Prophet *Hieremy*, who ioyneth them in this sort together: *Come vp yee Horses, and rage ye Chariots, and let the valiant men come forth, the Black-moores, and the Lybians which beare the shield*: for those Nations assisted the *Egyptians*, being of one parent descended. And in *Ezechiel*, *Phut* & *Lud* are ioyned together. *Aethiopia* (or *Chush*) saith *Ezechiel*, *c. 30. v. 3. and Phut and Lud, and all the common people, and the men of the Land that are in league, shall fall with them by the sword*: which is as much to say, as the sons of *Chush*, (which were the *Chushites*) the sonnes of *Mizraim*, (which were the *Egyptians*) and the *Lybians* (descended of his sonne *Lud*) with other the inhabitants of *Egypt* and *Africa*, shall fall together. *Hierosolymitanus* finds also in *Africa* a Nation of the *Lydians*. And I beleeue it: because *Hieremy* ioyneth the *Lybians*, and *Lydians* together in the place before remembered. But *Lybia* in *Africa* is by the *Hebrwes* called *Ludim* (saith *Arias Montanus*) though 2. *Chron.* 12. 3. they seeme to bee called *Lubim* or *Lubæi*, a name somewhat neerer the word *Lybies*, and by which it may seeme that the truer writing

Cap. 46. v. 9.

writing is, not *Libyes*, but *Lybies*. Neither is it here to be omitted, that *Pintus* (vpon the thirtieth of *Ezechiel*) vnderstandeth that which is spoken in the third Verse of *Lud*, not to be meant of the *Lybians* at all: for he will haue this threatning to be meant against the people of *Lyda*, a City (saith he) between *Egypt* and *Palæstina*, which opinion I could not mislike if the City of *Lyda* were so seated. But *Lyda* (which should be written *Lydda* with a double *D*, and is the same City which was afterward *Dospolis*, in which S. *Peter* cured *Æneas* of the palsey) standeth neere the Torrent *Gaas*, not farre from *Ioppe* the Port of *Hierusalem*. Yet it is not impossible but that this City might haue *Lud* for the Founder. For there are many Cities of one name founded in all the Regions of the World, and farre asunder; as after the names of *Alexander*, *Seleucus*, and *Antiochus*, many Cities called *Alexandria*, *Seleucia*, and *Antiochia*, so of diuers others. St. *Hierome* maketh *Lehabim* to be the Father of *Libya*, who was the third sonne of *Mizraim*: and so doth *Postellus*; and either opinion may be true.

The rest of *Mizraims* sonnes haue no proper Countries giuen them in the Scriptures, sauing *Casluhim* and *Caphtorim*, of whom came the *Philistims*, whom the Scriptures call *Peleset*.

These *Casluhim* inhabited *Cassiotis*, a Region lying in the entrance of *Egypt* from *Palæstina*, in which the Lake *Sirbonis*, and the Mountaine *Cassius* are found: not farre from whence *Pompey* was buried.

Caphtorim seated neere *Casluhim* in that Tract of *Egypt* called *Sethrotis*, not farre from *Pelusium*. *Strabo* calls it *Sethrotis*; *Stephanus* and *Pliny*, *Sethroitis*, of the City *Sethron*: which *Ortelius* takes to be the same which *Ptolomy* calls *Hercules parua*. Of the *Casluhim* and *Caphtorim* came the *Philistims*, which are called by the *Septuagint Allophyli* (which is) *Alienigenæ*, Strangers, or of a strange kindred. These *Philistims* inhabited the South part of the holy Land towards *Egypt*, of whom *Palæstina* tooke name. For the *Hebrewes* (saith *Isidore*) doe not vse the letter (*P*) but in stead of it (*ph*.) Their principall Cities were *Gaza*, *Ascalon*, *Azotus*, *Geth*, and *Accaron*: and the people of them called *Gasæi*, *Ascalonitæ*, *Azotij*, *Gethæi*, and *Accaronitæ*: *Isidore* affirmes, that *Ascalon* was first called *Philistim*: and of that City the Country adioyning. But where *Isidore* had it, I know not.

The first knowne King of the *Philistims* was that *Abimelech*, who had a liking to *Abrahams* wife; with whom *Abraham* made a couenant and league. This *Abimelech* dwelt indeed at this time in *Gerar*; but it is written that hee was also King of the *Philistims*, in these words: *Wherefore Isaac went to Abimelech King of the Philistims vnto Gerar.* Now in regard that this or some ancienter *Abimelech* gouerned the cõmonwealth greatly to his glory, the rest of his successors called themselues by the same name. The *Philistims* commanded that Tract of land vpon the *Mediterran* Sea to the Northward, from the Castle of *Pilgrims* (otherwise *Cæsarea Palestina*, or *Stratons* Towre) which was the South-border of *Phœnicia*, to *Gasa*, or to the Riuer of *Egypt*. The *Anakims* or strong Gyants were of these *Philistims*: & *Goliah* was of *Geth*, one of the fiue Cities aboue named. They had sometimes fiue Kings, saith *Lyranus*. They mastered the *Israelites* at seuerall times aboue 150. yeeres, and kept them Tributaries, till they were weakened by *Sampson* and *Samuel*; but in the end this yoke was taken off by *Dauid*, and laid on themselues.

Basil vpon the 33. Psalme.

Hierome vpon the 29. of Ezechiel.

It is obiected, that because these Cities & the Countries adioyning, were held by the sonnes of *Mizraim*, therefore did the *Israelites* dispossesse the sonnes of *Mizraim*, and not of *Canaan*, by forcing those places.

To this saith *Pererius*, that although the *Palestines* or *Philistims* held it in the time of *Iosua*, yet at the time of the promise it was possest by the *Canaanites*; as in the second of *Deuteronomy*. The *Heuites* dwelt in the Villages vnto *Gaza*. And what maruaile, if (the *Canaanites* being the greater part) the denomination were from them? For that the *Philistims* were of *Caphtor*, and so of *Mizraim* and not of *Canaan*, besides *Moses*, the Prophet *Hieremy* witnesseth: *The Lord will destroy the Philistims: the remnant of the issue of Caphtor*: and in like manner in the ninth of *Amos*, the *Philistims* are said to be the reliques of *Caphtorim*: *Haue not I brought vp* Israel *out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistims from Caphtor, and* Aram *from Kir?* so I reade this place with diuers of the learned. For whereas the Vulgar hath, & *Palestinos de Cappadocia*, & *Syros de Cyrene*, this conuersion *Beroaldus* condemneth; where *Caphtor* is taken for *Cappadocia*, and *Cyrene* for *Kir*. For *Cyrene* is a City directly West from *Egypt*, betweene *Ptolemais* or *Barce* and *Apollonia*: but *Kir* in *Asia* vnder the *Assyrians*: *Iunius* hath it *Kir*, and not *Cyrene*: and so hath the *Geneua*.

Hierem. 47. 4.

Amos c. 9. v. 7.

But

But *Pererius* cals Caphtorim Cappadocia, according to the Vulgar translation, to which he is bound: & yet it is not altogether improbable if he mean Cappadocia in Palæstina, and not that Cappadocia by the Sea Pontus in the North of Asia the lesse. For whether they inhabited Sethreites, or Cappadocia of Palæstina, it is not certainly knowne. And sure in this maner he may expound Cappadocia to be ambiguous, aswell as he doth Cyrene: taking it here not for Cyrene in Africa, but for a place in Media. For it is written in the second of *Kings*, that *Teglatphalasser* king of the Assyrians carried away the Inhabitants of Damascus into Kir: and so *Iosephus* seemes to vnderstand this Kir for Cyrene in Media, calling this Cyrene, *Media superior*: for it was the manner and policy of the Assyrians to transplant the people conquered by them, as they did the Samaritans or Israelites, and other Nations. And hereof it came that Kir was called *Syro-Media*: because the Syrians by the Assyrians were therein captiued.

Of which see in the second Booke, Chap 7. §.3.†.5.

Cap.16.v.9.

§.XV.
Of the issue of SEM.

†.I.
Of Elim, Assur, Arphaxad, *and* Lud.

It remaineth lastly to speake of the Sons of *Sem*, who are these:

1. *Alam*, or *Elam*,
2. *Assur*,
3. *Arphaxad*,
4. *Lud*, and
5. *Aram*.

THe posterity of *Sem*, *Moses* recounteth after the rest: because from them he proceedeth in order with the Genealogie and Story of the Hebrewes: (For of *Sem* was *Abraham* descended.)

Of these fiue sonnes, the Scriptures remember the length of the life of *Arphaxad* only, and only the children of him & *Aram*, the rest are barely spoken of by rehearsall of their names, sauing that it may bee gathered, that *Assur* (who was supposed to found Nineue) was also said to be the Father of the Assyrians, whose issues, and the issues of *Cham*, instantly contended for the Empire of the East: which sometimes the Assyrians, somtimes the Babylonians obtained, according to the vertue of their Princes. This is the common opinion, which also teacheth vs, that all the East parts of the World were peopled by *Assur*, *Elam*, and *Lud* (sauing India) which I beleeue *Noah* himselfe first inhabited: and to whom *Ophir* and *Hauilah* the sons of *Ioctan* afterward repaired. *Hi filij* Sem *ab Euphrate per fluuio partem Asiæ vsq; ad Oceanum Indicum tenuerunt*; *The sons of* Sem (saith S.Hierome) *held all those Regions from Euphrates to the Indian Ocean.*

Ios.Ant.l.1.c.7.

Of *Elam* came the Elamites, remembred, *Acts 2.vers.9.* and the Princes of Persia; which name then began to be out of vse and lost, when the Persians became Masters of Babylonia: the East Monarchy being established in them. Some prophane Writers distinguish Elam from Persia, and make the Elamites a people apart. But Susa (which the Scriptures call Susan) in Elam was the kings seat of Persia (witnesse *Daniel*:) *And I saw* (saith he) *in a vision, and when I saw it, I was in the Palace of Susan, which is in the Prouince of Elam.* This City is embraced by the Riuer Eulæus (according to *Ptolomy*) in *Daniel*, Vlai: and seated in the border of Susiana.

Cap.8.vers.2.

Ptol.Asia tab. 5.Dan.8.2.

Assur (as most Historians beleeue) the second son of *Sem*, was Father of the Assyrians, who disdaining the pride of *Nimrod*, parted from Babel, and built Nineue, of equall beauty and magnitude with Babylon, or exceeding it. But we shall in due place disproue that opinion. Euery mans hand hath beene in this Story, and therefore I shall not need herein to speake much: for the Assyrians so often inuaded and spoiled the Israelites, destroyed their Cities, and led them Captiues, as both in Diuine & Humane letters there is large and often mention of this Nation.

But howsoeuer *Herodotus* and *D.Siculus* extend this Empire, and honour this Nation with

with ample Dominion; yet was not the state of the *Assyrians* of any such power, after such time as *Sardanapalus* lost the Empire. For *Senacherib* who was one of the powerfullest Princes among them, had yet the Mountaine *Taurus* for the vtmost of his Dominion toward the North-east, and *Syria* bounded him toward the West, notwithstanding these vaunts of *Senacherib* in *Esay* the 37. *Haue the gods of the Nations deliuered them whom my Fathers haue destroyed? as* Gozan, *and* Haran, *and* Reseph, *and the children of* Eden *which were at Telassar? Where is the King of Hamath, and the King of Arphad, and the King of the City Sepharuaim, Hena and Iuah?* All these were indeede but petty Kings of Cities, and small Countries, as *Haran* in *Mesopotamia*: *Reseph* in *Palmyrena*: *Hamath* or *Emath* in *Iturea*, vnder *Libanus*: the Isle of *Eden*: *Sepher*, and others of this sort. Yea, *Nabuchodonosor*, who was most powerfull, before the conquest of *Egypt*, had but *Chaldæa*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Syria*, with *Palæstina* and *Phœnicia* parts thereof. But in this question of *Assur*, I will speake my opinion freely when I come to *Nimrod*, whose plantation I haue omitted among the rest of the *Chusites*, because hee established the first Empire: from whom the most memorable story of the World taketh beginning.

Vers.11.

Of *Arphaxad* came the *Chaldæans*, saith Saint *Hierome*, and *Iosephus*; but it must be those *Chaldæans* about *Vr*: for the sonnes of *Cham* possest the rest. It is true that he was the Father of the *Hebrewes*: for *Arphaxad* begat *Shela*, and *Shela*, *Heber*; of whom hereafter.

And that *Lud*, the fourth son of *Shem*, gaue name to the *Lydians* in *Asia* the lesse, is the common opinion, taken from *Iosephus* and S.*Hierome*; but I see not by what reason he was moued to straggle thither from his friends.

†.II.
Of Aram, *and his Sonnes.*

ARam the fift and last Son of *Shem* was the parent of the *Syrians*: of which *Damascus* was head. Their name was changed from *Aram* or *Aramites* by *Syrus* (saith *Eusebius* out of *Iosephus*) which *Syrus* liued before *Moses* was borne; the same which others call the sonne of *Apollo*. *Mesopotamia* also being but a Prouince of *Syria*, had the name of *Aram Naharaijm*, which is as much to say; as *Syria duorum fluuiorum*; *Syria compassed with two Riuers*, (to wit) *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. The Scriptures call it *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and *Padan Aram*: and the *Greekes Mesopotamia* simply.

Esay 7.8. Euseb.p.10.6.

Arise and get thee to Padan Aram (saith *Isaac* to *Iacob*) *to the house of Bethuel thy mothers father, and thence take thee a wife.* *Strabo* also remembreth it by the ancient name of *Aram* or *Aramea*, as these his owne words conuerted witnesse: *Quos nos Syros vocamus, ipsi Syri Aramenios & Arameos vocant*; *Those which we call Syrians* (saith hee) *themselues call Aramenians and Arameans.*

Gen.28.2. see Gen.25.10. also Deut.23.4. Iudg.3. Paral.2.19. Psal.59. Strab.l.1.

Against this opinion, that *Aram* the sonne of *Sem* was the Father and Denominator of the *Syrians* in generall; (and not onely of those in *Syria Inter-amnis*, which is *Mesopotamia*) some reade, *Genes.22.21.Kemuel*, the Father of the *Syrians*: where other out of the originall read *Kemuel*, the sonne of *Aram*. Neither is it any inconuenience for vs to vnderstand the word (*Aram*) here, not for the Nation, but for the name of some one of note; the rather, because in the History of *Abraham* and *Isaac* (which was in time long before *Kemuels* Posterity could be famous) we finde *Mesopotamia* called *Aram*; and that with an addition: sometimes with *Naharaijm*, and sometimes of *Padan*, to distinguish it from another *Aram*, which (as it seemes) then also was called *Aram*. For whereas *Iunius* thinks in his notes vpon *Gen.25.20.* that *Padan Aram* ought to be restrained to some part of *Mesopotamia*, (to wit) to that part which *Ptolomy* calls *Ancobaritis* (so called from the *Riuer Chaboras*, which diuiding it, runneth into *Euphrates*) the promiscuous vse of *Padan Aram*, and *Aram Naharaijm* (which latter appellation questionlesse comprehends the whole *Mesopotamia*) may seem to refute this opinion: especially seeing the signification of this appellation agreeth with the whole Region. For it signifieth as much as the yoke of *Syria*, which name agrees with this Region: because the two Riuers, (as it were) yoked together goe along it. The Reliques of the name *Padan* appeare in the name of two Cities in *Ptolomy*, called *Aphadana*: (as *Iunius* hath well noted) the one vpon *Chaboras*, the other vpon *Euphrates*.

The Sonnes of *Aram* were, { *Vz* or *Hus*, *Hul*, *Gether*, and *Mesch* or *Mes*.

Hieron. in trad. Hebraic. *Vz* or *Hus* inhabited about *Damascus*, and built that City, saith *Iosephus* and St. *Hierome*. But *Tostatus* mistaking this opinion, both in them and in *Lyra*, who also followeth *Iosephus*, affirmeth that *Abrahams* Steward *Eliezer* was the Founder thereof; though it were likely that *Hus* the eldest son of *Aram* dwelt neare vnto his father, who inhabited the body of *Syria*. For *Hus* was a Region of the same, adioyning to *Arabia* the Desart, & to *Balanea* or *Traconitis*: whereof the Prophet *Hieremy*: *Reioyce and be glad O Daughter of Edom that dwellest in the Land of Hus.* *Hus* therefore is seated beyond *Iordan*, in the East Region of *Traconitis*, adioyning to *Basan*, hauing *Baranea Gaulonitis*, and the Mountaine *Seir* to the East, *Edrai* to the South, *Damascus* North, and *Iordan* West: hauing in it many Cities and people, as may also be gathered out of *Hieremy*: *And all sorts of people: and all the kings of the Land of Hus.* In this Region dwelt *Iob*, descended of *Hus*, the son of *Nahor*, the brother of *Abraham* (saith S. *Hierome*) and married *Dina* the Daughter of *Iacob*, saith *Philo*.

Hierem. Lam. cap. 4. ver. 21.

Cap. 25. ver. 20.

Hul the second son of *Aram*, S. *Hierome* makes the Father of the *Armenians*: and *Gether* the third son, parent to the *Acarnanians* or *Carians*: which opinion, (because I finde not where to set him) I do not disproue, though I see no reason why *Gether* should leaue the fellowship of his owne brethren, and dwell among Strangers in *Asia* the lesse. *Iunius* giues *Hul* (whom he writes *Chul*) the Desart of *Palmyrena*, as far as *Euphrates*, where *Ptolomy* setteth the City of *Cholle*.

Gether (saith *Iosephus*) founded the *Bactrians*: but *Iosephus* gaue all *Noahs* children feathers, to carry them far away in all haste. For mine owne opinion, I alwaies keep the rule of Neighbourhood, and thinke with *Iunius* (to wit) That *Gether* seated himselfe neare his brothers, in the body of *Syria*, and in the Prouince of *Cassiotis*, and *Seleucis*, where *Ptolomy* placeth *Gindarus*, and the Nation by *Pliny* called *Gindareni*.

Iunius also giueth to *Mes* or *Mesch* the North part of *Syria*, betweene *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*, neare the Mountaine *Masius*. The certainty of those Plantations can no otherwise be knowne than by this probability, that *Aram* the father (of whom that great Region took name) planted his sons in the same Land about him: for he wanted no scope of Territory for himselfe and them; neither then when the World was newly planted, nor in many hundred yeares after: and therefore there is no reason to cast them in the Desart parts of the World, so far asunder. And as necessity and policy held them together for a while: so Ambition (which began together with Angels and Men) inhabiting the hearts of their children, set them asunder. For although these sons of *Aram*, and the sons of the rest of *Noahs* children, kept themselues within the bounds of some one large Kingdome; yet therein euery one also sought a Prouince apart, & to themselues; giuing to the Cities therein built their own names, thereby to leaue their memory to their Posterity: the vse of Letters being then rare, and knowne to few.

In this sort did the pride of the *Spaniards* in *America* cast them into so many Prouinces: euery one emulating and disdaining the greatnesse of other, as they are thereby to this day subiect to inuasion, expulsion, and destruction: so as (*Noua Hispania* and *Peru* excepted, because those Countries are vnaccessible to Strangers) an easie force will cast them out of all the rest.

Chap. 8. §. 7. *Mes* the fourth son is made the parent of the *Mæonians*: of whom something hath bin spoken already. *Arphaxad* the third son of *Shem*, begat *Shelah*, and *Heber*. *Heber* had two sons, *Phaleg* and *Ioctan*: and in *Phalegs* time was the Earth diuided.

†. III.

Of the diuision of the Earth in the time of Phaleg, *one of the sonnes of* Heber, *of the issue of* Sem.

THe many people which at the diuision (at *Phalegs* birth) were then liuing, and the through Plantation of all the East part of the World (at his death) hath made a doubt, whether the Earth were diuided at eyther. The *Hebrewes* (saith *Pererius* out of *Sedar Holam*, one of their Chronicles) affirm that this partition happened at the death of *Phaleg*; and *Phaleg* was borne in the yeare after the Floud 101. and liued in all 239. yeares, which numbers added makes 340. And therefore was it so many yeares after the Floud, ere the children of *Noah* feuered themselues. But to this opinion of the *Hebrewes*, and the doubt they make how in so few yeares as 101. (the time of *Phalegs* birth) so many people could be increased, *Pererius* giues this answer, That if 70. persons of the Family of *Iacob* increased to 600000. fighting men in 215. years, (besides women, children, and impotent persons) how much more is it likely, that so soone after the Floud the children of *Noah* might in a shorter time bring forth many multitudes, hauing receiued the blessing of God, *Increase and multiply, and fill the earth?* What strength this answer hath, let others iudge: for the children of *Israel* were 70. and had 215. years time: and the sons of *Noah* were but three, and had but 101. years of time, to the birth of *Phaleg*.

Others conceiue that *Phaleg* tooke that name after the diuision, in memory thereof: as *Iosephus* and Saint *Augustine*, who reason in this manner. If the diuision were at *Phalegs* death (which hapned in the yeare, which is commonly held to be the 48. of *Abraham*, but was by more likely computation 12 yeares before his birth) then was the diuision 38. years after *Ninus*, who gouerned 52. years: in the 43. yeare of whose reigne *Abraham* was borne. But when *Ninus* began to rule the *Assyrians*, 80. years before this diuision (as this diuision is placed by the *Hebrewes*, *Hierome* and *Chrysostome*) then was the earth so peopled in all the East and Northerne parts, as greater numbers haue not beene found at any time since. For *Ninus* associating to himselfe *Arieus* King of *Arabia*, a people who at that time (saith *Diod. Siculus*) *plurimum opibus atq; armis præstabant, Exceeded both in riches and bodies of men*, subdued many Cities in *Armenia*; receiued *Barzanis* into grace; then inuaded *Media*, and crucified *Pharnus* the King thereof, with his Wife and seuen Children; vanquished all those Regions between *Nilus* and *Tanais*, the *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, the Kingdoms of *Syria*, and all the Nations of *Persia*, to the *Hyrcanian* Sea. For the numbers which followed *Ninus* (already remembred out of *Ctesias*) against *Zoroaster* and others: and *Zoroaster* on the other side, who made resistance with 400000. proue it sufficiently, that if the diuision had not happened before the death of *Phaleg*, there had needed no diuision at that time at all. For some of them were so ill satisfied with their partitions, as they sought to be masters of all, and greater Armies were there neuer gathered than by *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: wherefore in this opinion there is little appearance of the truth.

Ioseph. l. 1. Ant. Aug. de Ciuit. Dei l. 16. c. 11.

Per. in Gen. lib. 15. c. 16.

But for that conceit that if the diuision had beene made at the birth of *Phaleg*, there were not then sufficient numbers borne to fill the earth: It was neuer meant that the earth could be filled euery where at the very instant, but by times and degrees. And surely whatsoeuer mens opinions haue beene heerein, yet it is certaine, that the diuision of tongues and of men must goe neere together with the ceasing of the worke at *Babel*: and that the enterprize of *Babel* was left off instantly vpon the confusion of Languages, where followed the execution of the diuision; and so neyther at the birth nor death of *Phaleg*: for *Phaleg* was borne in the yeare 101. after the Floud, which was the yeare that *Nimrod* came into *Shinaar*, or ten years after he arriued, saith *Berosus*.

Now if it be obiected that *Phaleg* (the Etymologie of whose name signifieth diuision) must haue liued without a name, except the name had beene giuen him at the time of this confusion and partition: to this obiection it may be answered, That the change of names vpon diuers accidents is not rare in the Scriptures: for *Iacob* was called *Israel* after he had wrestled with the Angel; *Abraham* was first *Abram*; and *Edom Esau*; and that *Phaleg* being a principall man in this diuision had his first name vpon this accident changed, it is most probable.

And lastly, whereas the *Hebrewes*, Saint *Hierome* and *Chrysostome* account *Heber* for a great Prophet, if that by giuing his sonne the name of *Phaleg*, hee fore-told the diuision which followed: to this I say, I doe not finde that *Heber* deserued any such honour, if hee had thereupon so called his sonne: for diuision and dispersion followeth increase of people of necessity; and this Prophesie (if any such had beene) might also haue reference to the diuision, which afterwards fell amongst the *Hebrewes* themselues.

But if we giue a reasonable time to the building of the Towre and City of *Babel*, in which time many people (by reason and by demonstratiue proofe) might be increased: and that vpon the fall thereof the confusion and diuision followed (whereupon *Phelag* tooke name) then in this opinion there is nothing either curious or monstrous.

†.IV.

Of the sonnes of Ioctan, *the other sonne of* Heber.

The sons of *Ioctan* were:
1. *Elmodad.*
2. *Saleph*, or *Salep*, or *Sheleph.*
3. *Asamath*, or *Chatzar.*
4. *Iare*, or *Iaraah*, or *Ierah.*
5. *Hadoram.*
6. *Vzal*, or *Vxal.*
7. *Dicklah*, or *Dicla.*
8. *Obal*, or *Ebal*, or *Hobal.*
9. *Abimael.*
10. *Sheba*, or *Seba.*
11. *Ophir*, or *Opir.*
12. *Hauilah*, or *Chauila*, and
13. *Iobab.*

ALl those sons of *Ioctan* (according to Saint *Hierome*) dwelled in the East parts of the world, or *India*, euen from the Riuer *Cophe* or *Choas*, which is one of the branches or heads of *Indus*.

But the certaine places of those thirteene Sons cannot be gathered out of the Scriptures, the words of *Moses* being generall: *And their dwelling was from Mesha as thou goest vnto Separ a Mount in the East.* Of all these thirteene Sons, there were onely three memorable, (to wit) *Sheba*, *Ophir*, and *Hauilah*, Concerning whose names, to auoid confusion, it is to be obserued, that among the sons of *Chush*, two of them had also the names of *Sheba* and *Hauilah*. *Abraham* had also a third *Saba* or *Sheba*, his grand-childe by his wife *Ketura*. But *Seba* the sonne of *Chush*, and *Sheba* the sonne of *Rhegma* his Nephew, we haue left in *Arabia Fœlix*: and *Hauilah* the son of *Chush* vpon *Tigris*. *Saba* the grand-childe of *Abraham* was (as some haue thought) the Father of the *Sabæans* in *Persia*: of which Nations *Dionysius de Orbis situ*, maketh mention. *Primùm Sabæi; post hos sunt Passagardæ; prope verò hos sunt Tasci: The first are Sabæans: after these be Passagardæ; and neere these the Tasci.* And whereas it is written: *But vnto the Sonnes of the Concubines which* Abraham *had*, Abraham *gaue gifts, and sent them away from* Isaac *his sonne (while he yet liued) Eastward to the East-Country*: hereupon it is supposed, that this *Saba* the sonne of *Abraham*, wandered into *Persia*: for *Persia* was accounted the furthermost East-Countrey in respect of *Iudæa*; which also *Ouid* setteth vnder the Sun-rising. Yet seeing the rest of *Abrahams* sons seated themselues on the borders of *Iudæa*, I rather choose to leaue *Saba* the son of *Abraham* in *Arabia* the Desart, where *Ptolomy* setteth a City of that name.

Gen.10.30.

Gen.25.6.

Metam.lib.1.

But *Saba* the sonne of *Ioctan*, the son of *Heber*, (as I conceiue) inhabited *India* it selfe. For *Dionysius Afer* in his *Periegesis*, (or description of the World) which hee wrote in Greeke Verse, among the Regions of *India* findeth a Nation called the *Sabæi*. *Taxilis hos inter medios habitat q; Sabæus; In the middest of these dwell the Sabæi, and the Taxili*, saith this *Dionysius*.

τοῦσδε μέσοι νάιουσι σαβαὶ καὶ ταξίλοι ἀνδρες.

†.V.

Of Ophir *one of* Ioctans *sonnes, and of Peru, and of that voyage of* Salomon.

OPhir also was an Inhabitant of the East *India*, and (as S. *Hierome* vnderstands it) in one of the Ilands plentifull with gold, which are now known by the name of *Moluccæ*. *Iosephus* vnderstands *Ophir* to be one of those great head-lands in *India*, which by a generall name are called *Chersonesi*, or *Peninsulæ*: of which there are two very notorious; *Callecut* and *Malacon*. *Pererius* takes it rightly for an Iland, as Saint *Hierome* doth, but

but he sets it at the head-land of *Malacca*. But *Ophir* is found among the *Moluccas* farther East.

Arias Montanus out of the second of *Chronicles*, the third Chapter and sixth Verse, gathers that *Ophir* was *Peru* in *America*, looking into the West Ocean, commonly called *Mare del Sur*, or the South Sea; by others *Mare pacificum*. The words in the second of the *Chronicles* are these: *And he ouer-layed the house with precious stones for beautie; and the gold was gold of Paruaim. Iunius* takes this gold to bee the gold of *Hauilah*, remembred by *Moses* in the description of *Paradise*: *And the gold of that Land is good*: finding a Towne in *Characene* a Prouince of *Susiana* called *Barbatia*; so called (as he thinks) by corruption for *Paruaim*: from whence those Kings subiected by *Dauid*, brought this gold, with which they presented him; and which *Dauid* preserued for the enriching of the Temple.

Gen.2.11.& 12. Plin.l.6.c.28.

But this fancy of *Peru* hath deceiued many men, before *Montanus*, and *Plessis*, who also tooke *Ophir* for *Peru*. And that this question may be a subiect of no further dispute; it is very true that there is no Region in the World of that name: sure I am, that at least *America* hath none, no not any City, Village, or Mountaine so called. But when *Francis Pisarro* first discouered those Lands to the South of *Panama*, arriuing in that Region which *Atabaliba* commanded (a Prince of magnificence, Riches and Dominion inferior to none) some of the *Spaniards* vtterly ignorant of that language, demanding by signes (as they could) the name of the Country, and pointing with their hand athwart a Riuer, or Torrent, or Brooke that ranne by, the *Indians* answered *Peru*, which was either the name of that Brooke, or of water in generall. The *Spaniards* thereupon conceiuing that the people had rightly vnderstood them, set it downe in the *Diurnall* of their enterprise, and so in the first description made, and sent ouer to *Charles* the Emperor, all that West part of *America* to the South of *Panama* had the name of *Peru*, which hath continued euer since, as diuers *Spaniards* in the *Indies* assured me; which also *Acosta* the *Iesuite* in his naturall and morall History of the *Indies* confirmeth. And whereas *Montanus* also findeth, that a part of the *Indies* (called *Iucatan*) tooke that name of *Ioctan*, who as hee supposeth nauigated from the vtmost East of *India* to *America*: it is most true, that *Iucatan* is nothing else in the language of that Country, but [*What is that*] or [*What say you?*] For when the *Spaniards* ask'd the name of that place (no man conceiuing their meaning) one of the Saluages answered *Iucatan* (which is) *What aske you*, or *What say you?* The like hapned touching *Paria*, a mountainous Country on the South side of *Trinidado* & *Margarita*: for when the *Spaniards* inquiring (as all men doe) the names of those new Regions which they discouered, pointed to the Hils a farre off, one of the people answered, *Paria*, which is as much to say, as, *high Hils* or *Mountaines*. For at *Paria* begins that maruailous ledge of Mountaines, which from thence are continued to the Strait of *Magellan*, from eight degrees of North latitude to the 52. of South: and so hath that Country euer since retained the name of *Paria*.

The same hapned among the *English*, which I sent vnder Sir *Richard Greeneuile* to inhabite *Virginia*. For when some of my people asked the name of that Country, one of the Saluages answered, *Wingandacon*, which is as much to say, as, *You weare good clothes*, or gay clothes. The same hapned to the *Spaniard* in asking the name of the Iland *Trinidado*: for a *Spaniard* demanding the name of that selfe place which the Sea incompassed, they answered, *Caeri*, which signifieth an Iland. And in this manner haue many places newly discouered beene intituled, of which *Peru* is one. And therefore wee must leaue *Ophir* among the *Moluccas*, whereabout such an Iland is credibly affirmed to be.

Now although there may be found gold in *Arabia* it selfe (towards *Persia*) in *Hauilah*, now *Susiana*, and all alongst that East *Indian* shore; yet the greatest plenty is taken vp at the *Philippines*, certaine Ilands planted by the *Spaniards*, from the East *India*. And by the length of the passage which *Salomons* ships made from the red Sea, (which was three yeares in going and comming) it seemeth they went to the vttermost East, as the *Moluccas* or *Philippines*. Indeede these that now goe from *Portugal*, or from hence, finish that nauigation in two yeares, and sometimes lesse: and *Salomons* ships went not aboue a tenth part of this our course from hence. But wee must consider, that they euermore kept the coast, and crept by the shores, which made the way exceeding long. For before the vse of the Compasse was knowne, it was impossible to nauigate athwart the Ocean; and therefore *Salomons* ships could not finde *Peru* in *America*. Neither was it needfull

for

for the *Spaniards* themselues (had it not beene for the plenty of gold in the East *India* Ilands, farre aboue the mines of any one place of *America*) to saile euery yeare from the West part of *America* thither, and there to haue strongly planted, & inhabited the richest of those Ilands: wherein they haue built a City called *Manilia*. *Salomon* therefore needed not to haue gone farther off than *Ophir* in the East, to haue sped worse: neither could he nauigate from the East to the West in those dayes, whereas he had no coast to haue guided him.

Tostatus also gathereth a fantasticall opinion out of *Rabanus*, who makes *Ophir* to be a Country, whose Mountaines of gold are kept by *Griffins*: which Mountaines *Solinus* affirmeth to bee in *Scythia Asiatica*, in these words: *Nam cum auro & gemmis affluant, Griphes tenent vniuersa, alites ferocissimæ, Arimaspi cum his dimicant, &c. For whereas these Countries abound in gold, and rich stones, the Griffins defend the one and the other: a kinde of Fowle the fiercest of all other; with which Griffins a Nation of people called Arimaspi make warre.* These *Arimaspi* are said to haue beene men with one eye onely, like vnto the *Cyclopes* of *Sicilia*: of which *Cyclopes*, *Herodotus* and *Aristeus* make mention: and so doth *Lucan* in his third Booke: and *Valerius Flaccus*: & *D. Siculus* in the story of *Alexander Macedon*. But (for mine owne opinion) I beleeue none of them. And for these *Arimaspi*, I take it that this name signifying *One-eyed*, was first giuen them by reason that they vsed to wear a vizzard of defence, with one sight in the middle to serue both eies; & not that they had by nature any such defect. But *Solinus* borroweth these things out of *Pliny*, who speakes of such a Nation in the extreame North, at a place called *Gisolitron*, or the Caue of the Northeast winde. For the rest, as all fables were commonly grounded vpon some true stories or other things done: so might these tales of the *Griffins* receiue this Morall: That if those men which fight against so many dangerous passages for gold, or other riches of this World, had their perfect senses, and were not depriued of halfe their eye-sight (at least of the eye of right reason & vnderstanding) they would content themselues with a quiet and moderate estate; and not subiect themselues to famine, corrupt aire, violent heate, and cold, and to all sorts of miserable diseases. And though this fable be fained in this place, yet if such a tale were told of some other places of the World, where wilde Beasts or Serpents defend Mountaines of gold, it might bee auowed. For there are in many places of the world, especially in *America*, many high and impassable Mountains which are very rich & full of gold, inhabited onely with Tygres, Lyons, and other rauenous and cruell beasts: vnto which if any man ascend (except his strength be very great) he shall be sure to finde the same warre, which the *Arimaspi* make against the *Griffins*: not that the one or other had any sense of the gold, or seek to defend that metall, but being disquieted, or made affraid of themselues or their young-ones, they grow inraged and aduenturous. In like sort it may be said that the *Alegartos*, (which the *Egyptians* call the *Crocodyles*) defend those Pearles which lye in the Lakes of the Inland: for many times the poore *Indians* are eaten vp by them, when they diue for the pearle. And though the *Alegartos* know not the pearle, yet they finde sauour in the flesh and bloud of the *Indians*, whom they deuoure.

Flaccus lib. 6. Diod. Sicul. l. 16

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†. VI.

Of Hauilah *the sonne of* Ioctan, *who also passed into the East Indies: and of* Mesha *and* Sepher *named in the bordering of the Families of* Ioctan: *with a Conclusion of this discourse touching the plantation of the World.*

OF *Hauilah* the sonne of *Ioctan*, there is nothing else to be said, but that the generall opinion is, that he also inhabited in the East India in the Continent, from which *Ophir* past into the Ilands adioyning. And whereas *Ganges* is said to water *Hauilah*, it is meant by *Hauilah* in the East India, which tooke name of *Hauilah* the son of *Ioctan*: but *Hauilah*, which *Pison* compasseth, was so called of *Hauilah*, the sonne of *Chush*, as is formerly proued by this place of Scripture: *Saul smote the Amalekites from Hauilah, as thou commest to Shur, which is before Egypt.* But that *Saul* euer made Warre in the East India, no man hath suspected. For an end wee may conclude, that of the thirteene sonnes of *Ioctan*, these three, *Saba*, *Hauilah*, & *Ophir*; though at the first seated by their brethren about the hill *Masius* or *Mesh*, *Gen.* 10. 30. (to wit) betweene *Cilicia* and *Mesopotamia*; yet at length either themselues or their issues remoued into the East India, leauing the other

1. Sam. 15. 7.

other Families of *Ioctan*, to fill the Countries of their first plantation, which the Scripture defines to haue beene from *Mesh* vnto *Sephar*. And although S. *Hierome* take *Mesh* to be a Region of the East India, and *Sephar* a Mountaine of the same (which Mountain, *Montanus* would haue to be the *Andes* in *America*) those fancies are farre beyond my vnderstanding. For the word (*East*) in the Scriptures, where it hath reference to *Iudæa*, is neuer farther extended than into *Persia*. But *Mesch* is that part of the Mountaine of *Masius* in the North of *Mesopotamia*, out of which the Riuer *Chaboras* springeth which runneth by *Charran*: and in the same Region we also finde for *Sephar* (remembred by *Moses*, *Sipphara* by *Ptolomy*, standing to the East of the Mountaine *Masius*; from whence *Ioctan* hauing many sonnes, some of them might passe into *India*, hearing of the beauty and riches thereof. But this was in processe of time.

The other fashion of planting I vnderstand not, being grounded but vpon mens imaginations, contrary to reason and possibility. And that this Mountaine in the East was no farther off than in those Regions before remembred, it appeareth by many places of the Scripture where the same phrase is vsed: as in *Numbers* 23. Balac *the King of Moab hath brought me from Aram, out of the Mountaine of the East*; which was from the East part of *Mesopotamia*. For *Balac* brought *Balaam* out of *Mesopotamia*, (witnesse this place of Deuteronomie:) *Because they hyred* Balaam *the sonne of* Beor, *of Pethor in Aram Naharaïm, to curse thee*: for *Aram Naharaïm* was *Syria fluuiorum*, which is *Mesopotamia*, as aforesaid.

Verse 7. Cap. 23. vers. 4.

This plantation of the World after the floud doth best agree (as to me it seems) with all the places of Scripture compared together. And these be the reports of Reason and probable coniecture; the Guides which I haue followed herein, and which I haue chosen to goe after; making no valuation of the opinions of men, conducted by their owne fancies, be they ancient or moderne. Neither haue I any end herein, priuate, or publike, other than the discouery of truth. For as the partiality of man to himselfe hath disguised all things: so the factious and hireling Historians of all Ages (especially of these latter times) haue by their many Volumes of vntrue reports left *Honor* without a Monument, and *Vertue* without Memory: and (in stead thereof) haue erected *Statues* and *Tropheis* to those, whom the darkest forgetfulnesse ought to haue buryed, and couered ouer for euermore. And although the length and dissoluing Nature of Time, hath worne out or changed the Names and Memory of the Worlds first planters after the floud (I mean the greatest number and most part of them) yet all the foot-steps of Antiquity (as appeares by that which hath beene spoken) are not quite worne out nor ouer-growne: for *Babylon* hath to this day the sound of *Babel*; *Phœnicia* hath *Zidon*, to which City the eldest Son of *Canaan* gaue name; so hath *Cilicia*, *Tharsis*; and the *Armenians*, *Medes*, *Hiberians*, *Cappadocians*, *Phrygians*, the *Syrians*, *Idumæans*, *Libyans*, *Moores*, and other Nations, haue preserued from the death of forgetfulnesse some signes of their first Founders and true Parents.

CHAP. IX.

Of the beginning and establishing of Gouernment.

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§. I.

Of the proceeding from the first Gouernment vnder the eldest of Families to Regall, and from Regall absolute, to Regall tempered with Lawes.

IT followeth now to entreate how the World began to receiue Rule and Gouernment, which (while it had scarcity of People) vnder-went no other Dominion than Paternity and Eldership. For the Fathers of Nations were then as Kings, and the eldest of Families as Princes. Hereof it came, that the word (*Elder*) was alwayes vsed both for the Magistrate, and for those of Age and Grauity: the same bearing one signification almost in all languages. For in the eleuenth of *Numbers* God commanded *Moses* to gather together 70. of the Elders of the people, and Gouer-

Gouernour ouer them: the *Hebrew* bearing the same sense, which the *Latine* word *Senes* or *Seniores* doth. So it is written in *Susanna, Then the Assembly beleeued them as those that were the Elders and Iudges of the People.* And so in the words of those false Iudges and witnesses to *Daniel, Show it vnto vs, seeing God hath giuen thee the office of an Elder. Demosthenes* vseth the same word for the Magistrate among the *Grecians. Cicero* in *Cato* giueth two other reasons for this appellation: *Apud Lacedæmonios qui amplissimum Magistratum gerunt, vt sunt, sic etiam appellantur Senes; Among the Lacedæmonians the chiefe Magistrates, as they were so are they called Eldermen*: and againe: *Ratio & prudentia nisi essent in senibus, non summum Concilium Maiores nostri appellâssent Senatum; If reason and aduisement were not in old men, our Ancestors had neuer called the highest Councell by the name of a Senate.*

But though these reasons may well be giuen; yet wee doubt not but in this name of (*Elders*) for Gouernours or Counsailers of State, there is a signe that the first Gouernors were the Fathers of Families; and vnder them the eldest Sons. And from thence did the *French, Italian,* and *Spuniard* take the word (*Signor*) and out of it (*Seignourie*) for Lordship and Dominion: signifying (according to *Loyseau*) puissance in propriety, or proper power. The kindes of this *Seignourie, Seneca* makes two: the one, *Potestas aut imperium; Power or command*; the other, *Proprietas aut dominium; Propriety or Mastership*: the correlatiue of the one is the subiect, of the other the slaue. *Ad Cæsarem* (saith he) *potestas omnium pertinet, ad singulos proprietas; Cæsar hath power ouer all, and euery man propriety in his owne*: and againe, *Cæsar omnia imperio possidet, singuli dominio; Cæsar holdeth all in his power, and euery man possesseth his owne.* But as men and vice began abundantly to increase: so obedience, (the fruit of naturall reuerence, which but from excellent seed seldome ripeneth) being exceedingly ouer-shadowed with pride, and ill examples, vtterly withered and fell away. And the soft weapons of paternall perswasions (after mankind began to neglect and forget the originall and first giuer of life) became in all ouer-weak, either to resist the first inclination of euill, or after (when it became habituall) to constraine it. So that now, when the hearts of men were onely guided & steered by their owne fancies, & tost to and fro on the tempestuous Seas of the world, while wisedome was seuered from power, and strength from charity: Necessity (which bindeth euery nature but the immortal) made both the Wise & Foolish vnderstand at once, that the estate of reasonable men would become far more miserable than that of beasts, and that a generall floud of confusion would a second time ouer-flow them, did they not by a generall obedience to order and dominion preuent it. For the mighty, who trusted in their owne strengths, found others again (by interchange of times) more mighty than themselues: the feeble fell vnder the forcible; and the equall from equall receiued equall harmes. Insomuch that licentious disorder (which seemed to promise a liberty vpon the first acquaintance) proued vpon a better triall, no lesse perillous than an vnindurable bondage.

Necessitas est firmum iudicium, & immutabilis prouidentiæ potestas.

These Arguments by Necessity propounded, and by Reason maintained and confirmed, perswaded all Nations which the Heauens couer, to subiect themselues to a Master, and to Magistracy in some degree. Vnder which Gouernment, as the change (which brought with it lesse euill, than the former mischiefes) was generally pleasing: so time (making all men wise that obserue it) found some imperfection & corrosiue in this cure. And therefore the same Necessity which inuented, and the same Reason which approued souereign power, bethought it selfe of certaine equall rules, in which Dominion (in the beginning boundlesse) might also discerne her own limits. For before the inuention of Lawes, priuate affections in supreme Rulers made their own fancies both their Treasurers and Hangmen: measuring by this yard, and waighing in this ballance, both good and euill.

For as wisedome in Eldership preceded the rule of Kings; so the will of Kings foregoing the inuentions of Lawes. *Populus nullis legibus tenebatur: arbitria principum pro legibus erant; The people were not gouerned by any other lawes than the wils of Princes.* Hereof it followed, that when Kings left to be good, neither did those mens vertues value them which were not fancied by their Kings, nor those mens vices deforme them that were. *Amor interdum nimis videt, interdum nihil videt; Loue sees one while too much, another while starke nothing.* Hence it came to passe, that after a few years (for direction and restraint of Royall power) Lawes were established: and that gouernment which had

had this mixture of equality (holding in an euen ballance supreme power and common right) acquired the title of Regall: the other (which had it not) was knowne for Tyrannicall: the one God established in fauour of his people: the other he permitted for their affliction.

In the infancy of this Regall authority, Princes as they were chosen for their vertues onely, so did they measure their powers by a great deale of moderation. And therefore (saith *Fabius Pictor*) *Principes, quia iusti erant, & religionibus dediti, iure habiti Dij & dicti; Princes, because they were iust and religious, were rightly accounted and called gods.* De aureo sæculo part. 1.

And though (speaking humanely) the beginning of Empire may be ascribed to Reason and Necessity; yet it was God himselfe that first kindled this light in the mindes of men, whereby they saw that they could not liue and bee preserued without a Ruler and Conducter: God himselfe by his eternall prouidence hauing ordained Kings; and the law of Nature Leaders, and Rulers ouer others. For the very Bees haue their Prince, the Deere their Leaders; and Cranes (by order imposed) watch for their owne safety. *The most High beareth rule ouer the Kingdomes of Men; and appointeth ouer it whomsoeuer hee pleaseth. By me* (saith *Wisedome*, spoken by the Son of God) *Kings reigne; By me Princes rule*; and *it is God* (saith Daniel) *that setteth vp Kings, and taketh away Kings.* And that this power is giuen from God, *Christ* himselfe witnesseth, speaking to *Pilate; Thou couldest haue no power at all against me, except it were giuen thee from aboue.* Dan. 5. 21. Prou. 8. 15. Dan. 2. 21. Iohn 19. 21.

It was therefore by a threefold Iustice that the World hath beene gouerned from the beginning, (to wit) by a Iustice naturall: by which the Parents and Elders of Families gouerned their Children, and Nephewes, and Families; in which gouernment the Obedience was called naturall Piety: Againe, by a Iustice diuine, drawne from the Lawes and Ordinances of God; and the Obedience hereunto was called Conscience: And lastly, by a Iustice ciuill, begotten by both the former; & the Obedience to this we call Duty. That by these three those of the eldest times were commanded, and that the rule in generall was Paternall, it is most euident: for *Adam* being Lord ouer his owne Children, instructed them in the seruice of God his Creatour; as wee reade, *Cain* and *Abel* brought Oblations before God, as they had beene taught by their Parent, the Father of Mankinde.

§. II.

Of the three commendable sorts of Gouernment with their opposites: and of the degrees of humane society.

WHat other Policy was exercised, or State founded after such time as mankinde was greatly multiplied before the Floud, it cannot bee certainely knowne, though it seeme by probable coniecture, that the same was not without Kings in that first Age: it being possible that many Princes of the *Egyptians* (remembred among their antiquities) were before the generall Floud: and very likely, that the cruell Oppressions in that Age proceeded from some tyranny in Gouernment, or from some rougher forme of Rule, than the Paternall.

Berosus ascribeth the rule of the World in those dayes to the Gyants of *Libanus*, who mastred (saith he) all Nations from the Sun-rising to the Sun-set. But in the second Age of the World, and after such time as the rule of Eldership failed, three seuerall sorts of Gouernment were in seuerall times established among men according to the diuers natures of Places and People. Berosus libro 1.

The first, the most ancient, most generall, and most approued, was the Gouernment of one, ruling by iust Lawes, called *Monarchy*: to which *Tyranny* is opposed, being also a sole and absolute Rule, exercised according to the will of the Commander, without respect or obseruation of the Lawes of God, or Men. For a lawfull Prince or Magistrate (saith *Aristotle*) is the Keeper of Right & Equity: and of this condition ought euery Magistrate to be, according to the rule of Gods word: *Iudges and Officers shalt thou make thee in thy Cities: And these shall iudge the people with righteous iudgement.* Deut. 16. 18.

The second Gouernment is of diuers principall Persons established by order, and ruling by Lawes, called *Aristocracy*, or *Optimatum potestas*; to which *Oligarchia* (or the particular faction and vsurpation of a few great-ones) is opposed: as the *Decem viri*, or *Trium viri*, and the like.

The

The third is a State popular, (or Gouernment of the people) called *Democratia*, to which is opposed *Ochlocratia*, or the turbulent vniust ruling of the confused multitude, seditiously swaying the State, contrary to their own Lawes & Ordinances. These three kinds of Gouernment are briefly exprest by *Tholosanus*; *vnius, paucorum, & multorum, Of one, of few, of many.*

Now as touching the beginning and order of policy since the second increase of Mankinde, the same grew in this sort: First of all, euery Father, or eldest of the Family, gaue Lawes to his owne issues, and to the people from him and them increased. These as they were multiplied into many Housholds (man by nature louing society) ioyned their Cottages together in one common Field or Village, which the Latins call *Vicus*; of the *Greeke* οἶκος, which signifieth a House, or of the word (*Via*) because it hath diuers waies & paths leading to it. And as the first House grew into a Village, so the Village into that which is called *Pagus*, (being a society of diuers Villages) so called of the *Greeke* πῆγη, which signifieth a Fountain: because many people (hauing their habitations not far asunder) drank of one Spring or Streame of water. To this word the *English* Hundreds, or (as some think) Shires answereth not vnfitly.

But as men and impiety began to gather strength, and as emulation & pride between the Races of the one and the other daily increased: so both to defend themselues from out-rage, and to preserue such goods as they had gathered, they began to ioyne and set together diuers of their Villages, inuironing them first with bankes and ditches, and afterwards with wals: which being so compassed were then called *Oppida*; either *ab opponendo se hostibus, Because wals were opposed against Enemies*; or *ab opibus, because thither they gathered their riches for safety and defence*: as also they were called *Vrbes, ab orbe*; because when they were to build a City, they made a Circle with a Plough (saith *Varro*) therewith measuring and compassing the ground which they went to inclose or fortifie. And although *Vrbs* and *Ciuitas* be often confounded, yet the difference was anciently in this, that *Vrbs* signified no other than the very wals and buildings, and *Ciuitas* was taken for the Citizens, inhabiting therein: so called of *Ciuis*, and that, *ab eo quòd multitudo coiuit, of comming together.* But all inhabitants within these wals are not properly Citizens, but onely such as are called Free-men: who bearing proportionably the charge of the City, may by turnes become Officers and Magistrates thereof: the rest goe vnder the name of Subiects, though Citizens by the same generall name of Subiects are also knowne. For euery Citizen is also a Subiect, but not euery Subiect a Citizen: perhaps also some Citizen (as the chiefe Magistrate, if he be to be termed one of the Citizens) is no Subiect; but of this we neede not stand to inquire. The word (Magistrate) is taken *à Magistro, from a Master*, and the word (Master) from the Aduerbe *Magis* (as also *Magisteria, Precepts of Art*) or else from the *Greeke* word (*Megistos*:) and so the *Greekes* call them *Megistanes*, whom the *Latines* call *Magnates*, or *Magistratus*.

Ethic. 5. The office and duty of euery Magistrate *Aristotle* hath written in few words. *A Magistrate or Prince* (saith hee) *is the keeper of right and equity*; but the same is best taught by Saint *Paul*, who expresseth both the cause efficient, and finall, (that is) by whom Magistrates and Princes are ordained, together with their duties and offices. *A Magistrate is*
Rom. 13. 4. *the Minister of God for thy wealth; but if thou doe euill, feare: for he beareth not the sword for nought. For he is the Minister of God, to take vengeance on him that doth euill.* Hee also
Ver. 1. teacheth in the same place; *That euery soule ought to be subiect to the higher powers, because*
2. *they are by God ordained*; and that *whosoeuer resisteth that power, resisteth God*, the giuer and fountaine thereof: and shall not onely be therefore subiect to the iudgement and con-
Ibid. v. 5. demnation of Man, but of God: *For ye must be subiect* (saith he) *not because of wrath onely, but also for conscience sake.*

The examples are not to be numbred of Gods punishments vpon those that haue resisted Authority, by God ordained and established. Neither ought any Subiect therefore to resist the power of Kings, because they may be taxed with iniustice or cruelty: for it pleaseth God somtimes to punish his people by a tyrannous hand: and the Commandement of obedience is without distinction. The *Prophets* and *Christ* himselfe subiected themselues to the power of Magistracy. *Christ* commanded that all due to *Cæsar* should
Hierem. 29. 7. be giuen vnto him: and he payed Tribute for himselfe and *Peter*. *Hieremy* commanded
Gen. 20. 17. & the *Israelites* (euen those that were Captiues vnder Heathen Kings) to pray for them, and
27. 10. for the peace of *Babylon*. So *Abraham* prayed for *Abimelech*; and *Iacob* blessed the King of

of *Egypt*: And *it is acceptable in the sight of our Sauiour* (saith *Paul*) *that yee make Supplications and Prayers for Kings, and for all that are in authority*: and if for such Kings as were Idolatrous, much more for Christian Kings and Magistrates. And so much did Saint *Chrysostome* in his Homily to the people preferre *Monarchicall* Gouernment, as he rather commended the rule of Kings (though Tyrants) than that they should be wanting: *Præstat Regem tyrannum habere, quàm nullum; Better a tyrannous King, than no King*: to which also *Tacitus* subscribeth: *Præstat* (saith *Tacitus* in the first of his History) *sub malo principe esse quàm nullo; It is better to haue a bad Prince than none at all.* And be they good Kings (which is generally presupposed) then is there no liberty more safe, than to serue them:
10 *Neq; enim libertas tutior vlla est* (saith *Claudian*) *quàm Domino seruire bono: No liberty* (saith he) *more safe for vs than to be seruants to the vertuous.* And certainely howsoeuer it may be disputed, yet is it safer to liue vnder one Tyrant, than vnder 100000. Tyrants: vnder a wise man that is cruell, than vnder the foolish and barbarous cruelty of the multitude. For as *Agesilaus* answered a Citizen of *Sparta* that desired an alteration of the Gouernment, That kinde of rule which a man would disdaine in his owne house, were very vnfit to gouerne great Regions by.

Lastly, as many Fathers erected many Cottages for their many children: and as (for the reason before remembred) many Housholds ioyned themselues together, and made Villages; many Villages made Cities: so when these Cities and Citizens ioyned to-
20 gether, and established Lawes by consent; associating themselues vnder one Gouernour, and Gouernment; they so ioyned, were called a Commonwealth: the same being sometimes gouerned by Kings; sometimes by Magistrates; sometimes by the people themselues.

§. III.

Of the good Gouernment of the first Kings.

NOw this first Age after the Floud, and after such time as the people were increased, and the Families became strong and dispersed into seuerall parts of the
30 World, was by ancient Historians called Golden: Ambition and Couetousnesse being as then but greene, and newly growne vp, the seeds and effects wherof were as yet but potentiall, and in the blowth and bud. For while the Law of Nature was the rule of mans life, they then sought for no larger Territory than themselues could compasse and manure: they erected no other magnificent buildings, than sufficient to defend them from cold and tempest: they cared for no other delicacy of fare, or curiosity of dyet, than to maintaine life: nor for any other apparrell, than to couer them from the cold, the Raine and the Sun.

And sure if wee vnderstand by that Age (which was called Golden) the ancient simplicity of our Fore-fathers, this name may then truely be cast vpon those elder times:
40 but if it be taken otherwise, then, whether the same may be attributed more to any one time than to another, (I meane to one limited time and none else) it may bee doubted. For good and Golden Kings make good and Golden Ages: and all times haue brought forth of both sorts. And as the infancy of Empirie, (when Princes plaied their Prizes, & did then only woo men to obedience) might be called the Golden Age: so may the beginning of all Princes times be truely called Golden. For be it that men affect honour, it is then best purchased; or if honour affect men, it is then that good deseruings haue commonly the least impediments: and if euer Liberality ouerflow her banks & bounds, the same is then best warranted both by policy and example. But Age and Time doe not onely harden and shrinke the openest and most *Ioviall* hearts, but the experience
50 which it bringeth with it, layeth Princes torne estates before their eyes, and (withall) perswadeth them to compassionate themselues. And although there be no Kings vnder the Sun whose meanes are answerable vnto other mens desires; yet such as value all things by their owne respects, doe no sooner finde their appetites vnanswered, but they complaine of alteration, and account the times iniurious and yron. And as this falleth out in the Reigne of euery King, so doth it in the life of euery man, if his dayes be many: for our younger yeares are our Golden Age; which being eaten vp by time, we praise those seasons which our youth accompanied: and (indeed) the grieuous alterations in our selues, and the paines and diseases which neuer part from vs but at the graue,

make

make the times seem so differing and displeasing: especially the quality of mans nature being also such, as it adoreth and extolleth the passages of the former, and condemneth the present state how iust soeuer: *Fit humane malignitatis vitio, vt semper vetera in laude, presentia in fastidio sint; It comes to passe* (saith *Tacitus*) *by the vice of our malignity, that we alwaies extoll the time past, and hold the present fastidious*: For it is one of the errours of wayward Age: *Quod sint laudatores temporis acti; That they are praisers of fore-passed times*, forgetting this aduice of *Salomon*: *Say not then, why is it that the former dayes were better than these? for thou doest not inquire wisely of this thing*: to which purpose *Seneca*; *Maiores nostri questi sunt, & nos querimur, posteri querentur, euersos esse mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res hominum & in omne nefas labi; Our Ancestors haue complained, we doe complaine, our children will complaine, that good manners are gone, that wickednesse doth reigne, and all things grow worse and worse, and fall into all euill.* These are the vsuall discourses of Age and misfortune. But hereof what can we adde to this of *Arnobius*? *Noua res quandoq; vetus fiet, & vetus temporibus: quibus cœpit noua fuit & repentina: What soeuer is new, in time shall be made old: and the ancientest things when they tooke beginning were also new and sodaine.* Wherefore not to stand in much admiration of these first times, which the discontentments of present times haue made Golden, this we may set down for certaine, That as it was the vertue of the first Kings, which (after God) gaue them Crowns: so the loue of their people thereby purchased, held the same Crownes on their heads. And as God gaue the obedience of Subiects to Princes: so (relatiuely) he gaue the care and iustice of Kings to the Subiects; hauing respect, not onely to the Kings themselues, but euen to the meanest of his Creatures: *Nunquam particulari bono seruit omne bonum; The infinite goodnesse of God doth not attend any one onely*: for he that made the small and great, careth for all alike: and it is the care which Kings haue of all theirs, which makes them beloued of all theirs; and by a generall loue it is, that Princes hold a generall obedience: For, *Potestas humana radicatur in voluntatibus hominum: All humane power is rooted in the will or dispositions of men.*

Tacit. in Dial. de Orat.

Eccles. 7.

Arnob. lib. 2.

Wisd. 6. 7.

§. IV.

Of the beginning of Nobility: and of the vaine vaunt thereof without vertue.

AND with this Supreme Rule and Kingly authority began also other degrees and differences among Subiects. For Princes made election of others by the same Rule, by which themselues were chosen; vnto whom they gaue place, trust, and power. From which imployments and Offices sprung those Titles, and those degrees of Honour, which haue continued from Age to Age to these dayes. But this Nobility, or difference from the Vulgar, was not in the beginning giuen to the Succession of Bloud, but to Succession of Vertue, as hereafter may be proued. Though at length it was sufficient for those whose Parents were aduanced, to be knowne for the Sonnes of such Fathers: and so there needed then no endeuour of well-doing at all, or any contention for them to excell, vpon whom glory or worldly Nobility necessarily descended. Yet hereof had Nobility denomination in the beginning, That such as excelled others in vertue, were so called: *Hinc dictus Nobilis, quasi virtute præ alijs notabilis.* But after such time as the deserued Honour of the Father was giuen in reward to his Posterity, Saint *Hierome* iudged of the Succession in this manner: *Nihil aliud video in Nobilitate appetendum, nisi quod Nobiles quadam necessitate constringantur, ne ab antiquorum probitate degenerent; I see no other thing to bee affected in Nobility, than that Noblemen are by a kinde of necessity bound, not to degenerate from the vertue of their Ancestors.* For if Nobility be *Virtus & antiquæ diuitiæ; Vertue and ancient riches*, then to exceede in all those things which are *extra hominem*, as riches, power, glory, and the like, doe no otherwise define Nobility, than the word (*animal*) alone doth define a reasonable man. Or if honour (according to *L. Viues*) bee a witnesse of vertue aud well-doing: and Nobility (after *Plutarch*) the continuance of vertue in a Race or Linage: then are those in whom Vertue is extinguished, but like vnto painted and printed Papers, which ignorant men worship in stead of *Christ*, our *Lady*, and other *Saints*: men, in whom there remaine but the dregs and vices of ancient Vertue: Flowers, and Herbes, which by change of soile and want of manuring are turned to Weedes. For what is found praise-worthy in those waters, which had their beginning out of pure Fountains, if

Verus nobilis non nascitur sed fit.

if in all the rest of their course they run foule, filthy, and defiled? *Ex terra fertili producitur aliquando Cicuta venenosa, & ex terra sterili pretiosum aurum; Out of fruitfull ground ariseth sometimes poysoning Henbane, and out of barren soile precious Gold.* For as all things consist of matter and forme, so doth *Charron* (in his Chapter of Nobilitie) call the Race and Linage but the matter of Nobilitie: the forme (which giues life and perfect being) he maketh to be Vertue, and Qualitie, profitable to the Common-weale. For he is truely and entirely Noble, who maketh a singular profession of publike Vertue, seruing his Prince and Countrie, and being descended of Parents and Ancesters that haue done the like. And although that Nobilitie, which the same Authour calleth personall, (the same which our selues acquire by our Vertue and well deseruings) cannot be ballanced with that which is both naturall, by Descent, and also personall; yet if Vertue bee wanting to the naturall, then is the personall and acquired Nobilitie by many degrees to be preferred: For (saith *Charron*) this Honour (to wit) by Descent, may light vpon such a one, as in his owne nature is a true Villaine. There is also a third Nobilitie which hee calleth Nobilitie in Parchment, bought with Siluer or Fauour: and these be indeede but Honours of affection, which Kings with the change of their fancies wish they knew wel how to wipe off againe. But surely, if we had as much sense of our degenerating in worthinesse, as we haue of vanitie in deriuing our selues of such and such Parents, we should rather know such Nobilitie (without Vertue) to be shame and dishonour than Noblenesse, and glory to vaunt thereof. *What calamitie is wanting* (saith *Bernard*) *to him that is borne in sinne, of a Potshare body and barren minde? Dele fucum fugacis honoris huius, & male coronatæ nitorem gloriæ, &c. Wipe away the painting of this fleeting honour, & the glittering of the ill-crowned glory, that then thou maiest consider thy selfe nakedly: for thou camest naked out of thy Mothers wombe. Camest thou thence with thy Mytre, or glistering with Iewels, or garnished with Silkes, or adorned with Feathers, or stuffed with Gold? If thou scatter and blow away all these by thy consideration as certaine morning cloudes, which doe or will soone passe ouer, thou shalt meet with a naked, and poore, and wretched and miserable man, and blushing, because he is naked, and weeping because he is borne, and repining, because he is borne to labour, and not to honour.*

Pint. in Ezech.

Bernar. l. 2. de Consider. ad Eugen. Pap.

For, as touching the matter of all men, there is no difference betweene it and dust: which if *thou dost not beleeue* (saith S. Chrysostome) *looke into the Sepulchres & Monuments of thy Ancestors, and they shall easily perswade thee by their owne example, that thou art dust and dirt: so that if man seeme more Noble and beautifull than dust, this proceedeth not from the diuersitie of his Nature, but from the cunning of his Creatour.*

Chrys. hom. 2. l. de incomposita Dei natura. con. 5.

For true Nobilitie standeth in the Trade
Of vertuous life; not in the fleshly Line:
For bloud is brute, but Gentrie is Diuine.

Phaet.

And howsoeuer the custome of the World haue made it good, that Honors be cast by birth vpon vnworthy Issues: yet *Salomon* (as wise as any King) reprehendeth the same in his Fellow-Princes: *There is an euill* (saith he) *that I haue seene vnder the Sun, as an error that proceedeth from the face of him that ruleth: Folly is set in great excellencie.*

Eccles. 10.

CHAP. X.

Of Nimrod, Belus, *and* Ninus: *and of memorable things about those times.*

§. I.

That Nimrod *was the the first after the Flood that reigned like a Soueraigne Lord: and that his beginning seemeth to haue beene of iust authoritie.*

THE first of all that reigned as Soueraigne Lord after the Flood was *Nimrod*, the Sonne of *Chush*, distinguished by *Moses* from the rest (according to Saint *Augustine*) in one of these two respects: either for his eminencie, and because hee was the first of fame, and that tooke on him to command others: or else in that hee was begotten

by *Chush*, after his other children were also become Fathers; and of a later time than some of his Grand-children & Nephewes. Howsoeuer, seeing *Moses* in expresse words calleth *Nimrod* the Sonne of *Chush*, other mens coniectures to the contrary ought to haue no respect.

This Empirie of *Nimrod*, both the Fathers and many later Writers call tyrannicall: the same beginning in *Babel*, (which is) confusion. But it seemeth to mee that *Melanchton* conceiued not amisse hereof: the same exposition being also made by the Author of that worke called *Onomasticum Theologicum*, who affirmes that *Nimrod* was therefore called *Amarus Dominator*, *Abitter or seuere Gouernour*, because his forme of rule seemed at first farre more terrible than Paternall authority. And therefore is hee in this respect also called *a mightie Hunter*: because he tooke and destroyed both Beasts & Theeues. But Saint *Augustine* vnderstands it otherwise, and conuerts the word (*ante*) by (*contra*) affirming therein, that *Nimrod* was a mightie Hunter against God: *Sic ergo intelligendus est Gigas ille, Venator contra Dominum; So is that Giant to be vnderstood, a Hunter against the Lord.*

But howsoeuer this word (*a mightie Hunter*) be vnderstood; yet it rather appeareth, that as *Nimrod* had the command of all those, which went with him from the East into *Shinaar*: so, this charge was rather giuen him, than by him vsurped. For it no where is found, that *Noah* himselfe, or any of the Sonnes of his owne body came with this troupe into *Babylon*: no mention at all being made of *Noah* (the yeeres of his life excepted) in the succeeding Story of the *Hebrews*; nor that *Sem* was in this disobedient troupe or among the builders of *Babel*.

The same is also confirmed by diuers ancient Historians, that *Nimrod*, *Suphne*, and *Iocian* were the Captaines and Leaders of all those which came from the East. And though *Sem* came not himselfe so farre West as *Shinaar* (his lot being cast on the East parts) yet from his Sonnes Nephew *Heber*, the name and Nation of the *Hebrewes* (according to the general opinion) tooke beginning, who inhabited the Southermost parts of *Chaldæa* about the Citie of *Vr*; from whence *Abraham* was by God called into *Charran*, and thence into *Canaan*.

And because those of the Race of *Sem* which came into *Chaldæa*, were no partners in the vnbeleeuing worke of the Towre: therefore (as many of the Fathers coniecture) did they retaine the first and most ancient language, which the Fathers of the first Age had left to *Noah*; and *Noah* to *Sem* and his Issues: *In familia* Heber *remansit hæc lingua; In the Family of* Heber *this Language remained* (saith Saint *Augustine* out of *Epiphanius*;) and this Language *Abraham* vsed; yea, it was anciently and before the Floud the generall speech: and therefore first called (saith *Cœlestinus*) *lingua humana: the humane tongue.*

We know that *Goropius Becanus* following *Theodoret*, *Rabbi Moses*, *Ægyptius*, *Vergara*, and others, is of another opinion; but howsoeuer we determine of this point, we may with good probability resolue, that none of the godly seed of *Sem* were the chiefe Leaders of this presumptuous multitude. And seeing it is not likely but that some one was by order appointed for this charge, we may imagine that *Nimrod* rather had it by iust authoritie, than violence of vsurpation.

§.11.

That Nimrod, Belus, *and* Ninus, *were three distinct persons.*

Benzo, and out of him *Nauclerus* with others, make many *Nimrods*, *Eusebius* confounds him with *Belus*, and so doth Saint *Hierome* vpon *Ose*; and these words of S. *Augustine* seeme to make him of the same opinion: *Ibi autem* Ninus *regnabat post mortem patris sui* Beli, *qui primus illic regnauerat 65. annos*; *There did* Ninus *reigne after the death of his Father* Belus, *who first gouerned in Babylon sixtie fiue yeeres*. But it could not be vnknowne to Saint *Augustine*, that *Nimrod* was the establisher of that Empire: *Moses* being plaine and direct therein. *For the beginning of* Nimrods *Kingdome* (saith he) *was Babel, Erec, Accad, and Chalne, in the Land of Shinaar*; wherefore *Nimrod* was the first King of *Babel*. And certainly it best agreeth with reason, that *Ninus* was the third, and not one with *Nimrod*, as *Mercator* (led by *Clement*) supposed: for in *Ninus* time the World was maruailously replenished. And if S. *Augustine* had vndoubtedly taken *Belus* for *Nimrod*, he would haue giuen him the name which the Scriptures giue him, rather than haue borrowed any thing out of prophane Authors. And for those words of S. *Augustine* (*qui primus illic regenauerat*; *who was the first that reigned there*) supposed to be meant by *Belus*: those words do not disproue that *Nimrod* was the Founder of the *Babylonian* Empire. For although *Iulius Cæsar* ouerthrew the liberty of the *Romane* Commonwealth, making himselfe perpetuall *Dictator*, yet *Augustus* was the first established Emperor: and the first that reigned absolutely by soueraigne authority ouer the *Romans*, as an Emperour.

The like may be said of *Nimrod*, that he first brake the rule of Eldership and Paternitie, laying the foundation of soueraigne Rule, as *Cæsar* did; and yet *Belus* was the first, who peaceably, and with a generall allowance exercised such a power. *Pererius* is of opinion, that *Belus* and *Nimrod* were the same, because many things are said of them both agreeing in time: for it was about 200. yeeres after the floud (as they account) that *Belus* reigned: but such agreement of times proues it not. For so *Edward* the third, and his grand-child *Richard* the second, were kings both in one yeere: the one dyed; the other in the same yeere was crowned King.

And yet the opinion (that *Nimrod* and *Belus* were one) is far more probable than that of *Mercator*; who makes *Ninus* and *Nimrod* to be the same. For it is plaine that the beginning of *Nimrods* Kingdome was *Babel*, and the Townes adioyning: but the first and most famous worke of *Ninus* was the Citie of *Nineue*.

Now whereas *D. Siculus* affirmeth, that *Ninus* ouercame and suppreſt the *Babylonians*, the same rather proueth the contrarie, than that *Ninus* and *Nimrod* were one person. For *Ninus* established the seat of his Empire at *Nineue* in *Assyria*, whence the *Babylonians* might (perchance) in disdaine thereof fall from his obedience, whom he recouered againe by strong hand; which was easie: *Babylon* being not walled till *Semiramis* time.

——Dicitur altam
Coctilibus muris cinxisse Semiramis *Vrbem.*

Semiramis with wals of bricke the Citie did inclose.

Further, where it is alleaged, that as the Scriptures call *Nimrod* mightie: so *Iustine* hath the same of *Ninus*, which is one of *Mercators* arguments; It may be answered, that such an addition might haue beene giuen to many other Kings aswell. For if wee may beleeue *Iustine*; then were *Vexoris* King of *Egypt*, and *Tanu* of *Scythia* mighty Kings before *Ninus* was borne. And if we may compare the words of *Moses* (touching *Nimrod*) with the vndertakings of *Ninus*, there will be found great difference betweene them.

For whereas *Mercator* conceiueth, that it was too early for any that liued about the time of the confusion of languages, to haue inuaded and mastered those Cities so farre remoued from *Babel*, namely, *Erec*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*: which worke he therefore ascribeth to *Ninus*, as a man of the greatest vndertaking; & consequently would haue *Nimrod* to haue beene long after the time, in which we suppose he flourished; and both those names of *Nimrod* and *Ninus* to belong to one person, to wit, to *Ninus*: to these things to make some answer. First, I doe not finde that supposition true, That euer *Nimrod* inuaded any of these Cities; but that he founded them and built them from the ground; being the first after the floud, that conducted the children of *Noah* into those parts: and therefore had nothing built or erected to his hands.

Besides, whereas these Cities in many mens opinions are found to stand far away from *Babylon*, I finde no reason to bring me to that beleefe. The Citie of *Accad* which the *Septuagint* cals *Archard*, and *Epiphanius*, *Arphal*; *Iunius* takes to be *Nisibis* in *Mesopotamia*: for the Region thereabout the Cosmographers (saith he) call *Accabene* for *Accadene*. Others vnder-

vnderstand *Nisibis* and *Nineue* to bee one City: so do *Strabo* and *Stephanus* confound it with *Charran*, but all mistaken. For *Nisibis*, *Accad*, & *Charran* are distinct places. Though I cannot deny *Accedene* to bee a Region of *Mesopotamia*, the same which *Arias Montanus* out of S. *Hierome* cals *Achad*: and so doe the *Hebrewes* also call *Nisibis*, which seemeth to be the cause of this mistaking. As for the City of *Erec*, which the *Septuagint* call *Orech*; S. *Augustine*, *Oreg*, and *Pagninus*, *Erec*, this place *Iunius* vnderstands for *Aracca* in *Susiana*: but there is also a City in *Comagena* called *Arace*: and indeede likelihood of name is no certaine proofe, without the assistance of other circumstances.

Concerning the third City (called *Chalneh*) some take it for *Calinisis*: of which *Am.* Lib. 23. *Marcellinus*. Saint *Hierome* takes it for *Seleucia*; *Hierosolymitanus* for *Ctesiphon*: others doe thinke it to be the *Agrani* vpon *Euphrates*, destroyed and razed by the *Persians*. But let *Moses* be the Moderator and Iudge of this dispute, who teacheth vs directly, that these Cities are not seated in so diuers and distant Regions; for these be his words: *And the beginning of his Kingdome* (speaking of *Nimrod*) *was Babel, Erech, Accad, and Chalneh, in the Land of Shinaar*: so as in this Valley of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*, or *Chaldæa* (being all one) we must finde them. And therefore I could (rather of the two) thinke with *Viterbiensis*, that these foure made but one *Babylon*, than that they were Cities farre remoued, and in seuerall Prouinces, did not the Prophet *Amos* precisely distinguish *Chalne* from *Babylon*. *Goe you* (saith *Amos*) *to Chalne, and from thence goe you to Hamath, and then to Gath of the Philistims*. The *Geneua* translation fauouring the former opinion, to set these Cities out of *Shinaar*, hath a marginall note expressing that *Shinaar* was here named: not that all these Cities were therin seated, but to distinguish *Babylon* of *Chaldæa*, from *Babylon* in *Egypt*: but I finde little substance in that conceit. For sure I am, that in the beginning of *Nimrods* Empire there was no such *Babylon*, nor any City at all to be found in *Egypt*: *Babylon* of *Egypt* being all one with the great City of *Cairo*, which was built long after, not farre from the place where stood *Memphis* the ancient City, but not so ancient as *Babylon* vpon *Euphrates*. Now that *Chalne* is situate in the Valley of *Shinaar*, it hath beene formerly proued in the Chapter of *Paradise*. So as for any argument that may be brought to the contrary, from the remote situation of these three Cities from *Babylon*, vvee may continue in our opinion, That *Nimrod*, *Belus*, and *Ninus*, vvere distinct and successiue Kings.

Cap. 6. v. 2.

§. III.

That Nimrod, *not* Assur, *built Nineue: and that it is probable out of* Esay 23. 13. *that* Assur *built Vr for the Chaldees.*

NOw as of *Nimrod*: so are the opinions of Writers different touching *Assur*, and touching the beginning of that great state of *Babylon* and *Assyria*: a controuersie vvearisomely disputed without any direct proofe, conclusion, or certainty. But to me (of whom, where the Scriptures are silent, the voyce of Reason hath the best hearing) the interpretation of *Iunius* is most agreeable; vvho besides all necessary consequence doth not dis-ioyne the sense of the Scriptures therein, nor confuse the vnderstanding thereof. For in this sort hee conuerteth the *Hebrew* Text: *Erat enim principium regni eius Babel, & Erech, & Accad, & Chalneh, in terra Shinaaris: è terra hac processit in Assyriam, vbi ædificauit Nineuen*; (vvhich is) *For the beginning of his Kingdome was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Chalneh, in the land of Shinaar: and hee went forth of this land into Assyria, and built Nineue.* So as *Iunius* takes *Assur* in this place, not for any person, but for the Region of *Assyria*: the land being so called in *Moses* time, & before it. For certainly, the other construction, (where the vword *Assur* is taken for *Assur* the sonne of *Sem*) doth not answer the order which *Moses* obserueth through all the Bookes of *Genesis*, but is quite contrary vnto it. For in the beginning of the tenth Chapter hee setteth downe the sonnes of *Noah*, in these vvords: *Now these are the Generations of the Sonnes of* Noah: Sem, Ham, *and* Iapheth, *vnto whom sonnes were borne after the floud*: then it followeth immediately: *The sonnes of* Iapheth *were* Gomer, *&c.* so as *Iapheth* is last named among *Noahs* sonnes, be hee eldest or youngest: because hee was first to be spoken of: vvith whom (hauing last named him) hee proceedes and sets downe his issue, and then the issue of his sonnes: first, the issue of *Gomer*, *Iapheths* eldest sonne; and then speakes of *Iauan* and his sonnes: for of the rest

rest of that Familie he is silent. Anon after he numbreth the sonnes of *Ham*, of which *Chush* was the eldest: and then the sons of *Chush* and *Mizraim*; and afterward of *Canaan*; leauing *Shem* for the last, because he would not dis-ioyne the Storie of *Hebrewes*. But after he beginneth with *Sem*, he continueth from thence by *Arphaxad*, *Shela*, and *Heber*, vnto *Abraham*, and so to *Iacob*, and the Fathers of that Nation. But to haue brought in one of the sonnes of *Shem* in the middle of the generations of *Ham*, had beene against order; neither would *Moses* haue past ouer so slightly the erection of the *Assyrian* Empire, in one of the sonnes of *Shem*, if he had had any such meaning: it being the storie of *Shems* sonnes which he most attended. For he nameth *Nimrod* apart, after the rest of the sonnes of *Chush*, because he founded the *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* Empire: and in the eleuenth Chapter he returnes to speak of the building of *Babel* in particular, hauing formerly named it in the tenth Chapter, with those other Cities which *Nimrod* founded in *Shinaar*. And as he did in the tenth Chapter, so also in the eleuenth hee maketh no report of *Shem*, till such time as he had finished so much of *Nimrod* as he meant to touch: and then he beginneth with the issue of *Shem*, which he continueth to *Abraham* and *Israel*. And of *Iunius* opinion touching *Assur*, was *Caluin*: to which I conceiue that *P. Commestor*, *in historia Scholastica*, gaue an entrance, who after hee had deliuered this place in some other sense, he vseth these words: *Vel intelligendum non est de* Assur *filio* Sem, *&c. sed* Assur (*id est, Regnum Assyriorum*) *inde egressum est, quod tempore* Sarug *prouui* Abrahami *factum est*; (which is) *Or else it is not to bee vnderstood of* Assur *the sonne of* Sem, *&c. but* Assur (*that is, the Kingdome of the Assyrians*) *came from thence* (*videlicet, from Babylon*) *or was made out of it: which happened in the time of* Sarug *the great grand-father of* Abraham. After which he reconcileth the difference in this sort: If you take the ancient *Belus* (meaning *Nimrod*) to be the first Erecter of the *Assyrian* Empire, or the first Founder thereof, it is true, *Quantum ad initium*; *Respecting the beginning*; but others conceiue that it had beginning from *Ninus*, which is also true, *Quantum ad regni ampliationem*; *Regarding the enlargement of the Empire*. To this I may adde the opinion of *Epiphanius*, confirmed by *Cedrenus*, who takes *Assur* to bee the sonne of *Nimrod*: and so doth *Methodius*, and *Viterbiensis*, Saint *Hierome*, and *Cyrillus*, and now lastly *Torniellus*: who (saith he) tooke vpon him that name of *Assur* after he had beaten the *Assyrians*, as *Scipio* did of *Africanus*, after his conquest in *Africa*: and that *Assur* was a common name to the Kings of *Assyria*, as it appeareth by many Scriptures, as *Psalme* 81. *Esay* 10. *Ose* 5. *&c.* but to helpe the matter, hee makes *Nimrod* of the race of *Shem*, and the sonne of *Irari*. But *Rabanus Maurus*, who was Arch-bishop of *Mentz* in the yeere of *Christ* 854. an ancient and learned Writer, vnderstands this place with *Commestor*, or *Commestor* with him, agreeing in substance with that translation of *Iunius*: to which words of *Moses* he giueth this sense: *De hac terra Assyriorum pullulauit imperium, qui ex nomine* Nini, Bel *filij, Ninum condiderunt, vrbem magnam, &c. Out of this land grew the Empire of the Assyrians, who built Ninus the great Citie, so named of* Ninus *the sonne of* Belus. On the contrarie *Caluin* obiecteth this place of *Esay*: *Behold the land of the Chaldæans, this was no people*, Assur *founded it by the inhabitants of the wildernesse*; than which there is no one place in the Scriptures, that hath a greater diuersitie in the translation and vnderstanding; insomuch as *Michael de Palatio* vpon *Esay* (though in all else very diligent) passeth it ouer. But *Caluin* seemeth hereby to inferre, that because *Assur* founded the state of the *Chaldæans*, therfore also *Assur* rather than *Nimrod* established the *Assyrian* Empire, and built *Nineue*: contrary to the former translation of *Iunius*, and to his owne opinion. Now out of the *Vulgar* (called *Hieromes* translation) it may be gathered that *Assur* both founded & ruined this Estate or Citie of the *Chaldæans*, by *Esay* remembred: vnto which Citie, People, or State, he plainly telleth the *Tyrians* that they cannot trust, or hope for reliefe thence. Or rather it may be taken, that the Prophet maketh this Citie of *Chaldæa*, and that Estate, an example vnto those *Phœnicians*, whom in this place he fore-telleth of their ruine: which Citie of *Chaldæa* being of strength, and carefully defended, was (notwithstanding) by the *Assyrians* vtterly wasted and destroyed: whereby he giueth them knowledge, and foretelleth them, that their owne Citie of *Tyre* (inuincible, as themselues thought) should also soone after be ouer-turned by the same *Assyrians*: as (indeed) it was by *Nabuchodonosor*. And these be the words after *Hierome*: *Ecce terra Chaldæorum, talis populus non fuit*, Assur *fundauit eam, in captiuitatem traduxerunt robustos eius, suffoderunt domos eius, posuerunt eam in ruinam*, (which is) *Behold*

Torniel. Annal. sacr. in Gen. 10.

Esay 23. 13.

Behold the Land of the Chaldæans, such a people there were not (or, *this was no people*, after the *Geneua*) *Assur* (or the *Assyrians*) *founded it, they carried away their strong men captiue, they vndermined their houses, and ruined their Citie.* The *Septuagint* expresse it but in a part of another Verse, in these words: *Et in terra Chaldæorum, & hæc desolata est ab Assyrijs, quoniam munus eius corruit*, making the sense perfect by the preceding Verse, which all together may be thus vnderstood: *If thou goe ouer to Chittim* (which is *Macedon* or *Greece*) *yet thou shalt not rest* (speaking to the *Tyrians*) *neither in the Land of the Chaldæans, for this is made desolate by the Assyrians, because their wals fell together to the ground.* *Pagninus* and *Vatablus* conuert it thus: *Ecce terra Chasdijm, iste populus non erat illic olim; nam* Assur *fundauit eam nauibus, erexerunt arces illius; contriuerunt ædes eius, posuit eam in ruinam*: which may be thus Englished: *Behold the Land of the Chaldæans, this people was not once therein inhabiting: for* Assur *built it a harbour for ships, they erected the Towers thereof, and againe brake downe the houses thereof, and ruinated it.* *Iunius* in the place of ships sets the word (*pro Barbaris*) that is, *for the Barbarians*: and the *Geneua*, *by the Barbarians*. But this is vndoubted that the Prophet *Esay* (as may be gathered by all the sense of the Chapter) did therein assure the *Tyrians* of their future destruction, which (accordingly) fell on them: wherein (for the more terrour) he maketh choice to note the calamities of those Places, Cities, and Regions, by whose Trade the state and greatnesse of the *Tyrians* was maintained; as by the *Cilicians* from *Tharsis*; from the *Macedonians*, and other *Græcians* vnder the name of *Cittim*; also by the *Egyptians*, the *Chaldæans*, and the rest. For *Tyre* was then the Mart Town of the World most renowned. And (as it appeares in our discourse of *Paradise*) not the least part of her chiefe merchandize came in by the Citie *Vr* or *Vrchoa* in *Chaldæa*, where the body or chiefe streame of *Euphrates* (euen that streame which runneth through *Babylon* & *Otris*, which now falleth into *Tygris*) had his passage into the *Persian Gulfe*: though now it be stopped vp. For (as we haue heretofore noted) the *Arabians* (that descended from *Sheba* and *Raamah*) dwelling on the east bankes of the *Persian Gulfe*, trading with the *Tyrians* (as those of *Eden*, *Charran*, and *Chalne* did) transported their merchandize by the mouth of *Tygris*, that is, from *Teredon*, & of *Euphrates*, that is, from *Vr* or *Vrchoa*: and then by *Babylon*, and thence by Riuer and ouer Land they conueyed it into *Syria*, and so to *Tyre*: as they doe this day to *Aleppo*. So then *Vr* of the *Chaldees* was a Port Towne, and one of those Cities which had Intelligence, Trade, and Exchange with the *Tyrians*: for it stood by the great Lakes of *Chaldæa*, through which that part of *Euphrates* ran, which passage is now stopt vp. *Eius cursum vetustas aboleuit* (saith *Niger*:) And *Plinie*: *Locus vbi Euphratis ostium fuit, flumen salsum; Time hath worne away the channell of Euphrates: the place where the mouth thereof was, is a Bay of salt water.* These things being thus, certainly (not without good probabilitie) we may expound the Citie of the *Chaldees*, whose calamities *Esay* here noteth for terror of the *Tyrians*, to be the Citie anciently called *Vr*; and (by *Hecatæus*) *Camerina*; by *Ptolomie*, *Vrchoa*: and by the *Greekes*, *Chaldæopolis*, *The Citie of Chaldæa*: which the sonnes of *Shem*, vntill *Abrahams* time inhabited. And whereas in all the Translations it is said, that *Assur* both founded it and ruined it: it may be vnderstood, that *Assur* the Founder was the sonne of *Shem*; and *Assur* the destroyers were the *Assyrians*, by whom those that inhabited *Vr* of *Chaldæa*, were at length oppressed and brought to ruine: which thing God foreseeing, commanded *Abraham* thence to *Carran*, and so into *Canaan*. And if the *Hebrew* word by *Vatablus* and *Pagninus* conuerted (*by ships*) doe beare that sense, the same may be the better approued; because it was a Port Towne: and the Riuer so farre vp as this Citie of *Vr* was in ancient time nauigable, as both by *Plinie* and *Niger* appeareth. And if the word (*for the Barbarians*) or (*by the Barbarians*) be also in the *Hebrew* Text, it is no lesse manifest, that the most barbarous *Arabians* of the Desart were and are the confronting, and next people of all other vnto it. For *Chaldæa* is now called *Arachaldar*, which signifieth desart Lands, because it ioyneth to that part of *Arabia* so called: and *Cicero* (calling those *Arabians* by the name of *Ituræans*) addeth, that they are of all other people the most saluage; calling them, *Homines omnium maxime barbaros*.

So as this place of *Esay*, which breedeth some doubt in *Caluin*, proueth in nothing the contrarie opinion, nor in any part weakeneth the former translation of *Iunius*, nor the interpretation of *Comester* and *Rabanus*. For though other men haue not conceiued (for any thing that I haue read) that *Assur* is in this place diuersly taken (as for the sonne of *Sem*, when he is spoken of as a Builder of *Vr*; and when as a Destroyer thereof, then for the *Assyrian* Nation) yet certainely the euidence of the truth, and agreement of circumstances seeme to enforce it. And so this Founding of the Citie of the *Chaldees* by *Assur* (into which the most of the posteritie of *Sem* that came into *Shinaar*, and were separate for the Idolatrie of the *Chusites* and *Nimrodians*, retired themselues) hath nothing in it to proue that the same *Assur* built *Nineue*, or that the same *Assur* was all one with *Ninus*; except we will make *Assur*, who was the sonne of *Shem*, both an Idolater, and the sonne of *Belus*. For (out of doubt) *Ninus* was the first notorious Sacrificer to Idols; and the first that set vp a Statue or Image to be honoured as god. Now if *Assur* must be of that Race, and not of the Familie of *Sem*; as he must be if he founded *Nineue*, then all those which seeke to giue him the honor thereof, doe him by a thousand parts more iniurie, by taking from him his true Parent and Religion.

Besides, if this supposed *Assur* whom they make the Founder of *Niueue* (and so the sonne of *Belus*) were any other, and not the same with *Ninus*; then what became of him? Certainely he was very vnworthy and obscure, & not like to be the Founder of such an Empire and such a Citie, if no man haue vouchsafed to leaue to posteritie his expulsion thence, and how he lost that Empire againe or quitted it to *Ninus*: whose acts and conquests are so largely written, and (according to my apprehension) farre differing from truth. It will therefore be found best agreeing to Scripture and to Reason, and best agreeing with the storie of that age written by prophane Authors, that *Nimrod* founded *Babel*, *Erech*, and *Accad*, and *Chalne*, the first workes and beginnings of his Empire, according to *Moses*; and that these workes being finished within the Valley of *Shinaar*, he looked farther abroad, and set in hand the worke of *Ninus*, lying neere vnto the same streame that *Babel* & *Chalne* did: which work his grand-childe *Ninus* afterward amplified and finished, as *Semiramis* (this *Ninus* his wife) did *Babylon*. Hence it came to passe, that as *Semiramis* was counted the Foundresse of the Citie which she onely finished: so also *Ninus* of *Nineue*: *Quam quidem Babylonem potuit instaurare*; *She might repaire or renew Babylon*, saith S. *Augustine*. For so did *Nabuchodnosor* vaunt himselfe to bee the Founder of *Babylon* also, because he built vp again some part of the wall, ouer-borne by the furie of the Riuer: which worke of his stood till *Alexanders* time, whereupon hee vaunted thus: *Is not this great Babel which I haue built?* Dan.4.27.

§.IIII.

Of the Acts of Nimrod *and* Belus, *as farre as now they are knowne.*

BVt to returne to the Storie, it is plaine in *Moses*, that *Nimrod* (whom *Philo* interpreteth *transfugium*; and *Iulius Africanus* surnamed *Saturne*) was the establisher of the *Babylonian Monarchie*, of whom there is no other thing written, than that his Empire in the beginning consisted of those 4. Cities before remembred; *Babel*, *Erech*, *Accad*, and *Chalne*: and that from hence he propagated his Empire into *Assyria*, & in *Assyria* built foure more Cities (to wit) *Nineue*, *Rehoboth*, *Celah*, and *Resen*. And seeing that hee spent much time in building *Babel* it selfe and those adioyning, and that his trauailes were many ere he came into *Shinaar*: that worke of *Babel* (such as it was) with the other three Cities, and the large foundation of *Nineue*, and the other Cities of *Assyria* which he builded (considered with the want of materials, and with other impediments) were of greater difficultie than any thing performed by his Successors in many yeers after: to whose vndertakings time had giuen so great an increase of people; and the examples and patternes of his beginning so great an aduancement and encouragement: in whose time (saith *Glycas*) all these Nations were called *Meropes*; *à sermonis linguarum terræq; diuisione*; *By reason that the earth and the speech were then diuided.*

Belus, or *Bel*, or *Iupiter Belus*, succeeded *Nimrod*, after he had reigned 115. yeeres; of whose acts and vndertakings there is little written. For it is thought that he spent much of his time in dis-burdening the low Lands of *Babylon*, and drying and making firme ground of all those great Fennes & ouer-flowne Marishes which adioyned vnto it. For any of his Warres or conquests there is no report, other than of his begun enterprise against *Sabatius* King of *Armenia*, and those parts of *Scythia* which *Berosus* calls *Scythia Saga*, whose sonne and successor *Barzanes* became subiect and Tributarie to *Ninus*, that followed the warre to effect, which was by his Father *Belus* begunne.

§.V.

§. V.

That we are not to maruaile how so many Kingdomes could be erected about these times: and of Vexoris *of Egypt, and* Tanais *of Scythia.*

THat so many Kingdomes were erected in all those Easterne parts of the World so soone after *Nimrod*, (as by the storie of *Ninus* is made manifest) the causes were threefold (namely) Opportunitie, Example, and Necessitie. For Opportunitie being a Princesse liberall and powerfull, bestoweth on her first Entertainers many times more benefits, than either Fortune can, or Wisedom ought; by whose presence alone the vnderstanding mindes of men receiue all those helps and supplyes, which they either want or wish for: so as euery Leader of a troupe (after the diuision of tongues and dispersion of People) finding these faire offers made vnto them, held the power which they possest, and gouerned by discretion all those people, whom they conducted to their distined places. For it cannot be conceiued, that when the Earth was first diuided, mankinde straggled abroad like beasts in a Desart; but that by agreement they disposed themselues, & vnder-tooke to inhabite all the known parts of the world, and by distinct Families and Nations: otherwise, those remote Regions from *Babylon* and *Shinaar*, which had Kings, and were peopled in *Ninus* time, would not haue beene possest in many hundreds of yeeres after, as then they were; neither did those that were sent, and trauelled far off, order being the true parent of prosperous successe) vndertake so difficult enterprizes without a Conducter or Commander. Secondly, the Example of *Nimrod* with whom it succeeded well, strengthened euery humor that aspired. Thirdly, Necessitie resolued all men by the arguments of common miseries, that without a Commander and Magistrate, neither could those that were laborious, & of honest dispositions, enioy the haruest of their owne Trauailes: nor those which were of little strength, secure themselues against forcible violence: nor those which sought after any proportion of greatnesse, either possesse the same in quiet, or rule and order their owne Ministers and Attendants.

That these causes had wrought these effects, the vndertakings & Conquests of *Ninus* (the son of *Belus*) made it apparant: for hee found euery where Kings and Monarchies, what way soeuer his Ambition led him in the Warres.

But *Nimrod* (his Grand-father) had no companion King, to vs known, when he first tooke on him Soueraigntie and sole commandement of all those the children of *Noah*, which came from the East into *Babylonia*: though in his life time others also raised themselues to the same estate; of which hereafter. *Belus* (his sonne and Successor) found *Sabatius* King of *Armenia* and *Scythia*, sufficiently powerfull to resist his attempts: which *Sabatius* I take to be the same, which *Iustine* cals *Tanais*; and should coniecture, that *Mizraim* had beene his *Vexoris*, were it not that I vehemently suspect some error, (as *Iustine* placeth him) in the time of that *Vexoris*, who by many circumstances seemes to me, rightly accounted by the Iudicious and Learned *Reineccius*, all one with the great *Sesostris*, that liued certaine Ages after *Ninus*. This *Belus*, the second King of *Babylon*, reigned 65. yeeres, according to the common account.

See more of this, *l.1.* of this first Part. *cap.* 2.§.6.

§. VI.

Of the name of Belus, *and other names affine vnto it.*

WHence this second King and Successour of *Nimrod* had the name of *Bel*, or *Belus* question hath beene made: for it seemeth rather a name imposed, or (of addition) giuen by *Ninus*, than assumed by *Belus* himselfe.

Cyrillus against *Iulian* cals the Father of *Ninus Arbelus*, affirming that he was the first of all men that caused himselfe to be called a god: which were it so, then might the name of *Belus* be thence deriued. But *Bel*, as many Learned Writers haue obserued, signifieth the Sunne in the *Chaldæan* Tongue; and therefore did *Ninus* and *Semiramis* giue that name to their Father, that he might be honoured as the Sun, which the *Babylonians* worshipped as a god. And as this Title was assumed in after-times by diuers others of the *Chaldæan* Princes, and *Babylonian Satrapæ*: so was it vsed (in imitation) by the chiefe of the *Carthaginians* and other Nations, as some Historians haue conceiued.

To this *Bel*, or *Belus*, pertaine (as in affinitie) those voyces of *Baal*, *Baalim*, *Belphegor*, *Beelphagor*, *Belsebub*, and *Beelsephon*. Those that are learned in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldæan* conuert the word *Baal* by the *Latine*, *Princeps militiæ*, *Chiefe in the Warre*; though *Daniel* was so called (saith *Suidas*) *Ob honorem explicationis arcanarum rerum*; *In honour of his expounding secrets*. Saint *Hierome* makes *Bel*, *Beel*, and *Baal*, to haue the same signification: and saith, that the Idoll of *Babylon* was so called, which *Ninus* in memorie of his father set vp to be worshipped: to which that he might adde the more honour and reuerence, he made it a Sanctuarie and refuge for all offenders. Hence (saith *Lyranus*) came Idolatrie, and the first vse of Images into the World. *Isidore* doth interprete *Bel* by *Vetus*, old or ancient; adding, that as among the *Assyrians* it is taken for *Saturne* and the *Sunne*: so in the *Punicke* or *Carthaginian* Language it signifieth God, *Glycas* makes it an *Assyrian* name properly; and *Iosephus* a *Tyrian*. He also affirmeth that the Idoll which the *Moabites* worshipped (by them erected on the Mountaine *Phegor*, or *Peor*, and called *Baal*) is the same which the *Latines* call *Priapus*, the god of Gardens; which also was the opinion of S. *Hierom*. But that the word *Bel*, or *Beel*, was as much to say as God, appeareth by the word *Beelzebub*, the Idoll of *Accaron*. For *Bel*, or *Beel* soundeth (God) and *Sebub* (Flies or Hornets:) by which name (notwithstanding) the *Iewes* expresse the Prince of Deuils. But the Prophet *Ose* teacheth vs the proper signification of this word from the voice of God himselfe; *And at that day (saith the Lord) thou shalt call me* Ishi, *and shalt call me no more* Baalim: *for I will take away the name of* Baalim *out of their mouthes*. For although the name of *Baal*, or *Bahal*, be iustly to be vsed towards God; yet in respect that the same was giuen to Idols, God both hated it & forbad it. And the vsing of the word *Bel* among the *Chaldæans* for the Sunne, was not because it properly signifieth the Sun, but because the Sunne there was worshipped as a God: as also the Fire was, *tanquam Solis particula*. As for the words compounded (before remembred) as *Belphegor*, and *Belsephon*; *Belsephon* is expounded out of *Facius*, *Dominus speculæ vel custodiæ*: *The Lord of the Watch-Towre, or of the Guard*: the other word noteth the Idoll, and the place wherein it was worshipped. It is also written *Belpeor*, or *Baalpeor*: and *Peor* (they say) it as much as *Denudauit*; and therefore the word ioyned expresseth a naked Image. Some there are that call this *Belus* the sonne of *Saturne*: for it was vsed among the Ancients to name the Father *Saturne*, the sonne *Iupiter*, and the Grand-childe *Hercules*. *Saturni dicuntur familiarum Nobilium, Regumq; qui vrbes condiderunt senissimi; primogeniti eorum* Ioues & Iunones; Hercules *verò nepotes eorum fortissimi*; *The ancientest of Noble Families and Kings which founded Cities, are called* Saturnes; *their first-borne* Iupiters *and* Iunoes; *their valiant Nephewes* Hercules. But this *Belus* (saith *L. Viues*) was famous by reason of his warlike sonne *Ninus*, who caused his father to be worshipped as a God by the name of *Iupiter Babylonius*, whom the *Egyptians* (transported by the Dreames of their Antiquitie) make one of theirs. For *Neptune* (say they) vpon *Libya* the Daughter of *Epaphus* begat this *Iupiter Belus*, who was father to *Ægyptus*. They adde, that this *Belus* carrying a Colonie to the Riuer of *Euphrates*, there built a Citie, in which he ordained Priests after the *Egyptian* manner. But were there any *Belus* the sonne of *Epaphus* and *Isis*, or of *Neptune* and *Libya*, or (with *Eusebius*) of *Telegonus*, who after the death of *Apis* married *Isis*, (*Cecrops* then reigning in *Athens*) the same was not this *Babylonian Belus* of whom wee speake, but rather some other *Belus*, of whom the *Egyptians* so much vaunted.

Hier. in Ose. c.2.

Lyr. in Sapien. Salom. c.11. Isid. l.8. c.11.

Hieron in Ose. c.4. & 9.

Auctor. de æquit. lib.1.

Diod. l.3.

§. VII.

Of the worshipping of Images begun from Belus *in Babel.*

AS for the *Babylonian Belus*, hee was the most ancient *Belus*, and the Inuentor of *Astronomie*, if *Plinie* say true; from whence the *Egyptians* might borrow both the name and the Doctrine. Some part of the Temple, in which his *Statue* or Image was honoured as a God, the same Author affirmeth that it did remaine in his time.

Of the Sepulchre of *Belus*, *Strabo* writeth thus. *Ouer the Riuer* (saith he) *there are Gardens, where they say the ruines of* Belus *his Tombe, which* Xerxes *brake vp, are yet remaining. It was a square Pyramis made of Bricke, a furlong high, and on euery side it had a furlong in breadth.* It appeares by *Cyril* against *Iulian*, that hee obtained diuine worship yet liuing:

Strabo. l.13. c.3

l.4. cont. Iulian.

liuing: for so he writes of him (calling him *Arbelus.*) *Arbelus, vir superbus & arrogans, primus hominum dicitur à subditis Deitatis nomen accepisse: Perseuerârunt igitur Assyrij, & finitima illis gentes sacrificantes ei.* Arbelus, *a man very proud and arregant, is accounted to be the first of all men that was euer honoured by their subiects with title of Deitie;* (or with the name of God.) *The Assyrians therefore, and the bordering nations haue perseuered, sacrificing to him.* Euen *Arius* also, whom *Suidas* cals *Thuras*, who succeeded next after *Ninias*, was made an Idoll-god among them, if we credit *Suidas*.

After *Ninus* (that is, after *Ninyas*) *Thuras* reigned (saith *Suidas*) whom they called after the name of the Planet *Mars*; a man of sharpe and fierce disposition, who bidding battaile to *Caucasus* of the stocke of *Iapheth*, slue him. The *Assyrians* worshipped him for their God, and called him *Baal* (that is) *Mars*; thus farre *Suidas*. Neither is it vnlikely but that many among Idolatrous nations were Deified in their life-times, or soon after: though I denie not but that the most of their Images and *Statuæ* were first erected without diuine worship, onely in memorie of the glorious acts of Benefactors, as *Glycas* rightly conceiueth; and so afterward the Deuill crept into those woodden and brazen carcasses, when Posteritie had lost the memorie of their first inuention. Hereof *Isidore* speaketh in this manner: *Quos autem Pagani Deus asserunt homines fuerunt, & pro vniuscuiusq; vitæ meritis vel magnificentia, coli apud suos post mortem cœperunt: sed (Dæmonibus persuadentibus) quos illi pro sua memoria honorâuerunt, minores Deos existimârunt: ad ista verò magis excolenda accesserunt Poetarum figmenta; They were men* (saith he) *whom the Pagans affirmed to be gods: and euery one for his merits or magnificence began after his death to be honoured of his owne. But at length (the Deuils perswading) they accounted them lesser gods, whose memories they honoured: and the Fictions of the Poets made the opinions (concerning the honour of the dead) much more superstitious.*

And that the worshipping of Images was brought in by the *Pagans*, and *Heathen* Nations, it is not *Isidore* alone that witnesseth; but *Gregorie: Gentilitas* (saith he) *inuentrix & caput est imaginum; Gentilisme is the inuentresse and ground of Images*: and *Ambrose*; *Gentes lignum adorant, tanquam imaginem Dei; The Gentiles adore wood, as it were the Image of God.* *Eusebius* also affirmeth as much, and calleth the worshipping of Images a custome borrowed of the Heathen. The like hath Saint *Augustine* against *Adimantus*. *Et verentur* (saith *Lactantius*) *ne religio vana sit, si nihil videant quod adorent; They feare their Religion would be vaine, should they not see that which they worship.*

Greg. Neocæsar. Ambr. in Psal. 108. Euseb. l. 7. c. 18. Aug. c. 13. Lact. lib. 2. c. 2.

And (out of doubt) the Schoolemen shift this fearefull custome very strangely. For seeing the very workemanship is forbidden, how can the heart of a wise Christian satisfie it selfe with the distinction of *Doulia* and *Hyperdoulia*, which can imply nothing but some difference of worshipping of those Images after they are made? And it is of all things the most strange, why religious and learned men should straine their wits to defend the vse of those things, which the Scriptures haue not onely no where warranted, but expressly in many places forbidden, and cursed the Practisers thereof. Yet this doctrine of the Deuill was so strongly & subtilly rooted, as neither the expresse Commandement of God himselfe, *Thou shalt not make any grauen image*, nor all the threatnings of *Moses* and the Prophets after him could remoue, weed it, or by feare, or by any perswasions leade the hearts of men from it. For where shall we find words of greater weight, or of plainer instruction than these? *Take therefore good heed to your selues (for yee saw no Image in the day that the Lord spake vnto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire) that yee corrupt not your selues, & make you a grauen Image or representation of any Figure, whether it be the likenesse of Male or Female.*

And besides the expresse Commandement, *Thou shalt make thee no grauen Image*, and the prohibition in many Scriptures, so it is written in the Booke of *Wisedome*, That *the inuention of Idols was the beginning of Whoredome: and the finding of them the corruption of life: for they were not from the beginning, neyther shall they continue for euer.*

And whereas the Schoolemen affirme, that the Prophets spake against the Worshipping of the Heathen Idols, it is manifest that *Moses* spake of Images of the liuing God, and not of *Baal* and the rest of that nature, *For you saw no Image* (saith *Moses*) *that day that the Lord spake vnto you in Horeb.* Surely it was excellently said of *Basil*; *Noli aliquam in illo formam imaginari, ne circumscribas eum mente tua: Doe not imagine any forme to be in God, lest thou limit or circumscribe him in thy minde too.* Now, if the great *Basil* thought it a presumption vnlawful to represent a pattern of the infinite God to our own thoughts

thoughts and mindes, how farre doe those men presume that put him vnder the greazie Penfill of a Painter, or the rustie Axe or other Instrument of a Carpenter or Caruer?

For as this dishonor to the infinite and incomprehensible God beganne in *Babel*: so did the Deuill transport and spred this inuention into all the Regions adioyning, and into *Egypt* and *Greece*.

The *Romanes* for a while resisted the erection of these Idols and Images, refusing to set them in their Temples for 170. yeeres; obseruing the Law of *Numa*, who thought it impietie to resemble things most beautifull, by things most base. But *Tarquinius Priscus* afterwards preuailing, and following the vanitie of the *Græcians* (a Nation of all others vnder the Sunne most deluded by Satan) set vp the Images of their gods; which (as S. *Augustine* witnesseth) that Learned *Varro* both bewailed, and vtterly condemned: and which *Seneca* thus derideth; *Simulachra deorum venerantur, illis supplicant, genu posito illa adorant; & cùm hæc suspiciant, fabros qui illa fecere contemnunt; The Images of the gods are worshipped, those they pray vnto, with bended knees those they adore; and while they so greatly admire them, they contemne the Handi-craftsmen that made them*: which also *Sedulius* the *Poet* in this sort scoffed at:

Aug. de ciuit. l. 4. c. 31.

Heu miseri qui vana colunt, qui corde sinistro
Relligiosa sibi sculpunt simulachra, suumq;
Factorem fugiunt, & quæ fecere verentur.
Quis furor est? quæ tanta animos dementia ludit?
Vt volucrem, turpemq; bouem, toruumq; Draconem,
Semi-hominemq; canem supplex homo pronus adoret.

Ah wretched they that worship vanities,
And consecrate dumbe Idols in their heart,
Who their owne Maker (God on high) dispise,
And feare the worke of their owne hands and art.
What furie? what great madnesse doth beguile
Mens mindes? that man should vgly shapes adore,
Of Birds, or Buls, or Dragons, or the vile
Halfe-dogge-halfe-man on knees for aide implore.

And though this deuice was barbarous, and first, and many yeeres practised by Heathen Nations only, till the *Iewes* were corrupted in *Egypt*, yet it is not *Seneca* alone that laugheth to scorne the ignorant stupiditie of his Nation: but *Iustin Martyr* remembreth how the *Sybils* inueighed against Images: and *Hospinian*, how *Sophocles* taught, that it was pernicious to the soules of men to erect and adore those Babels. *Strabo* and *Herodotus* witnesse, that the *Persians* did not erect or set vp any *Statue* of their Gods. *Lycurgus* neuer taught it the *Lacedæmonian*, but thought it impietie to repensent immortall natures by mortall Figures. *Eusebius* also witnesseth in his sixt Booke *de præparatione Euangelica*, that it was forbidden by a Law in *Serica*, or among the *Brachmans* in *India*, that Images should be worshipped. The same doe *Tacitus* and *Crinitus* report of the ancient *Germans*. Many other Authors might bee remembred that witnesse the disdaine which the Heathen themselues had of this childish Idolatrie: of which *Hospinian* hath written at large in his Tract, *de origine imaginum*. And it was truely sayd, *Omnia mala exempla bonis initijs orta sunt, All ill examples haue sprung from good beginnings*. The Heathen at first made these *Statuæ* and Images, but in memorie of such remarkeable men, as had deserued best of their Countries & Common-wealths: *Effigies hominum* (saith *Pliny*) *non solebant exprimi, nisi aliqua illustri causa perpetuitatem merentium: Men were not wont to make Pictures, but of men which merited for some notable cause to bee perpetually remembred.* And though of the more ancient *Papists*, some haue borrowed of the *Gentiles* (as appeares in *Lactantius*) that defence for Images: That *Simulachra* are *pro elementis literarum, vt per ea discerent homines Deum inuisibilem cognoscere: Images* (say they, and so before them the Heathen said) *are in stead of Letters, whereby men might learne to know the inuisible God*: in which vnderstanding perhaps they no otherwise esteemed them than pictures indeed; yet as that of *Baal* or *Bel* set vp in memory of *Belus* the *Babylonian*, became afterward the most reuerenced Idoll of the World, by which so many Nations (and they which were appropriate to God himselfe) were misled and cast away: so those very stocks & stones, and

and painted Canuases (called the pictures of *Christ*, our *Ladie*, and others) were by thousands of ignorant people, not onely adored, but esteemed to haue life, motion, and vnderstanding. *On these flocks we call* (saith the Booke of *Wisedome*) *when wee passe through the raging waues, on these flocks more rotten than the Ship that carrieth vs.*

This Heathen inuention of Images became so fruitfull in after-times, breeding an infinite multitude of gods, that they were forced to distinguish them into degrees and orders; as *Dij consentes, seu maiorum gentium; selecti, Patritij, insigniores, dij medij: Counselling gods, or gods of the mightiest Nobilitie, select gods, Patrian, gods of marke, and common gods* (which the *Romanes* called *Medioxum*) *dij infimi*, and terrestriall *Heroes*, and multitudes of other gods: of which Saint *Augustine* hath made large mention in his Booke *de Ciuitate Dei*. But (saith *Lactantius*) among all those miserable soules and rotten bodies, worshipped by men more like to their Idols, did *Epimenides Cretensis* (by what good Angell moued I know not) erect in the *Athenian* Fields, Altars to the vnknowne God, which stood with the same title and dedication euen to the times of S. *Paul*: who made them first know to whom these Altars belonged, and opened their eyes which were capable of grace, that they might discerne the difference betwixt that light which lighteneth euery man, and the obscure and stinking mist wherein the Deuill had so manie yeeres led and mis-led them. And it sufficed not that the multitude of these gods was so great in generall, or that euery Nation had some one which tooke particular and singular care of them, as *Iupiter* in *Creete*, *Isis* in *Egypt*, in *Athens Minerua*, in *Samos Iuno*, in *Paphos Venus*, and so of all other parts; but euery Citie, and almost euery Family had a god a-part. For, as it is written in the second of *Kings*, the men of *Babel*, made *Succoth Benoth*, and the men of *Cuth* made *Nergal*, and the men of *Hamath* made *Ashima*, and the *Auites* made *Nibhaz* and *Tartak*, and the *Sepheruaims* burnt their children in the fire to *Adramelech*. All which how plainly hath the Prophet *Esay* derided: *Men cut downe Trees, rinde them, burne apart of them, make readie their meate, and warme themselues by the fire thereof, and of the residue he maketh a god; an Idoll, and prayeth vnto it: but God hath shut their eyes from sight, and their heart from vnderstanding.* It is therefore safest for a Christian to beleeue the Commandements of God so direct against Idolatrie, to beleeue the Prophets, and to beleeue S. *Paul*: who speaketh thus plainly and feelingly, *My beloued, flye from Idolatrie; I speake as vnto them which haue vnderstanding, iudge ye what I say.*

lib. 14.

Cap. 17. v. 18. 31.

Cap. 44.

§. VIII.

Of the Warres of Ninus: *and lastly of his Warre against* Zoroaster.

VNto this *Belus* succeeded *Ninus*, the first that commanded the exercise of Idolatrie, the first that iniuriously inuaded his Neighbour Princes, and the first that without shame or feare committed adulterie in publique. But as of *Belus* there is no certaine memorie (as touching particulars:) so of this *Ninus* (whose Storie is gathered out of Prophane Authors) I find nothing so warrantable, but that the same may be disputed, and in the greatest part doubted. For although that piece of *Berosus* set out and commented vpon by *Annius*, hath many good things in it, and giueth great light (as *Chrytæus* noteth) to the vnderstanding of *Diodorus Siculus*, *Dion*, *Halicarnasseus*, and others: yet *Lodouicus Viues*, *B. Rhenanus*, and others after them, haue layed open the imperfection and defects of the Fragment; prooving directly that it cannot be the same *Berosus* which liued in *Alexanders* time, cited by *Atheneus* and *Iosephus*: and whose *Statue* the *Athenians* erected, saith *Plinie*. Yet it is from him chiefely, that many haue gathered the succession of the *Babylonian* & *Assyrian* Princes, euen from *Nimrod* to the eighteenth King *Ascatades*, and to the times of *Iosua*. For of *Metasthenes* an Historian, of the Race of the *Persian* Priests, there are found but certaine Papers; or some few lines of the *Chaldæan* and *Assyrian Monarchies*: but he afterwards in the collection of the *Persian* Kings is not without his errours.

Athen. l. 14. Ioseph. cont. Appian. l. 1. & 7.

Ctesias of *Cnidus* (a Citie adioyning to *Halicarnasseus*) who liued together with *Cyrus* the younger, and with *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, gathered his Historie out of the *Persian* Records, & reacheth as farre vpwards as *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and though in the Storie of *Cyrus* the younger, *Xenophon* approoueth him in some things, and *Atheneus*, *Pausanias* and *Tertullian* cite him; yet so base and apparant are his flatteries of the times and Princes with whom he liued, & so incredible are the numbers which he finds in the Armies of *Ninus*, and especially of *Semiramis*; as whatsoeuer his reports were, times haue consumed his workes, sauing some very few excerptions lately published.

And therfore in things vncertaine, seeing a long discourse cannot be pleasing to men of iudgement, I wil passe ouer the acts of this third *Assyrian*, in as few words as I can expresse them. S. *Augustine* affirmes that *Ninus* mastered all *Asia*, *India* excepted. Others say that he wanne it all, saue *India*, *Bactria*, and *Arabia*. For he made *Aricus* of *Arabia* the companion of his Conquests, with whom he entred into a straight leagne of amitie, because he commanded many people, and was his kinsman, and a *Chusite*, and the neerest Prince confronting *Babylonia*. His first enterprize was vpon *Syria*, which he might easily subdue, both because he inuaded it on the sodaine, and because it lay next him: and also because the *Arabians* and their king *Aricus* (which bordered *Syria*) assisted him in the Conquest thereof.

The king of *Armenia*, *Barzanes*, he forced to acknowledge him, and to aide him in his Warre against *Zoroaster*: for from *Armenia* he bent himselfe that way toward the East; but that euer he commanded the lesser *Asia*, I doe not beleeue, for none of his Successors had any possession therein.

His third Warre was against *Pharnus*, king of the *Medes*, whom it is sayd that he ouerthrew, and cruelly murthered with his seuen Children, though others affirme, that they all died in one battaile against him. Whether he inuaded *Zoroaster* before the building or amplifying of *Nineue*, or after, it is vncertaine. It is said that he made two expeditions into *Bactria*: and that finding little or ill successe in the first, he returned, and set the worke of *Nineue* forward: and then a second time entred *Bactria* with 1700000. Foot, and 200000. Horse, and 10000. sixe hundred Chariots: being encountred by *Zoroaster* with foure hundred thousand. But *Ninus* preuayling, and *Zoroaster* being slaine, he entred farther into the Countrie, and besieged the chiefe Citie thereof, called *Bactra* or *Bactrion* (saith *Stephanus*:) which by a passage found, and an assault giuen by *Semiramis* (the wife of *Menon*) he entred and possest. Vpon this occasion *Ninus* both admiring her iudgement and valour, together with her person and externall beautie, fancied her so strongly, as (neglecting all Princely respects) he tooke her from her husband, whose eyes he threatned to thrust out if he refused to consent. He therefore yeelding to the passion of loue in *Ninus*, and to the passion of sorrow in himselfe, by the strong perswasions of shame and dishonour, cast himselfe head-long into the water, and died.

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei.

Steph. de Vrb.

CHAP. XI.

Of ZOROASTER, *supposed to haue beene the chiefe Author of Magick Arts: and of the diuers kinds of Magicke.*

§. I.

That Zoroaster *was not* Cham, *nor the first Inuenter of Astrologie, or of Magicke: and that there were diuers great Magicians of this name.*

ZOroaster King of the *Bactrians*, *Vincentius* supposeth to be *Cham* the sonne of *Noah*: A fancie of little probabilitie. For *Cham* was the Paternall Ancester of *Ninus*, the Father of *Chus*, the Grand-father of *Nimrod*, whose sonne was *Belus*, the Father of *Ninus*. It may be that *Vincentius* had heard of that booke vvhich vvas called *Scripturæ Cham*, deuised by some wicked Knaue, and so intituled: of which *Sixtus Senensis* hath made the due mention.

It is reported by *Cassianus*, that *Serenus Abbas* gaue the inuention of *Magicke* to *Cham* the sonne of *Noah*: so did *Comestor* in his Scholasticall Historie: which Art (saith he) vvith the 7. liberall Sciences he writ in 14. Pillers: seuen of which were made of brasse, to resist the defacing by the waters of the Floud; and 7. of bricke against the iniurie of fire. There was also another deuised discourse, which went vnder

Cassian in Octa. Colcap. 21.

the title of *Prophetia Cham*. *Cassianus* out of *Serenus* hath somwhat like to this of *Comestor*. These be *Cassianus* words: Cham (*filius* Noah) *qui superstitionibus istis & sacrilegis fuit artibus infectus, sciens, nullum se posse super his memorialem librum in Arcam prorsus inferre, in qua erat cum patre iusto, &c.* Cham (*the sonne of* Noah) *who was infected with these superstitions, and sacrilegious Arts, knowing, that he could not bring any booke or memoriall of that natures into the Arke, wherein he was to remaine with his godly Father, caused the Precepts and Rules thereof to be grauen in metall and hard stone.*

S. *Augustine* noteth that *Zoroaster* was said to haue laught at his birth, when all other children weepe; which presaged the great knowledge which afterward he attayned vnto: being taken for the Inuenter of naturall *Magicke* and other Arts; for the Corrupter: 10 saith *Plinie* and *Iustine*. But I doe not thinke that *Zoroaster* inuented the doctrine of the *Horoscopes* or *Natiuities*: or first found out the nature of herbs, stones, and minuralls, or their Sympatheticall or Antipatheticall workings; of which, I know not what King of *Chaldea* is also made the Inuenter. I rather thinke that these knowledges were far more ancient, and left by *Noah* to his sons. For *Abraham* who had not any acquaintance with *Zoroaster*, (as *Iosephus* reporteth) was no lesse learned heerein than any other in that age, if he exceeded not all men then liuing: differing from the wisedome of aftertimes in this, that he knew and acknowledged the true cause, and giuer of life and vertue to Nature and all Naturall things; whereas others (forgetting Gods iufinite, 20 dispersed, and vniuersall power) admired the instruments, and did attribute proper strength to the things themselues, (from which the effects were sensible) which belonged to that wisedome, *which being one, and remaining in it selfe, can doe all things, and reneweth all.* *Wisd.c.7.*

Now whether this *Zoroaster* (ouer-throwne by *Ninus*) were the same which was so excellent a Naturalist, it is doubted. For *Zoroaster* the *Magician*, *Ctesias* calls *Oxyartes*, whom *Plinie* finds of a later time. And if *Zoroaster* were taken away by a Spirit (being in the middest of his Disciples) as some Authors report, then *Zoroaster*, slaine by *Ninus*, was not the *Magician*: which is also the opinion of *Scaliger*. *Scalig. in Euse. Ioseph. lib 1. Antiq. c. 4.*

Againe, *Iosephus* and *Cedrenus* affirme, that *Seth* first found out the Planets, or wandring Starres, and other Motions of the Heauens: for if this Art had beene inuented by 30 *Zoroaster*, he could not haue attained to any such excellencie therein, in his owne lifetime; but being a man (as it seemeth) of singlar iudgement, he might adde somewhat to this kind of knowledge, and leaue it by writing to posteritie.

But of this *Zoroaster* there is much dispute: and no lesse iangling about the word & art of *Magick*. *Arnobius* remembreth foure, to whom the name of *Zoroaster*, or *Zoroastres* was giuen: which by *Hermodorus* & *Dinon* seemeth to be but a *cognomen*, or name of art, and was as much to say, as *astrorum cultor*. The first, *Arnobius* calleth the *Bactrian*, which may be the same that *Ninus* ouerthrew: the second, a *Chaldæan*, and the *Astronomer* of *Ninus*: the third was *Zoroaster Pamphylius*, who liued in the time of *Cyrus* and his familiar: the fourth, *Zoroaster Armenius*, the Nephew of *Hostianes*, which followed 40 *Xerxes* into *Greece*: between whom and *Cyrus* there past threescore & eighteene yeares. *Suidas* remembreth a fift, called *Persomedus sapiens*: and *Plato* speaketh of *Zoroaster* the son of *Oromasdes*; vvhich *Picus Mirandula* confirmeth.

Now of what Nation the first and chiefe *Zoroaster* was, it is doubted. *Plinie* and *Laertius* make him a *Persian*. *Gemisthius* or *Plethо*, *Ficinus* and *Steuchius*, make him a *Chaldæan*. But by those bookes of one *Zoroaster*, found by *Picus Mirandula*, it appeareth plainely, that the Author of them was a *Chaldæan* by Nation, though the word (*Chaldæan*) was as often giuen to the learned Priests peculiarly, as for any distinguishment of Nations. *Porphyrius* makes the *Chaldæi* and *Magi* diuers; *Picus* the same. But that this 50 *Zoroaster* was a *Chaldæan* both by Nation and Profession, it appeareth by his Bookes, which (saith *Picus*) were written in the *Chaldæan* tongue; and the Comment in the same Ianguage. Now that the *Magi* & they were not differing, it may be iudged by the name of those bookes of *Zoroaster*, which in an Epistle of *Mirandula* to *Ficinus*, he saith, to be intituled, *Patris* Ezre Zoroastris, & Melchior *magorum oracula*.

§. II.

§. II.

Of the name of Magia: and that it was anciently farre diuers from Coniuring and Witchcraft.

NOw for Magick it selfe; which Art (saith *Mirandula*) *pauci intelligunt, multi reprehendunt; Few vnderstand, and many reprehend; Et sicut Canes ignotos semper allatrant; As Dogs barke at those they know not*: so they condemne and hate the things they vnderstand not: I thinke it not amisse (leauing *Ninus* for a while) to speake somewhat thereof. *Pic. Mir fo. 81.*

10 It is true that many men abhorre the very name and word (*Magos*) because of *Simon Magus*, who being indeed, not *Magus*, but *Goes*, (that is) familiar with euill spirits, vsurped that title. For Magicke, Coniuring, and Witchery, are far differing Arts, whereof *Plinie* being ignorant scoffeth therat. For *Nero* (saith *Plinie*) who had the most excellent Magicians of the East sent him by *Tyridates* King of Armenia, who held that Kingdom by his grace, found the art after long study and labour altogether ridiculous. *Plin. l. 30. hist. Nat.*

Magus is a Persian word primitiuely, whereby is expreft such a one as is altogether conuersant in things diuine. And (as *Plato* affirmeth) the Art of Magicke is the Art of worshipping God. To which effect *Apollonius* in his Epistles expounding the Word *Porphyr. & Apul. Plato in Alcib.*

20 (μαγος) saith, that the Persians called their gods μάγους: whence he addeth that *Magus* is either ὁ κατα φύσιν θεὸς or θεραπευτὴς θεῶν (that is) that *Magus* is a name somtime of him that is a God by nature; sometimes of him that is in the seruice of God: in which latter sense it is taken, *Math. 2. v. 1.* And this is the first and highest kind: which *Piccolomiuie* calleth diuine Magicke: and these did the Latines newly intitle *Sapientes* or *Wisemen*: *For, the feare & worship of God is the beginning of knowledge.* These Wisemen the Greeks cal Philosophers: the Indians, Brachmans: which name they somewhat neerely retaine to this day, calling their Priests Bramines; among the Egyptians they were termed Priests; with the Hebrewes they were called Cabalists, Prophets, Scribes, and Pharisees: amongst the Babylonians they were differenced by the name of Chaldæans: & among the Persians *Piccol. de Defin. Prouerb. 1. 7. Iohn Eug. Linschot.*

30 Magicians: of whom *Arnobius* (speaking of *Hostanes*, one of the ancient Magicians) vseth these words: *Et verum Deum merita maiestate prosequitur, & Angelos ministros Dei, sed veri, eius venerationi nouit assistere. Idem dæmonas prodit terrenos, vagos, humanitatis inimicos; Sosthenes* (for so *M. Fœlix* calleth him, not *Hostanes*) *ascribeth the due maiestie to the true God, and acknowledgeth that his Angels are ministers and messengers which attend the worship of the true God. He also hath deliuered that there are Deuils earthly and wandering, and enemies to mankinde.* *In octauio Minutij Fœlicis cum Arnobio. p. 360.*

His Maiestie also in his first Booke of *Dæmonologie c. 3.* acknowledgeth, that in the Persian tongue the word (*Magus*) imports as much as a contemplator of diuine and heauenlie sciences; but vniustly so called, because the *Chaldæans* were ignorant of the true diuinitie. And it is also right which *His Maiestie* auoweth, that vnder the name of *Magicke* all other vnlawfull Arts are comprehended, & yet doth *His Maiestie* distinguish it from Necromancie, Witchcraft, and the rest: of all which he hath written largely and most learnedly. For the Magicke which *His Magiestie* condemneth, is of that kinde whereof the Diuell is a partie. *Daniel* in his second chapter nameth foure kindes of those *Wise men*: *Arioli, Magi, Malefici*, and *Chaldæi*. *Arioli* the old *Latine* translation calleth *Sophistas*: *Vatablus* and *Pagninus*, *Genethliacos*, or *Physicos*, or *Philosophers*, or (according to the note of *Vatablus*) *Naturalists: Nempè sunt Magi apud Barbaros, quod Philosophi apud Græcos (scilicet) diuinarum humanarumq; rerum scientiam profitentes; For the Magi are the same with the Barbarians, as the Philosophers are with the Græcians* (that is) *men that professe the knowledge of things both diuine and humane.* The Greeke & the English call them *Inchanters*; *Iunius, Magicians*; *Castalion, Coniecturers*: in the *Syrian* they are all foure by one name called *Sapientes Babylonis*; *The Wise men of Babel.* *Dæmonol. l. 2. cap. 1.*

The second sort *Vatablus, Pagnin, Iunius*, and our English, call Astrologers; *Hierome* and the *Septuagint*, Magicians.

The third kind are *Malefici*, or *Venefici*; in *Hierom, Pagnin*, and the *Septuagint*, Witches or Poysoners: in *Iunius, Præstigiatores* or Sorcerers, as in English.

That Witches are also rightly so called *Venefici*, or *Poysoners*; and that indeed there is a kinde of *Malefici*, which without any Art of Magicke or Necromancie vse the helpe

of the Deuill to doe mischief, *His Maiestie* confirmeth in the first Chapter of his second Booke: speaking also in the fifth Chapter of their practice, to mixe the powder of dead bodies with other things by the Deuill prepared; and at other times to make pictures of Waxe, or Clay, or otherwise (as it were *Sacramentaliter*) to effect those things, which the Deuill by other meanes bringeth to passe.

The fourth, all Translators call *Chaldæans*: who tooke vpon them to foretell all things to come, as well naturall as humane, & their euents; and this they vaunted to performe by the influences of the Starres by them obserued, and vnderstood.

Such were, and to this day partly (if not altogether) are the corruptions, which haue made odious the very name of *Magicke*, hauing chiefly sought (as is the manner of all impostures) to counterfeit the highest and most noblest part of it, yet so as they haue also crept into the inferior degrees.

A second kind of *Magicke* was that part of *Astrologie*, which had respect to sowing and planting, & all kinds of agriculture and husbandrie: which was a knowledge of the motions and influences of the Starres into those lower Elements.

Philo Iudæus goeth farther, affirming, that by this part of *Magicke* or *Astrologie*, together with the motions of the Starres and other heauenly bodies, *Abraham* found out the knowledge of the true God, while he liued in *Chaldæa*: *Qui contemplatione creaturarum cognouit Creatorem*, (saith *Io. Damascen*) *Who knew the Creator by the contemplation of the creature. Iosephus* reporteth of *Abraham*, that *hee instructed the Egyptians in Arithmeticke and Astronomie, who before* Abrahams *comming vnto them knew none of these sciences.*

De vit sanct. Glyc. Annal. fol. 180.

And so doth *Archangelus de Burgo*, in defence of *Mirandula* against *Garsias*: Alexander & Eupolemon *dicunt, quod* Abraham *sanctitate & sapientia omnium præstantissimus Chaldæos primùm, deinde Phœnices, demum Ægyptios sacerdotes Astrologiam & diuina docuerit*; Alexander (saith he, *meaning* Alexander Polyhistor) *and* Eupolemon *affirme, that* Abraham *the holyest and wisest of men, did first teach the Chaldæans, then the Phœnicians; lastly, the Egyptian Priests, Astrologie and diuine knowledge.*

See vpon his Comment. in Aug. de Ciuit. Dei. l. 18. c. 2.

The third kind of *Magicke* contayneth the whole Philosophie of nature; not the brabblings of the *Aristotelians*, but that which bringeth to light the inmost vertues, and draweth them out of Natures hidden bosome to humane vse, *Virtutes in centro centri latentes*; *Vertues hidden in the center of the center*, according to the *Chymists*. Of this sort were *Albertus, Arnoldus de villa noua, Raymond, Bacon*, and many others: and before these in elder times, and who better vnderstood the power of Nature, & how to apply things that worke to things that suffer, were *Zoroaster* before spoken of: *Apollonius Tyaneus* remembred by S. *Hierome* to *Paulinus*; in some mens opinion *Numa Pompilius* among the *Romans*: among the *Indians, Thespian*: among the *Egyptians, Hermes*: among the *Babylonians, Budda*: the *Thracians* had *Zamolxis*: the *Hyperboreans* (as is supposed) *Abbaris*: and the *Italians, Petrus Aponensis*. The *Magick* which these men profest, is thus defined: *Magia est connexio à viro sapiente agentium per naturam cum patientibus, sibi congruenter respondentibus, vt inde opera prodeant non sine eorum admiratione qui causam ignorant*: *Magicke is the connexion of naturall agents and patients, answerable each to other, wrought by a wise man to the bringing forth of such effects, as are wonderfull to those that know not their causes.*

In all these three kindes, which other men diuide into foure, it seemeth that *Zoroaster* was exceedingly learned: especially in the first and highest. For in his Oracles he confesseth God to be the creator of the Vniuersall: he beleeueth of the * *Trinity*, which he could not inuestigate by any naturall knowledge: he speaketh of Angels, and of *Paradise*: approueth the immortalitie of the soule: teacheth Truth, Faith, Hope, and Loue, discoursing of the Abstinence and Charitie of the *Magi*: Which Oracles of his, *Psellus, Ficinus, Patritius*, and others haue gathered and translated.

** Toto in mundo lucet Trias, cuius Monas est princeps. Cuncta namq; perfecit pater, & menti tradidit secundæ.*

Psel. & Ficin. De prep Euang. lib. 1. cap. 7.

Of this *Zoroaster*, *Eusebius* in the *Theologie* of the *Phænicians*, vsing *Zoroasters* owne words: *Hæc ad verbum scribit* (saith *Eusebius*) *Deus primus incorruptibilium, sempiternus, ingenitus, expers partium, sibiipsi simillimus, bonorum omnium auriga, munera non expectans, optimus, prudentissimus, pater iuris, sine doctrina iustitiam perdoctus, natura perfectus, sapiens, sacræ naturæ vnicus inuentor &c.* Thus writeth Zoroaster *word for word. God the first incorruptible, euerlasting, vnbegotten, without parts, most like himselfe, the guide of all good, expecting no reward, the best, the wisest, the father of right, hauing learned iustice without teaching, perfect wise by nature, the only inuenter thereof.*

Lib. 2. fol. 26.

Sixtus Senensis speaking of the wisedome of the *Chaldæans*, doth distinguish those wise men

men into fiue orders, (to wit) *Chascedim*, or *Chaldæans*: *Asaphim*, or *Magicians*: *Chartumim*; (which he translates *Ariolie*, or *Sophists*) *Mechasphim*, or *Malefici*, or *Venefici*, *Witches*, or *Poysoners*; and *Gazarim Augures*, or *Aruspices*, or *Diuiners*.

Chascedim were those which had the name of *Chaldæans*, which were *Astronomers*: *Hij cœlorum motus diligentissimè spectârunt*; *These did most diligently contemplate the motions of the heauens*: whom *Philo* in the life of *Abraham* describeth.

Asaphim were in the old *Latine* translation called *Philosophers*: of the *Septuagint* and of *Hierome, Magicians*: *Qui de omnium tam diuinarum quàm humanarum rerum causis Philosophati sunt*; *Who discoursed of the causes of all things, as well diuine as humane*: of whom *Origen* makes *Balaam* (the son of *Beor*) to be the first: but *Laertius* ascribeth the inuention of this art to *Zoroastres* the *Persian*. *Laert. l. 1.*

Chartumim, or *Inchanters*, the Disciples (saith Saint *Augustine, Plinie*, and *Iustine*) of another *Zoroastres*: who corrupted the admirable wisedome of the *Magi*, which he receiued from his Ancesters.

Mecasphim, or *Venefici*, or *Witches*, are those which we haue spoken already out of *His Maiesties* booke of *Dæmonologia*.

Gazarim, or *Aruspices* (after Saint *Hierome*) which diuine from the entrailes of beasts slaine for sacrifices: or by *Gazarim* others vnderstand *Augures*, who diuine by the flying, singing, or feeding of birds.

By this distinction we may perceiue the difference betweene those wise men which the kings of *Babylon* entertained; and that the name and profession of the *Magi* among the ancient *Persians* was most honest. For as *Peucer* truely obserueth, *Præerant religioni Persicæ, vt in populo Dei Leuitæ, studijsq; veræ Philosophiæ dediti erant: nec quisquam Rex Persarum poterat esse, qui non antea Magorum disciplinam scientiamq; percepisset*; *The Magi* (saith he) *were the chiefe Ministers of the Persian Religion, as the Leuites among Gods people, and they were giuen to the studies of true Philosophie: neither could any be King of the Persians, who had not first beene exercised in the mysteries and knowledge of the Magi.* *Peucer. de Diuinat. in c. de mag. fol. 135. 136.*

Sixtus Senensis in the defence of *Origen* against *Polychronius* and *Theophilus*, hath two kinds of *Magicke*, his owne words are these: *Et ne quem moueant præmissa* Polychronij & Theophili *testimonia, sciendum est duplicem esse Magiam; alteram vbiq; ab* Origine *damnatam, quæ per fœdera cum dæmonibus inita aut verè aut apparenter operatur*; *alteram ab* Origine *laudatam, quæ ad practicen naturalis philosophiæ pertinet, docens admirabiles res operari ex applicatione mutua naturalium virtutum ad inuicem agentium ac patientium*; *That the testimonies of* Theophilus *and* Polychronius (*saith he*) *may not moue any man, it is to be vnderstood that Magicke is of two sorts, the one euery where condemned by* Origen; *which worketh (whether truely or seemingly) by couenants made with Deuills; the other commended by* Origen; *which appertaineth to the practicke part of naturall Philosophie, teaching to worke admirable things by the mutuall application of naturall vertues, agent and suffering reciprocally.* *Bibl. l. 6. fol. 424.*

This partition *Hierome* doth embrace in the first of his Commentaries vpon *Daniel*: where considering of the difference which *Daniel* makes betweene these foure kinds of wise Men formerly remembred, he vseth this distinction: *Quos nos hariolos; cæteri ἐπαοιδοὺς (id est) incantatores interpretati sunt, videntur mihi esse qui verbis rem peragunt*; *Magi, qui de singulis philosophantur*; *malefici, qui sanguine vtuntur & victimis, & sæpe contingunt corpora mortuorum: porro in Chaldæis Genethliacos significari puto, quos vulgo Mathematicos vocant. Consuetudo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit, qui aliter habentur apud gentem suam, eo quòd sint Philosophi Chaldæorum: & ad artis huius scientiam Reges quoq; & Principes eiusdem gentis omnia faciunt*; *vnde & in natiuitate Domini Saluatoris ipsi primùm ortum eius intellexerunt, & venientes sanctam Bethlehem adorauerunt puerum, stella desuper ostendente*; *They whom we call Sorcerers, and others interpret Inchanters, seeme to mee such as performe things by words; Magicians, such as handle euery thing philosophically; Witches, that vse bloud and sacrifices, and often lay hands on the body of the dead: further, among the Chaldæans I take them to be signified by the name of Coniecturers vpon natiuities, whom the vulgar call Mathematicians. But common custome takes Magicians for Witches, who are otherwise reputed in their own Nation: for they are the Philosophers of the Chaldæans: yea Kings and Princes of that Nation doe all that they doe according to the knowledge of this Art: whence at the natiuitie of the Lord our Saviour they first of all vnderstood his birth, and comming vnto holy Bethlehem did worship the Childe: the Starre from aboue shewing him vnto them.* By this therefore it appeareth that there is

great difference betweene the doctrine of a *Magician*, and the abuse of the word. For though some Writers affirme, that *Magus hodie dicitur, qui ex fœdere facto vtitur diaboli opera ad rem quamcunq;; That he is called a Magician now-adaies, who hauing entred league with the Diuell, vseth his helpe to any matter*: yet (as our Sauiour said of *Diuorce*) it was not so from the beginning. For the Art of *Magicke* is of the wisedome of Nature; other Arts which vndergoe that title, were inuented by the falshood, subtlety, & enuy of the Deuill. In the latter there is no other doctrine, than the vse of certaine ceremonies, *Per malã fidem; By an euill faith*: in the former no other ill, than the inuestigation of those vertues and hidden properties which God hath giuen to his creatures, and how fitly to apply things that worke, to things that suffer. And though by the *Iewes* those excellent *Magicians, Philophers*, & *Diuines*, which came to worship our Sauiour *Christ*, were termed *Mechaschephim*, or *Mecasphim*; yet had they no other reason than common custome therein. *Consuetudo autem communis Magos pro maleficis accipit; Common custome* (saith S. *Hierome*) *vnderstandeth Witches vnder the name of Magicians: And antiquitie* (saith *Peter Martyr*) by the word (*Magi*) *vnderstood good and wise men. Quid igitur expauescis Magi nomen formidolose, nomen Euangelio gratiosum, quod non maleficum & veneficum, sed sapientem sonat & Sacerdotem? O thou fearefull one* (saith *Ficinus*) *why doubtest thou to vse the name of Magus, a name gracious in the Gospell, which doth not signifie a Witch or Coniurer, but a wise man and a Priest?* For what brought this slander to that study and profession, but onely idle ignorance: the parent of causelesse admiration? *Causa fuit mirificentia quorundam operum, quæ (re vera) opera naturalia sunt: veruntamen quia procuratione dæmonum, naturas ipsas vel coniungentium, vel commiscentium, vel aliter ad operandum expedientium facta sunt, opera dæmonum credebantur ab ignorantibus hæc. De operibus huiusmodi est Magia naturalis, quam Necromantiam multi impropriè vocant: The marueilousnesse of some workes, which (indeed) are naturall, hath beene the cause of this slander: but because these workes haue beene done by procurement of Diuels, ioyning the natures together or mingling them, or howsoeuer fitting the natures to their working, they were thought the workes of the Diuels by the ignorant. Among these workes is naturall Magicke, which men call very improperly Necromancie.*

Hieron. in Daniel.
Pet. Mar. Loc.
Mar. Ficin. par. prim. fol. 573.
Gul. Parisien. de Legc, cap. 14.

Fol. 80. *Mirandula* in his Apologie goeth further: *For by vnderstanding* (saith he) *the vttermost actiuitie of naturall agents we are assisted to know the Diuinitie of Christ*: for otherwise (to vse his owne words) *ignoratis terminis potentiæ & virtutis rerum naturalium stat nos dubitare illa eadem opera, quæ fecit Christus, posse fieri per media naturalia; The termes or limits of naturall power and vertue not vnderstood, wee must needs doubt whether those very workes which Christ did, may not be done by naturall meanes*: after which he goeth on in this sort: *Ideo non hæreticè, non superstitiosè dixi, sed verissimè & Catholicè per talem Magiam adiuuari nos in cognoscenda diuinitate Christi: Therefore I sayd not heretically, not superstitiously, but most truely and Catholikely, that by such Magicke wee are furthered in knowing the Diuinitie of Christ.* And seeing the *Iewes* and others the enemies of Christian Religion, doe impudently and impiously obiect, that those Miracles which *Christ* wrought were not aboue Nature, but by the exquisit knowledge thereof performed: *Mirandula* a man for his yeares fuller of knowledge than any that this latter Age hath brought forth, might with good reason auow, that the vttermost of Natures workes being knowne, the workes which Christ did, and which (as himselfe witnesseth) no man could doe, doe manifestly testifie of themselues, that they were performed by that hand which held Nature herein but as a Pencill, and by a power infinitely supreme & diuine; and therby those that were faithlesse, were either conuerted or put to silence.

§. III.

That the good knowledge in the ancient Magicke is not to be condemned: though the Deuill here, as in other kindes hath sought to obtrude euill things, vnder the name and colour of good things.

SEeing therfore it is confessed by all of vnderstanding, that a *Magician* (according to the *Persian* word) is no other than, *Diuinorum cultor & interpres: A studious obseruer & expounder of diuine things*: and the Art of it selfe (I meane the Art of naturall *Magicke*) no other, *Quam naturalis Philosophiæ absoluta consummatio; Than the absolute perfection of naturall Philosophie*: Certainly then it proceeds from ignorance, and no

no way sorteth with wise & learned men, *promiscuè* & without difference and distinction, to confound lawfull & praise-worthy knowledge with that impious, and (to vse S. *Pauls* words) *with those beggerly rudiments*, which the Diuell hath shuffled in, & by them bewitcheth and befooleth graceless men. For if we condemne naturall *Magicke*, or the wisedome of Nature, because the Diuell (who knoweth more than any man) doth also teach Witches and Poysoners the harmefull parts of Herbes, Drugges, Minerals, & Excrements: then may we by the same rule condemne the Physician, and the Art of healing. For the Diuell also in the Oracles of *Amphiaraus, Amphilochus, Trophonius*, and the like, taught men in Dreames what Herbes and Drugges were proper for such and such diseases. Now no man of iudgement is ignorant, that the Diuel from the beginning hath sought to thrust himselfe into the same imployment among the Ministers and Seruants of God, changing himselfe for that purpose into an Angell of Light. He hath led men to Idolatry as a Doctrine of Religion; he hath thrust in his Prophets among those of the true God; he hath corrupted the Art of *Astrologie*, by giuing a diuine power to the Starres, teaching men to esteeme them as gods, and not as instruments. And (as *Bunting* obserueth) it is true, that iudiciall *Astrologie* is corrupted with many superstitions: but the abuse of the thing takes not away the Art; considering that heauenly bodies (as euen generall experience sheweth) haue and exercise their operation vpon the inferiour. For the Sunne, and the Starre of *Mars* doe drie; the Moone doth moisten, and gouerne the Tides of the Sea. Againe, the Planets, as they haue seuerall and proper names, so haue they seuerall and proper vertues: the Starres doe also differ in beautie & in magnitude; and to all the Starres hath God giuen also their proper names, which (had they not influences and vertues different) needed not: *He counteth the number of the Stars, and calleth them by their names*. But into the good and profitable knowledge of the celestiall influences, the Diuell ceaseth not to shuffle in his Superstitions: and so to the knowledge of the secret vertues af Nature hath he fastened his doctrine of *Characters*, Numbers, & Incantations; and taught men to beleeue in the strength of Words and Letters: (which without Faith in God are but Inke or common breath) thereby either to equall his own with the Al-powerful Word of God, or to diminish the glory of Gods creating Word, by whom are all things.

Bunt. in Chro.
Psal. 147.

Moreouer, he was neuer ignorant, that both the wise & the simple obserue when the Sea-birds forsake the shores and flye into the Land, that commonly some great storme followeth; that the high flying of the Kite and the Swallow betoken faire weather; that the crying of Crowes and bating of Ducks foreshew raine: for they feele the Ayre moistened in their Quils. And it is written in *Hieremie* the Prophet, *Euen the Storke in the ayre knoweth her appointed times, and the Turtle, and the Crane, & the Swallow*. Hereupon, this enemie of Mankinde, working vpon these as vpon the rest of Gods creatures, long time abused the Heathen by teaching them to obserue the flying of Fowles, and therby to iudge of good or ill successe in the War: & (withall) to look into their entrailes for the same, as if God had written the secrets of vnsearchable prouidence in the liuers and bowels of birds and beasts. Againe, because it pleased God somtimes by Dreames, not onely to warne and teach his Prophets and Apostles, but Heathen Princes also; as: *Abimelech* to restore *Sara* to *Abraham*; because he admonished *Ioseph*, and by Dreame informed *Iacob, Laban, Pharao, Salomon, Paul, Ananias*, the *Magi* of the East, and others. For as it is remembred in *Iob*: *In Dreames and Visions of the night when sleepe falleth vpon men, &c. then God openeth the eares, that he might cause man to returne from his enterprize*: therefore, I say, doth the Diuell also practise his Diuinations by Dreames, or (after *Parisiensis*) *diuinitatis imitationes, his mocke-diuinitie*. This in the end grew so common, as *Aristides* compiled an *Ephemerides* of his owne Dreames: *Mithridates* of those of his *Concubines*. Yea the *Romanes* finding the inconuenience hereof, because all dreams (without distinction of cases) were drawn to Diuination, forbad the same by a Law, as by the words of prohibition (*aut narrandis somnijs occultam aliquam artem diuinandi*) it may appeare. Likewise by the Law of God in *Deuteronomie, cap. 13.* seducing Dreamers were ordered to be slaine. Yet it is to be contemned, not that *Marcus Antonius* was told a remedy in his Dreame for two grieuous diseases that opprest him; nor that of *Alexander Macedon* for the cure of *Ptolomies* poisoned wound; nor that which Saint *Augustine* reporteth of a *Millanoise*, whose son (the Father dead) being demanded a debt already paid, was told by his Father in a dreame where the Acquitrance lay to discharge it: nor that

Ca. 8. ver. 7.
Gen. 12. 17.
Iob 33. 17.
G. Parisien. de leg. 24. cap.
codex. de malefic & Mathematic. leg. & si accepta.
Aug. de cura pro mortuis agenda.

that of *Astyages* of his Daughter, and many others of like nature. Of the reason of all which, forasmuch as the cause is not in our selues, this place denieth dispute.

§. IIII.

That Daniels *misliking* Nabuchodonosors *condemning of the Magicians, doth not iustifie all their practices.*

BVt it may be obiected, that if such Diuinations as the Heathens commonly vsed were to be condemned in them, who tooke on them very many & strange Reuelations; how came it to passe that *Daniel* both condemned the hastie sentence of *Nabuchodonosor* against the *Magicians* of *Chaldæa*, and in a sort forbad it? especially considering that such kind of people God himself commanded to be slaine. To this, diuers answers many be giuen. First, it seemeth that *Daniel* had respect to those *Chaldæans*, because they acknowledged that the Dreame of the king, which himself had forgotten, could not be knowne to any man by any Art either Naturall or Diabolicall: *For there is none other* (said the *Chaldæans*) *that can declare it before the king, except the Gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh*: and herein they confessed the power of the Euer-liuing God.

Deut.13. & 18. Leuit.20.

Secondly, it may be coniectured (and that with good reason) that among so many learned men, some of them did not exercise themselues in any euill or vnlawfull Arts, but were meerely *Magicians* and *Naturalists*: & therefore when the king commanded to kill all, *Daniel* perswaded the contrary, & called it a hasty iudgement, which proceeded with furie without examination. And that some of those mens studies and professions were lawfull, it may be gathered by *Daniels* instruction: for himself had bin taught by them, and was called chiefe of the Inchanters: of which some were termed *Soothsayers*, others *Astrologians*, others *Chaldæans*, others *Magi* or *Wise-men*: and therefore of distinct professions.

Thirdly, *Daniel* misliked and forbad the execution of that iudgement, because it was vniust. For howsoeuer those men might deserue punishment for the practice of vnlawfull Arts (though not vnlawfull according to the Law of that State) yet herein they were altogether guiltlesse. For it exceeded humane power to pierce the Kings thought, which the Diuell himselfe could not know. So then in *Daniels* dislike, and hindering of the execution of sentence of death pronounced against the *Magicians*, there is no absolute iustifying of their practice and profession.

§. V.

The abuse of things which may be found in all kinds, is not to condemne the right vse of them.

NOtwithstanding this mixture euery where, of good with euil, of falsehood with truth, of corruption with cleannesse and purity: The good, The truth, The puritie in euery kind may well be embraced: As in the ancient worshipping of God by Sacrifice, there was no man knowing God among the Elders, that therefore forbare to offer Sacrifice to the God of all power, because the Diuell in the Image of *Baal Astaroth*, *Chemoth*, *Iupiter*, *Apollo*, and the like was so odored.

Euse. ex Artapan. & Polybi.

Neither did the abuse of *Astrologie* terrifie *Abraham* (if we may beleeue the most ancient and religious Historians) from obseruing the motions and natures of heauenly bodies; neither can it dehort wise and learned men in these dayes from attributing those vertues, influences, and inclinations to the Starres and other lights of Heauen, which God hath giuen to those his glorious creatures.

The Sympatheticall and Antipatheticall working of Herbes, Plants, Stones, Minerals with their other vtmost vertues, sometimes taught by the Diuel, and applyed by his Ministers to harmefull and vncharitable ends, can neuer terrifie the honest & learned *physician* or *Magician* from the vsing of them to the helpe & comfort of Mankind: neither can the illusions, whereby the Diuell betrayeth such men as are fallen from God, make other men reiect the obseruations of Dreames; so farre as with a good Faith and a Religious caution they may make vse of them.

Deut.18.10.

Lastly, the prohibition to marke flying of Fowles (as signes of good or euill successe) hath no reference at all to the crying of Crowes against Raine, or to any obseruation not superstitious, and whereof a reason or cause may be giuen. For if we confound Arts with

with the abuse of them, we shall not only condemne all honest Trades and enterchange among men (for there are that deceiue in all professions) but we shall in a short time bury in forgetfulnesse all excellent knowledge and all learning, or obscure & couer it ouer with a most scornefull and beggarly ignorance: and (as *Plinie* teacheth) we should shew our selues *ingratos erga eos, qui labore curaq; lucem nobis aperuerunt in hac luce: Vnthankefull we should shew our selues towards those, who with paines and care haue discouered vnto vs light in this light.*

Indeed not only these naturall knowledges are condemned by those that are ignorant; but the Mathematicks also and Professers thereof: though those that are excellently learned iudge of it in this sort: *In speculo Mathematico verum illud, quod in omni scibili quæritur, elucet; non modò remota similitudine, sed fulgida quadam propinquitate; In the Glasse of the Mathematickes that Truth doth shine, which is sought in euery kinde of Knowledge; not in an obscuring image, but in a neere and manifest representation.* Cusan. comp. Theolog. c.1.

§. VI.

Of the diuers kindes of vnlawfull Magicke.

IT is true that there are many Arts, if we may so call them, which are couered with the name of Magicke: and esteemed abusiuely to bee as branches of that Tree, on whose root they neuer grew. The first of these hath the name of Necromancy or Goetia: and of this again there are diuers kindes. The one is an Inuocation at the graues of the dead, to whom the Diuell himselfe giues answer in stead of those that seeme to appeare. For certaine it is, that the immortall soules of men doe not inhabit the dust and dead bodies, but they giue motion and vnderstanding to the liuing: death being nothing else but a separation of the body and soule: and therfore the soule is not to bee found in the Graues.

A second practice of those men, who pay Tribute or are in league with Satan, is that of coniuring or of raysing vp Diuels, of whom they hope to learne what they list. These men are so distract, as they beleeue that by terrible words they make the Diuell to tremble; that being once impaled in a Circle (a Circle which cannot keep out a Mouse) they therein (as they suppose) insconce themselues against that great Monster. Doubtlesse, they forget that the Diuell is not terrified from doing ill and all that is contrary to God and goodnesse, no, not by the fearefull word of the Almighty: and that hee feared not to offer to sit in Gods seate, that he made no scruple to tempt our Sauiour Christ, whom himselfe called the Sonne of God. So, forgetting these proud parts of his, an vnworthy wretch will yet resolue himself, that he can draw the Diuell out of Hell, and terrifie him with a Phrase: wheras in very truth, the obedience which the Diuels seeme to vse, is but thereby to possesse themselues of the bodies and soules of those which raise them vp; as His Maiestie in his Booke aforenamed hath excellently taught: *That the Diuels obedience is only, secundum quid, scilicet ex pacto; respectiuè*, that is, *vpon bargaine.*

I cannot tell what they can doe vpon those simple and ignorant Diuels, which inhabite *Iamblicus* imagination; but sure I am the rest are apt enough to come vncalled: and alwaies attending the cogitations of their seruants and vassals, do no way need any such inforcement.

Sunt in mundo genus quoddam potestatum vaide diuisum, indiscretum & inconsideratũ & quod neque verum à falso neque possibile discerni ab impossibili. L. Viues in cap. 11. lib. 10. Aug. de Ciuit. Dei lib. 10. Cusa. exerc. l. 2.

Or it may be that these Coniurers deale altogether with *Cardans* mortall Diuels, following the opinion of *Rabbi Auornathan* and of *Porphirius*, who taught that these kinde of Diuels liued not aboue a thousand yeares: which *Plutarch* in his Treatise *de Oraculorum defectu* confirmeth, making example of the great god Pan. For were it true that the Diuels were in awe of wicked men, or could be compelled by them, then would they alwaies feare those words and threats, by which at other times they are willingly mastered. But the Familiar of *Simon Magus* when hee had lifted him vp in the Ayre, cast him headlong out of his clawes, when he was sure he should perish with the fall. If this perhaps were done by S. *Peters* Prayers (of which S. *Peter* no where vaunteth) yet the same prancke at other times vpon his owne accord the Diuell played with *Theodotus*: who transported (as *Simon Magus* was supposed to haue been) had the same mortall fall that he had. The like successe had *Budas*, a principall pillar of the Manichæan Heresie, as *Socrates* in his Ecclesiasticall Historie witnesseth: & for a manifest proofe hereof we see it euery

Euseb hist. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 16.

Lib. 1. c. 22.

euery day, that the Diuell leaues all Witches and Sorcerers at the Gallowes, for whom at other times he maketh himselfe a *Pegasus*, to conueigh them in haste to places far distant, or at least makes them so thinke: *For to those that receiued not the truth* (saith Saint Paul) *God shall send them strong illusions.* Of these their supposed transportations (yet agreeing with their confessions) *His Maiestie* in the second Booke & the fourth Chapter of the *Demonologie*, hath confirmed by vnanswerable reasons, that they are meerely illusiue. Another sort there are who take on them to include *Spirits* in Glasses & Crystals; of whom *Cusanus: Fatui sunt incantatores, qui in vngue & vitro volunt spiritum includere: quia Spiritus non claudi tur corpore: They are foolish Inchanters, which will shut vp their spirits within their nailes or in Glasse: for a Spirit cannot be inclosed by a body.*

2 Thess. 2.

Exercitat. l. 2.

There is also another Art besides the afore-mentioned, which they call *Theurgia*, or *White Magick*; a pretended conference with good Spirits or Angels, whom by Sacrifice and Inuocation they draw out of Heauen, and communicate withall. But the administring Spirits of God, as they require not any kind of adoration due vnto their Creator; so seeing they are most free Spirits, there is no man so absurd to think (except the diuell haue corrupted his vnderstanding) that they can be constrained or commanded out of Heauen by threats. Wherefore let the professours thereof couer themselues how they please by a professed puritie of life, by the ministerie of Infants, by fasting & abstinence in generall; yet all those that tamper with immateriall substances and abstract natures, either by Sacrifice, Vow, or Inforcement, are men of euill faith, and in the power of *Satan*. For good Spirits or Angels cannot be constrained; and the rest are Diuels, which willingly obey.

Other sorts there are of wicked Diuinations: as by fire, called *Pyromantia*: by water, called *Hydromantia*: by the ayre, called *Mataeotechnia*, and the like.

The last, and (indeed) the worst of all other is Fascination or Witchcraft: the Practisers whereof are no lesse enuious and cruell, reuengefull & bloudy, than the Diuell himself. And these accursed creatures hauing sold their soules to the Diuell, worke two wayes; either by the Diuell immediately, or by the art of poysoning. The difference betweene *Necromancers* and *Witches*, *His Maiestie* hath excellently taught in a word: that the one (in a sort) command; the other obey the Diuell.

There is another kind of pettie Witchery (if it be not altogether deceit) which they call charming of Beasts and Birds, of which *Pythagoras* was accused, because an Eagle lighted on his shoulder in the *Olympian* fields. But if the same exceeded the Art of Falconrie, yet was it no more to be admired then *Mahomets* Doue, vvhich he had vsed to feed with Wheate out of his eare: which Doue, when it was hungrie, lighted on *Mahomets* shoudler, and thrust his Bill therein to finde his breake-fast: *Mahomet* perswading the rude and simple *Arabians*, that it was the Holy Ghost that gaue him aduice. And certainly if *Banks* had liued in elder times, he would haue shamed all the Inchanters of the World: for whosoeuer was most famous among them, could neuer master or instruct any beast as he did his Horse.

Aelian. l. 6. not. histor.

Lucil. in Satyr.

For the drawing of Serpents out of their Dens, or killing of them in the holes by Inchantments (which the *Marsians* a people of *Italie* practised: *Colubros disrumpit Marsia cantu: inchanting Marsia makes the snakes to burst.*) That it hath beene vsed it appeares, *Psalme* 58. 6. though I doubt not, but that may Impostures may be in this kinde; and euen by naturall causes it may be done. For there are many Fumes that will either draw them out or destroy them; as womens haire burnt, and the like. So many things may be layed in the entrance of their holes that will allure them: and therein I find no other *Magicke* or Inchantments than to draw out a Mouse with a piece of tosted Cheese.

§. VII.

Of diuers wayes by which the Diuell seemeth to worke his wonders.

BVt to the end that we may not dote with the *Manichees*, who make two powers of gods: that we doe not giue to the Diuell any other dominion than he hath (not to speake of his abilitie, when he is the Minister of Gods vengeance; as when *Egypt*, according to *Dauid*, was destroyed by euill Angels) he otherwise worketh but three ways. The first is by mouing the cogitations and affections of men: The second

second by the exquisite knowledge of Nature: and the third by deceit, illusion, and false semblance. And that they cannot vworke what they would, *G. Parisiensis* giueth three causes: the first, a naturall impotency: the second, their owne reason dissuading them from daring ouermuch, or indeed (and that which is the only certaine cause) the great mercy of the Creator, *Tenens eos ligatas* (saith the same Author) *velut immanissimus belluas.* S. *Augustine* vvas of opinion that the Frogges which *Pharaos* Sorcerers produced were not naturall, but that the Diuell (by betraying of their senses that looked on) made them appeare to be such. For as *Vairus* obseruеth, those Frogges of the Inchanters vvere not found corrupted as those of *Moses* vvere, vvhich might argue that they were not creatures indeed. Hereof saith Saint Augustine: *Nec sanè Dæmones naturas creant, sed quæ à Deo creatæ sunt commutant, vt videantur esse quod non sunt: The Diuels create not any natures, but so change those that are created by God, as they seeme to be that which they be not:* of which in the 83. question he giueth the reason. *Dæmon quibusdam nebulis implet omnes meatus intelligentiæ, per quos aperire lumen rationis radius mentis solet,* (that is) *The Diuell fils with certaine clouds all passages of the vnderstanding, by which the beame of the minde is wont to open the light of reason.*

Sinl. parif. de vniuerso p. 2. c. 70.

And as *Tertullian* in his Booke *de anima* rightly conceiueth, if the Diuell can possesse himselfe of the eyes of our mindes, and blinde them, it is not hard for him to dazell those of the body. For (out of doubt) by the same way that God passeth out, the Diuell entreth in, beginning with the fantasie, by which he doth more easily betray the other faculties of the soule: for the fantasie is most apt to be abused by vaine apprehensions.

Maxima vis est phantasiæ ad errores.

Aquinas on the contrary held that those Frogges were not imaginarie, but such indeed as they seemed: not made *Magicæ artis ludibrio*, which indeed agreeth not with the Art, but (according to Thomas) *Per aptam & idoneam agentium & patientium applicationem: By an apt and fit applying of agents and patients.* And this I take to be more probable. For *Moses* could not be deceiued by that sleight of false semblance; and Saint *Augustine* in another case like vnto this (to wit) of the turning of *Diomedes* his companions into Birds, *per actiua cum passiuis*, inclineth rather to this opinion: though I am not perswaded that Saint *Augustine* beleeued that of *Diomedes*. And this opinion of *Thomas*, *G. Parisiensis* a man very learned also confirmeth. For speaking of natural *Magick* he vseth these words *De huiusmodi autem operibus est subita generatio ranarum, & pediculorum, & vermium, aliorumq; animalium quorundam: in quibus omnibus sola natura operatur, verùm adhibitis adiutorijs, quæ ipsa semina naturæ confortant & accuunt, ita vt opus generationis tantum accelerent, vt eis qui hoc nesciunt non opus naturæ videatur (quæ tardius talia efficere consueuit) sed potentia Dæmonum, &c.* to which he addeth: *Qui autem in hijs docti sunt talia non mirantur, sed solum Creatorem in hijs glorificant: In such workes* (saith he) *the sodaine generation of Frogges and Lice, and Wormes, and some other creatures is: in all which Nature alone worketh; but by meanes strengthening, the Seeds of Nature, and quickning them; in such wise that they so hasten the worke of generation, that it seemeth to the ignorant not to be the worke of Nature, which vsually worketh more leisurely, but they think it is done by the powers of Diuels. But they who are learned in these Arts maruaile not at such working, but glorifie the Creator.* Now by these two wayes the Diuels doe must frequently worke, (to wit) by knowing the vttermost of nature; and by illusion: for their is no incomprehensible or vnsearchable power, but of God onely.

De leg. c. 24. fol. 6. 7.

For shall we say, he causeth sometimes thunders, lightnings, and tempests; and can infect the ayre, as well as moue it or compresse it; who knowes not that these things are also naturall? Or may it be obiected that he fore-telleth things before they happen, which exceedeth nature, and is no illusion. It is true, that he sometimes doth it; but how? In elder ages he stole his knowledge out of the predictions of the Prophets: & he foretold the death of *Saul*, at such time as he vvas in his own possession & power to dispose of. And he that hath liued from the infancie of the vvorld to this day, and obserued the successe of euery counsaile: he that by reason of his swift motions can informe himselfe of all places, and preparations: he that is of counsaile with all those that studie & practise subuersion and destruction: he that is Prince of the ayre, and can thence better iudge, than those that inhabite the earth: if he should not sometimes, yea if he should not very oftentimes guesse rightly of things to come (where God pleaseth not to giue impediment) it were very strange. For we see that wise and learned men doe oftentimes

Ephe. 2. 2. & 6. 12.

Diabolus magnum habet rerum vsum: quæ res multum habet momenti in quouis negotio, Aug. de Anima c. 26. 27. &c.

oftentimes by comparing like causes conceiue rightly of like effects, before they happen: and yet where the Diuell doubteth and would willingly keepe his credit, he euermore answereth by Riddles, as

Crœsus *Halympenetrans magnam subuertit opum vim,*

If *Crœsus* ouer Halys goe,
Great Kingdomes he shall ouerthrow.

Which answer may be taken either vway: either for the ouerthrow of his own Kingdome, or of his Enemies. And thus far we grant the Diuell may proceed in predictons, which (otherwise) belong to God onely; as it is in Esay: *Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are Gods; shew vs at all times and certainly what is to come. Solius enim diuinæ intelligentiæ ac sapientiæ est, occulta nosse & reuelare; It is only proper to Gods vnderstanding and wisedome, to know and reveale hidden things.*

Cui. Parisiensis de legib. c. 24.

§. VIII.

That none was euer raised from the dead by the power of the Diuell: and that it was not the true Samuel *which appeared to* Saul.

TO conclude, it may be obiected that the Diuell hath raised from the dead: and that others by his power haue done the like, as in the exemple giuen of *Samuel* raised by the Witch of *Endor*: which were it true, then might it indeed be affirmed, that some of the Diuels acts exceeded all the powers of nature, false semblance, & other illusions. *Iustine Martyr* was sometime of the opinion, that it was *Samuel* indeede; and so was *Ambrose*, *Lyra*, and *Burgensis*; from which authorities those men borrow strength which so beleeue. But *Martyr* changed his opinion; & so did S. *Augustine*, who at first seemed to be indifferent: For in his questions vpon the Old and New Testament, he accounteth it detestable to thinke that it was *Samuel* which appeared: & these be his wordes elsewhere to the same effect: *In requie sunt animæ piorum à corpore separatæ, impiorũ autem pœnas luunt, donec istarum ad vitam æternam, illarum vero ad æternam mortem quæ secunda dicitur corpora reuiuiscant; The soules of the godly separated from their bodies are at rest, but those of the wicked suffer punishment, till the bodies of the iust rise to eternall life, and of the wicked to an eternall and second death.*

Iust. Martyr in colloq. cum Tryphone in resp. ad Ortho. quæst. 52. Ambr. in Luc. l. 1. c. 1. Lyra in Reg. 1. Aug. ad Simpl. l. 2. q. 3. De Ciuit. Dei, l. 13. c. 8.

And (besides S. *Augustine*) *Iustine Martyr*, *Helarius*, *Tertullian*, *Athanasius*, *Chrysostome*, and others, beleeued firmely, and taught it: that the soules of men being once separate from their bodies, did not wander on the earth at all: *Credere debemus* (saith Cyril) *quum à corporibus sanctorum animæ abierint, tanquam in manus charissimi patris bonitati diuina commendari; We must beleeue when the soules of holy men are departed from their bodies, that they be commended to the diuine Goodnesse, as into the hands of a most deare Father.* If then they be in Heauen, the power of the Diuell cannot stretch so high: if in Hell, *Ab inferno nulla est redemptio; From hell there is no redemption.* For there are but two habitations after death: *Vnum* (saith Augustine) *in igne æterno; alterum in regno æterno; The one in eternall fire; the other in Gods eternall Kingdome.* And though it be written in *Iure Pontificio*, that many there are who beleeue that the dead haue againe appeared to the liuing; yet the *Glosse* vpon the same Text findes it ridiculous: *Credunt & malè quia sunt Phantasmata* (saith the Glosse) *They beleeue, and they beleeue amisse, because they be but Phantasmes, or Apparitions.* For whereas any such voice hath beene heard, saying, I am the Soule of such a one: *Hæc oratio à fraude atq; deceptione diabolica est; That speech is framed by the fraud and deception of the Diuell*, saith *Chrysostome*. Likewise of the same, saith Tertullian: *Absit vt animam cuiustibet sancti, nedum Prophetæ, à dæmonio credamus extractam; God forbid that we should think that the soule of any holy man, much lesse of a Prophet should be drawn vp againe by a Diuell.*

Aug. de ver. Apost. 18. Iust. Mart. ad Orthodox. q. 75. Hilar. Psal. 2. in fine Tert. de anima. in fin. Athanas. q. 13. Chrys. hom. 19. in Euang. Mat.

26. q. 5. Episcopi.

It is true that the Scriptures call that apparition *Samuel*; so doe they the wooden images *Cherubins*: and false brazen gods are gods, and the like. And whereas these of the contrary opinion build vpon that place of the 26. of *Ecclesiasticus* (a booke not numbred among the *Canonicall* Scriptures, as S. *Augustine* himselfe in his Treatise, if it be his, *De cura pro mortuis agenda*, confesseth) yet *Siracides* following the literall sense and phrase of the Scriptures, proueth nothing at all: For though the Diuell would willingly persuade

swade, that the soules (yea euen of iust men) were in his power; yet so farre is it from the promises of the Scriptures, and from Gods iust and merciful nature, and so contrary to all diuine reason, as Saint *Augustine* (or whosoeuer wrote that booke before cited) might rightly terme it a detestable opinion so to thinke. For if God had so absolutely forsaken *Saul*, that hee refused to answer him either by *Dreames*, by *Vrim*, or by his *Prophets*: it were sottish to conceiue, that he would permit the Diuell, or a wicked Witch, to raise a Prophet from the dead in *Sauls* respect: it being also contrary to his own diuine Law to aske counsaile of the dead; as in *Deuteronomie* 18. and elsewhere. Therefore it was the Diuell, and not the soule of a dead body, that gaue answer and aduice.

1. *Kin.* 17. 22. 2. *Kings* 4. 34. *Nullus enim magus aut dæmon mortuum verè vnquam excitauit.* Ruer. de fascin.

But because *Helias* and *Helizeus* had raised some from the dead by the power of God; those Diuels which S. *Augustine* calleth *ludificatores animantium sibi subiectorum; Mockers of their owne vassals*, casting before their eies a semblance of humane bodies, and framing sounds to their eares like the voyces of men, do also perswade their graceless and accursed attendants, that themselues both possesse, and haue power ouer the soules of men. *Eludit Diabolus aciem tum spectantium, tum etiam cogitantium*, saith L. Viues; *The Deuill beguileth the sense both of the beholders, and of those that so imagine.* These then are the bounds of the Diuels power, whom if we will not feare, we must feare to sinne. For when hee is not the instrument of Gods vengeance, he can touch no man that makes not himself his voluntary vassall: *Potest ad malum inuitare, non potest trahere*, saith S. Augustine, *he can allure, but he cannot inforce to euill.* Such as thinke otherwise, may goe into the number remembred by *Lucretius*:

Nam veluti pueri trepidant, atq; omnia cœcis
In tenebris metuunt: sic nos in luce timemus.

We feare by light, as children in the darke.

CHAP. XII.

Of the memorable buildings of Ninus, *and of his Wife* Semiramis, *and of other of her Acts.*

§. I.

Of the magnificent building of Nineue by Ninus: *and of Babylon by* Semiramis.

BVt to come backe to *Ninus* the amplifier and finisher of *Nineue*: whether hee performed it before or after the ouerthrow of *Zoroaster*, it is vncertaine. As for the City it selfe, it is agreed by all prophane Writers, and confirmed by the Scriptures, that it exceeded all other in circuit, and answerable magnificence. For it had in compasse 440. *stadia*, or furlongs; the vvals whereof vvere an hundred foot vpright, and had such a breadth as three Charriots might passe on the Rampire in front: these vvals were garnished with 1500. Towres vvhich gaue exceeding beauty to the rest, and strength, no lesse admirable for the nature of those times.

Iustin. l. 1. Diod. l. 2. Sabel. Ien. 1.

But this City (built in the Plaines of *Assyria*, and on the banks of *Tygris*, and in the Region of *Eden*) was founded long before *Ninus* time; and (as ancient Historians report, & more lately *Nauclerus*) had the name of *Campsor*, at such time as *Ninus* amplified the same, and gaue it a wall, and called it after his owne name.

For these workes of *Babylon* and *Nineue* begun by *Nimrod* in *Chaldæa*, and in *Assyria*, *Ninus* and *Semiramis* made perfect. *Ninus* finished *Nineue*, *Semiramis Babylon*: vvherein she sought to exceede her husband by farre. Indeed in the first Age when Princes were moderate, they neither thought how to inuade others, nor feared to be inuaded: labouring to build Towns and Villages for the vse of themselues and their people, without either Wals or Towres; and how they might discharge the earth of Woods, Bryars, Busiments, and Waters, to make it more habitable and fertile. But *Semiramis* liuing

Herod. l. 1. Iustin. l. 1. Diod. l. 2. & 3.

in that Age, when Ambition was in strong youth: and purposing to follow the conquest vvhich her husband had vnder-taken, gaue that beauty and strength to *Babylon* which it had.

§. II.

Of the end of Ninus: *and beginning of* Semiramis *reigne.*

THis shee did after the death of her husband *Ninus*: vvho after hee had mastered *Bactria*, and subiected vnto his Empire all those Regions betweene it and the *Mediterran Sea* and *Hellespont* (*Asia* the lesse excepted) and finished the vvorke of *Nineue*, he left the World in the yeare thereof 2019. after he had reigned 52. yeares. *Plutarch* reporteth that *Semiramis* desired her husband *Ninus*, that he vvould grant vnto her the absolute soueraigne power for one day. *Diod. Siculus* out of *Athenaeus*, and others, speakes of fiue dayes. In which time (moued either with desire of rule, or licentious liberty, or with the memory of her husband *Menon*, who perished for her) shee caused *Ninus* her husband to be slaine. But this seemeth rather a scandall cast on her by the *Greeks*, than that it had any truth.

Howsoeuer *Ninus* came to his end, *Semiramis* took on her after his death the sole rule of the *Assyrian* Empire: of which, *Ninus* was said to bee the first *Monarch*, because hee changed his seat from *Babylonia* in *Chaldaea*, to *Nineue* in *Assyria*. *Iustin* reports, that *Semiramis* (the better to inuest her selfe, and in her beginning without murmure or offence to take on her so great a charge) presented her selfe to the people in the person of her son *Ninias* or *Zameis*, who bare her externall forme and proportion without any sensible difference.

Aelian. l. 7. ex Diene.

This report I take also to be fained, for which many arguments might be made. But as she ruled long, so she performed all those memorable acts which are written of her by the name of *Semiramis*, and subscribed that letter which she sent to the King of *India* (her last challenge and vndertaken conquest) by her owne name. And were it true that her sonne *Ninias* had such a stature at his Fathers death, as that *Semiramis* (vvho vvas very personable) could be taken for him; yet it is very vnlikely that she could haue held the Empire from him 42. yeares after by any such subtilty: (for so long shee reigned after the death of her husband:) but it may be true that *Ninias* or *Zameis* (being wholly giuen to his pleasures, as it is written of him) was well pleased with his Mothers prosperous gouernment and vnder-takings.

§. III.

Of Semiramis *parentage and education, and Metamorphosis of her Mother.*

SOme Writers (of which *Plutarch* is one) make this famous woman to haue beene of base parentage, calling her after the name of her Country, a *Syrian*. *Berosus* cals her after the name of her City wherein shee was borne, *Semiramis Ascalonitis*; of *Ascalon*, the ancient City and *Metropolis* of the *Philistims*. Others report her to be the daughter of *Derceta*, a *Curtizan* of *Ascalon*, exceeding beautifull. Others say that this *Derceta* or *Dercetis*, the Mother of *Semiramis*, was sometimes a Recluse, and had profest a holy and a religious life; to whom there was a Temple dedicated, seated on the banke of a Lake adioyning to *Ascalon*; and afterward falling in loue with a goodly young man, she was by him made with childe, which (for feare of extreame punishment) shee conuayed away, and caused the same to be hidden among the high reedes which grew on the bankes of the Lake: in vvhich (while the childe was left to the mercy of vvilde beasts) the same was fed by certaine birds, which vsed to feed vpon or neere those waters. But I take this tale to be like that of *Lupa* the Harlot that fostered *Romulus*. For some one or other adioyning to this Lake, had the charge and fosteridge of this childe, who being perchance but some base and obscure creature, the mother might thereby hope the better to couer her dishonor and breach of vow; notwithstanding vvhich she was cast from the top of her Temple into the Lake adioyning, & (as the Poets haue fained) changed by *Venus* into a Fish, all but her face, which stil held the same beauty & humane shape. It is thought that from this *Derceta* the inuention of that Idoll of the *Philistims* (called *Dagon*) was taken: for it is true, that *Dagon* had a mans face, and a fishes body: into

into whose Temple when the *Arke* of God vvas brought, the Idoll fell twice to the ground: and at the second fall there remained onely the Trunke of *Dagon*, the head being broken off: For so S. *Hierome* hath conuerted that place. *Vatablus*, *Pagninus*, and *Iunius*, write it by *Dagon* only, which signifieth a fish, and so it onely appeared: the head thereof by the second fall being sundred from the body.

For my selfe I rather think, that this *Dagon* of the *Philistims* was an Idoll representing *Triton*, one of those imaginary Sea-gods vnder *Neptune*. For this City being maritimate (as all those of the *Philistims* were, and so were the best of *Phoenicia*) vsed all their deuotions to *Neptune*, and the rest of the petty gods which attended him.

§. IV.

Of her Expedition into India, and death after discomfiture: with a note of the improbability of her vices.

BVt for her Pedigree, I leaue it to the *Assyrian Heralds*: and for her vicious life, I ascribe the report thereof to the enuious and lying *Greeians*. For delicacy and ease doe more often accompany licentiousnesse in men and women, than labour and hazzard doe. And if the one halfe be true which is reported of this Lady, then there neuer liued any Prince or Princesse more worthy of fame than *Semiramis* was, both for the workes she did at *Babylon* and elsewhere, and for the warres shee made with glorious successe: all but her last enterprise of *India*, from vvhence both *Strabo* and *Arianus* report that she neuer returned: and that of all her most powerfull Army there suruiued but onely twenty persons: the rest being either drowned in the Riuer of *Indus*, dead of the famine, or slaine by the sword of *Staurobates*. But as the multitude which vvent out are more than reason hath numbred: so were those that returned lesse than could haue escaped of such an Army, as consisted of foure millions and vpwards. For these numbers which she leuied by her Lieutenant *Derceteus* (saith *Suidas*) did consist of Foot-men three millions; of Horse-men one million; of Chariots armed with hookes on each side, one hundred thousand; of those which fought vpon Camels as many; of Camels for burden two hundred thousand; of raw Hides for all vses three hundred thousand; of Gallies vvith brazen heads three thousand, by which she might transport ouer *Indus* at once three hundred thousand Souldiers: which Gallies were furnished with *Syrians*, *Phoenicians*, *Cilicians*, and men of *Cyprus*. These incredible and impossible numbers, vvhich no one place of the earth was able to nourish (had euery man and beast but fed vpon grasse) are taken from the authority of *Ctesias* whom *Diodorus* followeth. But as the one may be taxed with many friuolous reports: so *Diodorus* himselfe hath nothing of certainty, but from *Xerxes* expedition into *Greece* and afterwards: whose Army (though the same was farre inferiour to that of *Semiramis*) yet had it weight enough to ouerlode the beliefe of any reasonable man. For all Authors consent, that *Xerxes* transported into *Greece* an Armie of 1700000. and gathered together (therein to passe the *Hellespont*) three thousand Gallies, as *Herodotus* out of the seuerall Prouinces whence those Gallies were taken hath collected the number.

Suid. f. 8. 45. lit. S.

But of what multitude soeuer the Army of *Semiramis* consisted: the same being broken and ouerthrowne by *Staurobates* vpon the bankes of *Indus*, *canticum cantauit extremum*; *she sang her last song*; and (as Antiquity hath fained) was changed by the gods into a Doue (the bird of *Venus*,) whence it came that the *Babylonians* gaue a Doue in their ensignes.

§. V.

Of the Temple of Belus *built by* Semiramis: *and of the Pyramides of Egypt.*

AMong all her other memorable and more than magnificent vvorkes (besides the vvall of the City of *Babylon*) vvas the Temple of *Bel*, erected in the middle of this City, inuironed vvith a wall carryed foursquare of great heigth and beauty, hauing on each square certaine Brazen Gates curiously engrauen. In the *Core* of the square shee raised a Towre of a furlong high, which is halfe a quarter of a mile; and vpon it againe (taking a *Basis* of a lesse circuit) she set a second Towre; and so eight in all, one aboue another: vpon the top whereof the *Chaldaean*

Priests made the obseruation of the starres, because this Towre ouer-topped the ordinary clouds.

By beholding the ruines of this Towre haue many Trauailers beene deceiued; who suppose that they haue seene a part of *Nimrods* Towre, when it was but the foundation of this Temple of *Bel*: (except this of *Bel* vvere founded on that of *Nimrod*.) There were burnt in this Temple one hundred thousand talents of frankincense euery yeare (saith *Herodotus*.) This Temple did *Nabuchodonosor* adorne with the spoiles of *Hierusalem*, and of the Temple of *Salomon*: all which vessels and ornaments *Cyrus* redeliuered. This Temple *Xerxes* euened with the soile; which *Alexander* is said to haue repaired by the perswasions of the *Chaldeans*. I deny not that it might haue beene in his desire so to do; but he enioyed but a few yeares after *Babylon* taken, and therefore could not performe any such vvorke. The *Egyptians* (saith *Proclus*) inhabiting a low and leuell ground, and giuen to the same superstition of the Stars that the *Chaldeans* were, erected in imitation, and for the same seruice and vse, the *Pyramides* by *Memphis*, which vvere *conspicuæ vndiq; nauigantibus*, saith *Pliny*. Of these *Pyramides*, *Bellonius* a carefull obseruer of rarities (vvho being in *Egypt*, mounted by steps to the top of the highest) maketh this report: *Le meilleur archer qui seroit a sa sommite, & tirant vne fleche in l'air, a peine pouroit l'enuoyer hors de sa base qu'elle ne se tombast sur les degrez; The best Archer standing on the top of one of these Pyramides, and shooting an Arrow from thence into the ayre as farre as hee can, with great difficulty shall be able so to force the same, but that it will fall vpon some of the degrees or steps.*

Proc. in Timæo lib. 1.

Bellon. l. 2.

Finis Libri primi.

THE

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM the birth of ABRAHAM to the destruction of the *Temple of* Salomon.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the time of the birth of Abraham: *and of the vse of this question, for the ordering of the Story of the Assyrian Empire.*

§. I.

Of some of the successors of Semiramis: *with a briefe transition to the question, about the time of the birth of* Abraham.

AFter the death of *Semiramis*, *Ninias* or *Zameis*, succeeded her in the Empire, on whom *Berosus Annianus* bestowes the conquest of *Bactria*, and the ouerthrow of *Zoroaster*; contrary to *Diodorus*, *Iustine*, *Orosius*, and all other approued Writers. For *Ninias* being esteemed no man of vvarre at all, but altogether feminine, and subiected to ease and delicacy, there is no probability in that opinion. Now because there was nothing performed by this *Ninias* of any moment, other than that out of iealousie hee euery yeare changed his Prouinciall Gouernors, and built Colledges for the *Chaldean* Priests, his Astronomers: nor by *Arius* his successor, whom *Suidas* calleth *Thuras*; but that he reduced againe the *Bactrians* & *Caspians*, reuolted (as it seemeth) in *Ninias* his time: nor of *Aralius*, the successor of *Arius*; but that he added sumptuosity, inuented iewels of gold and stone, and some engins for the warre: I will for this present passe them ouer, and a while follow *Abraham*, whose vvaies are vvarrantable, (till vvee meete these *Assyrians* againe in this story) by whom and by whose issues vvee shall best giue date to the Kings of *Babylon*: *Abraham* liuing at once with *Ninus*, *Ninias*, *Semiramis*, *Arius*, *Aralius*, and *Xerxes* or *Balanius*. For otherwise if we seeke to proue things certain by the vncertaine, and iudge of those times, vvhich the Scriptures set vs downe without errour, by the reignes of the *Assyrian* Princes: we shall but patch vp the story at aduenture, and leaue it in the same confusion, in which to this day it hath remained. For where the Scriptures doe not helpe vs, *Mirum non est in rebus antiquis Historiam non constare*; *No marvaile if then in things very ancient, History want assurance.* Plut. in Thesei.

The better therefore to finde out, in what age of the World, and how long these *Assyrian* kings reigned, as also for other good causes, we must first assure the time of *Abrahams* birth, and in vvhat yeare the same hapned after the floud. Now since all agree, that the

fortieth three yeare of *Ninus* was the birth-year of *Abraham*; by prouing directly out of the Scriptures, in what yeare after the floud the birth of *Abraham* hapned, we shall therby set all the rest in square and order. But of this time there is much iangling betweene those *Chronologers*, which follow the Hebrew account, and others: the most part making 292. or 293. yeares; others 352. yeares betweene *Abrahams* birth and the floud: a matter often disputed, but neuer concluded.

Archilechus de temporibus (as we finde him in *Annius*) makes but 250. yeares from the floud to *Ninus*: then seeing that *Abraham* was borne in the fortieth three yeare of *Ninus*, according to *Eusebius* and S. *Augustine*, it followeth by the addition of those two numbers, that the yeare of *Abrahams* birth was in the year after the floud 293. or as the most part of all *Chronologers* gather, the yeare 292.

Now, since I doe here enter into that neuer-resolued question, & *Labyrinth* of times, it behoueth me to giue reason for my own opinion: and vvith so much the greater care and circumspection, because I walk aside, and in a way apart from the multitude, yet not alone, & without companions, though the fewer in number: with whom I rather choose to endure the wounds of those darts, which Enuie casteth at nouelty, than to go on safely and sleepily in the easie waies of ancient mistakings: seeing to be learned in many errors, or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diuersity.

§. II.

A proposall of reasons or arguments, that are brought to proue Abraham *was borne in the yeare 292. after the Flood, and not in the yeare 352.*

THose which seeke to proue this account of 292. yeares, betweene the generall floud and *Abrahams* birth, ground themselues, first on these words of the Scripture: *So* Terah *liued 70. yeares, and begot* Abraham, Nahor, *and* Haran: secondly, vpon the opinion of *Iosephus*, S. *Augustine*, *Beda*, *Isidore*, & many of the ancient Hebrewes before them: authorities (while they are slightly lookt ouer) seeming of great weight.

From the place of Scripture last remembred, the later *Chronologers* gather these arguments. First out of the words as they lie; That Terah *at 70. yeares begot* Abraham, Nahor *and* Haran: and that *Abraham* being the first named, *Abraham* being the worthiest, *Abraham* being the son of the promise, ought in this respect to be accounted the eldest sonne of *Terah*, and so necessarily borne in the seuentieth yeare of his life. Secondly, it was of *Abraham* that *Moses* had respect, in whom the Church of God was continued, who was heire of the blessing; and not of *Nahor* and *Haran*: for the scope of this Chapter was to set downe the Genealogy of *Christ*, from *Adam* to *Abraham*, without all regard of *Nahor*, and *Haran*.

It is thirdly obiected, that if *Abraham* were not the eldest sonne, then there can be no certainty of his age, and so are all future times made doubtfull. For it cannot then bee proued, that *Abraham* was borne more assuredly in the 130. year of *Terah* his age, than in the 131. 132. &c. *Moses* having no where set downe precisely that *Abraham* went into *Canaan* that very yeare, in which his Father died.

Fourthly, it is thought improbable, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130. years: seeing *Abraham* himselfe thought it a wonder to be made a Father at 100. yeares.

§. III.

The answer to one of the obiections proposed, shewing that Abraham *made but one iourney out of Mesopotamia into Canaan: and it, after his Fathers death.*

TO answer all vvhich obiections, it is very easie, the vvay being prepared thereto by diuers learned Diuines long since; and to vvhich I will adde somewhat of mine owne, according to the small talent which God hath giuen me. Now forasmuch as the state of the question cannot well be scanned, vnlesse the time of *Abrahams* iourney into *Canaan* be first considered of; before I descend vnto the particular examination of these arguments, I will make bold with order and method so farre, as to search into a strange tradition concerning his trauailes, that seruеth as a ground for this opinion and a bulwarke against all that can be said to the contrary.

But it is conceited that *Abraham* made two iournies into *Canaan*; the latter after his Fathers

Fathers death, the former presently vpon his calling; which hee performed without delay, not staying for his fathers death at *Haran*: a coniecture, drawn from a place in the *Epistle to the Hebrewes*, where it is written, *By faith Abraham (when he was called) obeyed God, to goe out into a place which he should afterward receiue for inheritance: and hee went out, not knowing whither he went.* This supposition (if it be granted) serues very well to vphold the opinion, that can ill stand without it. Let vs therefore see whether we may giue credit to the supposition it selfe. Heb.11.8.

Surely, that *Abraham* first departed *Charran* or *Haran* after the death of *Terah* his Father, the same is proued, without the admission of any distinction, by these words of St. *Stephen: And after his Father was dead, God brought him into this Land, where ye now dwell,* that was, out of *Haran* into *Canaan*. Against which place so direct, & plaine, what force hath any mans fancy or supposition, perswading, that *Abraham* made two iournies into *Canaan*; one before *Terah's* death, & another after: no such thing being found in Scriptures, nor any circumstance, probability, or reason to induce it? For if any man out of this place before alleadged can picke any argument, prouing, or affoording any strong presumption, that *Abraham* past into *Canaan*, and then returned vnto *Haran*, from whence he departed a second time: then I thinke it reason, that hee be beleeued in the rest. But that hee performed the commandement of God after his Fathers death, leauing *Vr* and *Haran* for *Canaan*, it is as true as the Scriptures themselues are true. *For after his Father was dead*, (saith Martyr *Stephen*) *God brought him into this Land.* And, as *Beza* noteth, if *Abraham* made a double iourney into *Canaan*, then must it be inferred, that *Moses* omitted the one, and *Stephen* afterwards remembred the other: and whence had *Stephen*, saith *Beza* the knowledge of *Abrahams* comming into *Canaan*, but out of *Moses*? For if *Stephen* had spoken any thing of those times, differing from *Moses*, he had offered the *Iewes*, his aduersaries, too great an occasion both of scandalizing himselfe, & the Gospell of *Christ*. Indeed we shall finde small reason to make vs think that *Abraham* passed and repassed those wayes, more often than he was enforced so to doe, if we consider, that he had no other guide or comforter in this long and weatisome iourney, than the strength of his faith in Gods promise: in vvhich if any thing vvould haue brought him to despaire, he had more cause than euer man had to fall into it. For he came into a Region of strong and stubborne nations: a nation of valiant and resolued Idolaters. Hee was besieged with famine at his first arriuall, and driuen to flie into *Egypt* for reliefe. His wife vvas old, and hee had no sonne to inherit the promise. And when God had giuen him *Isaac*, he commanded him to offer him vp to himself for sacrifice: all which discomforts he patiently and constantly vnderwent. Heb.11.8.

Secondly, let vs consider the wayes themselues, which *Abraham* had to passe ouer; the length whereof was 300. English miles; and through Countries of which hee had no manner of experience. He was to transport himselfe ouer the great riuer of *Euphrates*, to trauell through the dangerous and barren Desarts of *Palmyrena*, and to climbe ouer the great and high mountaines of *Libanus*, *Hermon* or *Gilead*: and whether these vvere easie walkes for *Abraham* to march twice ouer, containing, as aforesaid, 300. miles in length, let euery reasonable man iudge. For if he trauelled it twice; then was his iourney in all 1800. miles from *Vr* to *Haran*; and from *Haran* twice into *Canaan*. But were there no other argument to disproue this fancy; the manner of *Abrahams* departing from *Haran* hath more proofe (that hee had not *animum reuertendi*, *not any thought of looking backeward*) than any mans bare coniecture, be hee of what antiquity or authority soeuer. For thus it is written of him, *Then* Abraham *tooke* Sara *his wife, and* Lot *his brothers sonne, and all their substance that they possest, and the soules that they had gotten in Haran: and they departed to go to the land of Canaan, & to the land of Canaan they came.* Now if *Abraham* brought all with him that was deare vnto him, his wife, and kinsmen, and his, & their goods: it is not probable that he meant to walke it backe againe for his pleasure, in so warm, dangerous, and barren a Country as that was: or if hee could haue beene thereto moued, it is more likely that he would haue then returned, when he was yet vnsettled, and prest with extreame famine at his first arriuall. For had his Father beene then liue, he might haue hoped from him to receiue more assured comfort and reliefe, than among the *Egyptians*, to whom he was a meere stranger both in religion and Nation. Gen.12.5.

What the cause might bee of *Abrahams* returne to *Haran*, as I will not enquire of them, that vvithout warrant from the Scriptures haue sent him backe thither, about the

the time of his fathers death: so they perhaps, if they vvere vrged, could say little else, than that without such a second voyage their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reason they should do well to make plaine, if it be not ouer-troublesome. They say that *Abraham* was in *Haran* at his Fathers death, or some time after, being then by their account 135. yeares old, or a little more. How then did it happen, that hee left quite vndone the businesse; which, as we reade, was within foure or fiue yeares after that
Gen.24. time his greatest, or (as may seeme) his onely care? Did not he binde with a very solemne oath his principall seruant, in whom he reposed most confidence, to trauaile into those parts, and seeke out a Wife for *Isaac* his sonne? and doth it not appeare by all circumstances, that neither hee nor his seruant were so well acquainted in *Mesopotamia*, that they could particularly designe any one woman, as a fit match for *Isaac*? Surely if 10 *Abraham* had beene there in person so lately, as vvithin foure or fiue yeares before, hee would not haue forgotten a matter of such importance; but would haue trusted his own iudgement, in choosing a woman, fit for her piety, vertue, and other desireable qualities, to be linked in marriage with his onely sonne, who was then fiue and thirty yeares old; before which age most of the Patriarches after the Floud had begotten children: rather than haue left all at random to the consideration of a seruant, that neither knew any, nor vvas knowne of any in that Country. But let it be supposed (if it may be beleeued) that
Gen.24.35. 36.&c. either *Abraham* forgot his businesse when he was there, or that somewhat hapned which no man can deuise; What might bee the reason, that *Abrahams* man, in doing his Masters errand, vvas faine to lay open the whole story of his masters prosperity, telling it as 20 newes, that *Sarah* had borne to him a sonne in her old age? If *Abraham* himselfe, a more certaine Author, had so lately beene among them, vvould not all this haue beene an idle tale? It were needlesse to stand long vpon a thing so euident. Whether it were lawfull for *Abraham* to haue returned backe to *Haran*, would perhaps bee a question hardly an-
Gen.24.5. & 8. swerable: considering how auerse hee was from permitting his sonne to be carried thither, euen though a wife of his owne kinred could not haue beene obtained without his personall presence. *Iacob* indeed was sent thither by his parents, to take a Wife of his
Gen.28. owne linage; not without Gods especiall approbation, by whose blessing he prospered in that iourney; yet he liued there as a seruant; suffered many iniuries; and finally was driuen to conuey himselfe away from thence by flight. For although it bee not a sen- 30 tence vvritten, yet out of all written examples it may bee obserued, that God alloweth not in his seruants any desire of returning to the place, from whence he hath taken, and transplanted them. That briefe saying, *Remember Lots wife*, containes much matter. Let vs consider *Mesopotamia* from vvhence *Abraham* was taken, and *Egypt*, out of which the whole Nation of the *Israelites* were deliuered: we shall find, that no blessing
2.Kin.20. issued from either of them, to the posterity of the *Hebrewes*. When *Ezechias* was visited with an honourable Embassie from *Babel*, it seemes that he conceiued great pleasure in his minde, and thought it a piece of his prosperity; but the prophesie which thereupon hee heard by *Esay*, made him to know, that the counsaile of God was not agreeable to such thoughts: which more plainely appeared in a following generation, when 40
Psal.137. 1.King.14.25 & 2.Kin.23. v.29. by the waters of *Babylon* they sate downe and vvept. Concerning *Egypt* vve reade, that *Sesac* and *Neco* Kings of *Egypt* brought calamity vpon *Israel*: also that their confidence in the *Egyptian* succours vvas the cause of their destruction. Where they were forbid-
Deut.17.v.16. den to returne into *Egypt* I doe not remember, nor can readily finde; but it is found in *Deuteronomy*, that God had said, *They should no more returne that way*; which is giuen, as the reason, why their King might not cause the people to returne to *Egypt*, for the multiplying of his Horses. Whether the Lord had laied any such iniunction vpon *Abraham* of not returning to *Mesopotamia*, I cannot say; many things do argue it probably: That he neuer returned, all circumstances do (to my vnderstanding) both strongly and necessarily conclude.

But because this double passage of *Abraham* is but an imagination; and that imagina- 50 tions of men are rather valuable among children, than that they can perswade those of iudgement or vnderstanding: I take it sufficient, that S. *Stephen* hath directly taught vs, that *Abraham* left *Haran*, his Father being dead. And for the rest, when they shew any one Scripture to proue it, I will beleeue as they doe. For all the trauailes of *Abraham* are precisely set downe in the Scriptures: as first from *Vr* or *Camerina* in *Chaldea* to *Haran* or *Charran*: and then from *Haran* (after his Fathers death) to *Sichem*; from *Sichem* he

he remoued to a mountaine betweene *Bethel* and *Haie*: thence into *Egypt*; from *Egypt* he returned thither againe, where *Lot* and he parted, because their flockes and heards of Cattle were more, than could bee fed in that part: from thence the second time hee remoued to *Mamre*, neere *Hebron*: and thence hauing pursued *Amraphel*, and rescued *Lot*, he after inhabited at *Gerar*, in the border of *Idumæa*, vnder *Abimelec*: and after neere vnto it at *Bersabe*, at which time hee was ready to offer vp his sonne *Isaac* on the mountaine *Moriah*. But this fiction of his retrait to *Haran* or *Charran*, appeareth not in any one story, either diuine or humane. Now, if it may be supposed, that *Abraham* had made any former iourney into *Canaan*, as *Leuita* his *Cabala* hath fained, it should in reason be therewithall beleeued, that hee would in those his first trauailes haue prouided himselfe 10 of some certaine seate, or place of abiding: and not haue come a second time, vvith his wife, kinsmen, family, goods and cattle, not knowing vvhereon to rest himselfe. But *Abraham* when hee came from *Charran*, past through the North part of *Canaan*, thence to *Sichem*, and the Plaine of *Moriah*: where finding no place to inhabite, hee departed Gen.12.6. thence to *Bethel* and *Haie*: and so from Nation to Nation, to discouer and find out some fit habitation: from vvhence againe, as it is vvritten in *Genesis* the eleuenth, *Hee went forth, going and iourneying towards the South*: and alwaies vnsetled. By occasion of vvhich wandring to and fro, some say, the *Egyptians* gaue him and his the name of *Hebræi*.

Further, to proue that hee had not formerly beene in the Countrey, wee may note, Mont. in Caleb. that ere he came vnto *Bethel* and *Haie*, and at his first entrance into *Canaan*, God ap- 20 peared vnto him, saying, *Vnto thy seede will I giue this Land*, shewing it him as vnto a stranger therein, and as a Land to him vnknowne. For *Abraham* vvithout any other prouident care for himselfe, beleeued in the Word of the liuing God: neither sending before, nor comming first to discouer it; but being arriued, hee receiued a second promise from God, that he would giue those Countries vnto him and his seede to inhabite and inherite.

Lastly, what should moue any man to thinke, that *Moses* would haue omitted any such double iourney of *Abrahams*, seeing hee setteth downe all his passages else-where long and short: as when hee moued from *Sichem*, and seated betweene *Haie* and *Bethel*, the distance being but 20. miles: and when hee moued thence to the valley of *Mamre*, 30 being but 24. miles: and when he left *Mamre*, and sate downe at *Gerar*, being lesse than sixe miles; No, *Moses* past ouer all the times of the first age with the greater breuity, to hasten him to the story of *Abraham*: shutting vp all betweene the Creation & the Floud in sixe chapters; which age lasted 1656. yeares: but he bestoweth on the story of *Abraham* fourteene chapters, beginning with his birth in the eleuenth, and ending with his death in the fiue and twentieth; and this time endured but 175. years. It hath therefore no face of truth, that *Moses* forgot or neglected any thing concerning *Abrahams* trauels, or other actions: or that he would set downe those small remooues of fiue miles, and omit those of three hundred. For such a iourney in going and comming would haue ministred some variety of matter, or accident, vvorthy the inserting and adding to *Abra-* 40 *hams* storie.

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§.IV.

The answer to another of the obiections proposed, shewing that it was not vnlikely, that Terah *should beget Abraham in his hundred and thirty yeere.*

NOw touching the obiection, where it is said, that it was very vnlikely that *Terah* should beget *Abraham* in his 130. yeare, seeing *Abraham* himselfe thought it a vvonder to haue a son at an hundred: this is hardly worth the answering. This wonder is indeede mis-cast, and mistaken: *Abraham* hauing respect onely to *Sarah* his 50 wife, when he spake of their many yeares. For when the Angel said vnto *Abraham* in his Tent doore at *Mamre*; *Loe Sarah thy wife shall haue a Son*, it followeth in the next verse, *Now Abraham and Sarah were old and stricken in age, and it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women: therefore Sarah laughed, &c.*

So then in that it is said, *it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women*, it appeareth that the wonder was vvrought on her, and not on *Abraham*. For *Abraham* by his second wife *Keturah* had many sonnes after *Sarahs* death, as *Zimron, Iocksham, Medan, Midian, Ishbak*, and *Shuah*: and the eldest of these was borne 37. yeares after *Isaac*: and the youngest

youngest 40. yeares after. What strangenesse then, that *Terah* being 130. yeares old should beget *Abraham*, will they say, may be gathered from this supposed despaire of *Abraham* at one hundred yeares? For *Sarah* died in the yeare of the world 2145. and *Isaac* was borne in the yeare 2109. and *Abraham* did not marry *Keturah* till *Sarah* was buried. So if we deduct the number of 2109. out of 2145. there remaineth 36. And therefore if *Abraham* begat 5. sons 36. years after this supposed wonder, & when *Abraham* was 137. yeares old: it is not strange that his Father *Terah* should beget *Abraham* at 130. And if *Booz*, *Obed*, and *Iesse*, who liued so many yeares and ages after *Abraham*, begat sonnes at 100. yeares, or neere it, it cannot be marauiled at, that *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 130. and *Abraham* others at the same age and seuen yeares after.

Origen. hom. 11. in Gen. Aug. de Ciu. dei l. 16. c. 34. Caiet. & Perer. in Gen.

§. V.

The answer to two more of the obiections: shewing that wee may haue certainty of Abrahams *age from the Scripture, though we make not* Abraham *the eldest Sonne: and that there was great cause, why in the story of* Abraham *his two brethren should be respected.*

IT followeth now to speake something to the obiection, which brings *Abrahams* age altogether in doubt, except wee allow him to be the eldest son of *Terah*, and borne when *Terah* was 70. years old. For *Abrahams* age being made vncertaine, all succeeding times are thereby without any perfect rule or knowledge.

But this proposition, That we cannot be certaine of *Abrahams* age, vnlesse vve make him the eldest sonne, is false. For it is plaine in the Scriptures, that when *Terah* was 205. vvhich was the yeare of his death, then vvas *Abraham* 75. And if you aske, how I can iudge of times, either preceding or succeeding, by knowing that *Abraham* departed *Haran* at that age: I answer, That Saint *Stephen* hath told vs, that *Abrahams* departure followed the death of his Father *Terah*: and *Terah* died at 205. so as the 75. yeare of *Abraham* was the 205. yeare of *Terah*: which knowne, there can bee no errour in the account of times succeeding. Now to come to the obiection, where it is said, That *Moses* had no respect vnto *Nachor* and *Haran*, because they were out of the Church, but to *Abraham* onely, with whom God established the Couenant, and of whom *Christ* descended according to the flesh, &c. I answer, that *Moses* for many great and necessary causes had respect of *Nachor* and *Haran*. For the succession of Gods Church is not witnessed by *Abraham* alone, but by the issues of *Nahor* and *Haran*, vvere they Idolaters or otherwise. For *Nahor* was the Father of *Bethuel*, & *Bethuel* of *Rebecca*, the mother of *Israel*: and *Haran* was the parent of *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milcah*: and *Sarah* was mother to *Isaac*, and grandmother to *Iacob*: *Milcah* also the wife of *Nahor*, and mother of *Bethuel*, was *Iacobs* great grandmother: and the age of *Sarah* the daughter of *Haran* is especially noted, in that it pleased God to giue her a son at 90. years, and when by nature she could not haue conceiued. And therefore, though it were not in regard of themselues, yet because both *Nahor* and *Abraham* married the daughters of their brother *Haran*; and because *Isaac* married *Rebecca* the grand-childe of *Nahor*; and *Iacob*, *Lea*, and *Rachel*, the daughters of *Laban*, the grand-childe also of *Nahor*: it vvas not superfluous in *Moses* to giue light of these mens times and ages. And though sometime they worshipped strange gods, as it is *Ios.* 24. 2. yet I see no cause to thinke, that they still continued Idolaters. For they beleeued and obeyed the calling of *Abraham*, leauing their naturall Countrey, and City of *Vr* in *Chaldea*, as *Abraham* did, and remoued thence all, except *Haran*, who died before his Father *Terah*, ere they left *Chaldea*; but *Lot*, his sonne, followed *Abraham* into *Caraan*; and *Sarah*, the sister of *Lot*, *Abraham* married. *Nahor* also, who remained at *Charran*, gaue his sonnes daughters to *Isaac*, and *Iacob*, his owne kinse-men: hee himselfe hauing also married in his owne Family; not thinking it pleasing vnto God to mixe themselues with strangers and Idolaters. And that these men at length beleeued in the God of *Abraham*, it can no way be doubted. For when *Laban* had seene the seruant of *Abraham* standing at the Wel beside *Charran*, he inuited him to his Fathers house in this manner: *Come in, thou blessed of* Iehouah, *&c.* And when this seruant of *Abrahams* demanded an answer as touching *Rebecca*, then answered *Laban* and *Bethuel*, and said; *This thing is proceeded of* Iehouah: meaning, that it was the will of the true God it should be so; wherein he acknowledged Gods prouidence. Likewise in the following verse it is written; *Take, goe that she may be thy Masters sons wife, euen as* Iehouah *hath said.* This their often vsing of

Gen. 24. 31.
Gen. 24. 50.

of the name of *Iehouah*, which is the proper Name of the true God, is a signe that they had the knowledge of him.

Now although it be the opinion of S. *Chrysostome*, and some later Writers, as *Caietan*, *Oleaster*, *Musculus*, *Caluin*, *Mercer*, and others, that *Laban* was an Idolater, because hee retained certaine Idols, or household gods, vvhich *Rachel* stole from him; yet that he beleeued in the true God it cannot be denied. For he acknowledgeth the God of *Abraham* and of *Nahor*, and he called *Abrahams* seruant, blessed of IEHOVAH, as aforesaid. So as for my selfe I dare not auow, that these men were out of the Church, who, sure I am, were not out of the faith.

§. VI.

That the naming of Abraham *first of the three brethren,* Gen. 11. v. 26. *doth not proue that he was the eldest: together with diuers reasons prouing that* Abraham *was not the eldest son of* Terah.

TO the maine obiection which I answer last, because it seemeth of most strength, by which, those that striue to shorten the times, endeauour to proue that *Abraham* was the eldest sonne of *Terah*, and borne in the 70. yeare of *Terahs* life: grounding themselues first and chiefly on this place of the Scripture; *And* Terah *liued 70. yeeres, and begat* Abraham, Nahor, *and* Haran: To this I say, that although *Abraham* in this verse be first named, yet the same is no proofe at all that he was the eldest & first-borne sonne of *Terah*. For it is no necessary consequence, that the first named in Scriptures was therefore eldest in bloud and birth, neither doth it appeare, that it pleased God to make especiall choice of the first sonnes in nature and time: for *Seth* was not the first-borne of *Adam*; nor *Isaac* of *Abraham*; nor *Iacob* of *Isaac*; nor *Iuda* and *Ioseph* of *Iacob*; nor *Dauid* the eldest of *Iesse*; nor *Salomon* of *Dauid*: as is formerly remembred.

Gen. 11. 26.

But it is written of *Noah*: *Noah was 500. yeeres old, and Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Iaphet*: shewing that at the 500. yeare of his age hee began to beget the first of those three sonnes. For according to S. *Augustine*, speaking generally, *Nec attendendus est in his ordo natiuitatis, sed significatio futuræ dignitatis: in qua excelluit Abraham: The order of natiuitie is not here to bee respected, but the signification of the future dignity: in which Abraham was preferred.* And therefore, as in the order of the sonnes of *Noah*: so is it here; where it is said, *that Terah liued 70. yeeres, and begat Abraham, Nahor, and Haran*: For it vvas late ere *Terah* began to beget Sonnes, himselfe being begotten by his Father *Nachor* at 29. as other his Ancestors vvere at 30. The like also happened to *Noah*: for whereas *Adam* begat *Seth* at 130. *Enosh Kenan* at 90. *Kenan Mahalaleel* at 70. *Mahalaleel Iered* at 60. *Noah* was yet 500. yeares old when he began to beget the first of his three sonnes, as aforesaid. And S. *Augustine* in the place before cited, rather inclineth to the opinion that *Abraham* was the youngest of *Terah's* sonnes, than otherwise: though for his excellency hee was worthily named first. His owne words are these: *Fieri enim potuit vt posterior sit generatus Abraham: sed merito excellentiæ, qua in Scripturis valde commendatur, prior fuerit nominatus. It might be,* saith he, *that Abraham was begotten later: but was first named in regard of his excellency, for which in Scripture hee is much commended.* So as the naming first or last proueth nothing who was first or last borne: either in those issues of *Noah*, or in these of *Terah*: Neither hath God any respect of the eldest in nature, as touching his election or spirituall blessing; for *Moses* nameth first the children of the promise, and the eldest & first in Gods fauour. *Pietas ergo vel ipsa potius electio diuina, quæ comitem secum trahit pietatem, & Dei timorem, primas partes dat Semo in liberis Noa, & Abrahamo in liberis Thare: Piety,* saith he, *or rather diuine election, which doth euermore draw with it or after it, piety and the feare of God, gaue place and precedency to Sem among the children of Noah, and to Abraham among those of Thare.*

Aug. quæst. sup. per Gent. 25.

For the rest it is manifest, that *Abraham* entred *Canaan* in the 75. yeare of his age. And it was in *Canaan* that *Hagar* bare him *Ismael*, when *Abraham* had liued 86. yeares. It was at *Gerar* (the South border of *Canaan*) that *Sarah* bare *Isaac*, when *Abraham* had consumed 100. yeares. It was from the valley of *Mamre* in *Canaan* that *Abraham* rose out, when he rescued *Lot* and ouerthrew *Amraphel*: and he had then but the age of 83. years: and it is as manifest that hee parted from *Haran* after his Father *Terah* was dead. But if

Gen. 12. 4.
Gen. 16. 16.
Act. 7. 4.

Terah

Gen.14. *Terah* begat *Abraham* at 70. year old, then must *Abraham* haue been 135. yeares vvhen he first set his foote in *Canaan*, seeing *Terah* must be dead ere he parted; and so 70. added to 135. make 205. the true age of *Terah*: which is contrary to all those places of Scripture before remembred. For he entred at 75. he rescued *Lot* at 83. hee had *Ismael* at 86. he had *Isaac* at 100. proued by the former places.

Moreouer, if *Abraham* were the eldest sonne of *Terah*, and borne in the 70. yeare of his age: then had *Terah* liued till *Isaac* had beene 35. yeares old, and *Ismael*, 49. both vvhich must then haue beene borne in *Mesopotamia*, and therein fostered to that age: vnlesse we should either deny credit to S. *Stephen*, who saith that *Abraham* departed from *Mesopotamia* after his Fathers death: or else beleeue the interpretation of *Daniel Angelocrator*, who in his *Chronologia antoptica*, saith it was about his Fathers death: 10 because the Greek word, μετα may be transported by the Latine *sub*, aswell as by *post*: which though elsewhere it may be, yet cannot it be so in this place. For it were most improperly spoken, to say that those things were done about *Terahs* death, which were 60. yeares before. Wherefore supposing *Abraham* to haue been borne in the seuenty yeare of *Terah*; we must giue those times and places of birth to *Abrahams* children, which no authority will warrant; For *Abraham* had no children in *Vr* of *Chaldea*, not in *Haran*, nor in ten yeares after his arriuall into *Canaan*. For the yeare of *Terahs* death, in vvhich *Abraham* left *Haran*, was the yeare of the World 2083. and the yeare of *Ismaels* birth vvas the Worlds yeare 2094. which maketh 10. yeares difference. And that *Isaac* vvas borne in 20 *Canaan*, and was to be offered vpon the mountaine *Moriah* therein, 39. miles from *Bersabe*, where *Abraham* then inhabited: and that three *Angels* first of all appeared to *Abraham* in the valley of *Mamre*, no man doubteth.

And therefore it cannot bee that any of *Abrahams* sonnes were borne in *Mesopotamia*; nor while *Terah* liued; nor in lesse than ten yeares after *Terahs* death: and then consequently was not *Abraham* the eldest sonne of *Terah*, nor borne in the 70. yeare of *Terahs* age.

Gen.12. Thirdly, whereas *Abraham* came into *Canaan* at 75. if *Terah* had begotten him at 70. then had *Terah* liued but 145. for 70. and 75. make 145. which must also haue beene the full age of *Terah*: but *Terah* liued 205. yeares; and therefore was not *Abraham* borne in 30 the 70. yeare of *Terah*.

Fourthly, the ages of *Lot* and *Sarah* make it manifest, that *Haran* was the elder, if not the eldest brother of *Abraham*; for *Sarah* or *Iscah* wanted but ten yeeres of *Abrahams* age: *Isaac* being borne when *Abraham* was 100. and *Sarah* 90. yeeres old.

It followeth then, that if *Abraham* had been the elder brother of *Haran*, *Haran* must haue begotten *Sarah* at nine years old: for granting that *Haran* was borne but one yeare after *Abraham*, and *Sarah* within ten yeares as old as *Abraham*, then of necessity must *Haran* beget her, when he had liued but nine yeares; which vvere too ridiculous to imagine.

And that *Iscah* was *Sarah*, *Rab. Solomon* affirmeth; both names, saith he, bearing the 40 same signification, and names of principality. Againe, to what end was the vword *Iscah* or *Iishcah* inserted in this place, if *Sarah* were not meant thereby? For, to speake of any thing superfluous, it is not vsed in Gods Booke: and if *Iscah* had not belonged to the story, it had beene but an idle name to no purpose remembred.

Now if it had beene true (as those of the contrary opinion affirme) that *Moses* had no respect of *Nahor* and *Haran*, who were notwithstanding the parents of *Bethuel* and *Rebecca*, the mother of *Israel*, and of *Christ*: what regard then had *Moses* of *Iscah* in this place, were shee not *Sarah*, but otherwise an idle name of vvhom there is nothing else first or last &c.

The age also of *Lot* disproueth the eldership of *Abraham*: for *Lot* vvas called an old 50 man when *Abraham* was but 83. years old: And if *Lot* were of a greater age than *Abraham*, and *Haran* were Father to *Lot*, *Sarah*, and *Milcah*; *Abraham* marrying one of *Harans* daughters, and *Nahor* the other, *Sarah* also being within ten yeares as old as *Abraham*: it may appeare to euery reasonable man (not obstinate and preiudicate) that *Haran* was the eldest sonne of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*: who also died first and before his Father left *Vr* in *Chaldea*. Also *Lyra* reasoneth against the opinion of *Abrahams* eldership, vpon the same place of *Genesis*: drawing argument from the age of *Sarah*, who was but 10. yeares yonger than *Abraham* him selfe. *Lyra* his words are these: *Si igitur* Haran *fuit iunior ipso*

Abraham,

Abraham, *sequitur quòd non habebat decem annos quando genuit* Saram: *imò nec octo, &c.* and afterward, *& ideò melius videtur dicendum, quòd* Abraham *fuit vltimò natus de tribus filijs* Thare, *tamen nominatur primò, propter eius dignitatem: & quia ponendus erat caput stirpis & generationis sequentis: & quia primò facta est ei repromissio expressa de* Christo, *sicut supra dictum est de* Sem, *&c. If therefore (saith* Lyra*)* Haran *was younger than* Abraham *himselfe, it followeth that he was not ten yeeres old when he begat* Sarah: *And therefore it seemeth better to be said, that* Abraham *was the last borne of the three sonnes of* Thare, *nevertheless he is named first for his dignitie, both because hee was to be ordained head of the stocke and generation following, and because the promise of* Christ *was first made vnto him,* 10 *as before it is said of* Sem.

§. VII.

A conclusion of this dispute, noting the Authors on both sides: with an admonition, that they which shorten the times make all ancient stories the more vnprobable.

IT therefore agreeth with the Scriptures, with Nature, Time, and Reason, that *Haran* was the eldest sonne of *Terah*, and not *Abraham*: and that *Abraham* was borne in the 130. yeere of *Terahs* life, and not in the 70. yeere. For *Abraham* departing *Charran* after *Terah* died, according to S. *Stephen*, and that iourney by *Abra-* Acts 7.4. 20 *ham* performed when he was 75. yeeres old; these two numbers added make 205. yeers the full age of *Terah*: seeing that when *Terah* died, then *Abraham* entred *Canaan*. For Gen.12.4. my selfe, I haue no other end herein than to manifest the truth of the Worlds Story. I reuerence the iudgements of the Fathers: but I know they were mistaken in particulars. Saint *Augustine* was doubtfull, and could not determine this controuersie. For whatsoeuer is borrowed from him out of his sixteenth Booke *de Ciuitate Dei, cap.* 15. the same may be answered out of himselfe in his fiue and twentieth question vpon *Gen.* But Saint *Augustine* herein followed *Iosephus* and *Isidor*: and *Beda* followed S. *Augustine*. And it was out of a foolish pride and vanitie, that the *Hebrewes* and *Iosepus* sought to make *Abraham* the first borne: as if God had had respect to the eldest in nature. So did *Iosephus* 30 together with *Nicholas Damascenus* (thinking thereby to glorifie the *Iewish Nation*) make *Abraham* a king, entitling *Sarah* by the name of *Queene Sarah*: and said that *Abraham* was followed with 318. Captaines, of which euery one had an infinite multitude vnder him; *trecentos & octodecem præfectos habuit: quorum singulis infinita multitudo parebat.* And that *Pharao* inuading him with a great Armie, tooke from him his Wife *Sarah*: Such fables argue that *Iosephus* is not to bee beleeued, but with discreete reseruations.

This account of times, allowing no more than 292. yeeres from the Floud to *Abraham*, is vpheld by many of the *Hebrews*. But how should we value the opinion of such *Chronologers*, as take *Amraphel* for *Nimrod*? Surely, if their iudgement in such matters 40 were worthy to be regarded, it would haue appeared in setting downe the succession of the *Persian Kings*, vnder whom they liued, whose Historie was not so farre remote in time, as these antiquities, nor wanting the light of many good writers. Yet grossely haue they erred therein, & so familiar are their mistakings in all things of like nature, that we seldom find their opinion rehearsed without the confutation treading on the heeles of it. They of the *Romane* religion are also generally on the same side: it being a thing vsuall among them, to maintaine whatsoeuer they haue beene formerly knowne to hold and beleeue. Contrariwise, of the more ancient, *Theodoret*, and some following him: of later times *Beroaldus*, *Codoman*, *Peucer*, *Caluin*, *Iunius*, *Beza*, *Broughton*, *Doct. Gibbons*, and *Moore*, with diuers of the *Protestants* hold *Abraham* to haue beene borne in the 130. 50 yeere of his Father *Terah*. From these (as in a case not concerning any point in Religion) diuers of the same Religion, and those neuertheless good Authors, as *Bucholcerus*, *Chitræus*, *Functius* and others, are very auerse heerein, especially *Iosephus Scaliger* with his *Sethus Caluisius*, proclaiming *Beroaldus* an Arch-heretike in *Chronologie*, and condemning this opinion of his as poysonous. Contrariwise, *Augustinus Torniellus* a Priest of the Congregation of Saint *Paul*, a iudicious, diligent, and free writer, whose *Annales* are newly set forth, very earnestly defends the opinion, which I haue already deliuered; not alleadging *Beroaldus*, nor any *Protestant* writer, as beeing perhaps vnwilling to owe thankes to heretikes. For my selfe I doe neither mislike the contrary opinion, because

commonly

commonly those of the *Romish* Religion labour to vphold it; not fauour this larger account of times, because many notable men of the *Protestant* writers haue approoued it; but for the truth it selfe. To strengthen which, after all these former reasons, and testimonies of Scripture, I will adde thus much more to the rest. First, it is apparant to all men of iudgement, that the best approued Historians, Diuine and Prophane, labour to inuestigate the truth of times, thereby to approue the stories, & forepast actions of the world: and not the truth of histories to approue the times by. Let vs then make iudgement to our selues, which of those two accounts giue the best reputation to the story of the Scriptures; teaching the Worlds new plantation, and the continuance of Gods Church: either that of *Iosephus*, & those which follow him; who makes but 292. yeares, or thereabouts, betweene the floud and birth of *Abraham*: or this other account, which makes 352. yeares betweene the one and the other: the one taking *Abraham* to be the first borne of *Thare*, in the 70. yeare of his life: the other a younger sonne of *Thare*, and borne when he had liued 130. yeares. And if we looke ouer all, and do not hastily satisfie our vnderstanding with the first things offered, and thereby being satiated doe slothfully and drowsily sit downe; we shall find it more agreeable rather to allow the reckoning of the *Septuagint*, who, according to some editions, make it aboue 1072. yeares betweene the Floud and *Abrahams* birth: than to take away any part of those 352. years giuen. For if we aduisedly consider the state and countenance of the world, such as it was in *Abrahams* time, yea before *Abraham* was borne, wee shall finde that it were very ill done of vs by following opinion without the guide of reason, to pare the times ouer-deepely betweene *Abraham* and the Floud: because in cutting them too neere the quick, the reputation of the whole storie might perchance bleede thereby, were not the testimonie of the Scriptures supreme, so as no obiection can approach it: and that wee did not follow withall this precept of S. *Augustine*, That wheresoeuer any one place in the Scriptures may bee conceiued disagreeing to the whole, the same is by ignorance of interpretation mis-vnderstood. For in *Abrahams* time all the then knowne parts of the World were peopled: all Regions and Countries had their Kings. *Egypt* had many magnificent Cities: and so had *Palæstina*, and all the bordering Countries, yea, all that part of the World besides, as farre as *India*: and those not built with stickes, but of hewne stones, and defended with walls and rampiers: which magnificence needed a parent of more antiquitie, than those other men haue supposed. And therefore, where the Scriptures are plaineſt and best agreeing with reason and nature, to what end should we labour to beget doubts and scruples, or draw all things into wonders and maruailes? giuing also strength thereby to common cauillers, and to those mens apish braines, who only bend their wits to find impossibilities, and monsters in the story of the World and Mankinde.

§. VIII.

A computation of the times of the Assyrians, and others, grounded vpon the times noted in the storie of Abraham.

An. mundi 2008 dil. 352. natus Abraham, Eus. Aug. de ciuit. Dei, l. 16. c. 17.

IN this sort therefore for the reasons before alleadged, I conclude, that from the generall Floud, to the birth of *Abraham*, 352. yeares were consumed: and taking the *Assyrian* History with vs, the same number of yeares were spent from the Floud to the 43. yeere of *Ninus*: in which 43. yeere of *Ninus Abraham* was borne: which happened in the yeare of the world, 2009.

Now of this time of 352. yeares, we must giue one part as well to the increase of those people which came into *Shinaar*, as to those that stayed in the East, to wit, 30. yeares to *Chus*, ere he begat *Seba*: of which, though the Scriptures are silent, yet because those of the same time had that age when they begat their first sonnes, wee may the more safely giue the like allownce to these. For *Eber* begat *Peleg* at 34. *Peleg Regu* at 30. *Regu Serug* at 32. Now after *Seba*, *Chus* begat *Hauila*, *Sabta*, *Raama* and *Sabtecha*: and *Raama* begat *Sheba* and *Dedan*, before *Nimrod* was borne, as it appeareth *Gen.* 10. which S. *Augustine* approueth. Giuing then 30. yeares more to *Raama* ere he begat *Sheba*, and fiue yeeres to the fiue elder brothers of *Nimrod*, it may be gathered that 65. yeares were consumed ere *Nimrod* himselfe was borne: and that *Raamah* had that age before any of his sonnes were

Aug. de ciuit. Dei.

were begotten, it may be gathered, by example and comparison: for *Peleg* the fourth from *Noah*, as *Raamah* was, begat *Reu* in the same yeere of his life. *Gen. 11. 18.*

Let vs then allow 60. yeeres more after the birth of *Nimrod*, for two other generations to be brought forth, or else we shall hardly finde people to build *Babel*: for sure we are, that it was done by hands, and not by miracle: because it displeased God. These two numbers of 65. and 60. make 125. The rest of the time of 131. (in which yeere they arriued in *Shinaar*, whereof there are 6. yeeres remaining) we may giue them for their trauels from the East: because they were pestered with women, children and Cattell: and, as some ancient writers haue conceiued, & *Becanus* of later times, they kept alwaies the mountaine sides, for feare of a second Floud. Now, if we take this number of 131. out of 352. there remaines 221. of which number *Berosus* bestoweth 65. on *Belus*, and 42. on *Ninus* before *Abraham* borne: both which S. *Augustine* approueth: which two numbers taken againe out of 221. there remaineth 114. yeeres of the 352. from the Floud to *Abrahams* birth: which number of 114. necessitie bestoweth on *Nimrod*.

An. à salute humani generis ab aquis centesimo primo cœpit regnum Babylonicum sub nostro Saturno patre Iouis beati, qui imperauit annis 65. Berosus.

And if it be obiected that this time giuen to *Nimrod*, is ouer-long: sure if we compare the age of *Nimrod* with the rest of the same descent from *Noah*, it will rather appeare ouer-short. For *Nimrod*, by this accompt, liued in all but one hundred seuenty nine yeeres: whereof he reigned one hundred and twelue: whereas *Sale* who was the sonne of *Arphaxad* the sonne of *Sem*, liued foure hundred three yeeres: and of the same age of the World was *Nimrod* the sonne of *Chus*, the sonne of *Cham*.

Now after *Abraham* was borne,

Ninus reigned 9. yeeres: which added to 43. make ——————————— 52.
Ninus dieth and leaueth *Semiramis* his Successor.

Semiramis gouerned the *Empire* of *Babylonia* and *Assyria* 42. yeeres, and died in the 52 yeere compleat of *Abrahams* life.

Ninias or *Zameis* succeeded *Semiramis*, and ruled 38. yeeres, in the second yeere of whose reigne *Abraham* left *Mesopotamia*.

When *Abraham* was 85. yeeres old, he rescued his nephew *Lot*; and ouerthrew by surprise *Amraphel* King of *Shinaar*, or *Babylonia*. *Ninias* reigned 38. yeeres, and *Abraham* came into *Canaan* but 23. yeeres after *Semiramis* died: which was the 75. yeere of his age: so that *Amraphel* may seeme to haue beene this *Ninias* the sonne of *Ninus*, and *Semiramis*, whose 23. yeeres, as aforesaid, being the 75. yeere of *Abraham*; he and his fellow-kings might haue receiued this ouerthrow in the 85. yeere of *Abraham*, and the 33. yeere of his owne reigne: after which hee reigned fiue yeeres: which make in all 38. But the truth is, that the reasons to the contrary, vrging that this *Amraphel* could not be *Ninias*, are not easily answered. Howbeit for the times of the *Assyrian* Kings, that they are to be ordered as we haue set downe, according to the times noted by *Moses*, in the storie of *Abraham*, it is most certaine, vnlesse we will either derogate from the truth of *Moses* his computation, which were impietie, or account the whole Historie of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to bee but a fiction; which were to condmne all ancient Historians for fablers.

Of the World 2017.
Of the Floud 761.
2059. *mundi.*
403. *a dil.*
2083.
427.
2093.
437.

§. IX.

That Amraphel, *one of the foure Kings whom* Abraham *ouerthrew*, Gen. 14. *may probably be thought to haue beene* Ninias *the sonne of* Ninus.

AND now touching this *Amraphel*, whom *Moses* makes King of *Shinaar* or *Babylonia*, in the 85. yeere of *Abrahams* life, that is, in the 33. yeere of the raigne of *Ninias Zameis* the king of the *Assyrians*, the sonne of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, it is hard to affirme what he was, and how he could be at this time King of *Babylonia*: *Ninias Zameis* then reigning there. To this doubt the answer which first offereth it selfe as most probable, is that which hath beene alreadie noted, that this *Ninias* or *Zameis*, was no other than our *Amraphel*: who inuaded *Traconitis* or *Basan*, and ouerthrew those fiue kings of *Pentapolis*, or the valley of *Siddim*. For the Scriptures tell vs, that *Amraphel* was King of *Shinaar*, which is *Babylonia*: and the times before accounted make him to be the successour of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*: and it falleth out with the 85. yeere of *Abrahams* life: wherein he rescued *Lot*, slew *Chedorlaomer*, and ouerthrew the rest. True it is, that

this

this *Amraphel* was not at this time the greatest *Monarke*: for *Chedorlaomer* commanded in chiefe, though *Amraphel* be first named by *Moses* in the first verse of the 14. Chapter of *Genesis*. For the Kings of the valley of *Siddim*, or of *Pentapolis*, or the fiue Cities, were
Gen.14. the vassalls of *Chedarlaomer*, and not of *Amraphel*: as it is written, *Twelue yeeres were they subiect to* Chedorlaomer, *but in the* 13. *yeere they rebelled, and in the* 14. *yeere came* Chedorlaomer *and the Kings that were with him*: and therefore was *Chedorlaomer* the principall in this enterprise, who was then King of *Elam*, which is *Persia*: Now *Persia* being seated ouer *Tygris*, and to the East of *Amraphels* Countrie; and the other two kings, which were companions with *Amraphel*, being seated to the West of *Shinaar* or *Babylonia*: *Amraphel*, who held *Babylonia* it selfe, seemeth at this time to haue had no great scope or large dominion. For had *Amrapel* beene so great a Prince as prophane 10 Historians make *Ninus* or *Semiramis* whom he succeeded, hee should not haue needed the assistance of three other Kings for this expedition. But though *Chedorlaomer* were the first and greatest of those foure Kings, (as it is manifest that he was: For these little kings of *Sodome, Gomorra, &c.* were his vassals, and not *Amraphels*,) yet this makes not the coniecture lesse probable, but that this *Amraphel* might be *Ninias*. For it may be, that the great and potent Empire of *Assyria*, had now (as we shall shew more plainely in that which followeth) receiued a downe-right fall, at the time of this warre: though not long before it commanded all the Kingdomes betweene *India* and the *Phœnician* Sea: to wit, in the times of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*. 20

§. X.

Of Ario ch *another of the foure Kings, and that* Ellas, *whereof he is said to haue beene King, lies betweene* Cœlesyria *and* Arabia Petræa.

NOw the two other kings ioyned with *Amraphel* and *Chedorlaomer*, were *Arioch* and *Tydal*; the one king of *Ellassar*, the other of the Nations. For *Ellassar*, *Aquila* and *Hierome* write *Pontus*: so *Tostatus* thinketh that it should bee *Hellespont*: which opinion *Pererius* fauoureth. But this is only to defend the Latine translation. For as *Pontus*; so is *Hellespont* farre distant, and out of the way to send any Armies into *Arabia Petræa*, or into *Idumæa*; which Countries these foure kings chiefly inuaded: 30 Besides that, it is certaine, that the *Assyrians* (when they were greatest) had neuer any dominion in *Asia* the lesse. For at such time as the *Assyrians* feared the inuasion of the *Medes* and *Persians*, they sent not into *Asia* the lesse as commanders: but vsed all the Art
Xenophon: they had to inuite *Cræsus* to their assistance: perswading him that nothing could bee more dangerous for himself, and the other Kings of those parts, than the successe of the *Medes* against the *Assyrians*. But examiue the enterprise what it was. *These Kings* (saith
Gen.14. the Text) *made warre with* Bera, *King of Sodome*, Birsha *King of Gomorrha*, Shinab *King of Admath, and* Shemebar *King of Zeboim, and the King of* Bela *which is Zoar*. All which fiue Kings had not so much ground as *Middlesex*: being such a kinde of *Reguli*, as *Iosua* found in the land long after: namely, Lords of Cities and small territories adioyning; of 40 which *Canaan* had three and thirtie, all slaine or hanged by *Iosua*. Neither can the other Countries, which in the Text they are said also to haue inuaded, bee imagined to haue beene at that time of any great power: and therefore to call in Kings from *Pontus* or *Hellespont*, had manifested a great impotence and weakenesse in the Kings of *Babylon* and *Persia*.

And though it be alleadged for an example, that diuers Kings farre off, came to assist *Pompey* against *Cæsar*: yet these same examples without like occasions and circumstances, do neither leade nor teach. For there was no cause to feare the greatnesse of these pettie Kings, or of the other Countries: But the eyes of the world were fixed on *Cæsar*; and his vndertakings and intents were to all other Princes, no lesse doubtful than feare- 50 full: But the whole Countrie by these foure Kings mastered in their passage, was afterward giuen to the halfe tribe of *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*: a narrow valley of ground lying betweene *Iordan* and the mountaines of *Seir*: inclosed by the riuer of *Arnon* on the Southside, & by *Lybanus* on the North, consisting of the two smal Prouinces of *Trachonitis* or *Basan*, & the Region of the *Moabites*: a conquest farre vnualuable, and little answering to the power of the *Assyrian Empire*, if the same had remained in any comparable estate with the times of *Ninus* & *Semiramis*, who subiected all the great kings of that part

part of the World, without the assistance of any of the Kings of *Hellespont*, or any other part of *Asia* the lesse. But as the vulgar and *Aquila* conuert *Ellassar* by *Pontus*: so *Symmachus* makes *Arioch* a King of the *Scythians*, a King indeed, as farre fetched to ioyne with the *Assyrians* in this Warre, as the World had any at that time.

The *Septuagint* doe not change the word of *Ellassar* at all, but as they keepe the word *Ararat*, on the mountaines whereof the Arke did rest, so doe they in this place retaine the *Hebrew* word *Ellassar*, being doubtfull to giue it a wrong interpretation. And *Pererius* himselfe remembreth other opinions farre more probable than this of *Pontus* or *Hellespont*: yet he dares not auow his liking of them, because the Latin Translation hath
10 it otherwise. For *Stephanus de Vrbibus* a *Græcian Cosmographer*, findeth the Citie of *Ellas* in the border of *Cœlesyria*: and S. *Hierome* calleth *Ellas* the Citie of *Arioch*, as in truth it was. Now although the same be seated by *Stephanus* in *Cœlesyria*, yet it standeth on the border of *Arabia*, of which *Arioch* was king: who formerly ioyned with *Ninus* in all his conquests, being of the same familie, and descended from *Cham* and *Chus*: after whom the name of *Arius* was by the *Hebrew* written *Arioch*: and afterward againe *Aretas*: as in the *Machabees*: the kings of *Arabia* holding that name euen to the time of S. *Paul*, who Mac.2.c.5.6.2. was sought to be betrayed by the *Lieutenant* of *Aretas* commanding in *Damascus*. They Cor.2.11. were Princes for the most part confederate and depending vpon the *Assyrian Empire*. It is true that we find in *Daniel*, that in the time of *Nabuchodonosor*, one *Arioch* was Ge- Dan.2.
20 nerall of his armie, & the principall Commander vnder him, who was a King of Kings: which makes it plaine, that *Arioch* here spoken of, the sonne of that *Arioch Confederate* of *Ninus*, was no king of *Pontus*, nor of *Scythia*: regions farre remoued from the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*. The name also of *Arioch* who commanded vnder *Nabuchodonosor* is mentioned in *Iudith*, by the name of *King of the Elymeans*: who are a Nation of *Persians* bordering *Assyria*, according to *Stephanus*: though *Plinie* sets it betweene the Sea-coast, and *Media*: and if any brother of the *Arabian Kings* or other of that house (known by the name of *Arius*, *Arioch*, *Areta*, or *Aretas*) had the gouernment of that *Persian Prouince* called *Elymais* (as it seemeth they had by the places of *Daniel* and *Iudith*) yet the same was in *Nabuchodonosors* time. But this *Arioch* heere spoken of may with more rea-
30 son bee taken for the King of *Arabia*, the sonne of *Arius*, the *Confederate* of *Ninus*: whose sonnes held league, as their Fathers did, being the next bordering Prince of all on that side towards the West vnto *Babylonia*, and *Chaldæa*: and in amitie with them from the beginning, and of their owne house, and bloud: which *Diod: Siculus* also confirmeth. Dio.Sic.l.2.c.1.

§. XI.

Of Tidal *another of the foure Kings.*

40 THe fourth King by *Abraham* ouerthrown was *Tidal*, King of the Nations. The *Hebrw* writes it *Goijm*, which *Vatablus* takes to be a proper name: *Lyra* of mixt people: *Caluin* of runnagates without habitation. *Pererius* out of *Strabo*, findes that *Galilæa* was inhabited by diuers Nations, which were a mixt people: namely of *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Phœnicians*. *Nam tales sunt qui Galilæam habitant*; *Such* Strab.l.16.fol. *are the inhabitants of Galilee*, saith *Strabo*: and therefore was *Tidal* called King of these 523. Nations, as they suppose. And it may be so: but the authoritie of *Strabo* is nothing in this question. For *Galilæa* was not peopled at this time, as it was in the time of *Strabo*. For when *Abraham* came into *Canaan*, the *Canaanite* was then in the Land, howsoeuer Gen.12.6. 50 they might be afterwards mixt; which I know not. But there are many petty kingdoms adioyning to *Phœnicia*, and *Palæstina*; as *Palmyrena*, *Batanea*, *Laodicene*, *Apamena*, *Chalcidice*, *Cassiotis*, *Chalibonitis*, and all these doe also ioyne themselues to *Mesopotamia*, on the North, and to *Arabia* on the East. And that these Nations gathered themselues together vnder *Tidal*, I take to be the probablest coniecture.

§. XII.

That Chedorlaomer *the chiefe of the foure Kings was not of Assyria, but of Persia: and that the Assyrian Empire at this time was much impayred.*

LAstly, whereas it is conceiued that *Chedorlaomer* was the *Assyrian Emperor*, and that *Amraphel* was but a *Satrape*, *Viceroy*, or *Prouinciall* gouernour of *Babylonia*, and that the other Kings named were such also, I cannot agree with *Pererius* in this. For *Moses* was too well acquainted with the names of *Assur* and *Shinaar*, to call the *Assyrian* a king of *Elam*: those kings being in the Scriptures euermore called by the name of *Chaldæa*, *Shinaar*, *Babylonia*, or *Assyria*: but neuer by *Elam*; and *Chedorlaomer* or *Kedarlaomer* was so called of *Kidor*, from *Cidarim* which in the *Hebrew* signifieth *kegale*: for so *Q. Curtius* calleth the garment which the *Persian* Kings ware on their heads.

Neither doe I beleeue that the *Assyrian* or *Babylonian Empire* stood in any greatnesse at the time of this inuasion; and my reasons are these: First, example and experience teach vs, that those things which are set vp hastily, or forced violently, do not long last. *Alexander* became Lord of all *Asia*, on this side of *Indus*, in a time of so short a life, as it lasted not to ouer-looke what it selfe had brought forth. His fortunes were violent, but not perpetuall. For his Empire died at once with himselfe: all whose chiefe Commanders became kings after him. *Tamberlaine* conquered *Asia* and *India* with a storme-like and terrible successe: but to preualent furie God hath adioyned a short life: and whatsoeuer things Nature her selfe worketh in haste, she taketh the least care of their continuance. The fruit of his victories perished with him, if not before.

Ninus being the first whom the madnesse of boundlesse dominion transported, inuaded his neighbour Princes, and became victorious ouer them: a man violent, insolent, and cruell. *Semiramis* taking the opportunitie, and being more proud, aduenturous, and ambitious, than her *Paramour*: enlarged the *Babylonian Empire*, & beautified many places therein with buildings vnexampled. But her sonne hauing changed Nature and Condition with his Mother, proued no lesse feminine than she was masculine. And as wounds and wrongs, by their continuall smart, put the Patient in minde how to cure the one, & reuenge the other: so those Kings adioyning (whose subiection, & calamities incident, were but new, and therefore the more grieuous) could not sleepe, when the aduantage was offered by such a successour. For, *in regno Babylonico hic parum resplenduit, this King shined little* (saith *Nauclerus* of *Ninias*) *in the Babylonian* Kingdome. And likely it is that the neckes of mortall men hauing beene neuer before galled with the yoake of forraine dominion, nor hauing euer had experience of that most miserable and detested condition of liuing in slauerie: no long descent hauing as yet inuested the *Assyrian* with a right: nor any other title being for him pretended than a strong hand: the foolish and effeminate sonne of a tyrannous and hated Father, could very ill hold so many great Princes and Nations his vassals, with a powerlesse mastering, and a minde lesse industrious than his Father and Mother had vsed before him. And hee that was so much giuen ouer to licentious idlenesse, as to suffer his Mother to reigne 42. yeares, and thereof the greatest part after he came to mans estate: witnessed thereby to the World, that hee so much preferred ease before honour, & bodily pleasures before greatnesse, as he neither indeuoured to gaine what he could not gouerne, nor to keepe what hee could not without contentious perill enioy.

These Considerations being ioyned to the storie of *Amraphel*, deliuered by *Moses*, by which we find that *Amraphel* King of *Shinaar* was rather an inferiour to the King of *Persia*, than either his superiour, or equall; make it seeme probable, that the Empire of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* was at that time broken asunder, & restrained againe to *Babylonia*.

For conclusion I will adde these two arguments confirming the former: First, that at such time as it pleased God to impose that great trauaile vpon *Abraham*, from *Vr* in *Chaldea* to *Charran*, and then to *Canaan*, a passage of 700. miles, or little lesse, with women, children, and carriages: the Countries through which he wandred were then setled, and in peace. For it was in the 23. yeere of *Ninias*, when *Abraham* obeying the voyce of God, tooke this great iourney in hand: in which time of 23. yeares after the death of *Semiramis*, the neighbour Princes had recouered their libertie and former estates. For *Semiramis* Armie of foure millions, with her selfe vtterly consumed in *India*, & all her armies and

Strab. l. 15.

and engins of warre, at the same time lost, gaue an occasion and opportunitie euen to the poorest soules and weakest hearted creatures of the World, to repurchase their former libertie.

Secondly, it is affirmed by the best and ancientest Historians, that *Arius* the sonne of *Ninias*, or *Amraphel*, inuaded the *Bactrians* and *Caspians*, and againe subiected them: which needed not if they had not bin reuolted from *Ninias*, after *Ninus* death. And as *Arioch* recouered one part, so did *Baleus* or *Balaneus*, otherwise *Xerxes*, reduce the rest reuolted to their former obedience. Of whom it is said that he conquered from *Egypt* to *India*: and therefore was called *Xerxes*, *id est*, *Victor & triumphator*, *a conquerour and triumpher*, which vndertakings had beene no other than the effects of madnesse, had not those Countries freed themselues from the *Babylonian* subiection. Now if we shall make any doubt hereof, that is, of the reconquest of *Arius* and *Xerxes*, both which liued after *Ninus* and *Ninias*, we may as well thinke the rest of *Ninus* and *Semiramis* to be but fained: but if we grant this reconquest, then is it true that while *Ninias* or *Amraphel* ruled, the *Assyrian Empire* was torne asunder, according to that which hath bin gathered out of *Moses* as before remembred.

§. XIII.

That it is not vnprobable that the foure Kings had no dominion in the Countries named, but that they had else-where with their colonies planted themselues: and so retained the names of the Countries whence they came: which if it be so, we neede not say that Amraphel *was* Ninias, *nor trouble our selues with many other difficulties.*

THe consent of all writers, whose workes haue come to my perusall, agreeing as they doe, that these foure Kings, *Amraphel* of *Shinaar*, *Chedorlaomer* of *Elam*, and those fellowes, were Lords of those Regions, whereunto they are or seeme intituled: doth almost inforce vs to thinke that the history must so be vnderstood, as I haue deliuered. But if in this place, as often else-where in the Scriptures, the names of Countries may be set for people of those lands, or if (as *Hierome* hath it) *Chedorlaomer* was king of the *Elamites*, as *Tidal* was said to be of the Nations, that is, of people either wanting a fixed habitation, or gathered out of sundry regions: then may we otherwise conceiue of this Historie: remouing thereby some difficulties which men perhaps haue bin vnwilling to find, because they could not find how to resolue them. For as it had bin a strange coniecture to thinke that *Arioch* was drawne to assist the *Persian*, against the *Sodomite*, as far as from *Pontus*, where it is very vnlikely that *Chedorlaomer* was knowne, and almost impossible that the vale of *Siddim* should haue bin once named: so in true estimation it is a thing of great improbabilitie, that *Chedorlaomer*, if he were King of *Persia* alone, should passe through so great a part of the World, as the Countries of *Assyria*, *Chaldea*, *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and part of *Arabia*, and *Canaan*, to subdue those fiue Townes whose very names how they should come to his eare, being dis-ioynd by so many great nations of different languages, a wise man could hardly coniecture. And if all the Countries bordering *Persia* together with the *Babylonian* himself, yea the kingdome of *Ellasar* & that of *Tidal*, so far off remoued, were become his dependants; what reason can we find that might haue induced him to hearken after *Sodome* and *Gomorrah*? and when hee should haue fought the establishment of his new gotten *Empire*, by rooting out the posterity of *Ninus* (as *Ninus* had dealt by *Pharnus* of *Media*, and *Zoroaster* of *Bactria*) then to imploy the forces of *Amraphel*, & those other Kings, against fiue pettie Townes, leauing *Tyrus* and *Sidon*, & the great Citie of *Damasco*, with many other places of much importance, and far neerer vnto him, vnsubdued? Now as these doubts which may be alleadged against the first conquest of the vale of *Siddim*, are exceeding vehement: so are the obiections to be made against his reconquest of these fiue Cities, when they had reuolted, as forcible; yea and more, as being grounded partly vpon the Text it selfe. For first, what madnesse had it beene in that small *Prouince* to rebell against so powerfull a *Monarch*? Or if it were so that they dwelling farre from him, hoped rather to be forgotten, than that he should come or send to reclaime them: was it not more than madnesse in them, when his terrible armie approached, still to entertaine hope of euasion: yea to make resistance (being themselues a dissolute & therefore vnwarlike people) against the power of all the Nations betweene *Euphrates*, yea betweene themselues and the riuer of

Indus?

Inuasion? Likewise on the part of *Chedorlaomer* we should find no great wisedome, if he knowing the weakenesse of this people, had raised such a world of men against them: whom by any *Lieutenant*, with small forces he might haue subdued. For the perpetuall inheritance of that little Countrie, was not sufficient to counteruaile one moneths charges of so huge an armie. How small then must his valour haue beene, who with so mightie preparations effected no more than the wasting of that *Valley*, wherein he left the Cities standing, taking no one of them; but returned well contented with a few prisoners, and the pillage of the Countrie, although he had broken their armie in the field? Now the Scriptures doe not of this inuasion (supposed so great) make any feareful matter: but
Gen. 14. 17. compose the two armies, as equally matcht, saying they were foure kings against fiue: yea, if the place be literally expounded, we shall find that *Abraham* slew all these kings; of which great slaughter no Historie makes mention: Neither will the reigne of *Ninias* who liued foure or fiue yeares longer, permit that he should haue died so soone: neither would Histories haue forgotten the manner of his death, if he had so strangely perished in *Syria*. Whereby it appeares, that these foure kings were not the same that they are commonly thought: nor their forces so great as opinion hath made them. It may therefore well be true, that these kings were such as many others, who in that age carried the same title: Lords and Commanders euery one of his owne company, which he carried forth as a *Colonie*, seeking place where to settle himself and them, as was the vsuall manner of those times.

Neither is it improbable, that *Chedorlaomer* leading a troupe of *Persians*, *Amraphel* some people out of *Shinaar*, and *Tidal* others gathered out of sundry places, might consort together, and make the weakest of the Countrie which lay about them, to pay them tribute. Whosoeuer will consider the beginning of the first booke of *Thucydides*, with the manner of discoueries, conquests and plantations, in the infancie of *Greece*; or the manner of the *Saracens* inuading *Africa* and *Spaine*, with almost as many kings as seuerall Armies: or the proceedings of the *Spaniards* in their new discoueries, passages, and conquests in the *West-Indies*: may easily perceiue, that it was neither vnusual, for the leaders of *Colonies* to receiue title from the people whom they conducted: nor to make alliances together, and breake them againe, disturbing sometimes one the other, somtimes helping in pursuit of a conquest. That *Amraphel* and his associates were such manner of Commanders, it may seeme the more likely, by the sloathfull qualitie of *Ninias* then reigning in *Assyria*: whose vnmanlike temper was such, as might well giue occasion to such vndertaking spirits, as wanted the imploiments whereunto they were accustomed in the reigne of *Semiramis*, rather to seeke aduentures abroad, than to remaine at home vnregarded: whilst others more vnworthy than themselues, were aduanced. If the consent of the whole streeme of writers vpon this place make this coniecture disagreeable to the Text, to the authoritie whereof all humane reason must subscribe, then we may hold our selues to the former coniecture, that *Amraphel* was *Ninias*: & that the power of his Ancestors being by his sloath decayed, he might well be inferiour to the *Persian Chedorlaomer*: or if this doe not satisfie, we may say that *Amraphel* was an Vnder king or *Satrapa* of *Shinaar*, vnder *Ninias*; who may be supposed to haue had his *Imperiall* seat in his Fathers Citie *Nineue*: and to haue preferred it before *Shinaar* and *Babylon* the Citie of his Mother, whom he hated as an vsurper of his right. But if it were possible that in a case not concerning any mans Saluation, & wherein therefore none hath cared to take great paines, all might erre: then can I thinke that the opinion, That those foure Kings were leaders of *Colonies*, sent out of the Countries named in the Text, and not Kings of the Countries themselues, is most consonant both to the condition of those times, and to the Scripture. And hereto adde that *Chedorlaomer* seemes rather called a *Persian* king, than King of *Persia*: and that *Arioch* (whose kingdome vndoubtedly was betweene *Syria* and *Arabia*) hauing beene a man of action, or being a worthy mans sonne, was very well pleased, to giue passage and assistance, to these Captaines or pettie Kings. These & such like things here to vrge, were but with circumstances to adorn a supposition, which either may stand without them, or if it must fall, is vnworthy to haue cost bestowed vpon it: especially considering, that it is not my intent to imploy any more time in making it good, but to leaue it wholly to the Readers pleasure, to follow any of these opinions, or any other, if he find any that shall seeme better than these. But of what Countries or people soeuer these foure were Kings, this expedition is the onely publique action that we

we know of performed by *Abraham*. And as for other things belonging to his Storie, and of his sonnes, and of his Nephews *Esau* and *Iacob*, as they are registred by *Moses*, because it is not our purpose, either to stand vpon things generally known to all *Christians*, nor to repeate what hath beene elsewhere already spoken, nor to preuent our selues in things that may hereafter in due place be remembred, wee passe them here in silence. And because in this Storie of *Abraham* and his posteritie, there is much mention of *Egypt*: by which it appeares that euen in the time of *Abraham*, it was a setled and flourishing kingdome; it will not be amisse in the next place to speake somewhat of the antiquities and first kings thereof.

CHAP. II.

Of the Kings of Ægypt from the first peopling of it after the Floud, to the time of the deliuerie of the Israelites from thence.

§. I.

A briefe of the names and times of the first Kings of Ægypt: with a note of the causes of difficulty in resoluing of the truth in these points

SOone after the confusion at *Babel* (as it seemes) *Cham* with many of his issue and followers (hauing doubtlesse knowne the fertilitie of *Egypt* before the Eloud) came thither and tooke possession of the Countrie; in which they built many Cities: and began the kingdome one hundred nintie one yeeres after the deluge. The ancient Gouernours of this Kingdome till such time as *Israel* departed *Egypt*, are shewne in the *Table* following.

An. Mundi.	*An. dil.*	
1847.	191.	*Cham.*
2008.	352.	*Osiris.*
2269.	613.	*Typhon* } *Hercules.* }
2276.	620.	*Orus.*
2391.	735.	*Sesostris* the great.
2424.	768.	*Sesostris* the blinde.
2438.	782.	*Busiris* or *Oris* the second.
2476.	820.	*Acenchere* or *Thermutis*, or *Meris*.
2488.	832.	*Rathoris* or *Athoris*.
2497.	841.	*Chencres* drowned in the red Sea.

The Table, and especially the *Chronologie*, is to be confirmed by probabilities & coniectures, because in such obscurity, manifest & restlesse truth cannot be found. For Saint *Augustine*, a man of exceeding great iudgement, and incomparable diligence, who had sought into all antiquities, and had read the bookes of *Varro*, which now are lost, yet omitted the succession of the *Egyptian* Kings: which he would not haue don, if they had not beene more vncertaine than the *Sicyonians*, whom hee remembreth, than whom doubtlesse they were more glorious. One great occasion of this obscurity in the *Egyptian* Story, was the ambition of the Priests: who, to magnifie their Antiquities, filled the Records (which were in their hands) with many leasings, and recounted vnto strangers the names of many Kings, that neuer reigned. What ground they had for these reports of supposed Kings, it shall appeare anon. Sure it is, that the magnificent workes and

and royall buildings in *Egypt*, such as are neuer found but in States that haue greatly flourished, witnesse that their Princes were of marueilous greatnesse, and that the reports of the Priests were not altogether false. A second cause of our ignorance in the *Egyptian* History, was the too much credulity of some good Authors, who beleeuing the manifold and contrary reports of sundry *Egyptians*, and publishing in their owne name such as pleased them best, haue confirmed them, and as it were inforced them vpon vs by their authority. A third and generall cause of more than *Egyptian* darkenesse in all ancient Histories, is the edition of many Authors by *Iohn Annius*, of whom (if to the censures of sundry very learned, I may adde mine) I thinke thus; That *Annius* hauing seene some fragments of those writers, and added vnto them what hee would, may be credited, as an auoucher of true Histories, where approued writers confirme him: but otherwise is to be deemed fabulous. Hereupon it commeth to passe that the account of Authors, either in the *Chronologie* or *Genealogie* of the *Egyptian* Kings, runs three altogether different wayes. The Christian writers, such as are ancient, for the most part follow *Eusebius*: Many late writers follow the edition of *Annius* his Authors: The prophane Histories follow *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and such others.

§. II.

That by the account of the Egyptian Dynasties, and otherwise, it appeares that Chams *reigne in Egypt began in the yeere after the Floud,* 191.

TO reconcile these, or gather out of them the times of the ancient Kings, about whom is most controuersie, the best meane is by helpe of the *Dynasties*: of whose continuance there is little or no disagreement. The account of the *Dynasties* (besides the authority of approued Authors) hath this good ground, that it agreeth for the most part, if not altogether, with the Histories of the *Assyrians*, *Troians*, *Italians*, &c. and others. The beginning of the 16. *Dyn.* is ioyned by generall consent, with the 43. yeere of *Ninus*: in which *Abraham* was borne. The twelue first *Dynasties* lasted each of them seuen yeeres, vnder the twelue, which were called the greater gods: so that all the yeers of their continuance were 84. The thirteenth *Dynastie* endured foureteen yeers; the fourteenth 26, the fifteenth 37. These three last, are said to haue beene vnder the three younger gods. So the fifteene first *Dynasties* lasted one hundred sixty one yeers. As I doe not therefore beleeue that the continuance of these *Dyn.* was such as hath been mentioned, beause *Annius* in such wise limits out their time: so I cannot reiect the account vpon this onely reason, that *Annius* hath it so: considering that both hitherto it hath passed as currant, and is greatly strengthened by many good reasons. For, whereas *Eusebius* placeth the beginning of the sixteenth *Dynastie*, in the yeere of *Abrahams* birth, as aforesaid: the reckoning is easily cast; by which the summe of 161. yeers, which according to our account were spent in the fifteene former, being subducted out of the sum of 352. yeers, which were between the Floud & *Abrahams* birth, shew that the beginning of the first *Dynastie*, which was the beginning of *Chams* reigne in *Egypt*, was in the yeere 191. As also by other probabilities the same may appeare. For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of mankinde which came into *Shinaar*, arriued at *Babel*, *Anno à diluuio* 131. In building the Tower were consumed fourtie yeers, as *Glycas* recordeth: whose report I haue elsewhere confirmed with diuers probabilities. That *Cham* was long in passing with his company, their Wiues, Children, Cattell, & substance, through all *Syria* then desolate, and full of Bogges, Forrests, and Bryers (which the Deluge and want of culture in one hundred seuentie one yeers had brought vpon it) no reasonable man will doubt. To this his passage therefore, and the seating of himselfe in *Egypt*, we allow twenty yeeres: & these summes being added together, to wit, one hundred thirty one yeers after the Floud, before they arriued at *Babel*, 40. yeeres for their stay there, and 20. for *Chams* passage into *Egypt*, and setling there, make vp the summe of 191. yeeres; at which time we said that *Cham* began his reigne in *Egypt*, in the beginning of the first *Dynastie*. And to this summe of 191. yeeres if wee adde the 161. yeeres of the 15. first *Dynasties*, as they are numbred in common account, we shall fall right with the yeere of *Abrahams* birth which was *An. Dil.* 352. And hereto omitting many other reasons, which might be brought to proue that these first *Dynasties* must needes haue beene very short, and not containing in the whole summe of their seuerall times

times aboue 161. yeares: Let it suffice that had they lasted longer, then either must *Ægypt* haue beene peopled as soone as *Babel* after the Floud, or the *Dynasties* (as *Mercator* thinkes) must haue beene before the floud. That the arriuall at *Babel* was many yeares before the plantation of *Egypt*, after the floud, enough hath beene said to proue; and that the *Dynasties* were not before the floud, the number of the long liu'd generations between *Adam* and the floud, which was lesse than the number of the *Dynasties*, may sufficiently witnesse. Or if we will thinke, that one life might (perhaps) be diuided into many *Dynasties*, then may this haue beene as well after the floud, as before: considering that the sonnes of *Noah* did not in euery Countrie erect such forme of Policie, as had beene vsed in the same ere the Deluge: but such, as the disposition of the people, the authoritie and power of the Conducter, together with many other circumstances, did induce or inforce them to.

§. III.

That these Dynasties were not diuers families of Kings, but rather successions of Regents, oftimes many vnder one King.

THe short continuance of the *Dynasties*, doth shew that they were not seuerall races of Kings, as the vaunting *Egyptians* were wont to stile them. What they were it cannot certainly be warranted. For in restitutions of decayed antiquities, it is more easie to denie than to affirme. But this may be said partly vpon good circumstance, partly vpon the surest proofe, That it was the manner of the *Egyptian* Kings, to put the gouernment of the Countrie into the hands of some trustie Counsellor, only reseruing the Soueraignty to themselues, as the old Kings of *France* were wont to the Masters of the Palace, and as the Turke doth to the chiefe *Visier*. This is confirmed, first, by the number of the *Dynasties*, whereof many are vnder *Cham*, & more than one vnder *Osiris* or *Mizraim*; and must therefore haue beene successions, not of Kings, but rather of Counsailors and Regents. Secondly, by custome of such Princes borderers to *Egypt*, as are mentioned in the Scriptures, of whom *Abimelech* the *Philistim* in his dealing with *Abraham* and *Isaac* about confederation, did nothing without *Phicol* Captaine of his Hoste; though in taking *Abrahams* wife, and in his priuate carriage, he followed his owne pleasure. Likewise of *Abimelech* the sonne of *Gideon* it was said: *Is not he the sonne of* Ierubbaal *and* Zebul *his Officer?* Also *Ishbosheth* the sonne of *Saul*, feared *Abner* the Captaine of the Hoste. Yea, *Dauid* himselfe hating *Ioab* for his cruelties, did not punish him in regard of his greatnesse, which was such, as was feared euen of *Hadad* the *Edomite* liuing then in *Egypt*. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and disposition of *Cham*, who was lewd, as appeares by the Scriptures: therfore likely both for his owne idlenesse and pleasure, to haue laid the burden of gouernment vpon others; and vpon iealousie, the companion of vnworthinesse, to haue changed his Lieutenants often. Aboue all other proofes is the aduancement of *Ioseph* by *Pharaoh*. For *Pharaoh* said to Ioseph; *Onely in the Kings throne will I be aboue thee: behold, I haue set thee ouer all the Land of Egypt.* *William Archbishop of Tyre*, who flourished about the yeare of our Lord, one thousand one hundred eightie, affirmes that the like or very same forme of gouernment, by *Viceroys*, was in his time practised in *Egypt*, hauing there beene in vse (as he beleeued) euer since the time of *Ioseph*. He plainely shewes, that the *Soldans* of *Egypt* were not Lords of the Countrie, how euer they haue beene so deemed: but that they acknowledged and humbly performed the dutie of subiects vnto the *Caliphe*: who residing in a most magnificent Palace in *Cairo*, did commit the charge, not onely of ciuill gouernment, but the power of making warre and peace, with the whole office & authority royall into the *Soldans* hands. He that shall reade in *William of Tyre*, the state of the *Caliphe*, or *Mulene Elhadech*, with the forme of his Court, shall plainly behold the image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, ruling by a Lieutenant, as great in authority as *Ioseph* was, though farre inferiour in wisedome.

Will. Tyr de Bell. Sacro. l. 19. c. 17. 18. 19. & 20.

Lib. 19. c. 26.

To thinke that many names of such *Regents* or Lieutenants as *Ioseph* was, haue crept into the List of the *Egyptian* Kings, were no strange imagination. For *Iosephs* brethren called him, *The man that is Lord of the Land, and the Lord of the Countrie*: Besides, it is not vnlikely that the vain-glorious *Egyptian* Priests would as easily report him a King to posterity, as ignorant men & strangers deeme him such, vnder whose hand all dispatches

Gen. 42. 30. & 33.

of

of importance,and royall managing of the State had passed,whilest that the King himselfe intending his quiet,had giuen his office to another. How strangers haue mistaken in this kinde,the example already cited of *Iosephs* brethren, doth sufficiently witnesse. The reports of Priests doe appeare in *Diodorus*, and *Herodotus* : each of whom, citing their relations,as good authority,say; *Diodorus*, that *Sesostris* was the nineteenth King after *Menas*; *Herodotus*,that he was the 332.after *Menas*:which could not haue beene, if *Menas* had beene *Adam*.Therfore we may well conclude,That the *Dynastines* were not so many races of Kings, but successions of *Regents*, appointed by the kings of so many sundry linages or sorts of men.Now by whatsoeuer meanes a *Dynastie* or *Regencie* continued : whether in one familie, as being made an hereditary office:or in one order of men,as held by faction : sure it is that it was the Kings gift and free choyce, that gaue the office.But the Crowne royall alwayes passed by descent,& not by election: which (besides consent of *Authors*) the Scriptures also proue. For whereas *Ioseph* bought all the land of *Egypt* for *Pharaoh*, if the Crowne had passed by election, then should *Pharaoh's* children hereby either haue beene inthralled amongst the rest of the people, to the next successor:or inioying their Fathers land,though not his estate, haue been more mighty than the king : as Land-lords of all *Egypt*, and the king himselfe their Tenant. Likewise we finde in *Exod.*12. that *God smote the first borne of* Pharaoh,*that was to sit on his Throne*.And in *Esay* it is said of Pharaoh : *I am the sonne of the ancient King*.

Esay 19.

§.IIII.

Of Cham, *and his sonne* Mizraim, *or* Osiris.

THat the succession of Kings began,and continued in such wise as the Table hath shewed from *Cham* to *Chencres*, now it followeth to shew. *Egypt* is called in the Scripture *the land of* Ham. That this name is not giuen to it, because the posterity of *Cham* did reigne there,but for that himself did first plant it, we may gather by many circumstances.For I thinke it is no where found, that the Countries of *Cush*, *Put*, or *Canaan*,as well as *Egypt*,were called the Land of *Ham*. Further, it is found in *Diodorus Siculus*,that *Osiris* calleth himselfe the eldest sonne of *Cham*,saying; *Mihi pater Saturnus deorum omnium iunior* : also, *Sum Saturni filius antiquior, germen ex pulchro & generoso ortum* : which must needes be vnderstood of *Cham* : for this *Saturnus Egyptius* was *Cham*: as it is said,that on the monument of *Ninus* was an inscription,wherein *Cham* was called *Saturnus Ægyptius*. Likewise the Temple of *Hammon*, not farre from *Ægypt*,doth testifie,that *Ham* resided in those parts: And S.*Hierome in quæstionibus Hebraicis*,saith,that the *Egyptians* themselues did in his dayes call their Countrie *Ham* : as in foure seuerall places in the *Psalmes* this Countrie is called the land of *Cham*. And *Ortelius*,noting out of *Plutarch* in *Osiride*,that in the sacrifices of the *Egyptians* this Countrie of *Egyt* was called *Chemia*,expounds it for *Chamia*,*vt puto* (saith he)*à Chamo Noes filio*,to which also he addeth out of *Isidore*, *Ægyptum vsq; hodie Ægyptiorum lingua* Kam *vocari* : *that Egypt vnto this day in the tongue of the Egyptians is called* Kam. For the beginning and continuance of *Chams* reigne,the same reasons may suffice to be alleadged, which I haue already giuen in proofe of the time spent in the 15.first *Dynasties*:Neither is it strange that the reigne of *Cham* should last so long as 161. yeeres : considering that *Sem* liued 600 : *Arphachshad* and *Shelah* each aboue 400. But strange it had beene, if one *Saltis* created by *Manetho*,had in those long-liued generations reigned there 19. yeeres,and with *Bæon*, *Apachnas*, *Apochis*, and others of the same brood, obscured the fame and glory of *Osiris*,*Orus*,and *Sesostris*.*Reineccius in histor. Iulia*, placeth *Mizraim* next,otherwise called *Osiris* according to *Diodorus*: who,saith he,was the sonne of *Hammon*: *Krentzhemius* saith that *Mizraim* and *Osiris* are words of neere affinitie and sound in the *Hebrew* tongue.Howsoeuer it be,we know that *Mizraim* the sonne of *Cham*, was Lord of *Egypt*, and *Reineccius* citing good authoritie in this case,affirmeth that *Egypt* is now called by the naturals in their owne language, *Mezre*. Neither doe I see cause of doubt whether *Osiris* were the same with *Mizraim*. It is more necessary,& hard to shew manifestly,how long *Mizraim* or *Osiris* reigned. For whereas the yeere of his death is no where precisely set downe,we must be faine to follow probabilities.That hee is not vainly said by *Annius* his *Berosus*,to haue begun his reigne at the birth of *Abraham*,when the *Dynastie* of the *Thebai* began, it appeareth,first, by the authoritie of *Eusebius* : who auoucheth

Psal.78.51. 105.23. 27. 106.22.

Diod. Sic.l.1.

auoucheth as much ; next by *Diodorus*,who saith that he inhabited *Thebes* : which habitation of *Osiris* there,that it might be cause of that *Dynasty*,I can well beleeue ; assenting so farre to *Reineccius*, who thinkes the *Dynasties* were named onely,according to the seuerall seates of the kings.

§. V.

Of the time when Osiris *reigne ended: and that* Iacob *came into Egypt in the time of* Orus *the sonne of* Osiris.

THe death of *Osiris*, when it was, none can certainely affirme. The onely coniecture that I know is made thus : *Lehabim* the sonne of *Mizraim* called *Hercules Lybius*, made warre in *Italy*, to reuenge his Fathers death, on the associates of *Typhon*, in the 41.yeare of *Baleus* King of *Assyria* : before which yeare hee had made many great warres in *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, *Phrygia*, *Crete*, *Lybia*, and *Spaine* : and hauing ended his *Egyptian* warres, left the Kingdome to *Orus*. Thus farre *Berosus*, or Authors following *Berosus*. That *Orus* last of all the gods(as they were stiled)held the Kingdome of *Isis*, *Diodorus Siculus* plainely saith : and *Plutarch* as much ; to which all Histories agree. *Krentzhemius* hereupon inferres, that sixe yeares may be allowed to the warres, which *Hercules* made in so many Countries, after the *Egyptian* warres were ended : so should the death of *Osiris* haue beene the 34.of *Baleus*, when himselfe had reigned 29½ yeares. I thinke that *Krentzhemius* was a greater Scholler than Souldier. For surely in those dayes when commerce was not such as now,but all Nauigation made by coasting, a farre longer time would haue beene required, to the subduing of so many Countries. An allowance of more time though it would alter his computation, yet would it well agree with his intent : which was (doubtlesse) to finde the truth. If according to his account the death of *Osiris* had beene the 34. of *Baleus*, then must *Israel* haue come into *Egypt* but seuen yeares before the death of *Osiris* : and haue liued there in the reigne of *Typhon*. A thing not easily beleeued.For it was the same king who aduanced *Ioseph*,bade him send for his Father, and gaue him leaue to goe into *Canaan*, to the performance of his Fathers Funerall : as may easily be gathered out of the booke of *Genesis*. Whereas therefore the reigne of *Osiris* cannot be extended by any possible allowance in account of times, beyond the seuenth yeare of *Israels* comming into *Egypt* : we must needes cut off 23.yeares from that number, which *Krentzhemius* coniectures his reigne to haue continued : namely seuen which hee should haue liued after *Iacobs* comming into *Egypt* ; nine in which *Ioseph* had there flourished, ere his fathers comming : and other seuen in which *Typhon* and *Hercules* had reigned after the death of *Osiris*,yet before *Iosephs* aduancement.

Diod.Sic.l.2. c.1.Plut.l.de Isid.& Osid.

Neither will this disagree with the time of *Hercules Lybius* his wars.For the war which *Hercules* made in *Italy*,is said to haue indured 10.years: After which proportion we may well giue not onely sixe years,as *Krentzhemius* doth, but 23.more to so many wars in so many and so far distant Countries,as are named before: yea,by this proportion we may attribute vnto *Orus* the 13.yeares,which passed betweene the time of *Iosephs* being sold into *Egypt*,vnto his aduancement, considering that *Putiphar* who bought him, & whose daughter he may seeme to haue married, continued all that while chiefe Steward vnto *Pharaoh* ; a thing not likely to haue been,if so violent alterations had hapned the whilest in *Egypt*, as the tyrannous vsurpation of *Typhon* must needes haue brought in. If citing some fragment of a lost old Author,I should confidently say,that *Putiphar* for his faithfulnesse to *Orus*,the sonne of *Osiris*, was by him in the beginning of his reigne made his chiefe Steward : at which time buying *Ioseph*, and finding him a iust man, & one vnder whose hand all things did prosper,he rather committed his estate into *Iosephs* hands, than vnto any of his *Egyptian* followers(many of whom he had found either false-hatted, or weak and vnlucky in the troublesome dayes of *Typhon*)I know not what could be obiected against this.Perhaps I might proceed further,and say,That when the saying of *Ioseph* pleased *Pharaoh*,and all his seruants;then *Putiphar* Priest of *On*,being chiefe Officer to *Pharaoh*,did acknowledge in *Ioseph*,the ancient graces of God, & his iniurious imprisonment:wherupon he gaue him his daughter to wife;and being old, resigned his office of chiefe Steward vnto him;who afterward in regard of *Putiphar*,did fauour the Priests, when hee bought the lands of all other *Egyptians*.This might appeare to some a tale not

vnlike to the Frierly book of *Asenath*, *Putiphars* daughter: but vnto such as consider that God workes vsually by meanes; and that *Putaphar* was the Steward of that King, vnder whom *Iacob* died: it would seeme a matter not probable, had it an Author of sufficient credit to auouch it. Concerning the warres of *Hercules*, in which by this reckoning hee should haue spent 42. yeares after he left *Egypt*, ere he began in *Italy*, it is a circumstance which (the length of his *Italian* wars considered, and his former enterprises & atchieuements proportioned to them) doth not make against vs, but for vs: or if it vvere against vs, yet could it not so weaken our supposition, as these probabilities collected out of the vndisputable truth of Scripture do confirm it. Neuertheless I freely grant that all these proofes are no other, than such as may be gathered out of Authors, not vvell agreeing, nor to be reconciled in such obscurity, otherwise than by likelihoods, answerable to the holy Text.

§. VI.

Of Typhon, Hercules, Ægyptus, Orus, *and the two* Sesostres, *succesiuely reigning after* Mizraim: *and of diuers errors about the former* Sesostres.

CONcerning the reigne of *Typhon*, and of *Hercules*, I find none that precisely doth define how long either of them continued. *Daniel Angelocrator* giueth three yeares to *Typhon*, omitting *Hercules*. But he is so peremptory vvithout proofe, as if his own word were sufficient authority, in many points very questionable; alleadging no vvitnesse, but as it were saying, *Teste me ipso*: yet herein wee may thinke him to speake probably, forasmuch as the learned *Krentzhemius* affirmeth, that *Hercules* did very soone vndertake his Fathers reuenge; and was not long in performing it: and that leaving *Egypt* to his brother, hee followed other warres, in the same quarrell, as hath beene shewed before. Trueit is, that I cannot collect (as *Krentzhemius* doth) out of *Berosus*, that *Hercules* reigned after *Typhon*: yet seeing *Auentinus* a follower of *Berosus* hath it so, I will also beleeue it. That in the reigne of *Typhon* and *Hercules*, seuen yeares were spent, howsoeuer diuided betweene them, I gather out of *Krentzhemius* only, who placeth the beginning of *Orus* seuen yeares after the death of *Osiris*: forgetting to set downe his reasons, which in a matter so probable I thinke he vvanted not. Now vvhereas he alloweth 90. yeares of the eighteenth *Dynastie* to *Osiris*, *Typhon*, *Hercules*, and *Orus*: it seemes that the reigne of *Orus* lasted 115. yeares. From the death of *Orus* to the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, there passed 122. yeares by our account: who (according to *Beroaldus* and others) thinke that *Abraham* was borne in the 130. yeare of *Terah*, and thereupon reckon thus. From the end of the Floud to the birth of *Abraham* ——— 352

From that time to the { vocation of *Abraham* ——— 75
departure out of *Egypt* ——— 430

Summa ——— 857:

which summe diuers other wayes may be collected. Since therfore to the departure out of *Egypt*, there doe remaine (as is aforesaid) onely 122. yeares from the death of *Orus*: we are now to consider how many of them are to be allowed vnto *Sesostris* or *Sesonchosis*: who is placed next vnto *Orus*, by authority of the *Scholiastes Apollonij*: not without good probability. For this great king or conquerour, is by many Histories recorded to haue ouer-run a great part of *Asia*: to haue built a fleet of ships on the red Sea: and so to haue entred into *India*: likewise with another fleet on the middle-earth Seas, to haue passed into *Europe*, and subdued many Nations. This is he (as *Reineccius* iudgeth) whom *Iustine* erring in account of his time calleth *Vexoris*: For *Iustine* placeth *Vexoris* in ages before *Ninus*: whereby it would follow that *Sesostris*, if he were *Vexoris*, was more ancient than was *Osiris* (otherwise *Mizraim*) a thing altogether vnlikely. Certaine it is that after the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, no one *Pharaoh* came into the land of *Canaan* (which lieth in the way from *Egypt* into *Asia*) till the Father in law of *Salomon*, *Pharaoh Vaphres*, tooke *Gerar*, and gaue it to his daughter: (as vvee may reade more at large in the holy History of the Bible) after vvhich time *Sesac* oppressed *Rehoboam*, and *Necho* sought passage through the land of *Israel*, vvhen hee made his expedition against the *Chaldeans*. Of King *Vaphres* and *Necho* it is out of question, that neither of them vvas the great King *Sesostris*. Of *Sesac* it is doubted by some, forasmuch as hee came into *Iudea* with

vvith a great armie. *Reineccius* propounding the doubt, leaueth it vndecided; vnlesse it be sufficient proofe of his owne opinion, that he himselfe placeth *Sesostris* next to *Orus*: following the *Scholiastes Apollonij*. But further answer may be made to shew that they were not one. For, as *Iustine* witnesseth, *Sesostris*, otherwise *Vexoris*, made war on people farre remoued, abstaining from his neighbours. *Sesac* came vp purposely against *Hierusalem*. *Sesostris*, as *Diodorus* witnesseth, had but 24000. horse, *Sesac* had 60000. *Sesostris* had 8020. charriots, *Sesac* but 1200. *Sesostris* made his expedition for no priuate purpose, but to get a great name: *Sesac*, as most agree, had no other purpose than to succour *Ieroboam*, and giue him countenance in his new reigne; whom he had fauoured euen against *Salomon*: therefore *Sesostris* must needes haue reigned whilest *Israel* abode in *Egypt*.

Whereas *Krentzhemius* collecteth out of *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*, that one *Menas*, or *Menis*, was next to *Orus*: because those Historians affirme that he reigned next after the gods; it moueth me nothing. For *Osiris* did succeede those fifteene gods, namely, the twelue greater, and three lesser: himselfe also (as the learned *Reineccius* noteth) being called *Menas*. Which name, as also *Menaus*, and *Menu*, were titles of dignity: though mistaken by some as proper names. *Krenzhemius* doth very probably gather, that *Menas* was *Mercurius Ter-maximus*; the Hebrew word *Meni* signifying an *Arithmetician*, which name *Ter-maximus* might vvell bee attributed to *Osiris*, vvho vvas a great Conquerour, Philosopher, and Benefactor to mankinde, by giuing good Lawes, and teaching profitable Arts. In prowesse and great vndertakings *Sesostris* vvas no whit inferiour to *Osiris*. For he sought victory not for gaine, but for honour onely: and being vvell contented, that many Nations had acknowledged his power, and submitted themselues to his vvill and royall disposition, leauing them in a manner to their liberty, returned into *Egypt*. Soone vpon his returne he vvas endangered by a great Treason, the house in vvhich he was, being by his owne brother purposely fired: vvhich neuertheless hee is said to haue escaped, and to haue reigned in all thirty three yeares: after which time he chose rather to die than to liue; because he fell blinde. Both *Herodotus*, aud *Diodorus*, affirme that *Sesostris* left a sonne, vvhose name vvas *Pheron* or *Pherones*: who afterwards tooke the name of *Sesostris*; but was nothing like to his Father in glory: for he shortly fell blinde. The cause of his blindnesse *Herodotus* attributes to his assaulting the Riuer *Nilus* vvith a iaueline: which tale *Diodorus* hauing likewise heard, yet reports as a fable, saying that perhaps he tooke the disease naturally from his Father. How long this man reigned it is no where expressed: yet forasmuch as *Orus* the second, (otherwise *Busiris*) vvho succeeded him, began 14. yeares after that this *Sesostris* had beene king, it must needes bee that this reigned 14. yeares at least. That *Busiris* began not vntill these 14. yeares at least were expired, the very account of time from the first of *Busiris*, to the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, plainely shewes, being almost generally agreed vpon, to haue beene 75. yeares. That none came betweene *Sesostris* the second, and *Busiris* or *Orus* the second, it stands onely vpon probabilities: vvhich are these. After *Sesostris* had reigned some while, hee fell blinde; after certaine yeares he recouered his sight, as is said: which may haue been true, but is more like to haue beene a fable: surely the manner of his recouery as it is set downe, is very fabulous: namely, that by looking vpon a woman, or vvashing his eyes with her vvater, who had onely knowne her owne husband, hee got his sight againe. As the time of his reign, before his blindnesse, and when he was vvell again (if euer he were) may haue taken vp a good part of 14. yeeres: so his vvorkes which vvere great, do much more strongly argue, that his reigne vvas not very short. His works are largely set down by *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus*: a part of vvhich may seeme to haue beene the finishing of that which his Father had begun, about the channels and sluces of *Nilus*: vvhom I think he rather frighted, (as his Father had done) with spades and shouels, than with darts, and iauelins; and by his diligent ouersight of that worke, vvas like enough to lose both his eye-sight and his peoples loue; whom his Father had very busily employed in excessiue labour about it.

§. VII.

Of Busiris *the first oppressor of the Israelites; and of his successor Queen* Thermutis *that took vp* Moses *out of the water.*

AND herein (if I may presume to coniecture) *Busiris*, who was afterwards king, is like to haue dealt with him, as *Ieroboam* did with the sonne of *Salomon*. For that *Busiris* himselfe vvas much addicted to magnificent workes, it vvell appeared, by the drudgery vvherewith he wearied the children of *Israel* in his buildings: If therefore he were emploied by the great *Sesostris*, as *Ieroboam* was by *Salomon*, in the ouersight of those businesses, he had good opportunity to worke his greatnesse with the king by industry; and afterward with the people by incensing them against their new king, as *Ieroboam* did. For what the multitude will endure at one Princes hands, they will not at anothers: vnlesse hee haue either an equall spirit, or a surer foundation. If moreouer he sought to deriue all the paine and labour of publique workes from the *Egyptians*, to the *Israelites*: hee surely did that which to his owne people was very plausible: who (as appeares in *Exodus*) were nothing slack in fulfilling the kings cruelty. Now that *Orus* the second, or *Busiris*, was the king that first oppressed *Israel*, and made the *Edict* of drowning the *Hebrew* children, which (saith *Cedrenus*) lasted ten moneths: it is a common opinion of many great and most learned writers; who also thinke that hereupon grew the fable of *Busiris* sacrificing strangers. It is also a common interpretation of that place, *Exod.* 1. that the King who knew not *Ioseph*, was a king of a new family. That *Busiris* was of a new family, *Reineccius* doth shew; who also thinkes him Author of the bloudy Edict. Neuertheleſſe, true it is, that *Busiris*, according to all mens computation, began his reigne fiue yeares after the birth of *Moses*; before whose birth it is most manifest, that the Law was made, and much more that the persecution began; which *Bunting* thinkes to haue lasted 87. yeares, ere the departure out of *Egypt*. Let vs therefore consider, besides the blindnesse of *Sesostris* the second, how great the power of the *Regents* or *Vice-Royes* in *Egypt* was; & how great confidence the kings did put in them; seeing *Ioseph* ruled with such full power, that hee bought all *Egypt*, and all the *Egyptians* for bread; giuing at the same time the best of the land to his own father and brethren, for nothing: seeing also that when the *Egyptians* cried out vpon *Pharaoh*, for bread; *Pharaoh* said to all the *Egyptians*, *Go to Ioseph; what he saith to you, do ye.* If to a stranger borne, lately fetcht out of prison, a king well able to haue gouerned himselfe, would giue such trust, & souereign authority; it is not vnlikely that a blind Prince should do it to a man of especial reputation. For God often prospers, not only the good (such as *Ioseph* was) but wicked men also, as his instruments against the day of wrath. Therfore perhaps the king did (as many haue done) resigne his kingdome to him, though his reigne was not accounted to haue begun, till the death of *Sesostris*. But whether *Busiris* did vsurpe the kingdome, or protection of the land by violence: or whether the blind king resigned it, keeping the title; or whether *Busiris* were only *Regent*, whilst the king liued, & afterwards (as is acknowledged by all) king himselfe: it might well be said that *Pharaohs* daughter tooke vp *Moses*, and that *Pharaoh* vexed *Israel*; seeing he both at that time was king in effect, and shortly after king indeed and title both. It were not absurd for vs to say that the blind king *Sesostris* the second oppressed *Israel*: but forasmuch as it may seeme that the wicked *Tyrant* shewed his euill nature euen when he first arose: I thinke it more likely, that *Busiris* did it, vsing at first the power of a king, and shortly after the stile. Thus of the 122. yeares vvhich passed betweene the beginning of *Sesostris* his reigne, & the departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, 47. being spent; the 75. which remain, are to be accounted to *Busiris* or *Orus* the second, and his children. *Busiris* himselfe reigned 30. yeares, according to *Eusebius*: whom very many iudicious authors herein approue. After him his daughter, who tooke *Moses* out of the vvater, is said by all that I haue read, to haue reigned 12. years. Her name vvas *Thermutis Pharetis*, or *Muthis* according to *Cedrenus*: *Euseb.* cals her *Acencris*; and out of *Artabanus* his Historie *Meris*: *Ioseph* cals her both *Acenchere*, & *Thermutis*. *Epiphanius in Panario* saith that shee was honoured afterward of the *Egyptians*, by the name of *Thermutis* the daughter of *Amenoph*, the son of *Pharaoh*. Of this last title question might be made, and much spoken: for the Scriptures call her not *Pharaohs* sons daughter, but *Pharaohs* daughter. *Amenophis* indeed is set next before *Busiris* or *Orus* the second by *Eusebius* & others: but

Exod. 1.

but whether he were a King or onely a *Regent*, I cannot coniecture. For *Herodotus Diodorus*, and the ancient Historians name the sonne of *Sesostris*, *Pheron*. Perhaps his name vvas *Pharaoh Amenophis*: and his daughter by the *Egyptians* called rather the Neece or Grand-child, than the daughter of *Pharaoh* because of the glory of *Sesostris*, & the dis-reputation of his son. If so, and if that *Busiris* or *Orus* the second marrying her, pretended any title by her, then is our coniecture strengthened, and then was shee both daughter, grand-childe, and wife vnto *Pharaoh*: and surviuing him, Queene of the land, 12. yeares. But if she were daughter of *Orus* the second, and sister of *Athoris*, or *Rathoris*, as many thinke, to whose coniecture I will not oppose mine, then may it seeme, that either her brethren were degenerate, or too young to rule, when her Father died.

§. VIII.

Of the two brethren of Queene Thermutis: *and what king it was, vnder whom* Moses *was borne: and who it was that perished in the red Sea.*

SHee had two brethren: the one was *Rathoris* or *Athoris*, who succeeded her; the other *Telegonus*, vvho is onely named by *Eusebius*; but his linage and off-spring described by *Reineccius*. *Rathoris* after his sisters death reigned nine yeares: after whom *Chencres*, thought to be his sonne, reigned ten years, and then perished in the red Sea. During the reigne of *Chencres*, *Eusebius* saith, that *Telegonus* begat *Epaphus* vpon *Io*: of which History elsewhere he reporteth otherwise. After the death of *Chencres* (whom some call *Acencheres*: but all or most doe stile θεομαχοῦ, a fighter against God) *Acherres* reigned 8. yeares, and then *Cherres* 15. This descent seems from Father to Sonne. In the 11. yeere of *Cherres* it is said by *Eusebius*, that *Epaphus* reigning in the lower part of *Egypt*, built *Memphis*. This is an argument of that which otherwise was not vnlikely: *viz.* That *Egypt* was greatly brought out of order by the plagues which God had laid vpon it, and the destruction of her king and army in the red Sea: else could it not haue had two reigning in it at once; the latter of whom, or his posterity seemes to haue taken all from *Cherres* the grand-childe of *Chencres*. For whereas *Armais* is said to haue reigned foure yeares after *Cherres*: and *Armesis* one after *Armais*: these two Kings are by *Eusebius* and others accounted as one, and his reigne said to haue beene fiue years. His name is called *Armeus*, otherwise *Danaus*: and his pedigree thus described by *Reineccius* in *Historia Iulia*.

Telegonus:
Epaphus:
Lybia, who had

Agenor, *Belus*, and *Busiris*.

T

Ægyptus or *Ramesses* who gaue name to the Country, hauing expelled his brother *Danaus*, reigned, and begat *Lynceus*, married to *Hypermnestra*.	*Danaus* or *Armeus* expelled by his brother *Ægyptus*, after hee had reigned fiue years, became king of *Argos* in *Greece*: was Father to *Hypermnestra*.

How it might come to passe that the Nephewes sons of *Epaphus* should haue occupied the kingdome after *Cherres*, it is hard to say: considering that *Epaphus* himself is reported by *Eusebius* to haue beene borne in the time of *Chencres*. But forasmuch as the History of *Epaphus* his birth, is diuersly related by *Eusebius*, it may suffice, that *Belus* the father of *Danaus* & *Ægyptus*, otherwise called *Armeus* and *Ramesses*, was equally distant from *Busiris* or *Orus* the second, with *Cherres* the grand-childe of *Chencres*. And that the posterity of *Telegonus* did marry very yong, it appears by the History of these two brethren, *Danaus*

and *Ægyptus*: of whom the former had 50. daughters, the latter 50. sonnes: perhaps, or rather questionlesse, by diuers Women: yet surely they began to beget children in their first youth: Howsoeuer it were, the generall consent of writers is, that *Armeus* or *Danaus* did succeede *Chernes*: and (according to *Eusebius* and good Authors approuing him) reigned fiue yeares. *Ramesses* followed, who reigned 68. yeares. This *Ramesses* or *Ægyptus* is that *Armesesmiamum* or *Armesesmiamus*, vnder whom, in the opinion of *Mercator*, and of *Bunting* that followes *Mercator*, *Moses* was borne: and the cruell *Edict* made of drowning the *Hebrew* children. The length of his reigne seemes to me the chiefe, if not the onely ground of *Mercators* opinion. For whereas the Lord said to *Moses*, *Goe, returne to Egypt, for they are all dead which went about to kill thee*: *Mercator* hereupon conceiues, that it was one and the same king vnder whom *Moses* was born, and vnder whom he slew the *Egyptian* at the 40. yeare of his age: and fled into the wildernesse, and there abode for feare: all which circumstances could agree with none, but this *Ramesses*, who reigned so long: wherefore desirous rather to hold a true Paradox, than a common errour, he placeth one *Alisfragmuthosis* (whose name is found in the list of *Egyptian* kings, but the time vncertaine wherein he reigned) in an age 112. or 113. yeares more ancient than others left him in: and so continuing the Catalogue of his successors from *Themosis* (whom *Eusebius* cals *Amasis*) downewards with no other variation of the length of each mans reigne, than is the difference betweene *Manetho* and *Eusebius*, he findes *Moses* borne vnder *Armesesmiamum*, and *Israel* deliuered in the dayes of his sonne *Amenophis*. The very name of *Alisfragmuthosis* seems to him with little alteration to sound like *Pharatates*, of which name one was thought to haue flourished either as a king, or a wise man about the time of *Isaac*. For (saith he) from *Alisfragmuthosis* to *Phragmuthosis*, *Pharmuthosis*, or *Pharatates*, the change is not great. *Mercator* was a man of excellent learning and industry: and one to whom the World is bound for his many notable works: yet my assent herein is with-held from him, by these reasons. First, I see all other writers agree, that *Chencres* was king who was drowned in the red Sea: Secondly, the place, *Exod. 4. all are dead, &c.* may better be vnderstood of *Busiris* and all his children, than of one King alone: Thirdly, Saint *Cyrill* in his first booke against *Iulian* the *Apostata*, saith that *Dardanus* built *Dardania*, when *Moses* was 120. yeares old: *Ramesses*, which was this *Armesesmiamum*, being then King of *Egypt*. After *Ramesses*, *Amenophis* reigned 19. yeares: who is thought by *Mercator*, and peremptorily by *Bunting* pronounced, to be the King that perished in the red Sea: of which our opinion being already laied open, I thinke it most expedient to referre the kings ensuing to their owne times (which a *Chronologicall Table* shall lay open) and here to speake of that great deliuerance of *Israel* out of *Egypt*: which for many great considerations depending thereupon, wee may not lightly ouerpasse.

Exod. 4. 19.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the deliuery of Israel out of Egypt.

§. I.

Of the time of Moses *birth, and how long the Israelites were oppressed in Egypt.*

TRue it is that the History it selfe is generally and well known: yet concerning the time of *Moses* his birth, who was the excellent and famous instrument of this and other great workes of the *Highest*, the different opinions are very neere as many, as the men that haue written of that *Argument*.

L. Viues in his annotations vpon Saint *Augustine* citeth very many of their coniectures: as that of *Porphyrie* out of *Sanchoniato*, that *Moses* liued in the time of *Semiramis*: But if hee did meane the first *Semiramis*, it vvas but a fond conceit: for besides that the same is contrary to all Stories Diuine and humane; vvhile that *Semiramis* liued, shee commanded *Syria*, and all the parts thereof absolutely: neither were the *Ammonites*, or *Moabites*, or *Edomites*, while she ruled, *in rerum natura*.

A second opinion hee remembreth of *Appion*, taken from *Ptolomy* a Priest of *Mendes*, vvho saith that *Moses* was borne while *Inachus* did rule the *Argiues*, and *Amesis* in *Egypt*.

The third opinion is taken out of *Polemon*, in his *Greeke* History the first Booke: that *Moses* was borne while *Apis* the third King ruled *Argos*.

A fourth is borrowed from *Tatianus Assyrius*, who though hee cite some authorities, that *Moses* liued after the *Troian* war, is himselfe of opinion, that *Moses* was farre more ancient, prouing it by many arguments.

Fiftly, he setteth downe the testimony of *Numenius* the Philosopher, who tooke *Musæus* and *Moses* to be one: confirming the same out of *Artapanus*, who confesseth that *Moses* was called *Musæus*, by the *Grecians*: and who farther deliuereth that he was adopted by *Chenephis*, or *Thermutis*, the daughter of *Egypt*: the same which *Eupolemus* calleth *Meris*; others (as *Rabanus Maurus*) *Thermothes*. *Eusebius* also affirmeth, that by *Eupolemus* in his first booke *de bono, Moses, vir Deo coniunctissimus*, is called *Musæus Iudæorum*. *Eusebius* in his Chronology, findes that *Moses* was borne while *Amenophis* ruled *Egypt*: The ancient *Manethon* calls that *Pharao*, which liued at *Moses* birth, *Thumosis* or *Thmosis*: the same perchance which *Appion* the *Grammarian* will haue to be *Amosis*, and elsewhere *Amenophis* the Father of *Sethosis*: to whom *Lysimachus* and *Cornelius Tacitus* gaue the name of *Bocchoris*. To me it seemes most probable, that while *Saphrus*, called also *Spherus* or *Iphereus*, gouerned *Assyria*; *Orthopolis*, *Sicyonia*; and *Criasus* the *Argiues*; that then (*Sesostris* the second ruling in *Egypt*) *Moses* was borne. For if wee beleeue S. *Augustine*, it was about the end of *Cecrops* time, that *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Egypt*. *Eduxit* Moses *ex Ægypto populum Dei nouissimo tempore* Cecropis *Atheniensium Regis*: Moses (saith he) *led the people of God out of Egypt, about the end of* Cecrops *time, King of the Athenians*. In this sort therefore is the time of *Moses* birth, and of his departure out of *Egypt* best proued. S. *Augustine* affirmes (as before remembred) that *Moses* was borne; *Saphrus* gouerning *Assyria*; and that hee left *Egypt* about the end of *Cecrops* time. Now *Saphrus* ruled 20. yeares; his successor *Mamelus* 30. yeares; *Sparetus* after him 40. yeares: in whose fourth yeare *Cecrops* began to gouerne in *Attica*: *Ascatades* followed *Sparetus*, and held the Empire 41: So as *Moses* being borne while *Saphrus* ruled *Assyria*; *Orthopolis Sicyonia*; and *Criasus Argos* (for these three kings liued at once at his birth, saith S. *Augustine*, as *Cecrops* did when he departed *Egypt*) it will follow that the birth of *Moses* was in the nineteenth yeare of the *Assyrian Saphrus*: for take one yeare remaining of 20. (for so long *Saphrus* reigned) to which adde the thirty yeares of *Mamelus*,

Euseb. de præp. Euang. l. 3. c. 3.

Aug. l. 18. c. 11. de ciuit. Dei.

2514.

melus, and the 40. years of *Sparetus*, these make 71. with which there were vvasted three yeares of *Cecrops* his 50. years: then take nine yeares out of the reigne of *Ascatades*, who was *Sparetus* successour, those nine yeares added to 71. make 80. at which age *Moses* left *Egypt*: and adde these nine yeares to the three yeares of *Cecrops* formerly spent, there will remaine but foure yeares of *Cecrops* his 50: and so it falleth right with S. *Augustines* words, affirming that towards the end of *Cecrops* his time, *Moses* led the people of *Israel* out of *Egypt*.

Now the time in which the *Hebrewes* were oppreſt in *Egypt*, seemeth to haue had beginning some eight or nine years before the birth of *Moses*, & 54. yeare, or rather more, after *Ioseph*: betweene vvhose death and the birth of *Moses*, there were consumed 64. yeares: some of vvhich time, and 80. yeares after, they liued in great seruitude and misery. For as it is vvritten in *Exodus*: *They set taske-masters ouer them, to keepe them vnder with burdens: and they built the Cities, Pithom and Ramases, &c. And by cruelty they caused the children of Israel to serue; and made them weary of their liues, by sore labour in clay and bricke, and in all worke of the field, with all manner of bondage.* All vvhich laid vpon them by a mastering power and strong hand, they endured to the time by the vvisedome of God appointed: euen from 54. yeares, or not much more after the death of *Ioseph*, who left the World when it had lasted 2370. yeares, to the eightieth yeare of *Moses*, and vntill he vvrought his miracles in the field of *Zoan*, vvhich he performed in the Worlds age 2514. towards the end thereof, according to *Codoman*, or after our account, 2513. And because those things vvhich we deliuer of *Egypt*, may the better bee vnderstood, I thinke it necessary to speak a few words of the principall places therein named, in this discourse.

Exod.1.

2370.

2514.

§.II.

Of diuers Cities and places in Egypt, mentioned in this Story, or elsewhere in the Scripture.

THis City vvhich the *Hebrewes* call *Zoan*, was built seuen yeares after *Hebron*. *Ezechiel* calleth it *Taphnes*; and so doth *Hieremy*; the *Septuagint*, *Tanis*; *Iosephus*, *Protaidis*; after the name of an *Egyptian* Queene; *Antonius* giues it the name of *Thanis*; *Hegesippus*, *Thamna*; and *William Tyrius*, *Tapins*. It adioyneth to the land of *Gosen*, and is the same, wherein *Hieremy* the Prophet was stoned to death, for preaching against the *Egyptian* and *Iewish* Idolatry.

Numb.33. Ezekiel 30. Hierem.2.43. 44.46. Ioseph.l.1.c.9. Tyr.de bel.sac l.19.c.23.

Zoan or *Taphnes* was in *Moses* time the *Metropolis* of the lower *Egypt*, in vvhich their *Pharaohs* then commonly resided; & not vnlikely to be the same City, vvhere *Abraham* in his time found him. But *Eusebius* out of *Artapanus* affirmeth, that *Abraham* did read Astronomy in *Heliopolis*, or *On*, to *Pharetates* King of *Egypt*. *Alex.Polyhistor*, out of *Eupolemus* hath it otherwise, saying, that *Abraham* instructed the *Egyptian* Priests, and not the King; both which authorities *Eusebius* citeth. The *Septuagint*, and the Vulgar edition, for *Zoan* write *Heliopolis*. *Pagnin*, *Vatablus*, *Iunius*, and our *English* call it *On*; and *Ptolomy*, *Onium*. There are two Cities of that name; the one on the frontier of the lower *Egypt*, towards the South; the other somewhat lower on the Easter-most branch of *Nilus* falling into the Sea at *Pelusium*. And it may be that *Heliopolis* to the South of the riuer *Traian*, vvas the same which *Vatablus* & our *English* call *Auen*. Of the latter it is, that the Scriptures take certaine knowledge: the same, which *Pomp.Mela*, and *Pliny* call *Solis oppidum*; *Tyrius* in the *Holy Warre*, *Malbec*; the *Arabians*, *Bahalbeth*; and *Simeon Sethi*, *Fons Solis*. Of this *Heliopolis*, or *On*, was *Putiphar* Priest, or Prince, vvhose daughter *Ioseph* married. In the Territory adioyning *Iacob* inhabited, while hee liued in *Egypt*. In the confines of this City, *Onias*, the high Priest of the *Iewes*, built a Temple, dedicated to the eternall God; not much inferiour to that of *Hierusalem* (*Ptolomy Philopater* then gouerning in *Egypt*) vvhich stood in the time of *Vespasian*, 333. yeares after the foundation by *Onias*, whom *Iosephus* falsly reporteth herein to haue fulfilled a prophecy of *Esay c.19. In die illa erit Altare Domini in medio terræ Ægypti*; *In that day shall the Altar of the Lord bee in the middest of the Land of Egypt. Antiochus Epiphanes* at that time of the building tyrannizing ouer the *Iewes*, gaue the occasion for the erecting of this Temple in *Egypt*. Lastly, there it was that our Sauiour *Christ Iesus* remained, while *Ioseph* and the Virgin *Mary* feared the violence of *Herod*: neere which (saith *Brochard*) the fountaine

Euseb.de præp. Euang.l.9.c.4. Gen.12.15. Esai.19.11.

taine is still found, called *Iesus well*, whose streames doe afterward water the Gardens of *Balsamum*, no where else found in *Egypt*. And hereof see more in *Brochard*, in his description of *Egypt*.

There is also the City of *Noph*, remembred by *Esay* and *Ezekiel*, the same vvhich *Hosea* the Prophet calleth *Moph*: which latter name it tooke from a Mountaine adioyning, so called; which Mountaine *Herodotus* remembreth. And this is that great City, which was called *Memphis*; and so the *Septuagint* write it. It is knowne to the *Arabians* by the name of *Mazar*. The *Chaldæans* name it *Alchabyr*; and *Tudalensis Mizraim*.

Esa.19.13. Ezech.34. Hosea 9.6. Lib.2.

Pelusium, which *Vatablus*, *Pagnin*, *Iunius*, and our *English* write *Sin*; the *Septuagint* call *Sais*; and *Montanus*, *Lebna*; is not the same with *Damiata*, as *Gul.Tyrius* vvitnesseth. In the time of *Baldwin* the third, *Pelusium* vvas called *Belbeis*. *Belbeis* (saith *Tyrius*) *quæ olim dicta est Pelusium*; *Belbeis*, *that in times past was called Pelusium*.

G.Tyr.l.20.c.17 lib.2.c.5.

The City of *No*, the *Septuagint* call *Diospolis*. Of which name there are two or three in *Egypt*: *Hierome* conuerts it *Alexandria*, by anticipation, because it was so called in the future.

Ezc.30.15.16.

Eubastus, (for so *Hierome* and *Zeigler* doe write it) is the same which the *Hebrewes* call *Pibeseth*.

Ezech.30.17.

To make the story the more perceiueable, I haue added a description of the land of *Gosen*, in which the *Israelites* inhabited; vvith those Cities and places so often remembred in the Scripture: as of *Taphnes* or *Zoan*, *Heliopolis* or *Bethsemes*, *Balsephon*, *Succoth*, and the rest; together with *Moses* passage through the Desarts of *Arabia the Stony*. For all story without the knowledge of the places vvherein the actions were performed, as it wanteth a great part of the pleasure; so it no way enricheth the knowledge and vnderstanding of the Reader; neither doth any thing serue to retaine, what wee reade, in our memories, so well as these pictures and descriptions doe. In which respect I am driuen to digresse in many places, and to interpose some such discourse, otherwise seeming impertinent: taking for my authority, after many others more ancient, that great learned man, *Arias Montanus*; vvho in his Preface to the Story of the Holy Land, hath these vvords: *Si enim absque locorum obseruatione res gestæ narrentur, aut sine Topographiæ cognitione historiæ legantur, adeo confusa atq; perturbata erunt omnia, vt ex ijs nihil non obscurum, nihil non difficile elici possit; If narration* (saith he) *bee made of those things which are performed, without the obseruation of the places, wherein they were done: or if Histories be read without Topographicall knowledge; all things will appeare so intricate and confused, as we shall thereby vnderstand nothing but obscurely, nor draw thence any knowledge, but with the greatest difficulty.*

§.III.

Of the cruelty against the Israelites young children in Egypt: and of Moses *his preseruation and education.*

BVt to returne to the story it selfe. It appeareth that notwithstanding the labour and slauery, which the *Israelites* endured, yet they decreased not in numbers: insomuch as *Pharaoh* considering the danger of discontented pouerty, and the able bodies of an oppressed multitude, how perillous they might be to his estate, by suggestion of the Diuell, resolued to slaughter all the male children of the *Hebrewes*, as soon as they should be borne. To which end he sent for *Sephora* and *Thura*, women the most famous and expert amongst them, *quæ præerant* (saith *Comestor*) *multitudinis obstetricum*, *who had command giuen them ouer all mid-wiues*; by whom (as it seemeth) hee gaue order to all the rest for the execution of his Edict. For to haue called all the Mid-wiues of *Egypt* together, had beene a strange Parliament. Now vvhether these two (before named) were of the *Hebrewes*, or of the *Egyptians*, it is diuersly disputed. S. *Augustine* calls them *Hebrewes*, because it is written *Exodus* the first, *The King of Egypt commanded the Mid-wiues of the Hebrew women, &c.* But *Iosephus*, *Abulensis*, and *Pererius* beleeue them to bee *Egyptians*. Whosoeuer they were, when it pleased God to frustrate the execution of that secret murder, to the end the world might witnesse both the wickednesse of the *Egyptians*, and the iust cause, therby made manifest, of his future indignation and reuenge: *Pharaoh* finding these women filled with piety, & the feare of God, commanded

Vers.16. Ioseph.ant.l.2. c.5. Abul. & Pererius in Exod.

commanded others of his people to execute his former intent; and publikely, or howsoeuer, to destroy all the male *Hebrew* children borne within his dominions.

Now besides the doubts, which *Pharaoh* had of the multitudes of the *Hebrewes*, the greatest part of whom hee might haue assured, by affoording them the iustice, which euery King oweth to his vassals, and the rest hee might haue imployed or sent away at his pleasure; *Iosephus* giueth another cause of his rage against them, namely, That it was prophetically deliuered him by an *Egyptian* Priest, that among the *Hebrews* there should be borne a childe; who growing to mans estate, should become a plague and terrour to his whole Nation. To preuent which, (and presuming that he could resist the ordinance of God, by a meane, contrary to the lawes of heauen and of nature) he stretched out his bloudy and mercilesse hand to the execution of his former intent. The same preuention *Herod* long after practised, when fearing the spirituall Kingdome of *Christ*, as if it should haue beene temporall, he caused all the male children at that time borne, to be slaughtered. And that *Pharaoh* had some kinde of foreknowledge of the future successe, it may be gathered by these his owne words, in the tenth verse of the fift of *Exodus*: *Come, let vs worke wisely with them, lest they multiply; and it come to passe, that if there be warre, they ioyne themselues also vnto our enemies, and fight against vs, and get them out of the Land.* But we see, and time hath told it vs from the beginning, how God derideth the wisedome of the worldly men, when forgetting the Lord of all power, they rely on the inuentions of their owne most feeble, and altogether darkened vnderstanding. For euen by the hands of the dearely beloued daughter of this tyrant, was that great Prophet and Minister of Gods maruellous vworkes taken out of *Nilus*, being thereinto turned off, in an Arke of reedes, a sucking and powerlesse infant. And this Princesse hauing beheld the childe his forme and beauty, though but yet in the blouth, so pierced her compassion, as shee did not onely preserue it, and cause it to be fostered; but commanded that it should be esteemed as her owne, and vvith equall care to the sonne of a King nourished. And for memory that it was her deede, she called the childe *Moses*, as it were, *extractus* or *ereptus*, *taken out*, to wit, out of the vvater: or after *Iosephus* and *Glycas*, *Moy*, a voyce expressing vvater, and *Hises*, as much to say, as that which is drawne out of water, or thence taken. *Clemens Alexandrinus* vvas of opinion, that *Moses* vvas circumcised, before he vvas put into the Arke of Reedes, & that *Amram* his father had named him *Ioachim*. In his youth he vvas carefully bred, by the care, & at the charge of *Pharaohs* daughter, and by men of the most vnderstanding, taught and instructed: *quem regio more educauit, præfectis ei sapientibus Ægyptiorum Magistris, à quibus erudiretur*, saith *Basil*; *vnto whom shee gaue princely education, appointing ouer him wise masters of the Egyptians for his instructers.* Thereby (say *Iosephus* and *Philo*) he became excellently learned in all the doctrine of the *Egyptians*; vvhich also the Martyr *Stephen* in the seuenth of the *Acts* confirmeth; And *Moses was learned in all the wisedome of the Egyptians.* Which wisedome or sapience, such as it was, or at least so much thereof as *Six. Senensis* hath gathered, vvee haue added, between the death of *Moses*, and the reigne of *Iosua*.

Ios. Ant. l. 2. c. 5.

Exod. 5. 10.

Strom. l. 1.

Phil. de vita Moys.

§. IV.

Of Moses *his flying out of Egypt; and the opinions of certaine ancient Historians of his warre in Æthiopia; and of his marriage there:* Philo *his iudgement of his Pastorall life: and that of* Pererius *of the Bookes of* Genesis *and* Iob.

WHen *Moses* vvas growne to mans estate, *Iosephus* and *Eusebius*, out of *Artapanus*, tell vs of ten yeares warre that he made against the *Æthiopians*: of the besieging of *Saba*, afterward by *Cambyses*, called *Meroe*; and how he recouered that City by the fauour of *Tharbis*, a daughter of *AEthiopia*, whom hee took to vvife. So hath *Comestor* a pretty tale of *Moses*, How after the end of that warre, *Tharbis* resisting his returne into *Egypt*, *Moses* most skilfull in *Astronomy*, caused two Images to bee ingrauen in two precious stones, vvhereof the one increased memory; the other caused forgetfulnesse. These he set in two rings; whereof he gaue the one, to wit, that of obliuion, to his wife *Tharbis*, reseruing the other of memory for himselfe: vvhich ring of forgetfulnesse, after she had a while vvorne, she began to neglect the loue shee bare her husband: and so *Moses* vvithout danger returned into *Egypt*. But leauing these fancies to the Authors of them: It is true, that about the 40. yeare of *Moses* age, vvhen hee beheld an *Egyptian*

Egyptian offering violence to one of the oppressed *Hebrewes*, moued by compassion, in respect of his brother, and stirred vp by disdaine against the other, in the contention he slew the *Egyptian*. Soone after which fact, finding a disposition in some of his own Nation to accuse him, for whose defence he had thus greatly endangered his owne life: by the ordinance and aduice of God, whose chosen seruant hee was, he fled into *Arabia Petræa*, the next bordering Country to *Egypt*; where wandring all alone, as a man left and forsaken, in a place vnknowne vnto him, as among a Nation of barbarous strangers; and who in future times vvere the irreconcileable enemies of the *Hebrewes*: it pleased God (working the greatest things by the weakest worldly meanes) to make the watering of a few sheep, & the assisting of the Daughters of *Raguel* the *Madianite*, an occasion whereby to prouide him a wife of one of those, & a father in law, that fed him, and sustained him in a Country neareſt *Egypt*, fittest to returne from: necessary to be knowne, because interiacent betweene *Egypt* and *Iudæa*, through vvhich hee was to leade the *Israelites*; and wherein God held him, till the occasion vvhich God presented, best serued. And lastly, where the glory of the world shined least, amidst mountainous Desarts, there the glory of God, which shineth most, couered him ouer, and appeared vnto him, not finding him as a Kings sonne, or an adopted childe of great *Pharaohs* daughter, but as a meeke and humble shepherd, sitting at a mountaines foot, a keeper and commander of those poore beasts only.

In that part of *Arabia*, neere *Madian*, hee consumed 40. yeares. And though (as *Philo* in the story of *Moses* life obserueth) he did not neglect the care of those flocks, committed to his charge, but that he excelled all others in that Pastorall knowledge; yet in that solitary Desart he enioyed himselfe: and being separate from the preasse of the world, and the troublesome affaires thereof, hee gaue himselfe to contemplation, and to make perfect in himselfe all those knowledges, whereof his younger yeares had gathered the grounds and principles: the same Author also iudging, that his Pastorall life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the Principality, which he afterward obtained. *Est enim* (saith *Philo*) *ars Pastoralis, quasi preludium ad regnum, hoc est, ad regimen hominum, gregis mansuetissimi. Quemadmodum bellicosa ingenia præexercent se in venationibus, experientia in feris, quod postea in militia & bello perfectura sunt; brutis præbentibus materiam exercitij, tam belli quam pacis tempore. At vero præfectura mansueti pecoris, habet quiddam simile cum regno in subditis; ideoq; Reges cognominantur Pastores populorum, non contumeliæ sed honoris gratia; The art of keeping sheepe is, as it were, an introductory exercise vnto a Kingdome, namely, the rule ouer men, the most gentle flocke: Euen as warlike natures doe before-hand exercise themselues in hunting, practising on wilde beasts those things, which after they will accomplish in warfare: those brute beasts affording matter, wherein to traine themselues, both in time of warre and of peace. But the gouernment of gentle cattell, hath a kinde of resemblance vnto a Kingly rule ouer subiects; therefore, Kings are stiled shepherds of the people, not in way of reproch, but for their honour.*

That *Moses*, in this time of his abode at *Madian*, vvrote the Booke of *Iob*, as *Pererius* supposeth, I cannot iudge of it, because it is thought, that *Iob* was at that time liuing: Neither dare I subscribe to *Pererius* opinion, That *Moses* while hee liued in that part of *Arabia*, vvrote the Booke of *Genesis*; although I cannot deny the reason of *Pererius* coniecture, That by the example of *Iobs* patience he might strengthen the oppressed *Hebrewes*: and by the promises of God to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Iacob*, put them in assurance of their deliuery from the *Egyptian* slauery, and of the Land of rest, and plentie promised.

Perer. in 3. c. Exod.

Of this calling backe into *Egypt* by the Angell of God, and the maruailes and wonders which he performed, thereby to perswade *Pharaoh*, that hee was the messenger of the most High, the particulars are written in the first fourteene Chapters of *Exodus*; and therefore to treat of all the particulars therein contained, it were needlesse. But for the first, it is to be noted, that when *Moses* desired to be taught by God, by what name hee should make him knowne, and by whom he was sent; he receiued from God so much, as man could comprehend of his infinite and euer-being nature. Out of which he deliuered him in the first part of his answer, a name to bee considered of by the wisest: and in his second, to be vnderstood by all. For there is nothing that is, or hath being of it selfe, but the Eternall: which truely is; which is aboue all; which is immutable. The bodies of men are changed euery moment: their substance wasteth, and is repaired by nutri-

Exod. c. 3. v. 13. 14. and 15.

ment;

ment; neuer continuing at one stay, nor being the same so long as vvhile one may say, Now. Likewise, vvhatsoeuer is consumed in the longest continuance of time, the same in euery shortest piece of time suffereth decay; neither doth any thing abide in one state.

Hier. ad Dā. *Vna est Dei & sola natura quæ verè est: id enim quod subsistit, non habet aliunde, sed suum est. Cetera quæ creata sunt, etiamsi videntur esse, non sunt, quia aliquando non fuerunt, & potest rursum non esse, quod non fuit; It is the one and onely nature of God, which truly is: for hee hath his being of himselfe, and not from any thing without him. Other things that are created, although they seeme to be, yet they are not; for sometimes they were not: and that which hath not beene, may againe want being.* And vvith this, in respect of the Diuine nature, the saying of *Zeno Eleates* excellently agreeth: *Tota rerum natura vmbra est, aut inanis, aut fallax; The whole nature of things is but a shadow, either empty or deceitfull:* in com-

C. 40. v. 13. parison of whom (saith *Esay*) all Nations are as nothing, lesse than nothing, and meere vanity.

Of the tenne plagues vvherewith the *Egyptians* were strucken, the first was by changing the Riuers into bloud: God punishing them by those waters, into which their Forefathers had throwne, and in which they had drowned the innocent children of the *He-*

C. 16. v. 5. *brewes.* To which this place of the Reuelation may bee fitly applyed: *And I heard the Angel of the water say, Lord, thou art iust, which art, and which wast; and holy, because thou hast iudged these things; for they shed the bloud of thy Saints and Prophets, and therefore hast thou giuen them bloud to drinke.*

The rest of the plagues by Frogges, Lice, Flyes, or stinging Waspes; by the death of their Cattaile; by leprous Scabbes; by Haile and Fire; by Grashoppers; by Darknesse; after vvhich *Pharaoh* forbad *Moses* his presence: moued the hardned heart of the vnbeleeuing King, no longer, than the paine and perill lasted; till such time as his owne first-borne, and the first-borne of all his Nation perished. He then, while he feared his owne life, (a time vvherin we remember God perforce) stood vpon no condition: vvheras before, he first yeelded but to the departure of the men, then of the men, women, and children, reseruing their beastiall; but he was now content for the present, that the *Israelites* should not onely depart vvith all their own, but with a part of the Siluer, Gold, and Iewels of his owne people: of vvhich (the feare being past) hee suddainly repented him, as his pursuit after them proued. For when euery one of the *Hebrewes* had (according to direction from *Moses* receiued) slaine a Lambe, vvithout spot or blemish, for the *Passeouer*, (a *Sacrament* of the most cleane and vnspotted Sauiour,) and with the bloud thereof coloured the poste and linterne of the doores; the Angel of God in the night smote euery first-borne of *Egypt*, from the sonne of the King, to that of the Beggar and Slaue: the children of the *Israelites* excepted. At vvhich terrible iudgemet of God, *Pharaoh*

Epiphan. l. 1. contr. Hæres. being more than euer amazed, yeelded, as before is said, to their departure. The *Egyptians* (saith *Epiphanius*) did in after-times imitate this colouring with bloud, which the *Israelites* vsed after the *Passeouer*; ascribing an exceeding vertue to the Red Colour: and therefore they did not onely marke their Sheepe and Cattell, but their Trees bearing Fruit, to preserue them from lightning and other harmes.

§. V.

Of Pharaohs *pursuit of the Israelites: and of their passage towards the Red Sea, so farre as Succoth.*

NOw, when the people were remoued, and on their way, (his heart being hardned by God) hee bethought him as well of the Honour lost, as of the shame remaining after so many Calamities and Plagues, in suffering them to depart with the spoiles of his people, and in despight of himselfe. And hauing before this time great Companies of Souldiers in readinesse, he consulted with himselfe, what way the *Israelites* were like to take. Hee knew that the shortest and fairest passage was through the Countrey of the *Philistims*. But because these people vvere very strong, and a vvarlike Nation, and in all probability of his Allies, he suspected that *Moses* meant to finde some other out-let, to wit, through the Desart of *Etham*; and there, because the Countrey was exceeding mountainous, and of hard accesse, and that *Moses* was pestered with multitudes of Women, Children, and Cattell, hee thought it impossible for the *Israelites* to escape

escape him that way. In the meane-while hauing gathered together all the Chariots of *Egypt*, and 600. of his owne, and Captaines ouer them; hee determined to set vpon them in the Plaines of *Gosen*, which way soeuer they turned themselues. For it vvas the ancient manner to fight in those Chariots, armed with broad and sharpe hooks on both sides, in fashion like the Mowers Sythe. Which kinde of fight in Chariots, but not hooked, the *Brittaines* vsed against the *Romanes*, vvhile they made the Warre for the Conquest of this Land. Of this Army of *Pharaoh*, *Iosephus* affirmeth, that it consisted of 50000. Horse, and 20000. Foot; which, were it true, then it cannot bee doubted but that *Pharaoh* intended long before to assaile the *Hebrews* at their departure, or to destroy them in *Gosen*; and refused them passage, till such time as hee had prepared an Army, to set on them. For, as it is written in the first of *Exodus*, hee doubted two things; either that the *Hebrewes* might ioyne themselues to his enemies within the Land; or being so multiplied, as they were, might leaue his seruice, and get themselues thence at their pleasure. But the plagues which God grieued him withall, enforc't him at this time to giue an assent to their departure: perchance fore-running his intent. But were it otherwise, and *Iosephus* partiall in this affaire, yet by the words of the Text it appeareth, that he gathered all the Chariots of *Egypt*, which could not bee done in haste. For *Moses* made but three dayes march, ere *Pharaoh* was at his heeles; and yet the last day he went on sixteene miles: which, in so hot a Countrey, and to driue their Cattell and Sheepe vvith them, pestered with a world of Women and Children, was a march witnessing the dread of a powerfull Enemy at hand. Now, as *Moses* well knew that hee went out vvith a mightie hand, and that God guided his vnderstanding in all his Enterprizes: so he lay not still in the ditch crying for helpe, but vsing the vnderstanding vvhich God had giuen him, hee left nothing vnperformed becomming a Wise man, and a valiant and skilfull Conducter; as by all his actions and counsailes from this day to his death, well appeared.

Ios. ant. l. 2. c. 5.

Exod. 14. 7.

Exod. 14. 7.

When *Moses* perceiued that *Pharaoh* was enraged against him, & cōmanded him not to dare to come thenceforth into his presence: after that he had warned *Israel* of the *Passeouer*, he appointed a generall Assembly or *Rende-vous* of all the *Hebrews* at *Ramases* in the Territory of *Gosen*; a City standing indifferent to receiue from all parts of the Country the disperised *Hebrewes*: and gaue commandement, that euery Family should bring with them such store as they had of Dow, and Paste, not staying to make it into bread: knowing then that *Pharaoh* was on foote, and on his way towards them. Which done, and hauing considered the great strength of *Pharaohs* Horse-men & Chariots, of which kind of defence *Moses* was vtterly vnprouided (though, as it is written, the *Israelites* went vp armed) he marched from *Ramases* East-ward, towards the Desarts of *Etham*, and incamped at *Succoth*; vvhich hee performed on the fifteenth day of the Moneth *Abib*. Which Moneth from that time forward they were commanded to account as the first Moneth of the yeare. Whether in former times they had beene accustomed to begin their yeare in some other Moneth, following the manner of the *Egyptians*, and were now recalled by *Moses* to the rule of their Fore-fathers, it is vncertain. Certaine it is, that they had, and retained, another beginning of their politicke yeare, which was not now abrogated, but rather by some solemnities thereunto annexed, was confirmed, and stil continued in vse. Wherefore in referring things done, or hapning among them, vnto the beginning, middest, or ending of the yeare; that distinction of the Sacred, and the Politike yeare is not to be neglected. Concerning the number of dayes in euery Moneth, and the whole forme of their yeare, like enough it is that *Moses* himselfe in forty years space, did sufficiently instruct the Priests, to whose care the ordering thereof (as common opinion holds) was giuen in trust: but that any rule of framing their Kalendar, was made publike, before the captiuity of *Babylon*, I do not finde. Now because time and motion begin together, it will not, I thinke, be any great breach of order, to shew heere at their first setting forth, what vvas the forme of the *Hebrew* yeare: with the difference betweene them and other Nations in ordering the accompt of time.

The territory of *Gosen* was afterward called *Ramases*, after the name of this City, as appeareth in *Gen.* 47. & *Num.* 33.

Exod. 13.

Exod. 23. 16. & 34. 22.

§. VI.

Of the Solary and Lunary yeeres; and how they are reconciled: with the forme of the Hebrew yeere, and their manner of intercalation.

The *Hebrew* Moneths are thus named.

The first Moneth, *Nisan*, or *Abib*.	1. *March*.
The second, *Iar*, or *Tiar*, *Zio*, or *Zin*.	2. *Aprill*.
The third, *Siuan*, or *Sinan*, or *Siban*.	3. *Male*.
The fourth, *Tamuz*.	4. *Iune*.
The fifth, *Ab*.	5. *Iulie*.
The sixth, *Ehul*.	6. *August*.
The seuenth, *Tisri*, or *Ethauin*, or *Ethanim*.	7. *September*.
Ant.1.c.4. The eighth, *Marchesuan*, or *Mechasuan*, or *Bul*, or with *Iosephus*, *Marsonane*.	8. *October*.
The ninth, *Chisleu*, or *Casleu*.	9. *Nouember*.
The tenth, *Tebeth*, or *Thobeth*.	10. *December*
The eleuenth, *Sebeth*, or *Sabath*.	11. *Ianuarie*.
The twelfth, *Adar*, and *Ve Adar*.	12. *February*.

VE *Adar* was an intercalory Moneth, added, some yeares, vnto the other twelue, to make the Solarie and Lunary yeare agree; which (besides the generall inconuenience that would otherwise haue risen, by casting the Moneths of Summer into the Winter season, to the great confusion of all account) was more necessarily
Deut.16. to be regarded of the *Hebrewes*, because of the diuine Precept. For God appointed especiall Feasts to be celebrated precisely in such a Moneth of the yeare, and withall on a set day, both of the Moone and of the Moneth; as the Feast of the first fruits; the new Moones, and the like: which could not haue so beene kept, if either the day of the Moone had fallen in some other part of the Moneth, or the Moneth it selfe beene found farre distant from his place in the season of the yeare.

Other Nations, the better to obserue their Solemnities in the due time, and to ascertaine all reckonings and remembrances, (which is the principall commodity of time, that is the measure of endurance) were driuen in like manner to make their yeares vnequall, by adding sometimes, & sometimes abating one or more dayes, as the error committed in foregoing yeares required. The error grew at first, by not knowing what number of daies made vp a compleat yeare. For though by the continuall course of the Sun, causing Summer and Winter duly to succeed each other, it is plaine enough euen to the most sauage of all people, when a yeare hath passed ouer them; yet the necessity of ordinary occurrences, that are to be numbred by a shorter Tally, makes this long measure of whole years insufficient for the smaller sort of more daily affairs. Therfore men obseru'd the Monethly conspicuous reuolution of the Moone, by which they diuided the yeare
30.&29. into twelue parts, subdiuiding the Moneth into 29. dayes and nights, and those againe into their quarters and houres. But as the markes of time are sensible and easily discerned: so the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexity in the vnderstanding. Twelue reuolutions of the Moone, containing lesse time by 11. dayes or thereabout, than the yearly course of the Sunne, through the Zodiacke, in the space of sixteene yeares, euery moneth was found in the quite contrary part of the yeare, to that wherein it was placed at the first. This caused them to adde some daies to the year, making it to consist of twelue Moneths, and as many daies more, as they thought would make the courses of the Sun and Moon to agree. But herein were committed many new errors. For neither did the Sunne determine his yearely reuolution by any set number of whole dayes; neyther did the Moone change alwaies at one houre; but the very minutes and lesser fractions were to be obserued by him, that would seeke to reduce their motions (which motions also were not still alike) into any certaine rule.

Here lay much Wisedome and deep Art, which could not soone bee brought to perfection. Yet as making an estimate at randome, the *Athenians* held the year to containe three hundred and sixty daies, wherein most of the *Greekes* concurred with them. That 360. daies filled vp the *Grecian* yeare (besides many collaterall proofes) it is manifest
Plin.l.34.c.6. by that which *Pliny* directly affirmeth, telling of the *Statues*, erected in honour of *Demetrius*

Demetrius Phalereus, which were (saith he) 360. whilest as yet the yeare exceeded not that number of dayes. By this account neither did any certaine age of the Moone begin or end their Moneths; neither could their Moneths continue many yeares, in their owne places: but must needs be shifted by little and little from Winter to Summer, and from Summer to Winter, as the dayes forgotten to be inserted into the Almanacke by men, but not forgotten by the superiour bodies in their courses, should occupy their owne roomes in their due turnes. Now, because the solemnity of the *Olympian* games was to be held at the full Moone, and withall on the 15. day of the Moneth *Hecatombæon* (which answereth in a manner to our *Iune*) they were carefall to take order, that
10 this Moneth might euer begin with the new Moone; which they effected by adding some two daies to the last Moneth of euery year; those Games being held once in foure years. This intercalation sufficed not to make the matter euen; which caused them sometimes to omit one day in the fourth year, which was the second of the Moneth *Bædromion*; (agreeing nearly with our *August*) sometimes not to omit it, or (which is all one) to insert another for it in their fourth Lunary year, accounting by the Moone, after a manner that was not vulgar. All this notwithstanding, their Moneth of *Iune* would euery yeare haue growne colder and colder, had they not sought to keep all vpright, by intercalating in each other *Olympiad*, that is, each eighth year one whole Moneth, which they called the second *Posideon* or *December*; which was the deuice of *Harpalus*, who also
20 taught them to make one Moneth of 29. daies, another of 30. daies, and so successiuely through the whole yeare. Thus with much labour they kept their yeare as neare as they could, vnto the high way of the *Planets*; but these markes which they obserued, were found at length to be deceitfull Guides. For it was not possible so to fashion this eighth yeares intercalation, that it should not deceiue them in 11. houres and 18. minutes at the least, or some waies in 34. houres and 10. minutes, or 36. and 41. minutes; which differences would, in few Ages, haue bred much confusion. The first that introduced a good method, likely to continue, was *Meton* the *Athenian*, who not regarding the *Olympiads*, and the eighth years intercalation, deuised a *Cycle* of 19. yeares, wherein the Moone hauing 235. times runne out her circuit, met with the Sunne in the same place,
30 and on the same day of the yeare, as in the 19. yeare before past she had done. This inuention of *Meton* was entertained with great applause, and passing from *Greece* to *Rome*, was there inserted into the Kalendar in Golden Letters, being called the Golden Number, which name it retaineth vnto this day. Hereby were auoyded the great and vncertaine intercalations that formerly had been vsed; for by the intercalation of 7. Moneths in the 19. yeares, all was so euen, that no sensible difference could be found. Yet that errour which in one yeare could not be perceiued, was very apparant in a few of those *Cycles*; the new Moones anticipating in one *Cycle* 7. houres, and some minutes of the precise rule. Therefore *Calippus* deuised a new *Cycle* containing foure of *Metons*, that is to say, 76. years; and afterwards *Hipparchus*, a Noble *Astrologer*, framed another, con-
40 taining foure of *Calippus* his Periods, each of them finding some error in the former obseruations, which they diligently corrected. The last reformation of the Kalendar was that which *Iulius Cæsar* made, who by aduice of the best *Mathematicians*, then to be found, examining the courses of those heauenly bodies, reduced the year vnto the form which is now in vse with vs, containing 365. daies and six houres, which houres in foure years make vp one whole day, that is intercalated euery fourth year, the 24. of *February*. The correction of the *Iulian* yeare by *Pope Gregorie* the 13. *Anno Domini* 1582. is not as yet entertained by generall consent; it was indeed, but as a note added vnto the work of *Cæsar*: yet a note of great importance. For whereas it was obserued, that the Sunne, which at the time of the *Nicene Councell*, *Anno Dom.* 324. entred the *Æquinoctiall* on the
50 21. day of *March*, was in the year 1582. ten daies sooner found in that time, *Pope Gregorie* strooke out of the Kalendar ten daies, following the fourth of *October*, so that in stead of the fifth day was written the fifteenth; by which means the moueable Feasts depending on the Suns entrance into *Aries*, were againe celebrated in such time, as at the *Nicene Councell* they had been. And the better to preuent the like alterations, it was by the *Councell of Trent* ordained, that from thence forward in euery hundreth yeare, the Leape day should be omitted, excepting still the fourth hundred: because the Sun doth not in his yearely course take vp full sixe houres aboue the 365. daies; but faileth so many minutes, as in 400. yeares make about three whole daies.

But the *Cycle* of 29.yeares, which the *Hebrewes* vsed, was such as neither did need any nice curiosity of houres, minutes, and other lesser Fractions to helpe it; neyther did in summing vp the dayes of the whole yeare, neglect the dayes of the Moon, confounding one Moneth with another. For with them it fell out so, that alwayes the *Kalends* or first day of the Moneth was at the new Moone; and because that day was festiuall, they were very carefull as well to obserue the short yeare of the Moone, passing through all the 12 Signes in one Moneth, as that longer of the Sun, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. First, therefore they gaue it to *Nisan* their first Moneth, which is about our *March* or *Aprill*, 30.dayes; to *Iar* their second Moneth 29.dayes; and so successiuely 30.to one, 29.to another. Hereby it came to passe, that euery two Moneths of theirs contained somewhat euenly two reuolutions of the Moone, allowing 29.dayes, 12. houres, and odde minutes, from change to change. The spare minutes were bestowed among the superfluous or Epact dayes; which made vp 7. Moneths in 19. years; to 6.of which 7. were commonly giuen 30.dayes; to one of them 29.dayes, or otherwise as was found requisite. Their common yeare (as appeareth by the seuerall dayes of each Moneth) contained 354.dayes, which faile of the yeare, wherein the Sun finisheth his course, 11.whole dayes, with some fractions of time. But these dayes, and other broken pieces, howsoeuer they were neglected in one year, yet in the *Cycle* of 19.yeares were so disposed of by conuenient intercalations, that still at the end of that *Cycle*, both the Sun and Moone were found on the same day of the yeare, moneth and weeke, yea commonly on the same houre of the day, where they had been at the beginning of it 19. yeares before.

Diuers haue diuersly set downe the forme of the *Hebrew* yeare, with the manner of their Intercalations. *Sigonius* tells vs, that euery second year they did adde a Moneth of 22.dayes; euery fourth yeare a Moneth of 23. in the regard of 11. dayes and a halfe wanting in 12.Moones to fulfill a yeare of the Sun. But herein *Sigonius* was very much deceiued. For the Moone doth neuer finish her course in 22.or 23.dayes: and therfore to haue added so many daies to the end of the yeare, had beene the way to change the fashion of all the Moneths in the yeares following, which could not haue begun as they ought, with the new Moon. *Genebrard* saith, that euery third yeare, or second yeare, as neede required, they did intercalate one Moneth, adding it at the years end vnto the other 12. This I beleeue to haue beene true; but in which of the yeares the intercalation was (if it be worthy of consideration) me thinks they do not probably deliuer, who keep all farre from euennesse vntill the very last of the 19.yeares. For (to omit such as erre grossely) some there are who say, that after three yeares, when besides the daies spent in 36.courses of the Moone, 33.daies are left remaining, that is, 11.daies of each yeare; then did the *Hebrewes* adde a Moneth of 30.daies; keeping three daies, as it were in plussage vnto the next account. The like, say they, was done at the end of the sixt yeare; at which time, besides the Intercalary Moneth, remained sixe daies, namely, three surmounting that Moneth, and the Epact of three yeares, besides the three formerly reserued. Thus they goe on to the 18.yeare; at which time they haue 18.daies in hand: all which with the Epact of the 19.yeare, make vp a moneth of 29.daies, that being intercalated at the end of the *Cycle*, makes all euen.

Sig.de rep. Heb. lib.3.c.1.

Geneb.Chron. lib.2.

Whether this were the practise, I can neither affirm nor deny; yet surely it must needs haue bred a great confusion, if in the 18. yeare euery Moneth were remoued from his owne place by the distance of 48.daies, that is, halfe a quarter of the yeare and more; which inconuenience by such a reckoning was vnauoidable. Wherefore, I preferre the common opinion, which preuenteth such dislocation of the Moneths, by setting downe a more conuenient way of Intercalation in the 8.yeare. For the 6.daies remaining after the two former Intercalations made in the third and sixt years, added vnto the 22.daies, arising out of the Epacts of the 7.and 8.years, do fitly serue to make vp a Moneth, with the borrowing of one day or two from the year following; and this borrowing of two daies is so farre from causing any disorder, that indeed it helpes to make the years ensuing vary the lesse from the proper season of euery Moneth. This may suffice to bee spoken of the *Hebrew* Moneths and yeares, by which they guided their accounts.

§.VII.

§.VII.

Of the passage of Israel from Succoth towards the Red Sea: and of the diuers wayes leading out of Egypt.

FRom *Succoth* in the morning following, *Moses* led the *Israelites* towards the Desart of *Etham*, to recouer the Mountaine foot, by the edge of that Wildernesse, though he intended nothing lesse than to goe out of that way, of all other the nearest. But being assured of the multitude of Horsemen and armed Chariots that followed him, he kept himselfe from being incompassed, by keeping the rough and mountainous ground on his left hand. At *Etham* he rested but one night, and then he reflected backe from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towards the South; the distance betweene it and *Succoth* being about eight miles. That he forbare to enter *Arabia* being then in sight thereof, it seemeth to proceede from three respects; the first two naturall; the third diuine. For *Pharaoh* being then at hand, and hauing receiued intelligence of the way which *Moses* tooke, perswaded himselfe, that the numbers which *Moses* led, consisting of aboue a Million, if not two Millions of soules, (for as it is written, *Exod.*the 12.*Great multitudes of sundry sorts of people went out with them*) could not possibly passe ouer those desart and high Mountaines with so great multitudes of Women, Children, & Cattell, but that at the very entrance of that fastnesse he should haue ouertaken them, and destroyed the greatest numbers of them. For these his owne words: *They are tangled in the Land, the Wildernesse hath shut them in*, doe shew his hopes and intents; which *Moses*, by turning another way, did frustrate. Secondly, *Moses* by offering to enter *Arabia* that way, drew *Pharaoh* towards the East-side of the Land of *Gosen*, or *Rameses*: from whence (missing *Moses* there) his pursuit after him with his Chariots was more difficult, by reason of the roughnesse of the way; and howsoeuer, yet while the *Hebrewes* kept the Mountaine foot on the left hand, they were better secured from the ouer-bearing violence both of the Horse & Chariots. Thirdly, *Moses* confidence in the Al-powerfull God was such, by whose spirit, only wise, he was directed, as he rather made choice to leaue the glory of his deliuerance & victory to Almighty God, than either by an escape the next way, or by the strength of his multitude, consisting of 600000 men, to cast the successe vpon his owne vnderstanding, wise conduction, or valour. The third day he marched with a double pace from *Etham* towards the Vally of *Pihacheroth*, 16.miles distant; and sate downe betweene two ledges of Mountaines adioyning to the *Red Sea*, to wit, the Mountains of *Etham* on the North, & *Baalzephon* towards the South: the same which *Orosius* calleth *Climax*: on the top whereof there stood a Temple dedicated to *Baal*. And, as *Phagius* noteth, the word so compounded, is as much to say, as, *Dominus speculæ, siue custodiæ; Lord of the watch towre*. For the *Egyptians* beleeued, or at least made their slaues beleeue, that if any of them offered to escape that way into *Arabia*, this Idoll would both arrest them, and force them to returne to their Lords and Masters. For the *Egyptians* had gods for all turnes. *Ægyptij dijs fœcundi; The Egyptians were fruitfull in gods*, saith Saint *Hierome*. But *Moses*, who encamped at the foot of this Mountaine with a million of soules, or as other conceiue, with two millions, found this Lord of the watch-towre asleepe, or out of countenance.

It is probable that all those *Egyptians* and others brought by the *Hebrews* to the knowledge of the true God, followed *Moses* at his departure.

Climax is rather so called in respect of a passage vp and downe, than that it is any proper name.

Now these two passages leading out of *Egypt* into *Arabia* vpon the firme land, *Moses* refused, as well that of *Pelusium* and *Casiotis*, the fairest and shortest of all other, in respect of *Iudea*, as the other by *Etham*, from which he reflected, for the reasons before remembred, and tooke the way by the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, betweene the Mountaines, which made a streight entrance towards the Sea. After whom *Pharao* made so great speed with his Horse-men and Chariots, as he gaue the *Hebrewes* no time at all to rest them after so long a march; but gate sight of them, and they of him, euen at the very brinke and wash of the Sea: insomuch as the *Hebrewes* being terrified with *Pharaohs* sudden approach, began to despaire, and to mutine, at that time when it behoued them most to haue taken courage for their owne defence; laying it to *Moses* charge, that themselues foresaw those perils in which they were wrapped. And feare, *which*, saith the book of *Wisedome*; *is the betraying of those succours which reason offereth*, made them both despaire in Gods former promises, and to be forgetfull of their owne strength and multitudes.

Exod.13.17.

Cap.17.11.

§.VIII.

§.VIII.

Of their passage ouer the Red Sea: and of the Red Sea it selfe.

BVt *Moses* who feared nothing but God himselfe, perswaded them to be confident in his goodnesse, who hath neuer abandoned those, that assuredly trust in him; vsing this comfortable and resolued speech: *Feare not, &c. for the Egyptians whom ye haue seene this day, ye shall neuer see them againe. The Lord shall fight for you.* Exod.14.13. After which *Moses* called on God for succour, receiued encouragement, & commandement to go on in these words: *Wherefore cryest thou vnto me? Speake vnto the children of Israel that they goe forward; and lift thou vp thy rod, and stretch out thy hand vpon the Sea, and diuide it, and let the children of Israel goe on dry ground through the middest of the Sea.* Exod.14.16. *Moses* obeying the voice of God, in the darke of the night finding the sands vncouered, past on towards the other side and coast of *Arabia*: two parts of the night being spent ere he entred the Foord, which it pleased God by a forcible Easterne winde, and by *Moses* rod to prepare.

Pharaoh followed him euen at the heeles, finding the same dry ground which *Moses* trod on. Therefore, as it is written: *The Angel of God which went before the Host of Israel, remoued, and went behinde them; also the pillar of the cloud went from before them, and stood behinde them*; which is, that it pleased God therein either by his immediate power, or by the ministery of his Angel, to enterpose his defence betweene the *Hebrewes* and their Enemies; to the end that the *Egyptians* might hereby be blinded, in such sort, as they could Iosua 24.7. not pursue *Israel* with any harmefull speede. But in the morning watch *Moses* seized the other banke of *Arabia* side: and *Pharaoh* (as the dawne of day began to illighten the obscure aire) finding a beginning of the Seas return, hasted himself towards his own Coast: Exod.14.27. *But* Moses *stretched forth his hand, and the Sea returned to his force*, that is, the Sea moued by the power of God, ran backe towards the land with vnresistable fury and swiftnesse, and ouerwhelmed the whole Army of *Pharaoh*, so as not one escaped. For it is written, that *God tooke off their Chariot wheeles*, that is, when the waters began to couer the sands, the *Egyptians* being strucken with feare of death, ran one athwart another, and missing the path by which they had past on after the *Hebrewes*, their wheeles stucke fast in the mud and quick-sands, and could not be drawne out: the Sea comming against them with supernaturall violence.

Lyranus vpon *Exod.*14. and others, following the opinions or old Traditions of the *Hebrewes*, conceiued, that after *Moses* had by the power of God diuided the *Red Sea*, and that the children of *Israel* were fearefull to enter it, *Aminadab* Prince or Leader of the *Tribe* of *Iuda* first made the aduenture; and that therefore was that *Tribe* euer after honored aboue the rest, according to the prophecy of *Iacob*, *Gen.*49.8. *Thy fathers sonnes shall bow downe vnto thee.* But *Hierome* vpon the 11. of *Hosea* condemnes this opinion. And though it be true, that *Iuda* had the first place in all their marches in the Desart, and, as we now call it, led the Vantgard, (wherupon it may be inferred, that he also led the way through the *Red Sea*) yet that *Moses* himselfe was the Conducter of *Israel* at that time, it is generally receiued. For, as it is written in the 77. *Psalme: Thou didst leade thy people like sheepe by the hand of* Moses *and* Aaron.

The *Hebrewes* haue also another fancy, that the *Red Sea* was diuided into twelue parts, and that euery *Tribe* past ouer in a path apart, because it is written in the 135. *Psalme*, according to the vulgar: *Diuisit mare rubrum in diuisiones; He diuided the Red Sea in diuisions.* Also that the bottome of the Sea became as a greene Field or Pasture. But *Origen*, *Epiphanius*, *Abulensis*, and *Genebrard*, fauouring this conceit, had forgotten to consider, that there were not twelue Pillars, nor twelue Armies of the *Egyptians*. It is written in *Psalme* 77.*v.*16. *Thy way is in the Sea*; not *thy waies*; and in the last of the booke of *Wisedome*, *vers.*7. *In the Red Sea there was a way.*

Now this Sea, through which *Moses* past, and in which *Pharaoh*, otherwise called *Chencres*, perished in the 16. yeare of his reigne, is commonly knowne by the name of the *Red Sea*, though the same differ nothing at all in naturall colour from other waters. But as *Philostratus* in his third booke noteth, and our selues know by experience, it is of a bluish colour, as other Seas are. It entreth at a narrow strait betweene *Arabia* the *Happy* and *Æthiopia*, or the land of the *Abysins*: the mouth of the indraught from the Cape, which *Ptolomy* calleth *Possodium*, to the other Land of *Æthiopia*, hath not aboue

sixe leagues in breadth, and the same also filled euery where with Ilands, but afterwards it extendeth it selfe 58. Leagues from Coast to Coast, and it runneth vp between *Arabia* the *Happy*, and *Arabia Petræa*, on one side, and *Æthiopia* and *Egypt* on the other, as far as *Sues*, the vttermost end and indraught of that Sea: where the *Turk* now keepeth his fleet of Gallies. The Cosmographers commonly giue it the name of the *Arabian Gulfe*: but the North part towards *Sues*, and where *Moses* past, is called *Heropolites* of the City *Hero*; sometime *Troy*, and of later times *Sues*. *Pliny* cals it *Cambisu*, by which name it was knowne, saith he, before it was called *Hero* many yeares. The *Arabians* call this Sea towards the North *Apocopa*, *Ecoant*, and *Eant*. *Artemidorus* writes it *Æleniticum*: King *Iuba* *Læniticum*, others more properly *Elaniticum*, of the Port and City *Elana*: which the *Septuagint* call *Elath*: *Ptolomy*, *Elana*: *Pliny*, *Lænu*: *Iosephus*, *Ilana*: and *Marius Niger*, *Aila*: there is also *Ilalah* in *Assyria*, to which *Salmanassar* carryed the *Israelites* captiue; 2. *Kings* *c.*8.*v.*11. which *Ilalah* in *Assyria*, the *Septuagint* call *Elan*: and in the first of *Chron.* the 5. *Ala*. But as for this Red Sea or the parts thereof, thus diuersly named, the *Moores* and *Arabians* (Vassals to the *Turk*) know it by no other appellation, than the Gulfe of *Mecca*, after the name of *Mahomets* Towne *Mecca*. The *Greekes* write it the Sea *Erythræum*, of a King called *Erythras*, or *Erythræus*: and because *Erythros* in the *Greeke* signifieth Red: hence it is, that being denominated of this *Erythræus*, the sonne of *Perseus* and *Andromeda*, yet it tooke the name of the Red Sea, as *Quin.Curtius* coniectureth: which *Arianus* and *Strabo* confirme. But it seemeth to me by the view of a discouery of that Sea in the yeare 1544. performed by *Steuen Gama*, *Viceroy* of the East *India* for the King of *Portugall*, that this Sea was so called from a reflection of rednes, both from the banks, clifts, and sands of many Ilands, and part of the Continent bordering it. For I finde by the report of *Castro*, a principall Commander vnder *Gama* (which discourse I gaue Master *Richard Hacluit* to publish) that there is an Iland called *Dalaqua*, sometime *Leques*, containing in length 25. Leagues, and 12. in breadth; the earth, sands, & clifts, of which Iland, being of a reddish colour, serue for a foile to the waters about it: and make it seeme altogether of the same colour. Secondly, the same *Castro* reporteth, that from 24. degrees of *Septentrionall* Latitude, to 27. (which make in length of Coast 180. miles, lying as it doth Northerly and Southerly) all the clifts and banks are of red earth or stone, which by reflection of the Sun-beames, giue a kinde of reddish luster to the waters. Thirdly, those *Portugals* report, and we know it by many testimonies, that there are found in the bottome of this Sea towards the shore, great abundance of red stones, on which the greatest store of Corrall growes, which is carryed into most parts of *Europe*, & elsewhere. There are also on the Ilands of this Sea many red Trees, saith *Strabo*, & those growing vnder water may also be a cause of such a colour. Of these appearances of rednesse by the shadowes of these stones, sands, earth, & clifts, I suppose that it first took the name of the Red Sea, because in so many places it seemeth to be such: which *Iohannes Barros* in his second *Decade*, eight Booke and first Chapter, confirmeth.

Plin.l.6.c.29.
3.Kings 9.
Ios.Ant.8.c.2.
Arian de gest. Alex.Mag.l.8.
Strabo l.6.

The breadth of this Sea from *Elana* or *Ezion-Gaber* adioyning, now *Toro*, called by the ancient Cosmographers *Sinus Elaniticus*, which washeth the banks of *Madian* or *Midian*, is for 16. or 17. Leagues together, along Northward towards *Sues*, some three Leagues or nine *English* miles ouer, and from this Port of *Toro* to *Sues*, and the end of this Sea it is in length about 28. Leagues, of which the first 26. haue nine miles breadth, as aforesaid, and afterward the lands both from *Egypt* and *Arabia*, thrust themselues into the Sea, & streighten it so fast, as for six miles together it is not aboue three miles ouer; from thence vpward the land on *Egypt* side, falleth away and makes a kinde of *Bay* or *Coue* for some ten miles together, after which the land growes vpon the Sea againe, and so binds it into the very end thereof, at foure miles breadth or thereabout, in which tract it was that *Moses* past it ouer, though others would haue it to be ouer-against *Elana* or *Toro*, but without iudgement: for from *Ramases* to *Pihacheroth* and *Baalzephon*, there is not aboue 30. miles interiacent, or 35. miles at most, which *Moses* past ouer in three dayes: and betweene the land of *Egypt* opposite to *Elana* or *Toro*, the distance is aboue 80. miles. For *Ramases*, to which City *Moses* came (being the *Metropolis* of *Gosen*) when hee left *Pharao* at *Zoan*, and tooke his last leaue, standeth in 30. degrees fiue minutes of *Septentrionall* Latitude; and *Migdol*, or the Valley of *Pihacheroth*, at the foot of the Mountaine *Climax*, or *Baalzephon*, in nine and twenty and a halfe, which made a difference of fiue and thirty *English* miles, the way lying in effect North and South.

§.IX.

§. IX.

That the passage through the Red Sea was miraculous, and not at a low Ebbe.

THe *Egyptians*, and of them the *Memphites*, and other *Heathen* Writers, who in hatred of the *Hebrewes* haue obiected that *Moses* past ouer the Red Sea at a low ebbe, vpon a great spring-tyde, and that *Pharaoh*, conducted, more by fury than discretion, pursued him so farre, as before he could recouer the coast of *Egypt*, he was ouer-taken by the floud and therin perished; did not well consider the nature of this place with other circumstances. For, not to borrow strength from that part of the Scriptures, which makes it plaine, that the Waters were diuided, and that God wrought this miracle by an Easterly winde, and by the hand & rod of *Moses* (which authority to men that beleeue not therein, perswadeth nothing) I say, that by the same naturall reason vnto which they fasten themselues, it is made manifest, that had there been no other working power from aboue, or assistance giuen from God himselfe to *Moses* and the children of *Israel* than ordinary and casuall, then could not *Pharao* and all his Army haue perished in that pursuit.

For wheresoeuer there is any ebbing of the Sea in any gulfe, or indraught, there doe the waters fall away from the Land, and run downwards toward the *Ocean*, leauing all that part towards the Land as farre as the Sea can ebbe, or fall off, to be dry Land. Now *Moses* entring the Sea at *Migdol* vnder *Baalzephon* (if he had taken the aduantage and opportunity of the tyde) must haue left all that end of the Red Sea towards *Sues*, on his left hand dry and vncouered. For if a passage were made by falling away of the vvater ten or twelue miles farther into the Sea than *Sues*, and betweene it and where *Moses* past, who entred the same so farre below it, and towards the body of the same Sea: it followeth then, that if all that part of the Sleeue or Strait, had been by the ebbe of a spring-tyde discouered, when *Pharao* found the floud increasing, he needed not to haue returned by the same way toward *Egypt* side, but might haue gone on in his returne before the tyde, on his right hand: & so taken ground againe at the end of that Sea, at *Sues* it selfe, or elsewhere. But the Scriptures doe truely witnesse the contrary, that is, That the Sea did not fall away from the Land, as naturally it doth, but that *Moses* past on betweene two Seas, and that the waters vvere diuided. Otherwise *Pharao* by any returne of waters could not haue perished, as he did: and therefore the effects of that great Armies destruction, proue the cause to haue beene a power aboue nature, and the miraculous worke of God himselfe. Againe, those words of the Scriptures, that *God caused the Sea to runne backe by a strong East-winde*, doe rather proue the miracle, than that thereby vvas caused an ebbe more than ordinary: for that Sea did not lye East and West, but in effect North and South. And it must haue beene a West and North-west winde, that must haue driuen those waters away through their proper Channels, and to the South-east into the Sea. But the East winde blew athwart the Sea, and cut it asunder: so as one part fell backe towards the South and maine body thereof, the other part remained towards *Sues*, and the North. Which being vnknowne to *Pharao*: while hee vvas checkt by that Sea which vsed in all times before to ebbe away, the floud prest him & ouer-whelmed him. Thirdly, seeing *Iosephus* auoweth, that *Moses* was not onely of excellent iudgement generally, but also, so great a Captaine, as he ouer-threw the *Æthiopians* in battels, being imployed by *Pharao*, and vvanne diuers Cities seeming impregnable: it vvere barbarous to condemne him of this grossenesse, and distraction: that rather than he vvould haue endured the hardnesse of a Mountainous passage at hand (had not God commanded him to take that vvay, and foretold him of the honour vvhich hee would there winne vpon *Pharao*) he vvould haue trusted to the aduantage of an ebbing vvater. For hee knew not the contrary, but that *Pharao* might haue found him, and prest him, as well when it flowed as when it ebbed, as it seemeth hee did. For the people, beholding *Pharaohs* approach, cryed out against *Moses*, and despaired altogether of their safetie: and vvhen *Moses* prayed vnto God for helpe, hee vvas answered by God: *wherefore cryest thou vnto mee? Speake vnto the children of Israel that they goe forward, and lift thou vp thy rod, and stretch out thy hand vpon the Sea, and diuide it*: vvhich proues, that there was not at the time of *Pharaohs* approach any ebbe at all; but that God did disperse and cut through the vveight of waters, by a strong East-winde, vvhereby the Sands discoue-

discouered themselues between the Sea on the left hand toward Sues, from whence the waters moued not, and the Sea which was towards the South on the right hand, *So that the waters were a wall vnto them on the right hand, and on the left hand*, that is, the waters so defended them on both sides, as the Egyptians could only follow them in the same path; not that the waters stood vpright as wals doe, as some of the Schoole-men haue fancied. For had *Pharaoh* and the Egyptians perceiued any such buildings in the Sea, they would soone haue quitted the chase and pursuit of Israel. Furthermore, there is no man of iudgement, that can think, that *Pharaoh* and the Egyptians, who then excelled all Nations in the obseruations of heauenly Motions, could be ignorant of the fluxes & refluxes of the Sea, in his owne Country, on his own Coast, and in his owne most traded and frequented Ports and Hauens; and wherein, his people hauing had so many hundreds of years experience of the tydes, he could not be caught, as hee was, through ignorance, nor by any foreknown or naturall accident, but by Gods powerfull hand onely; which then falleth most heauily on all men, when looking through no other spectacle but their own prosperitie, they least discerne it comming, and least feare it. Lastly, if the Army of the Egyptians had been ouer-taken by the ordinary returne of the floud before they could recouer their own Coast; their bodies drowned would haue beene carried with the floud which runneth vp to Sues, and to the end of that Sea, & not haue been cast ashore on that Coast of Arabia where *Moses* landed, to wit, vpon the Sea-bank ouer against Baalzephon, on Arabia side: where it was that the Israelites saw their dead bodies; & not at the end of the Red Sea, to which place the ordinary floud would haue carried them: Which floud doth not any where crosse the Channell, and run athwart it, as it must haue done from Egypt side to Arabia, to haue cast the bodies there; but it keepes the naturall course towards the end of that Sea: and to which their carkasses should haue been carried, if the worke had not been supernaturall and miraculous. *Apollonius* in the liues of the Fathers affirmeth, that those of the Egyptians which staied in the country, and did not follow *Pharaoh* in the pursuit of Israel, did euer after honour those Beasts, Birds, Plants, or other Creatures, about which they were busied at the time of *Pharaohs* destruction: as he that was then labouring in his garden, made a god of that Plant or Root, about which he was occupied: and so of the rest. But how those multitudes of gods were erected among them, a more probable reason shall bee giuen elsewhere. *Orosius* in his first Booke and tenth Chapter against the Pagans, tels vs, that in his time, who liued some 400. years after Christ, the prints of *Pharaohs* Chariot wheeles were to be seen at a low water on the Egyptian sands: and though they were sometime defaced by winde and weather, yet soone after they appeared again. But hereof I leaue euery man to his own beliefe.

cap. 14. v. 22.

CHAP. IV.

Of the iournying of the Israelites from the Red Sea, to the place where the Law was giuen them: with a discourse of Lawes.

§. I.

A transition, by way of recapitulation of some things touching Chronologie: with a continuance of the storie, vntill the Amalekites met with the Israelites.

BVt to goe on with the storie of Israel, in this sort I collect the times. *Moses* was borne in the yeare of the World 2434. *Saphrus* then gouerning Assyria; *Orthopolis* Sycionia, or Peloponnesus; *Criosus* the Argiues; *Orus* Egypt, and *Deucalion* Thessalie. He fled into Midian when he had liued 40. years, in the yeere of the World 2474. and two yeares after was *Caleb* borne. He returned by the commandement and ordinance of God into Egypt, and wrought

Acts 7. Iosua 14. 2474

his

2514. his miracles in the fields of Zoan, in the year 2514. the last moneth of that yeare. On the 14. day of the first Hebrew moneth Abib, or the 15. of that moneth, beginning the day (as they) at Sun setting, in the yeare of the world 2514. was the celebration of the Passe-
Pag.254. ouer: and in the dead of the night of the same day were all the first-borne slain through Egypt, or in all those parts where the Hebrewes inhabited not. The 15. day of the first moneth of the Hebrewes called Abib, being about the beginning of the yeare of the World 2514. *Moses* with the children of Israel remoued from the generall assembly at Ramases, and marched to Succoth.

Exod.12. Num.33. Exod.13.

And departing thence they made their third Station at Etham: and iournying from Etham, they incamped in the Vally of Pihacheroth, or Migdol, vnder the Mountain Baal-zephon; and in the same night after mid-night, they past the Red Sea: *Pharaoh* and his Army perishing in their returne, about the first dawne of the day. *Moses* hauing recouered the bankes of Arabia, gaue thankes vnto God, for the deliuery of Israel; and making no stay on that coast, entred the Desarts of Arabia Petræa, called Sur. But finding no water in that passage, he incamped at Marah, in the Desart of Etham, which in *Exod.*15. *v.*22. is also called Sur, 25. miles from the Sea: where the children of Israel prest with extreame thirst, murmured against *Moses* the second time; first at *Pharaohs* approach in Pihacheroth, and now in Arabia. But *Moses* taking the branches of a tree, growing neer a Lake of bitter water, and casting the same therinto, made the same sweet: a plain Type and Figure of our Sauiour; who vpon the tree of the Crosse changed the bitternesse of euerlasting death into the sweetnesse of eternall life. *Plinie* remembers these bitter Fountaines in his sixth Book and 29. Chapter. From whence to *Delta* in Egypt, *Sesostris* first, *Darius* after him, and lastly *Ptolomie* the second, began to cut an artificiall Riuer, therby by Boats and small Shipping to trade & nauigate the Red Sea, from the great Cities vpon Nilus. From Marah he remoued to Elim, the sixth Mansion, a march of eight miles: where finding twelue Fountaines of sweet water, and threescore and ten Palme trees, he rested diuers dayes.

Num.33. Exod.14. Num.33. Exod.14. Num.33. Exod.15. Num.33. Exod.15. Num.33.

Whether this Helim were the name of a Towne or City in *Moses* time, I cannot affirme. And yet the scarcity of waters in that Region was such, as Helim, which had twelue Fountaines, could hardly be left vnpeopled. *William*, Archbishop of Tyre, in his History of the *Holy Warre*, found at *Helim* the ruines of a great and ancient City. And at such time as *Baldwine* the first past that way into Egypt. *Ingressus* (saith he) *Helim, Ciuitatem antiquissimam, populo Israelitico aliquando familiarem; ad quam cum peruenisset, lorunt, Entring Helim a very ancient City, well known sometime to the people of Israel; whither, when he came, the inhabitants forewarned of the Kings approach, took Boate, and shifted themselues into the Sea, lying neere them.* From Elim he returned again towards the South, and sate downe by the banks of the Red Sea: the seuenth mansion. For it seemeth that he had knowledge of *Amalech*, who repaired to resist his passage through that part of Arabia. And *Moses* who had not as yet trained those of the Hebrewes, appointed to beare armes: nor assured the mindes of the rest, who encountring with the least misery, were more apt to returne to their quiet slauery, than either to endure the wants and perils which euery where accompanied them in that passage, or at this time to vndertake or sustaine so dangerous an enemie: he therfore made stay at this Mansion, vntill the fifteenth of this second Moneth called Zim, or Iiar: and made the eight Mansion in the Desart of Zin; where the children of Israel mutined against *Moses* the third time, hauing want of food. In the sixteenth Chapter of *Exodus*, *Moses* omitteth this retrait from Elim to the red Sea, but in the collection of euery seuerall incamping, in the 33. of *Numbers*, it is set down.

Will.Tyr.l.11. cap.19. Exod.16.

Here it pleased God to send so many flights of Quailes, as all the Country about their incamping was couered with them. The morning following it also rained Manna, being the sixteenth of their Moneth, which serued them in stead of bread. For now was the store consumed which the people carried with them out of Egypt. And though they had great numbers of cattell and sheepe among them, yet it seemeth that they durst not feed themselues with many of those: but reserued them both for the milke to releeue the children withall: and for bread to store themselues when they came to the Land promised.

From hence towards Raphidim they made two remoues of twenty miles: the one to

to *Daphca*, the other to *Alus*, distant from *Raphidim* sixe miles. Here being againe prest with want of water, they murmured the fourth time, and repented them of their departure from *Egypt*, where they rather contented themselues to be fed and beaten after the manner of beasts, than to suffer a casuall and sometime necessary want, and to vndergoe the hazzards and trauailes which euery manly minde seeketh after, for the loue of God, and their own freedomes. But *Moses* with the same rod which he diuided the Sea withall, in the sight of the *Elders* of *Israel*, brought waters out of the rocke, wherewith the whole multitude were satisfied. *Exod.17.*

§.II.

Of the Amalekites, Madianites, and Kenites, vpon occasion of the battell with the Amalekites, and Iethroes comming: who being a Kenite, was Priest of Madian.

And while *Moses* incamped in this place, the *Amalekites* who had knowledge of his approach, and ghessed that he meant to leade the children of *Israel* through their Country (which being barren of it selfe, would be vtterly wasted by so great a multitude of people and cattell) thought it most for their aduantage to set vpon them at *Raphidim*: where the want of water, and all other things needfull for the life of man infeebled them. On the other side, *Moses* perceiuing their resolutions, gaue charge to *Iosua* to draw out a sufficient number of the ablest *Hebrewes*, to incounter *Amalech*. *Exod.17.* Between whom and *Israel*, the victory remained doubtfull, for the most part of the day: the *Hebrewes* and *Amalekites* contending with equall hopes & repulses for many hours. And had not the strength of *Moses* prayers to God been of far greater force, and more preualent, than all resistance and attempt made by the bodies of men; that valiant and warlike Nation had greatly endangered the whole enterprise. For those bodies which are vnacquainted with scarcity of food, and those mines whom a seruile education hath dulled, being beaten, & despaired in their first attempts, will hardly, or neuer be brought again to hazzard themselues.

After this victory, *Iethro* repaired to *Moses*, bringing with him *Moses* his wife, and his two Sons, which either *Iethro* forbare to conduct, or *Moses* to receiue, till he had by this ouerthrow of *Amalech* the better assured himselfe of that part of *Arabia*. For it is written in the 18. of *Exod.v.*1. *When* Iethro *the Priest of Midian*, Moses *Father in Law, heard all that God had done for* Moses, *&c.* of which, the last deed, to wit, the ouerthrow of *Amalech*, gaue *Iethro* courage and assurance, hee then repaired to his sonne in law *Moses*, at *Sinai*; where amongst other things, he aduised *Moses* to appoint *Iudges*, and other *Officers*, ouer *Israel*, being himselfe vnable to giue order in all causes and controuersies, among so many thousands of people, full of discontentment and priuate controuersie.

This *Iethro*, although he dwelt amongst the *Midianites*; yet he was by Nation a *Kenite*, as in the fourth of *Iudges.v.*11. & 17. it is manifest; where it is written; *Now* Heber *the Kenite, which was of the children of* Hobab, *to wit, the sonne of* Iethro, *the father in law of* Moses, *was departed from the Kenites, and pitched his Tents vntill the Plaine of Zaanaim, which is by Kedesh.* Likewise in the first of *Samuel*, *Saul* commanded the *Kenites* to depart *C.15.v.18.* from among the *Amalekites*, lest hee should destroy them with the *Amalekites*. For the *Kenites* inhabited the mountaines of *Sin Kadesh*: and the *Amalekites* dwelt in the Plains, *Num.24.v.28.* according to the saying of *Balaam*, speaking of the *Kenites*; *Strong is thy dwelling place, 1 Sam.c.15.* *and thou hast put thy nest in the Rocke.* And that *Saul* spared this Nation, hee giueth for cause, that they shewed mercy to all the children of *Israel*, when they came vp from *Egypt*. For these *Kenites* were a Nation of the *Madianites*, and the *Madianites* were of the issues of *Madian*, one of the sixe sonnes which *Abraham* begat on *Kethura*: and might also take that name of *Kenites* from *Kethura*, of whom they descended by the Mother, who (as it seemeth) kept the knowledge of the true God among them, which they receiued from their parent *Abraham*. For *Moses*, when hee fled out of *Egypt* into *Midian*, and married the daughter of *Iethro*, would not (had he found them Idolaters) haue made *Iethroes* daughter the Mother of his children. And although the *Kenites* are named amongst those Nations, vvhich God promised, that the seede of *Abraham* should roote out, and inherite their lands; yet it cannot bee meant by these; who are descended from *Abraham* himselfe: but by some other Nation, bearing the *Gen.25.*

the same name; and in all likelihood of the race of *Chus*. For in the fifteenth of *Genesis verse* nineteenth, these *Kenites* or *Chusites* are listed with the *Hittites* & *Perizzites*, with the *Amorites*, *Canaanites*, *Gergesites*, and *Iebusites*, which were indeed afterwards rooted out. But these *Kenites*, descended from *Abraham*, had separated themselues from among the rest, which were altogether idolatrous. For, as it is before remembred, *Heber* the *Kenite*, which was of the children of *Hobab*, was departed from the *Kenites*, that is to say, from those *Kenites* of *Canaan*, and inhabited in *Zaanaim*, which is by *Kedesh* or *Kadesh*. Againe, *Moses* nameth that Nation of the *Kenites*, before *Midian*, or any of *Abrahams* other sonnes were borne: which he did (referring my self to better iudgement) rather, because they were more ancient, than by anticipation.

Gen.15. Iud.4. Gen.25.4.

And as of the *Kenites*, so wee may consider of the *Madianites*, parted by *Moses* in to 10 fiue Tribes. For some of them were corrupted, and heathens; as those of *Madian* by the Riuer *Zared*, afterwards destroyed by *Moses*. But the *Madianites* neere the bankes of the *Red Sea*, where *Moses* married his wife *Zippora*, and with whom he left her and his children, till after the ouerthrow of *Amalech*, seeme likewise not to haue beene corrupted. For these *Madianites* with the *Kenites*, assisted *Israel*, and guided them in the Desarts. But the *Madianites* in *Moab*, and to the North of the *Metropolis* of *Arabia*, called *Petrea*, were by *Israel* rooted out, when those adioyning to the *Red Sea* were not touched.

And though it may be doubted, whether those of *Madian*, of whom *Iethro* was Priest, 20 and the other Cities in *Moab* were the same, yet the contrary is more probable. For *Moses* would not haue sent 12000. *Israelites*, as far backe as the *Red Sea*, from the Plaines of *Moab*, to haue destroyed that *Madian*, where his wiues kindred inhabited; seeing himself comming with 600000. able men, was encountred by *Amalech*, in that passage. Neither could *Moses* forget the length of the way through those discomfortable Desarts, wherin himselfe and Israel had wandred 40. yeeres.

That *Iethro*, or *Iothor*, *Raguel*, or *Reuel*, and *Hobab*, were but one person, the Scriptures teach vs. For the *Vulgar* and *Septuagint*, which call him *Raguel*, and our *English Reuel*, *Exodus* 2.18. cals him *Iethro*, or *Iothor*, *Exod.3.& v.1. c.4.v.18.& c.18.1.& 6.9.10.& 12.* and in *Num.c.10.v.29. Hobab*. Others take *Iethro* & *Hobab* to be the same, but not *Raguel*. 30

§. III.

Of the time when the Law was giuen; with diuers commendations of the inuention of Lawes.

THe rest of the moneths of this yeere 2515. were spent in the Desart of *Sinai*, neere the mountaine of *Sinai* or *Horeb*, the twelfth Mansion. *Eusebius* thought that *Sinai* or *Horeb* were distinct mountaines: *Hierome*, to be but one, of a double name. And so it appeareth by many Scriptures. For, in *Exod.3.v.1.* it is called *Horeb*: and in *Exod.24.v.19.* it is written *Sinai*. In the 106. *Psalme v.19. Horeb*: in *Exod.* 19.11. *Sinai*. And so it is called, *Galatians* 4.24. and againe, *Deut.4.10.& 15.& Deut.* 5.2. *Horeb*. And so is it in the first of *Kings* 8.6. and the second of *Chron.5.10.* and in *Malachie* 4.4. Finally, in *Ecclesiasticus* the 48.7. they are named as one. *Which heardest* (saith *Ecclesiasticus*) *the rebuke of the Lord in Sinai, and in Horeb the iudgement of the vengeance.* Somewhat they are dis-ioyned at the top by the report of *Peter Belonius*; who in the yeere 1588. past out of *Egypt* into *Arabia*, with *Monsieur de Fumet* of *France*, and trauailed to the top both of *Sinai* and *Horeb*: *Sinai* being by far the higher hill. From the side of *Horeb* (saith he) there falleth a very faire spring of water into the Valley adioyning: where he found two *Monasteries* of *Christian Marronites*, containing some 100. Religious persons of diuers Nations, who had pleasant gardens, delicate fruits, and excellent wine. These (saith the same Author) gine entertainment to all strangers, which passe that way.

Pet.Bel.l.2.c.62

Now that there was some such Torrent of water neere *Sinai* in *Moses* time, it is very probable: First, because hee incamped thereabout almost a yeere, and drew no water, as in other places, by miracle: secondly, because it is written, *Exod.32.20.* that when *Moses* had broken the golden Calfe to powder, which *Aaron* set vp in his absence, hee cast the powder thereof into the water, and made the children of *Israel* to drinke thereof.

On this mountaine, the Law by the Angel of God was giuen to *Moses*, where hee staied

staied a whole yeere, wanting some ten or twelue daies: for he remoued not till the 20. day of the second moneth of the second yeere; and hee arriued about the 45. day after the egression: the Law being giuen the 50. day.

At this Mansion all was done, which is written from the beginning of the 29. Chapter of *Exodus*, to the end of that booke; all in *Leuiticus*; and all in *Numbers*, to the 10. Chapter. Whereof (because there is no storie nor other passage) I will omit the repitition, and in place thereof speake somewhat of the Law, and the kindes and vse therof: whereby, if the Reader finde the story any way dis-ioyned, hee may turne ouer a few leaues, and, omitting this, finde the continuation thereof. We must first consider, that as 10 there can bee neither foundation, building, nor continuance of any Common-wealth, without the rule, leuell, and square of Lawes: so it pleased God to giue thereby vnto *Moses* the powerfullest meane (his miraculous grace excepted) to gouern that multitude which he conducted; to make them victorious in their passage, and to establish them assuredly in their conquest. For as the North starre is the most fixed directour of the Seaman to his desired Port: so is the Law of God the guide and conducter of all in generall, to the hauen of eternall life: the Law of nature, from God his eternall law deduced, the rule of all his creatures: the Law humane, depending on both these, the guard of Kings, Magistrates, and vertuous men; yea, the very spirit, & the very sinewes of euery Estate in the world, by which they liue and moue: the Law, to wit, a iust law, being re- 20 sembled to an Heart without affection, to an Eye without lust, and to a Minde without passion; a Treasurer, which keepeth for euery man what he hath, and distributeth to euery man what he ought to haue. This benefit the *Ancient*, though barbarous, esteemed so highly, that among them, those which were taken for the first makers of Lawes, were honoured as gods, or as the sonnes of gods: and the rest, that made either additions or corrections, were commended to all posteritie for men of no lesse vertue, and no lesse liberally beneficiall to their Countries, than the greatest and most prosperous Conquerours that euer gouerned them. The *Israelites*, the *Lacedemonians*, and the *Athenians*, receiued their Lawes from one: as the *Israelites* from *Moses*; the *Lacedemonians* from *Lycurgus*; the *Athenians* from *Solon*; the *Romanes* sometime from their first Kings, from 30 their *Decem viri*, from their *Senatours*, from their *Lawyers*, and from the people themselues: others from the Prince, Nobilitie, and People; as in *England*, *France*, and in other *Christian Monarchies* and *Estates*.

§. IIII.

Of the name and meaning of the words, Law, and Right.

THe word *Lex*, or *Law*, is not alwaies taken alike, but is diuersly, and in an indifferent sense vsed. For if wee consider it at large, it may bee vnderstood for any rule prescribing a necessarie meane, order, and methode, for the attaining of an 40 end. And so the rules of *Grammar*, or other Arts, are called Lawes. Or it is taken for any priuate ordinance of Superiours to Inferiours: for the commandements of Tyrants, which they cause to be obserued by force, for their decrees do also vsurpe that title, according to the generall acceptation of the word *Law*: of which *Esay*, *Woe vnto them that decree wicked decrees, and write grieuous things*. Likewise, the word is vsed for the tumultuary resolutions of the people. For such constitutions doth *Aristotle* also call Lawes, though euill and vnsufficient: *Mala lex est, quæ tumultuariè posita est*; *It is an ill law that is made tumultuously*. So as all ordinances, either good or euill, are called by the name of Lawes.

Esay 10.

Ethic.l.4.c.1.

The word *Law* is also taken for the morall habit of our minde, which doth (as it were) 50 command our thoughts, words, and actions: framing and fashioning them according to it selfe, as to their patterne and plat-forme. And thus the law of the flesh which the Diuines call *legem fomitis*, is to be vnderstood. For euery law is a kinde of patterne of that which is done according vnto it: in which sense as* elsewhere, this moral habit or disposition of the heart is called the frame or *figmentum* of the heart: so in S. *Paul* to the *Romanes* it is called a *Law*: *But I see another law in my members, rebelling against the Law of my minde, and leading me captiue vnto the law of sinne*. Againe, the nature and inclinations of all creatures are sometime called *laws*, so far as they agree with the reason of the law eternall; as the law of a *Lyon*, to be fierce or valiant.

* Gen.6.5. Item 8.2.

a So Virgil, continuo has leges æternaque fœdera certis imposuit natura locis; where also it is to bee noted that hee ioynes leges & fœdera together as in the scripture the law is often-times called the couenant.

Also priuate contracts among Merchants and other Tradesmen, do often put on the name of lawes. But law commonly and properly, is taken for a right rule, prescribing a necessary meane, for the good of a Common-wealth, or Ciuill communitie. The rest, to wit, the cõmandements of Tyrants, &c. which haue not the common good for their end, but being *leges iniquæ*, are by *Thomas* called *violentiæ magis quàm leges*; *rather compulsions than lawes*: And whatsoeuer is not iust, S. *Augustine* doth not allow for lawes, howsoeuer established: for he calls them *iniqua hominum constituta, quæ nec curæ dicenda, nec putanda sunt*; *The vniust constitutions of men which are neither to bee termed nor thought lawes.* For, saith *Aristotle*, *Legalia iusta sunt factiua, & conseruatiua fœlicitatis*; *Iust lawes are the workers and preseruers of happinesse*: because by them we are directed *ad vitam quietam, to a quiet life*, according to *Cicero*: Yea, *to life euerlasting*, according to the Scriptures. For the end of the Law, saith *Plato*, is God and his worship: *Finis legis Deus & cultus eius. Lex*, or the Law is so called by the *Latines à legendo*, or *à ligando*, *of reading* or *binding*: *Leges quia lectæ & ad populum latæ*, saith *Varro*; For after Lawes were written and published, all men might reade them, and behold in them whereto they were bound. The other *Etymology*, *à ligando*, is no lesse agreeable with the nature of a Law: whence in the Scripture it is called also a yoke, and a band: as *confregerunt iugum, diruperunt vincula*: they haue broken the yoke, they haue broken the bands. And in the second *Psalme*, *Dirumpamus vincula eorum, & proijciamus à nobis funes ipsorum*; *Let vs break their bands in sunder, and cast away their cords from vs.*

Arist. Ethic. 5. cap. 1.

Plato in Dial. 1. de Leg.

Hierem. 5. 5.

Psal. 2.

The *Couenant* it is called, because of the conditionall promises of God: and because of Gods peoples voluntary submission of themselues vnto it: for which word the *Septuagint*, and the *Epistle to the Hebrewes*, vse the word διαθηκη, a *Testament* or *last will*: which name it hath, because it is not otherwise effectuall for our saluation, but in respect of the death of the Testator; for without the death of the Testator, the Testament is of no force: as *Hebr. 9. 17.* it is said, *Testamentum in mortuis ratum est.*

The *Hebrewes* call the law *Thorah* of teaching, because euery man is thereby taught his dutie, both to God and Men. The *Greekes* call it *Nomos* of distributing, because it distributeth to euery man his owne due; the power of the law is the power of God: Iustice being an attribute proper vnto God himselfe. *Imperium legis imperium Dei est*; *The reigne of the law, is the reigne of God.*

Law in generall is thus defined by the *Philosophers*: *Lex est vitæ regula, præcipiens quæ sunt sequenda, & quæ fugienda*; *Law is the rule of life, commanding what to follow, and what to shun*: or *Lex est omnium diuinarum & humanarum rerum Regina*; *Law is the Queene or Princesse of things both humane and diuine.* But this description is grounded vpon the opinion of ineuitable fate. Law is the very wisedome of Nature: the reason and vnderstanding of the prudent: and the rule of right and wrong. For as a right line is called *Index sui & curui*, the demonstrance of it selfe, and of the crooked: so is the law, the iudge and measure of right and wrong.

M. *Hooker* cals the Law a directiue rule to goodnesse of operation: and though law as touching the substance and essence, consist in vnderstanding: *Concludit tamen actum voluntatis*; *Yet it comprehends the act of our will.* The word *Ius* is also diuersly taken, as sometime for the matter of the law and for common right: sometime for the law it self: as *Ius ciuile*, or *Ius gentium. Isidore* distinguisheth the two generall words *Ius* and *Fas*: whereof *Ius*, saith he, hath reference to men, *Fas* to God. *Fas lex diuina, Ius lex humana.* To goe ouer another mans field, is permitted, by Gods law, not by mans; and therfore in a thing out of controuersie, *Virgil* vsed both these words: as *Fas & iura sinunt*, God and men permit.

Isid. Etym.

The word *Ius* or Right, is deriued or taken from the old substantiue Nowne *iussu*, a bidding or commandement: or perhaps from the *Greeke* ζευς which is the name of *Iupiter*, or of the *Latine* genitiue case *Iouis*; because as the Scripture speakes, *the iudgement is Gods.* For as it is certaine that *ius-iurandum* came of *Iouis-iurandum*, (for so we find it written in *Nonius* out of the ancient, in which sense the Scripture calls it *iuramentum Iehouæ*) so also we may say, that *Ius* came of *Iouis, quia Iouis est*: because as God is the Author, and Patterne, and Maintainer of right, so also in his *Vicegerents* the *Magistrates*, he is the pronouncer and executor of right. Of this *Ius* the iust are denominated, *iustus à iure*, and *Iustitia à iusto*; *The right giues name to the righteous*: and *iustice takes her name from the iust.*

Deut. 1. 17. 2 Chro. 19. 6.

Exod. 22. 11. 1 Reg. 2. 43.

§. V.

§. V.

Of the definition of Lawes, and of the Law eternall.

BVt because lawes are manifold, and that euery kinde hath a proper and peculiar definition, it agreeth with order, first to diuide and distinguish them. I meane those sorts of lawes, from whence all other particulars are drawne: leauing the indiuiduals of humane lawes to their infinite and horrible confusion.

- *Eternall, or vncreated.*
- *Lawes are of 3. kinds:*
  - *Naturall, Nationall, or Internal.*
  - *Law imposed or of addition, commonly called positiue.*
    - *Lawes positiue or imposed, explicating, and perfecting the Law of Nature, are double.*
      - *Diuine which hath two parts.*
        - *written.* — *The written is also double.* — *The law of Moses.* — *The Gospell.*
        - *Vnwritten.* — *As the Doctrine and Religion of the Patriarkes before the written Law of Moses, which some call Cabala.*
      - *Humane which is also twofold.*
        - *written* — *Which Cicero in his second booke of inuention calleth* Ius legitimum, *diuided into the* — *Ecclesiastical, and Secular.*
        - *Vnwritten.* — *As the Lawes of Custome and vse.*

The law eternall is thus defined by *Thomas*. *Lex æterna est æternus diuinæ sapientiæ conceptus, secundum quod ordinatur ad gubernationem rerum ab ipso præcognitarum*; *The eternall law is the eternall conceit of Gods wisedome as it is referred to the gouernment of things foreknowne by himselfe.* Or, *Lex æterna est summa atque æterna ratio diuinæ sapientiæ: quatenus res omnes ad destinatos fines ita dirigit, vt illis iuxta conditionem ipsarum modum aliquem necessitatis adferat*; *It is the high and eternall reason of diuine sapience: as it directeth all things in such sort to their proper ends, imposing a kinde of necessity according to their seuerall natures*, or conditions. Now the difference lieth in this: That as the same diuine vnderstanding directs all these to their proper ends; so it is called prouidence: but as it imposeth a necessity according to the naturs of all things which it directs, so is it called a law.

P. 2. q. 2. art. 1.

Th. q. 36. art. 1.

Of this eternall law *Cicero* took knowledge, when in his booke of Lawes, he wrote in this manner. *Erat ratio perfecta, rerum natura, & ad recte faciendum impellens & à delicto auocans: quæ non tum incipit lex esse cum scripta est: sed tum cum orta est. Orta autem simul est cum mente diuina: quamobrem lex vera atque princeps, apta ad iubendum & ad vetandum, ratio est recta summi Iouis*; *That perfect reason and nature of things incouraging or impelling to rightfull actions, and calling vs backe from euill, did not* (saith hee) *then begin to bee a law when it was written: but when it had being. Being and beginning it had together with diuine vnderstanding, and therefore a true law and a fit Princesse to command and forbid, is the right reason of the most high God.* This eternall law, (if we consider it in God, or as God,) is alwaies one and the same; the nature of God being most simple: but as it is referred to diuers obiects, so the reason of man findes it diuers and manifold. It also seemeth one law in respect of things necessary, as the motions of the heauens; stabilitie of the earth, &c. but it appeareth otherwise to things contingent: another law to men, another to other creatures, hauing life, and to all those that be inanimate.

Arbo. & Aug.

By this eternall law all things are directed, as by the counsaile and prouidence of God: from this law all lawes are deriued, as from the rule vniuersall: and thereto referred, as the operation of the second to the first.

The eternall, and the diuine Law, differ only in consideration; the eternall directing more largely: as well euery creature, to their proper and naturall ends, as it doth man to his supernaturall: but the diuine law to a supernaturall end only: the naturall law is thence deriued, but an effect of the eternall: as it were a streame from this fountaine.

The Law humane or temporall is also thence drawn: in that it hath the forme of right reason: from which if it differ, it is then *impositio iniqua, a wicked imposition*: and only borroweth the name of a law.

To this eternall law all things are subiected, as well Angels and Men, as all other creatures,

creatures, or things created; whether necessary or contingent, naturall or morall, & humane. For the Law eternall runneth through all the vniuersall; and therefore it is the law also of things which are simple, naturall and inanimate.

Hence it is, that all things created are commanded to praise God their Creator and Director: as, *Praise him all ye his Angels: praise him Sunne and Moone, all bright Starres: heauens of heauens, for he hath established them for euer and euer. He hath made an ordinance which shall not passe: Praise ye the Lord from the earth ye Dragons and all Deepes: Fire and haile, snow and vapours, stormie windes, which execute his word: mountaines and hils, fruitfull trees and all Cedars: Beasts, and all Cattell, &c.* Now as the reasonable Creatures are by this eternall law bound, by the glory and felicity proposed vnto them (beatitude being both the attractiue, and the end) so all other naturall things and creatures, haue in themselues, and in their own natures, an obedience formall to it, without any proper intention, known cause, or end proposed. For beasts are led by sense, and naturall instinct: things without life by their created forme, or formall appetites, as that which is heauy to fall downward: things light to mount vpward, &c. and fire to heare whatsoeuer is apposed. This kinde of working the Aristotelians ascribe to common nature: others to fate; a difference vsed in termes only; it being no other than Gods generall prouidence: for as it is truly said of God, that he is *omnia super omnia*: so are all things which appeare in themselues thence deriued: there-vnder subiected: thence-from by his eternall law and prouidence directed, euen from the greatest to the least of his creatures, in heauen and in earth.

Psal. 148.

The Schoolemen are very curious and ample in the consideration of these lawes: and in discourse of the profit, and of the matter, and obiect of the eternall law. But as the profit is manifest in the good of all creatures, who haue thence-from, either reason, sense, vegetation, or appetition, to conduct them: so is the obiect and matter of the law, the whole creature. For according to S. *Augustine*, *Lex æterna est, qua iustum est, vt omnia sint ordinatissima*; *The law eternall is that, wherby it is iust, that all things should be disposed in the best and goodliest order.*

L. 1. de lib. arb. cap. 6.

Lastly, it is disputed, whether the eternall law be immutable, yea or no? But the resolution is, that it changeth not; for which S. *Augustine* vseth a sufficient argument in his first Booke of *Free-will*, the sixth Chapter. For the law of *Moses* which had a time prefixed, was eternally by God ordained to last vntill the time of the Pædagogie of Gods people, or introduction to Christ should bee expired; which time of expiration some thinke our Sauiour noted to be come, when on the Crosse he said, *Consummatum est.* But I rather thinke these words of our Sauiour to haue no other signification, than that now the prophecie of their giuing him Vinegar to drink was fulfilled. For so Saint *Iohn* expounds it, when hee saith *v.* 28. *That Christ seeing all* (other) *things to be fulfilled, Vt consummaretur Scriptura, That the Scripture* in this also *might be fulfilled*, said, *I thirst*: though I deny not, but at the same time also the date of the Law was expired, to wit, of the law ceremoniall, and of so much of the iudiciall, as appertained peculiarly to the Iewes, and agreeth not with the law of the new *Testament* and Gospel of Christ. For the immutable law of God, though prescribing things mutable, is not therfore changed in it selfe; but the things prescribed, change according to this eternall ordinance, of which the *Wisedome* of *Salomon*, *And being one shee can doe all things, and remaining in her selfe renewe-eth all.*

Iohn 18. 30. Psal. 69. 22.

§. VI.
Of the Law of Nature.

Aug. in Ep. ad Hil. 89 & in Euang. Ioh. tract. 49. Vlp. de iustitia & iure d. 1. tit. 1

OF the law of Nature as it is taken in generall, I finde no definition among the Schoolemen: only as it is considered in man, it is called *the impression of diuine light, and a participation of the eternall law in the reasonable creature. Lex naturalis est impressio diuini luminis in nobis, & participatio legis æternæ in rationali creatura. Vlpian* defines the *naturall law to be the same which nature hath taught all liuing creatures: Ius naturale est quod Natura omnia animalia docuit*: and hee afterward addeth, *Ius istud non humani generis proprium, sed omnium animalium quæ terra marique nascuntur, autem quoque commune est*; *The law of Nature is not proper to man alone, but the same is common to all liuing creatures, as well to birds, as to those which the Land and Sea produceth.*

But

But this definition is not generall, but of the naturall Law in things of life.

The Law of nature in generall, I take to be that disposition, instinct, and formall quality, which God in his eternall prouidence hath giuen and imprinted in the nature of euery creature, animate, and inanimate. And as it is *diuinum lumen* in Men, inlightning our formall reason; so is it more than sense in Beasts; and more than vegetation in plants. For it is not sense alone in Beasts, which teacheth them at first sight, and without experience or instruction, to flie from the enemies of their liues: seeing that Bulles and Horses appeare vnto the sense more fearefull and terrible, than the least kinde of Dogges; and yet the Hare and Deere feedeth by the one, and flieth from the other, yea, though by them neuer seene before, and that as soone as they fall from their Dammes. Neither is it sense which hath taught other Beasts to prouide for Winter, Birds to build their nests, high or low, according to the tempestuous or quiet seasons: or the Birds of *India* to make their nests on the smallest twigges which hang ouer Rivers, and not on any other part of the tree, or else-where: to saue their egges and young ones from the Monkies, and other Beasts, whose weight such a twigge will not beare: and which would feare to fall into the water. The instances in this kinde are exceeding many which may bee giuen. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing nature of plants, that some trees, as the female of the *Palmitto*, will not beare any fruite except the male grow in sight. But this they doe by that Law, which the infinite and vnsearchable wisdome of God had in all eternity prouided for them, and for euery nature created. In man this Law is double, corrupt, and incorrupt; corrupt, where the reason of man hath made it selfe subiect, and a Vassall to passions, and affections brutall: and incorrupt, where time and custome hath bred in men a new nature, which also, as is aforesaid, is a kinde of Law. For it was not by the Law of Nature incorrupt, which Saint *Augustine* calleth the Law of reason, but by a nature blinded and corrupted, that the *Germans* did anciently allow of theft: and that other Nations were by Law constrained to become Idolaters; that by the Lawes of *Lycurgus* it was permitted to men to vse one anothers Wife, and to the Woman to choose them others besides their Husbands, to beget them with childe: which law in those parts hath lasted long, and is not forgotten to this day.

Supra. §. 4. ex loco ad Rom. 7. 23.

Theod. l. 9. de curandis affect. Græcorum.

The *Scythians*, and the people of both *Indies*, hold it lawfull to bury with them the best beloued wiues: as also they haue many other customes remembred by *G. Valentia*, against nature and right reason.

Acosta.

And I know not from what authority it is, that these Lawes some men auow to be naturall: except it be of this corrupt nature, as (among others) to pay guile with guile: to become faithlesse among the faithlesse: to prouide for our selues by another mans destruction: that iniury is not done to him that is willing: to destroy those whom we feare, and the like. For taking the definition of naturall Lawes, either out of Saint *Augustine* or *Aquinas*, (the one calling it the *impression of diuine light*; the other, *the dictate* or sentence *of practique reason*) the same can teach vs, or incline vs to no other thing, than to the exercise of Iustice and vprightnesse: and not to offer or performe any thing toward others, saue that which we would be content should be offered or performed toward our selues. For such is the Law of nature to the minde, as the eye is to the body; and that which according to *Dauid* sheweth vs good, that is, the obseruation of those things which leade vs thereby to our last end; which is eternall life: though of themselues not sufficient without faith and grace.

Nemo iure naturæ cum alterius detrimento locupletior fieri debet.

Psal.

Now, that which is truly and properly the law of Nature, where the corruption is not taken for the Law, is, as aforesaid, the impression of Gods diuine light in men, and a participation of the Law increated and eternall. For without any Law written, the right reason and vnderstanding, which God hath giuen vs, are abilities within our selues, sufficient to giue vs knowledge of the good and euill, which by our gratitude to God, and distribution of right to men, or by the contrary, we prepare and purchase for our selues. *For when the Gentiles* (saith Saint *Paul*) *which haue not the Law, doe by nature those things contained in the Law: they hauing not the Law, are a Law vnto themselues.* Now, to loue God by whom we are, and to doe the same right vnto all men, which we desire should be done vnto vs, is an effect of the purest reason: in whose highest Turrets, the quiet of conscience hath made her resting place, and habitation; *In arce altissima rationis quies habitat.* Therefore, the *Gentiles* (saith Saint *Paul*) *which shew the effects of the Law written in their hearts, haue their consciences for a witnesse of those effects: and the reprobate their thoughts to accuse them.*

Rom. 2. 14.

Rom. 2. 15.

And

And it is most true, that whosoever is not a law unto himselfe (while hee hopeth to abuse the world by the advantage of hypocrisie) worketh nothing else, but the betraying of his owne soule, by crafty unrighteousnesse, purchasing eternall perdition. For it helpeth us not to hide our corrupt hearts from the worlds eye, seeing from him, who is an infinite eye, we cannot hide them: some Garlands we may gather in this May-game of the world, *Sed flos ille, dum loquimur, arescit; Those flowers wither while we discourse of their colours, or are in gathering them.* That we should therefore inhabite and dwell within our selves, and become fearefull witnesses of our secretest euils, did that reuerend *Philosopher Pythagoras* teach in this golden precept: *Nil turpe committas, neque coram alijs, neque tecum, maximè omnium verere teipsum; Commit nothing foule or dishonest*, saith he, *neither to bee* 10 *knowne to others, nor to thine owne heart: but above all men reuerence thine owne conscience.* And this may be a precept of nature and right reason: by which law, men, and all creatures, and bodyes, are inclined to those operations, which are answerable to their owne forme; as fire to give heate. Now, as the reasonable minde is the forme of man, so is he aptly moued to those things which his proper forme presenteth vnto him: to wit, to that which right reason offereth; and the acts of right reason, are the acts of vertue: and in the breach of the rules of this reason, is man least excusable: as being a reasonable creature. For all else, both sensitiue, growing, and inanimate, obey the Law which God imposed on them at their first creation.

Gen.1. The Earth performeth her office, according to the Law of God in nature: for it brin- 20 geth forth the bud of the hearbe which seedeth seede, &c. and the Beast, which liueth *Iob.c.28.* thereon. Hee gaue a Law to the Seas, and commanded them to keepe their bounds: which they obey. Hee made a decree for the raine, and a way for the lightning of the thunders. He caused the Sunne to moue, and to giue light, and to serue for signes and for seasons. Were these as rebellious as man, for whose sake they were created, or did they once breake the law of their natures and formes; the whole world would then perish, and all returne to the first *Chaos*, darknesse, and confusion.

By this naturall Law, or Law of humane reason, did *Cain* perceiue his owne wicked- 30 nesse, and offence, in the murther of *Abel*: for he not onely feared the displeasure of God, but the revenge of men: it being written in his reason, that whatsoeuer he performed towards others, the same by others might be done vnto him againe. And that this judgement of well and evill doing, was put into our natures by God, and his eternall Law, before the Law written: *Moses* in the person of God witnesseth, *Gen.*4. *If thou doe well, shalt thou not be accepted, and if thou doe not well, sinne lyeth at thy doore.*

The *Schoolemen* are large also in this question of the naturall Law: the same being opened amply by *Reinerius*, *Antonius*, and *Valentia*. But it is not my purpose to write a Volumne of this subiect.

But this Law which *Thomas Aquinas* calleth *an act of reason taken properly*, and not a habite, as it is an euident naturall iudgement of practique reason: they diuide into indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration (as that good is to bee followed, and euill eschewed) and demonstrable, which is euidently proued, out of higher and more vniuersall propositions. Againe, as it answereth the naturall appetite, prescribing things to be desired as good, or to be auoyded as euill (as of the first, to desire to liue, and to satisfie hunger, &c. and of the second, to eschew paines, sorrow, and death) in this consideration *Tho.q.94. art.2.* they diuide it, according to the diuers kindes of appetites that are in vs. For in euery man there are three sorts of appetites, which answer the three degrees of naturall Law. The first is, to be that which we are; in which is comprehended the desire, both to liue, and to preserue our being and life, also the desire of issue, with care to prouide for them: for the Father after his death liues in his children; and therefore the desire of life comprehends the desire of children. And to these appetites are referred the first indemonstrable lawes of nature, for the most part. For it needs no proofe, that all creatures should desire to be, to liue, and to be defended, and to liue in their issue, when they cannot in themselues. And as man is a being, *Ens* or *Res*: so he doth desire good, and shun euill. For it is common to all things, to desire things agreeable to their owne natures, which is, to desire their owne good. And so is Good defined by *Aristotle*, to be that which all desire. Which defini- *Ethic.l.1.c.1.* tion *Basil* vpon the 44. *Psalme* approueth: *Rectè quidem Bonum definierunt, Quod omnia expetunt; Rightly haue some men defined Good, or Goodnesse, to be that which all things desire.*

The

The second kinde of appetite is of those things which appertaine to vs, as wee haue sense. Whence, by the law of Nature, we desire the delights of euery sense; but with such moderation, as may neither glut vs with satiety, nor hurt vs with excesse. For as Sense it selfe is for the preseruation of life and being: so is it meete, euen by the Law of nature, that the sensitiue appetite should not carry vs to the destruction, either of our life or being. And although (seeing both these kindes of appetites are in beasts) we may well say, that Nature hath giuen diuers Lawes vnto them: In which sense the *Ciuilians* define *Naturall right*, or *Ius naturale*, to be the same which Nature hath taught all liuing creatures; Yet the *Schoolemen* admit not, that the instincts of beasts can bee properly called a Law, 10 but onely a *Ius*, or *Right*, which is the matter, and aime of euery Law. For so they distinguish it; where *Vlpian* affirmeth, that *Ius naturale* is that, which Nature hath taught all liuing creatures. In this place (saith *Valentia*) *Ius* is not to be taken for a Law, but for the matter of the Law. And yet where *Vlpian* also distinguisheth the right belonging to liuing creatures in generall, from the right belonging to men; calling the one *Ius naturæ*, the other *Ius gentium*: the Diuines vnderstand the law of nature more largely, that is, for all euident dictates, precepts, or biddings of diuine reason: both in beasts and men; and restraine the law of Nations to a kinde of humane right.

The third appetite is of those things which appertaine properly to man, as hee is a liuing creature reasonable: as well with relation to God, and to our Neighbour, as for 20 our selues: and the Lawes of this appetite are the Commandements of our Religion.

Now although there are many other branches and diuisions of this law of nature answering the diuision of matter, which it prescribeth, and as manifold, as the morall actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth: yet is the law of nature but one law, according to *Aquinas*: first, because it hath one fountaine or roote in the naturall or motiue faculty, which is but one, stirring vp to good, and declining the contrary: secondly, because all is contained in that generall naturall precept, That good is to bee followed, and ill auoyded: and thirdly, because all the parts are reduced to one and the same last ende.

30 That this law of nature bindeth all creatures, it is manifest: and chiefly man; because he is indued with reason; in whom as reason groweth, so this band of obseruing the law of nature increaseth, *Postquam ratio ad perfectum venit, tunc fit quod scriptum est, Aduenente mandato, peccatum reuixit; when reason grew to perfection, then it came to passe, which was written by Saint* Paul, *When the Commandement came, sinne reuiued.* Neither is it a small warrant for this law of nature, when those which breake the same, are said by Saint *Paul*, *To be deliuered ouer into a reprobate sense* (or minde) *to doe those things which are not conuenient*: and againe, *that their consciences beare witnesse, and their thoughts accuse them.* For, though this law of nature stretch not to euery particular: as to command fasting and the like: yet, it commandeth in generall all good, and whatsoeuer is agreeable to right and 40 reason. And therefore, said *Damascene*; *Homines facti sunt mali, declinando in id quod contra naturam est; Men* (saith he) *are made euill, by declining vnto that which is contrary to nature*: and Saint *Augustine*, *Omne vitium naturæ nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam est; Euery vice doth wrong to nature, and is therefore contrary vnto it.*

Basil. *Rom.1.28.* *Rom.2.15.* *L.2. Fid. orthod. c.30.*

Neither yet are the rules of this law of nature so straight, but that they suffer exceptions in some particulars. For whereas by this law all men are borne Lords of the earth, yet it well alloweth inequality of portions, according to vnequall merit: by taking from the euill, and giuing to the good: and by permitting and commanding that all men shall enioy the fruites of their labours to themselues: according to the rules of iustice and equitie.

50 And though the Law of nature command, that all things be restored which are left in trust, yet in some causes, this her law shee suffereth to be broken: as to denie a mad man his weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while he was sober. But the vniuersall principles can no more be changed, than the decrees of God are alterable: who according to Saint *Paul*, *abideth faithfull, and cannot denie himselfe.* *2 Tim.2.*

§. VII. *Of the written Law of GOD.*

AFter the eternall, and naturall, the law *Positiue* or imposed is the next in order, which law, being nothing but an addition, or rather explication of the former, hath two kindes: Diuine and Humane. Againe, the diuine positiue law is double; the Olde and New: The Old was giuen vnto *Moses* in Mount *Sinai* or *Horeb*, at such time as the world had stood 2513. whole yeeres: and in the 67. day of this yeere, when as *Ascatades* or *Ascades* gouerned the *Assyrians*, *Marathus* the *Sycionians*, *Triopus* the *Argiues*, *Cecrops* *Attica*, and *Acherres Egypt*: to wit, after the promise to *Abraham*, 430. yeeres. And this it seemes, was the first written law which the world receiued. For the very word *Nomos*, signifying a law, was not then, nor long after inuented by the *Græcians*: no not in *Homers* time, who liued after the fall of *Troy* 80. yeares at least: and *Troy* it selfe was cast downe 335. yeeres, after *Moses* led *Israel* out of *Egypt*. This Law, it pleased God to ingraue in stone, that it might remaine a lasting booke of his expreſt will in the Church; and that the Priests and people might haue, whereof to meditate, till the comming of Christ: and that so these Children of *Israel*, though bred among an Idolatrous people in *Egypt*, might be without excuse: the slight defences of ignorance being taken from them.

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei lib. 1.

The reason knowne to vs why this Law was not written before, is, that when the people were few, and their liues long, the *Elders* of Families might easily without any written Law, instruct their owne Children: and yet as they increased, so doubtlesse they had, besides the law of Nature, many precepts from God, before the Law written. But now at length, forasmuch as the law of Nature did not define all kindes of good, and euill; nor condemne euery sinne in particular: nor sufficiently terrifie the consciences of offenders: nor so expound diuine worship, as for those after-ages was required, who gaue euery day lesse authority than other to the naturall Law; In these respects it was necessary, that the Law should be written, and set before the eyes of all men: which before, they might, but would not reade, in their owne consciences. The *Schoolemen*, and the Fathers before them, inlarge the causes and necessity, why the Law was written, whereof these are the cheefest.

The first, for restraining of sinne, directly grounded vpon this place of *Dauid*, *The law of the Lord is vndefiled, conuerting soules: The testimonies of the Lord are faithfull, giuing wisedome to children.* For the humane Law, saith Saint *Augustine*, meeteth not with all offences, either by way of prohibition or punishment; seeing thereby it might take away something seeming necessary, and hinder common profit: but the diuine law written, forbiddeth euery euill, and therefore by *Dauid* it is called vndefiled.

Secondly, it seruеth for the direction of our mindes. For the Lawes of men can onely take knowledge of outward actions, but not of internall motions, or of our disposition and will: and yet it is required, that wee be no lesse cleane in the one, than in the other. And therefore were the words *conuerting our soules*, added by *Dauid*: wherein are all our outward acts first generated, according to the *Cabalists*. *Actiones hominum nullæ essent, nisi prius in mente dicerentur*; *The actions of men* (say they) *would be none at all, were they not first conceiued in the minde.*

Thirdly, it leadeth vs to the knowledge of truth, which by reason of diuersitie of opinion, and difference of peculiar Lawes among sundrie Nations, wee cannot bee assured of; but the Law of GOD bindeth all men, and is without errour: and therefore also said *Dauid*, *That the testimony of the Law of God is faithfull: giuing Wisedome to children.*

§. VIII. *Of the vnwritten Law of God, giuen to the Patriarkes by Tradition.*

NOW, that in all this long tract of time, betweene the creation and the written Law, the world and people of God were left altogether to the law of reason and nature, it doth not appeare. For the *Patriarkes* of the first Age receiued many *precepts* from God himselfe, and whatsoeuer was first imposed by *Adam*, the same was obserued by *Seth*, who instructed *Enos*: from whom it descended to *Noah*, *Sem*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Iacob*, *Ioseph*, and *Moses*. Yea many particular Commandements afterward written, were formerly imposed and deliuered ouer by Tradition; which kinde of teaching the *Iewes* afterward called

called *Cabala*, or *Receptio*: precepts receiued from the mouth of their *Priests* and *Elders*: to which the *Iewes* after the law written, added the interpretation of secret mysteries, reserued in the bosomes of their *Priests*, and vnlawfull to be vttered to the people. But the true *Cabala* was not to be concealed from any; as being indeed the diuine law reuealed to the *Patriarks*, and from them deliuered to the posterity, when as yet it was vnwritten. The Commandements which God gaue vnto *Adam* in the beginning, were, that hee should impose names to all beasts, according to their natures; to whose perfection of vnderstanding they were sufficiently knowne. For finding the reason of his owne name *Adam*, or *Adamah*, Earth, or red clay, he gaue other names significant, not onely to beasts, but to his
10 Children and Nephewes, which afterward his issues imitated; as the name of *Seth* signifieth, as some take it, one that was laid for the ground or foundation of the Church, or rather, one giuen in recompence for *Abel* that was slaine: and *Enosh* signifieth man or miserable, &c. Further, God commanded *Adam* to till the ground, and to liue by the labour thereof: God also gaue him the choise of all fruits, but the forbidden; and in *Adam* also was mariage first instituted: all men thence-after being commanded to cohabit with their Wiues, rather than with their Father or Mother.

That murther and cruelty was also forbidden, both before the law written, and before the flood it selfe, it is manifest. God himselfe making it appeare, that it was one of the greatest causes of the destruction of mankinde by the generall flood. For God said vnto
20 *Noa, An end of all flesh is come before me: for the earth is filled with cruelty through them: and behold, I will destroy them* from the earth.* That offence therefore, for which all perished, could not be vnknown to all that perished: Gods mercy and iustice interposing between the vntaught, and reuenge. This commandement God repeated to *Noa*, after the waters were dried vp from the earth: *Who so sheddeth mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the Image of God hath he made man.*

* The cõmon reading is *cum terra*: but God did not destroy the earth: and why may not this præposition in this place, haue the same force, which it hath according to *Iunius*, Gen. 4. 1. *Item* 44. 4. & *Deut.* 34. 1. especially, seeing these words are but a repetition of that which is said, verse 7. *Deleba hominem de superficie terræ.*

Also the law of honouring and reuerencing our parents, was obserued among the faithfull, and the contrary punished by the fathers curse: as, *Cursed be Canaan, a seruant of seruants shall he be vnto his brethren.* Againe, we finde that the vnnaturall sin of the *Sodomites* was punished in the highest degree, as with fire from heauen. The sinne of Adulterie and
30 Rauishment, was before the law no lesse detested than the rest, as appeareth by that reuenge, taken for *Dina's* forcing: and by the iudgement which *Iuda* gaue against *Tamar*, That she should be burnt: and by the repentance of *Pharaoh* & *Abimelech*, against whom this sentence was pronounced, *Thou art but dead, because of the woman which thou hast taken: for she is a mans wife:* To these we may adde the ordinance of Sacrifice, of distinction of cleane and vncleane beasts; of Circumcision, of the brother to raise vp seed to his brother that left a widow childlesse, and diuers other constitutions, partly Morall, and partly Ceremoniall, which being deliuered before the written law, were after by it confirmed. So that this *Diuine Law imposed*, of which the Law of *Moses* containeth that which is called *The old Testament*, may be said, not onely to haue beene written in the hearts of
40 men, before it was engrauen in stone, but also in substance to haue bene giuen in precept to the *Patriarks*. For as S. *Paul* witnesseth of himselfe, *I knew not sinne, but by the Law*: so euer the Law naturally preceded, and went before offences, though written after offences committed. It is true, that all the creatures of God were directed by some kinde of vnwritten law; the *Angels* intuitiuely; Men by reason; Beasts by sense and instinct, without discourse; Plants by their vegetatiue powers; and things inanimate by their necessary motions, without sense or preception.

Rom. 3. 19.

§. IX. *Of the Morall, Iudiciall, and Ceremoniall Law, with a note prefixed, How the Scripture speaketh not alway in one sense, when it nameth the Law of Moses.*

50

NOW as the word (*Law*) in generall, as is aforesaid, hath diuers significations, and is taken for all doctrine which doth prescribe and restraine: so the Law, called the *Law of Moses* in particular, is taken by S. *Paul* diuersly; as sometime for all the old Testament, as, *Now we know whatsoeuer the Law saith, it saith to them which are vnder the Law.*

When it is opposed, or differenced from the *Prophets* and *Psalmes*, it is there taken for the fiue Bookes of *Moses*. For so S. *Luke* hath distinguished them; as, *All must bee fulfilled which are written of me in the Law, in the Prophets, and in the Psalmes.*

Luc. 24. 44.

When it is opposed to the *Gospell*, then it is taken for the Law Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall; as, *Therefore we conclude, that a man is iustified by Faith, without the works of the Law.* Rom.3.28.

When it is opposed to *Grace*, it signifieth the declaration of Gods wrath, and our guilt of condemnation; or the extremity of the law, and *summum ius*: as, *For ye are not vnder the Law, but vnder Grace.* Rom.6.4. Gal.3.18.

When it is opposed to the Truth, namely, where the Ceremonies or signes are taken for the things signified; as the *Sacrifice* for *Christ*, and the like: then it signifieth but shadowes and figures; as, *The Law was giuen by* Moses, *but grace & truth came by Iesus Christ.* Iohn 1.17.

Lastly, when it is opposed to the time of *Christs* comming, it signifieth the whole policy of the *Iewes* Common-weale; as, *Before faith came, we were kept vnder the Law, &c.* Or the Law of the order and institution of the *Aaronicall Priesthood*; as, *All the Prophets and the Law*, or the Priests *prophesied vnto Iohn*: And if the *Priesthood* be changed, the Law also, to wit, of the *Priesthood*, must needs be changed. Gal.3.23. Luc 16.6. Heb.7.12.& 10.1.

The word (*Law*) is sometime also taken by the Figure *Metonymia*, for Interest, Authority, and Empire, or for constraining force; as, *The Law of the Spirit of life, the law or the force of sinne and death, the enforcements of concupiscence, &c.* Rom.8.2. Rom.7.23.

But the *written Law of Moses*, or the Law of the Olde Testament, of which we now speake, is thus defined. The Law is a doctrine, which was first put into the minds of men by God, and afterwards written by *Moses*, or by him repeated, commanding Holinesse and Iustice, promising eternall life conditionally, that is, to the obseruers of the law, and threatning death to those which breake the law in the least. For, according to S. *Iames*, *Whosoeuer shall keepe the whole, and faileth in one point, is guilty of all.* The definition vsed by the *Schoolemen*, in which both the Old and New law are comprehended, is thus giuen. *Lex diuina est diuinum decretum, hominibus præscribens modum necessarium vt aptè peruenire possint ad supernaturalem beatitudinem, quæ est vltimus humanæ vitæ finis; The diuine Law* (say they) *is the decree of God, prescribing vnto men a necessary meane, whereby they may aptly attaine supernaturall beatitude, which is the last end of mans life.* Iames 2.10.

The law of *Moses* hath three parts: Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall. The Morall part commandeth this or that good to be done, and this or that euill to be auoided, in particular; as also it declareth, for whose sake it is to be done; as, *Do this, for I am the Lord*; whereas the law of nature commands it but in generall. Againe, the Morall law entreateth of vertue and goodnesse; the Ceremoniall of diuine seruice, and of holinesse; (for externall worship, and the order of hallowing our selues vnto God is called Ceremony) and the Iudicial teacheth the particular gouernment, fit for the Common-wealth of the *Iewes*, and prescribeth orders for iustice and equity. And therefore was it said of Saint *Paul*, *The commandement is iust, holy, and good*: iust, or iustice being referred to the Iudiciall: holy, or holinesse to the Ceremoniall; good, or honest to the Morall. The Iudiciall part is touching the gouernment of the Common-wealth of the *Iewes*, in which many things must needs be proper to that estate, as such as were instituted either in respect of place or persons. Rom.7.12.

The Ceremoniall is diuided into foure parts, according to the foure kindes of things of which it speaketh, to wit, Sacrifice, Holy things, Sacraments, and Obseruances. To Sacrifices belong beasts, and the fruites of the earth; to Holy things the Tabernacle, Temple, Vessels, Altars and the like; to Sacraments, Circumcision, the Passeouer, and such like. For Obseruances, they consisted either in prohibition of certaine meates, as not to eate the blood and fat of beasts: or in some other outward things, as in washings, purifyings, annointings, and attire, as not to weare mixt garments of Linnen and Woollen: as also it prohibiteth other vnnaturall and vnproper commixtions, as, *Thou shalt not yoake together in a Plough an Oxe and an Asse*, or cast mingled seed in one field. It also exhorteth to naturall compassion, and forbiddeth crueltie euen to beasts, birds, and plants, whereby the creatures of God might be destroyed without any profit to man. For so some referre these precepts, *Thou shalt not kill the bird sitting on her nest; nor beate downe the first buds of the tree, nor muzzell the labouring Oxe*, and the like, to the Ceremoniall Law.

Neither is there any of these three parts of the Law of *Moses*, but it hath as yet in some respects, the same power which it had before the comming of *Christ*. For the Morall liueth still, and is not abrogated or taken away: sauing in the ability of iustifying or condemning; for therein are wee commanded to loue and worship God: and to vse charitie one

one towards another: which for euer shall be required at our hands. Therein also are we in particular directed, how this ought to bee done: which power of directing by speciall rules and precepts of life, it retaineth still. For these things also are commanded in both Testaments to be obserued: though principally for the feare of God in the one, and for the loue of God in the other.

The Ceremoniall also liueth in the things which it fore-signified. For the shadow is not destroyed, but perfected, when the body it selfe is represented to vs. Besides, it still liueth, in that it giueth both instruction and testimony of *Christ*, and in that it giueth direction to the Church, for some Ceremonies and Types of holy signification, which are still expedient; though in a farre fewer number than before *Christs* comming, and in a far lesse degree of necessitie.

Lastly, the Iudiciall liueth in substance, and concerning the end, and the naturall and vniuersall equitie thereof.

But the Morall faileth in the point of iustification, the Ceremoniall as touching the vse and externall obseruation (because *Christ* himselfe is come, of whom the ceremonies were signes and shadowes) and the Iudiciall is taken away, as farre forth as it was peculiar to the *Iewes* Common-weale and policie.

§.X. *A proposall of nine other points to be considered, with a touch of the fiue first.*

AS for that which remaineth in the generall consideration of the diuine written Law, it may in effect be reduced into these nine points.

1. The dignity and worth of the Law.
2. The Maiesty of the Law-giuer.
3. The property and peculiarity of the people receiuing it.
4. The conueniency of the time in which it was giuen.
5. The efficacie and power thereof.
6. The difference and agreement of the old and new Testament.
7. The end and vse of the Law.
8. The sense and vnderstanding of the Law.
9. The durance and continuance thereof.

1. The dignity of the Law is sufficiently proued by S. *Paul*, in these words: *Wherefore the Law is holy, and the Commandement is holy, and iust, and good*: which three attributes are referred, as aforesaid, to the Morall, Ceremoniall, and Iudiciall.

2. The Maiesty of the Law-giuer is approued in all his creatures: who as he hath giuen all things their liues and beings, so he onely gaue the Law, who could onely giue the end & reward promised to wit, the saluation of mankind: but he gaue it not to *Moses* immediately, but by the ministery of Angels: as it is said: *And the Law was ordained by Angels, in the hand of a Mediator*: and in the Acts, *He gaue the Law by the ordinance of Angels.* Galath.3.19.

3. The propriety and peculiarity of the people, receiuing the Law, is in three respects. First, in that they were prepared. Secondly, in that they were a Nation apart and disseuered: Thirdly, in that they were the children of the promise made to *Abraham*. Prepared they were, because they had the knowledge of one God, when all other Nations were Idolaters. A Nation apart and seuered they were, because of Gods choice and election. Children of the promise they were, for the promise was made by God vnto *Abraham* & his seed: not vnto his seedes, as to *Esau* and *Iacob*, but to his seed, as to *Iacob* or *Israel* singularly, of whom *Christ*. *Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made: hee saith not to the seeds, as speaking of many, but to thy seed, as of one, which is Christ.* Gal.3.6.

4. The conueniency of the time, in which it was giuen, is noted by S. *Augustine*: that it was about the middle time, betweene the Law of Nature, and Grace: the Law of Nature continued from *Adam* to *Moses*: the Law written in the Commandements receiued by *Moses* in the worlds yeere 2514. continued to the Baptisme of *Iohn*: from which time, begun the Law of Grace, which shall continue to the worlds end. Other reasons for the conueniency are formerly giuen.

5. The fift consideration is of the efficacie of this Law, the same being a disposition to, or

or signe of our Iustification: but not by it selfe sufficient, but as a figure of *Christ* in ceremonies, and a preparation to righteousnesse in morall precepts. For through the passion of *Christ* were sinnes forgiuen, who taketh away the sinnes of the world: and therefore
Gal. 4. S.*Paul* calleth the rudiments of the law *beggerly and weake*; beggerly as containing no
Heb.9. grace, weake as not able to forgiue and iustifie. The bloud of Goats and Bulles, and the a-
Gal.2. shes of an Heifer could onely cleanse the body; but they were figures of *Christs* blood, which doth cleanse the inward soule. *For if the law could iustifie, then Christ died in vaine.*

§. XI. *Of the sixt point, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the Old and New Testament.*

THe Old and New Testament differ in name, and in the meane and way proposed for attaining to saluation; as the Olde by workes, the New by grace: but in the thing it selfe, or obiect and remote end, they agree: which is mans happinesse and saluation.

The Old Testament, or Law, or Letter, or the Witnesse of Gods will, was called the Old, because it preceded the New Testament; which is an explication of the Old: from which the New taketh witnesse. Yet the New of more excellencie, in that it doeth more liuely expresse, and openly and directly delineate the wayes of our redemption. It is also
Heb.8.13. called the Old, to shew that in part it was to be abrogated: *In that he saith the New Testament, he hath abrogated the Old.* For the Old law, though greatly extolled by the *Prophets*, and deliuered with wonderfull miracles, yet was it constituted in a policy perishable: but the New was giuen in a promise of an euerlasting Kingdome, and therefore called in the *Apocalyps*, a Testament and Gospel for euer during.

The Old Testament is called the Law, because the first and cheefe part is the Law of *Moses*, of which the *Prophets* and *Psalmes* are Commentaries, explicating that Law.

The New Testament is called the Gospell, because the first and cheefe part thereof, is the glad tidings of our Redemption: the other Bookes, as the Epistles, or Letters of the *Apostles*, and the Acts or story of the *Apostles*, are plentifull interpreters therof: The word *Euangelion*, signifying a ioyfull, happy, and prosperous message, or (as *Homer* vsed it) the reward giuen to the Messenger, bringing ioyfull newes. It is also sometime taken for a sa-
crifice, offered after victory, or other pleasing successe, as by *Xenophon*. In the Scriptures it hath three significations. First, for glad tydings in generall, as in Esay the 52. verse 7. concerning peace: Secondly, by an excellencie it is restrained, to signifie that most ioy-
Acts.1. full message of Saluation, as in *Luc.*2.10. whence also by figure it is taken for the History of *Christ*: and so we vnderstand the foure Gospels.

Lastly, for the preaching and diuulging the doctrine of *Christ*, as 1 *Cor.*9.14. & 2.*Cor.* 8,18.

The agreement of both Testaments (taken, I thinke, as they are diuided in volumes) is by *Danaus* comprised in these foure.

In their Author.
In the substance of the Couenant, or things promised.
In the foundation, to wit, *Christ*.
In the effects, that is, in righteousnesse and iustification,

In the Author they agree, because both are of God, and therefore both one Testament and will of God in substance of doctrine. For as there was euer one Church, so was there one Couenant, one Adoption, and one Doctrine. As the old law doth point at *Christ*, so doth the new Law teach *Christ*: the olde proposing him as to come, the new as alreadie come; one and the same thing being promised in both; both tending to one, and the same end: euen the saluation of our soules: which according to S.*Peter*, is the end of our Faith. For although it be said, that *Moses* did promise by obseruing the Law, an earthly King-
dome, a land flowing with milke and hony, the propagation of children, and other world-
ly blessings: yet all these were but figures to teach, and pledges to assure the Fathers of those spirituall blessings by *Christ*; for by the earthly, he raised their minds to the hope of heauenly. And the Fathers notwithstanding these worldly goods, did yet acknowledge
Cap.11.v.13. themselues strangers, and pilgrims, expecting the heauenly *Hierusalem*: according to this
Lib.de Ciuit. Dei.18.c.15. place of the *Hebrewes*: *All these dyed in faith, and receiued not the promises, but saw them a farre off, and beleeued them; confessing that they were strangers and pilgrimes on the earth.* To which purpose also Saint *Augustine*: *Omnino pauci veterum legem intelligunt, non attendentes,*

tendentes per promissa terrena, æterna promiti: Few (saith he) *do vnderstand the old law: not attending that by things earthly eternall are promised.* And S.*Hierome*: *Noluit Deus pascere Iudeos more pecorum corporalibus donis opibusque, vt Iudæi somniant; God would not feed the Iewes as beasts with corporall gifts and riches, as themselues dreame.* And this may bee gathered out of Gods owne words, *Ego sum Deus tuus; & erò vobis in Deum; I am thy God, and I will be your God.* For the words, *I will be your God*, proue that it was not for the present, or for perishable things, that God gaue them this promise, but in respect of the future: to wit, the safetie of their soules. For as God created both body and soule, so hath he of his goodnesse, not left the better part vncared for, which liueth euer. In Sophon. cap. 3.v.9.

10 The agreement betweene the Old and New Testament in substance, inferres also the agreement in foundation. For *Christ* is called the foundation of the law, laide both by the *Apostles* and *Prophets*; in whom all the promises of God in the Olde and New, are assured: the Fathers hauing eaten the same spirituall foode, which we eate in our Sacraments.

The agreement in effects is, in that the knowledge of our sinne and miserie, which is taught vs by the law, maketh way, and as it were, seruieth in subordination to the Gospel, the proper effects whereof are mercy and saluation: to which the Law seruing as an introduction (for to those which acknowledge their sin and misery, God sheweth his mercy and saluation) may be said to agree with the Gospell in the effect. For otherwise if we
20 seuer the Law from subordination to the Gospell, the effects are very different: the one sheweth the way of righteousnesse by workes, the other by faith: the Law woundeth, the Gospell healeth: the Law terrifieth, the Gospell allureth; *Moses* accuseth, *Christ* defendeth: *Moses* condemneth, *Christ* pardoneth. The Old restraineth the hand, the New the minde. *Data est lex quæ non sanaret* (saith Saint *Augustine*) *sed quæ ægrotantes probaret; The Law was giuen, not to helpe, but to discouer sicknesse*: and Saint *Chrysostome*, *Data est lex, vt se homo inueniret, non vt moribus sanaretur, sed vt medicus quæreretur; The Law was giuen that man might finde and know his owne imperfection: not that his disease was thereby holpen, but that he might then seeke out the Physitian.* For Christ came to saue the world, which the law had condemned. And as *Moses* was but a seruant, and *Christ* a Son; so the
30 greatest benefit was reserued to bee brought, as by the *worthiest* person, saith *Cyril*: for this law made nothing perfect, but was an introduction of a better hope. Homil. ad Rem. Heb. 7.

§. XII. *Of the rest of the points proposed.*

THe seuenth consideration is of the end, and vse of the law: which is to bring vs to *Christ*: for finding no righteousnesse in our owne workes, wee must seeke it in some other. But this is the last, and remote, and vtmost end: the next and proper end of the law, is to prescribe righteousnesse, and to exact absolute and perfect obedience to God. Leuit.18.5. *Cursed is he which continueth not in all the things of this law.*

40 The second end of the Law, is to render vs inexcusable before God: who knowing so perfect a law, doe not keepe it: the law requiring a perfect and intire, not a broken or halfe obedience: but both inward and outward righteousnesse, and performance of duty to God and Men.

The third and cheefe end of the law, is, as hath beene said, to send vs to *Christ*, and his grace, being in our selues condemned and lost. For the law was deliuered with thunder, and with a most violent and fearfull tempest, threatning eternall death.

The fourth end of the law was to designe, and preserue, the place of the Church and true people of God: and to holde them in one Discipline, and awe, till the comming of *Christ*: after whom the Church was to be dispersed ouer the whole world.

50 These be the ends of the Morall law. The end and vse of the Ceremoniall law, is to confirme the truth of *Christ*, and the new Testament. The vse of the Iudiciall, to teach vs naturall equity, and right, whereto we must conforme our selues.

The sense and vnderstanding of the Law is double, literall and spirituall: by the literall we are taught the worship and seruice of God: by the spirituall, the figures and mysticall fore-speakings of *Christ*. * Gen.49.10. The Scepter shall not depart from Iuda, nor a Lawgiuer from betweene his feet, vntill Shi- lo come.

Lastly, for the durance or continuance of the * Law, the same had being vntill the passion of *Christ*: before which time, and while *Christ* taught in the world, both the old and the new were in force. But after that the true sacrifice was offered vpon the Altar of the Crosse,

Crosse, then the *Iewish* sacrifices and ceremonies, which were *Types* and figures of *Christ* (*Christ* being the body of those shadowes) ceased to binde the consciences any longer: the mystery of our redemption being now by *Christ* and in him finished. In token whereof, the vaile of the Temple rent asunder; noting that the ceremoniall vailes and shadowes were now to be remoued, not that the morall law of the Commandements was hereby abolished, or weakned at all: otherwise than that it had not power to condemne according to the *Iewish* doctrine, as aforesaid. For the obseruing of the law was by *Christ* himselfe seuerely commanded: our loue towards God being thereby to be witnessed. And herein *Dauid* so much reioyced, as hee preferred the obseruation of the Law, before all that the world could yeeld. *In via testimoniorum tuorum delectatus sum, sicut in omnibus diuitijs; I haue been delighted in thy law, as in all manner of riches:* And againe, *The law of thy mouth is good for me aboue thousands of gold and siluer. This is the loue of God* (saith S. *Iohn*) *that we keepe his Commandement.* And that there is no excuse for the neglect of the things commanded in the law, God himselfe in *Deuteronomy* witnesseth. *This Commandement* (saith he) *which I command thee this day, is not hid from thee, neither is it farre off. It is not in heauen that thou shouldst say, who shall go vp for vs to heauen, and bring it vs, and cause vs to heare it that we may do it? neither is it beyond the Sea, that thou shouldest say, who shall go ouer the Sea for vs, and bring it vs? &c. but the word is very neere vnto thee, euen in thy mouth, and in thy heart for to do it. Behold* (saith *Moses*) *I haue set before thee this day, life and death, good and euill, in that I command thee this day, to loue the Lord thy God, to walke in his waies, and to keepe his Commandements, and his Ordinances, and his Lawes, that thou maist liue, &c.* Neither is it said in vaine in Saint *Mathew*: *Si vis ad vitam ingredi, serua mandata; If thou wilt enter into life keepe the Commandements*: and in S. *Iohn*; *Scio quia mandatum eius vita aeterna est; I know that his Commandement is life euerlasting.* And if this bee the charitie of God, or of Men towards God, as S. *Iohn* hath taught, to wit, that we keepe his Commandements: certainely hee is but a lyar, that professeth to loue God, and neglecteth to obserue the word of his will, with all his power. And though I confesse it not in mans ability, without the speciall grace of God, to fulfill the law (*Christ* only as man excepted) yet if wee rightly consider the mercifull care which God had of his people in those his Commandements, we shall finde in our selues, how wee borrow liberty, and rather let slip our affections, and voluntarily loosen them from the chaines of obedience, to which the word of God and diuine reason hath fastened them, than that wee are excusable by those difficulties and impossibilities, which our minde (greedy of libetie) proposeth to it selfe. *For this is the loue of God, that we keepe his Commandements, & his Commandements are not greeuous.* 1 Iohn 5.12. and if wee examine euery precept apart, and then weigh them each after other, in the ballance of our consciences: it is not hard for any man to iudge, by what easie perswasions, we steale away from our owne power, as vnwilling to vse it against our pleasing desires.

1. Iohn 5.

Deut. 30.11.12. 13. & 14. Rom. 6.10.v. 6, 7, 8.

Cap. 9.17. Cap. 12.50.

§. XIII. *Of the seuerall Commandements of the* Decalogue: *and that the difficulty is not in respect of the Commaudements, but by our default.*

FOr by the first we are commanded to acknowledge, serue, and loue one God. Now, whereby are we inticed to the breach of this precept? seeing euery reasonable man may conceiue and know, that infinite power cannot be diuided into many infinities: and that it is of necessitie, that by this almighty Vnitie, all things haue bin caused, and are continued. And if brute beasts had this knowledge of their Creator, and how in his prouidence he hath also prouided for euery of them, *which giueth to beastes their foode, &c.* there is no doubt but that they would also serue and loue him only.

Psal. 147.9.

The second precept is the forbidding of Idolatry, and worship of Images: the making whereof, out of doubt, was not the inuention of an ill intent in the beginning, seeing this is generally true: *Omnia mala exempla bonis initijs orta sunt; All ill examples did spring and arise from good beginnings.* For their first erection was to keep the memory of men famous for their vertue: vntill (saith *Lactantius*) the diuell crept into them, and (hauing blotted out the first intent) working in weak and ignorant soules, changed the nature of the one, and the reason of the other, to serue himselfe thereby. For what reasonable man, if hee be not forsaken of God, will call on those blinde, deafe, dumbe, and dead stocks, more worthlesse

Glossa in verb. Galatin.

worthlesse then the most worthlesse of those, that hauing life and reason, implore their helpe, which haue neither: yea, of more vilde prize and baser, than the basest of beasts, who haue sense and estimation? For what doe we thereby (saith the Wisedome of *Salomon*) *but call to the weake for helpe, pray to the dead for life, require aide of him that hath no experience, assistance in our iournies of him that cannot goe, and successe in our affaires of him that hath no power?* And whether the Idolater, or the blocke, to which he prayeth, bee more senselesse; *Dauid* maketh a doubt. *For* (saith he) *they that make them are like vnto them, and so are all the rest that trust in them.*

Wisd. 13.v. 19.

Psalme 35.18.

The breach of the third Commandement, is neither perswaded by worldly pleasure, nor worldly profit: the two greatest inchanters of mortall men. No, we are no way allured to this horrible disdaine of God, vnlesse the hate of good men, and Gods curse, be accounted an aduantage. For as our corruptest nature giues vs nothing towards it, so can it satisfie no one appetite, except everlasting sorrow, and hell dwell in our desire. And therefore this strange custome hath the diuell brought vp among men, without all subtletie of argument, or cunning perswasion, taking thereby the greatest and most scornfull aduantage ouer vs. For slaughter satisfieth hatred, Theft giues satisfaction to need, Adultery to lust, Oppression to couetousnesse: but this contemptuous offence of blasphemy, and the irreuerent abuse of Gods name, as it giueth no helpe to any of our worldly affections, so the most saluage Nations of the world doe not vse it.

The fourth Commandement, to keepe the *Sabbath* day holy, hath neither pain, burthen, nor inconuenience. For it giueth rest to the laborer, and consolation to their Masters. And that this law was imposed on man for his benefit, *Moses* teacheth in the reason of the law: as in Exod. 23.12. *And in the seuenth day thou shalt rest, that thine Oxe and thine Asse may rest, and the sonne of thy maide, and the stranger may be refreshed.*

The first of the second Table to honour our Parents, with whom wee are one and the same, is a gratitude which nature it selfe hath taught vs towards them, who after God gaue vs life and being, haue begotten vs, and borne vs, cherished vs in our weake and helplesse infancie, and bestowed on vs the haruest and profit of their labours and cares. Therefore, in the Temporall and Iudiciall ordinances, cursing of parents, or the offering them violence, was made death.

The next is, that thou shalt not Murther, that is, thou shalt not doe the actes following the affections of hatred. For the law of God, and after it our owne lawes, and in effect the law of all Nations, haue made difference between slaughter casuall, and furious. *Affectio enim tua* (saith *Bracton*) *imponit nomen operi tuo; It is the affection and will that makes the worke such as it is.* And certainly, whosoeuer cannot forbeare to commit murther, hath neither the grace of God, nor any vse of his owne will.

The third of the second Table, commands vs from Adultery. Now, if the preseruation of Virginity haue bene possible, for thousands of Men and Women, who in all Ages haue mastered their fleshly desires, and haue returned chaste to their graue: It cannot be accounted a burthen, to forbeare the dishonour and iniurie, which wee offer to others by such a violation, seeing marriage is permitted by the lawes of God, and Men, to all that affect it. And there is no man liuing whom the desire of beauty and forme hath so constrained, but he might with ease forbeare the prosequution of this ill: did not himselfe giue sucke to this Infant, and nourish warmth till it grow to strong heate, heate till it turne to fire, and fire to flame.

Nuptiæ replent terram, Virginitas Paradisum.

The fourth of the second Table, is, that we shall not steale. And if that kinde of violent robbery had beene vsed in *Moses* time, which many Ruffians practise now a-dayes in *England*, and to the dishonor of our Nation more in *England*, than in any Region of the world among *Christians*; out of doubt, he would haue censured them by death, and not by restitution, though quadruple. For I speak not of the poore and miserable soules, whom hunger and extreame necessitie inforceth, but of those detested Theeues, who to maintaine themselues Lord-like, assault, rob, and wound the Merchant, Artificer, and Labouring man; or breake by violence into other mens houses, and spend in Brauerie, Drunkennesse, and vpon Harlots, in one day, what other men sometime haue laboured for all their liues: impouerishing whole Families, and taking the bread and foode from the mouthes of their children. And that this Commandement might easily be obserued; it would soone appeare, if Princes would resolue, but for a few yeeres to pardon none. For, it is the hope of life, and the argument of sparing the first offence, that incourageth these

these Hell-hounds. And if euery man presume to be pardoned once, there is no State or Common-wealth, but these men would in a short time impouerish or destroy it.

The fifth Commandement of this second Table, is, the prohibition of false witnesse: from which if men could not forbeare, all surety of estate and life were taken away. And so much did God detest a false witnesse, and a false accuser, especially in matters criminall, that the law ordained him to suffer the same death or punishment, which he sought by falshood to lay on his brother.

The last of the ten Commandements forbiddeth vs to couet any thing, which belongeth to another man, either the bodies of their wiues for concupiscence, or their goods for desire of gaine. And this precept seemeth the hardest for men to obserue; so esteemed by reason of our fraile affections: and yet if wee iudge hereof rightly, it may bee doubted whether it extend to all our inconsiderate fancies and vaine thoughts. For, although it be not easie to master all our sudden passions, yet we may restraine and hinder the growing, and farther increase, if we please to intend our strength, and seeke for grace. How the word *Coueting* reacheth to all those it is to bee considered. For *Concupiscentia*, according to some, *Est effrænatus habendi appetitus; An vnbrideled, or vnrestrained appetite of hauing:* And as touching such an appetite, we cannot excuse our selues by any our naturall frailty, or vnaduised error; But as I suppose, the word *Concupiscence* is more largely taken, either for a determinate and vnbridled euill intent, or for some vrging inclination thereunto. All the question is of the later sort: which is, *Actus imperfectus, id est, non deliberatus ratione, quæ est principium proprium actus boni aut vitiosi; Such passions, or inclinations are vnperfect acts, that is, not deliberated vpon by reason, which is the proper principle of a good or vicious action.* And sure, it may seeme, that so long as we resist such motions, they harme vs not: as they say, *Quamdiu refragamur nihil nocent: nocent autem cum eas dominari permittimus; As long as wee giue no assent vnto them, it is thought by some that they hurt vs not; and that then onely they hurt, when we suffer them to beare sway.* But these men, as it seemes, make nothing forbidden in this tenth precept, but what hath bene forbidden in the other: for in euery Commandement, not onely the outward act, but also the inward assent vnto euill, though it breake not out into acte, is forbidden: therefore, that we may know the difference between this Commandement and the rest, the distinction of desires is to be held: that some are with assent, and vnbridled; others bridled, and without assent. For so euen the Morall *Philosopher* can tell vs, that the Continent man hath euill desires, but without assent (for they are bridled by the strength of right reason) as on the other side the Incontinent hath good desires, but restrained and suppressed by contrary passions. The euill desires when they are accompanied with assent, are in euery Commandement forbidden, together with the outward act: and therefore, if we will haue any thing proper to this Commandement, wee must needs say, that the euill desires of the Continent man (that is, euen those which wee resist and bridle) are here forbidden. For though he that bridleth his euill desires, bee much better than hee that yeeldeth vnto them: yet such a man, euen according to the Heathen *Philosopher*, is not worthy the name of a vertuous man. For *Aristotle* himselfe makes *Continentia*, not to be vertue, but onely a degree vnto it: confessing, that though the Continent man doe well in bridling his euill affections, yet he doth not all, seeing he ought not so much as to haue them at all. Neither is it much more, that true diuinity deliuereth touching this matter. For, as he saith, that in the continent man the hauing of these euill desires, though he resist them, is the cause that he cannot be called a vertuous man: so we, that the hauing of them is a sinne. Only in this we excell him here: that we are able out of diuinity to giue the true reason of this doctrine: which is, that euery one sinneth, that doeth not loue God with his whole heart and affection: whence it followeth, that the euill desires of the Continent man; that is, of him which bridleth them, must needs be sinne: seeing such desires, though bridled, are a pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleased God, to make vs know, that by our faithfull endeuours to keepe his commandements, we witnesse our loue toward himselfe: we may not safely giue libertie to our vanities, by casting backe vpon God (who is iustice it selfe) that he hath giuen vs precepts altogether beyond our power, and Commandements impossible for vs to keepe. For, as hee is accursed (saith Saint *Hierome*) that auowes that the Law is in all things possible to be obserued: so he hath made this addition: *Maledictus qui*

qui dicit impossibilia Deum præcepisse; Accursed is hee that saith that God hath commanded things (in themselues, and not through our fault) *impossible.* Now, as the places are many which command vs to keepe the Law: so is our weakenesse also in the Scriptures laide before vs, and therefore it is thus safely to be vnderstood, that we should without euasion, or without betraying of our selues, doe our faithfull endeuours to obserue them: which if we doe vnfainedly, no doubt, but God will accept our desires therein. For that there is no man iust, *Dauid* witnesseth: *Enter not into iudgement with thy seruant, for in thy sight no flesh that liueth shall be iustified.* And in the first of *Kings*, *There is no man that sinneth not:* And againe, *who can say, I haue made my heart cleane?* But seeing there is no sinne greeuous without deliberation; let euery mans conscience iudge him, whether hee giue way willingly, or restraine himselfe in all that he can; yea, or no? For when a King giues to his subiect a commandement vpon paine of losse of his loue, to performe some seruice: if the subiect neglecting the same, seeke to satisfie his *Soueraigne* with shifting excuses, out of doubt such a Prince will take himselfe to be derided therein.

Psal. 143. ca. 8. v. 46. Prou. 20. v. 9.

§. XIIII.

If there were not any Religion, nor Iudgement to come, yet the Decalogue *were most necessary to be obserued.*

AND if wee consider aduisedly and soberly, of the Morall Law, or ten Commandements, which God by the hand of *Moses* gaue vnto his people, it will appeare that such was his mercifull prouidence in the choise of them, as were there neither paine, nor profit adioyned to the obseruing, or not obseruing of them; were there no diuine power at all, nor any Religion among men; yet if wee did not for our owne sakes striue to obserue these Lawes, all society of men, and all endeuours, all happinesse and contentment in this life would be taken away: and euery State and common-weale in the World fall to the ground and dissolue. Therefore, these Lawes were not imposed as a burthen, but as a blessing: to the end that the innocent might be defended, that euery man might enioy the fruites of his owne trauaile, that right might be done to all men from all men: that by iustice, order, and peace, we might liue the liues of reasonable men, and not of beasts; of free-men, and not of slaues; of ciuill men, and not of sauages. And hereof making our humane reason onely Iudge, let vs see the inconueniences in this life which would follow by the breach and neglect of these Lawes.

As first, what would the issue be if we acknowledged many Gods? would not a farre greater hatred, warre, and blood-shed follow, than that which the difference of ceremonie, and diuersity of interpretation, hath already brought into the World, euen among those Nations which acknowledge one God, and one *Christ*?

And what could it profit man-kinde to pray to Idols, and Images of gold, mettall, dead stones, and rotten wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the losse of time, and an impossibilitie to receiue thence-from, either helpe or comfort?

The breach of the third Commandement bringeth there-with this disaduantage, and ill to man, that whosoeuer taketh the name of God in vaine, shall not at any time benefit himselfe by calling God to witnesse for him, when hee may iustly vse his holy name.

The obseruing the *Sabbath* holy, giueth rest to men and beasts, and nature her selfe requireth intermission of labour.

If we despise our Parents, who haue giuen vs being, we thereby teach our owne children to scorne and neglect vs, when our aged yeeres require comfort and helpe at their hands.

If murther were not forbidden, and seuerely punished, the race of man-kinde would be extinguished: and whosoeuer would take the liberty to destroy others, giueth liberty to others to destroy himselfe.

If adultery were lawfull and permitted, no man could say vnto himselfe; This is my sonne: there could be no inheritance proper, no honour descend to posterity, no endeuour by vertue and vndertaking to raise Families: murthers and poysonings betweene man and wife would be daily committed: and euery man subiect to most filthy and vncleane diseases.

If stealth and violent rapine were suffered, all man-kinde would shortly after perish,

or

or liue as the saluages, by rootes and acornes. For no man laboureth but to enioy the fruites thereof. And such is the mischiefe of robbery, as where *Moses* for lesser crimes appointed restitution fourefold, policie of State and necessity hath made it death.

To permit false witnesses, is to take all mens liues and estates from them by corruption: the wicked would sweare against the vertuous: the waster against the wealthie: the idle beggar and loyterer, against the carefull and painfull labourer: all triall of right were taken away, and iustice thereby banished out of the world.

The coueting of that which belongs to other men, bringeth no other profit than a distraction of minde, with an inward vexation: for while we couet what appertaines to others, we neglect our owne; our appetites are therin fed with vaine and fruitlesse hopes, so long as we do but couet; and if we doe attaine to the desire of the one, or the other, to wit, the wiues or goods of our neighbours; we can look for no other, but that our selues shall also, either by theft or by strong hand, be depriued of our owne.

Wherein then appeareth the burthen of Gods Commandements, if there bee nothing in them, but rules and directions for the generall and particular good of all liuing? Surely, for our owne good, and not in respect of himselfe, did the most mercifull & prouident God ordaine them; without the obseruation of which, the vertues of heauenly bodies, the fertility of the earth, with all the blessings giuen vs in this life, would be vnto vs altogether vnprofitable, and of no vse. For wee should remaine but in the state of brute beasts, if not in a farre more vnhappy condition.

§. XV. *Of humane Law, written and vnwritten.*

HVmane Law, of which now it followeth to speake, is first diuided into two, (*Viz.*) Written, and Vnwritten. The vnwritten consists of vsage, approued by time: which *Isidore* calls *Mores*: and he defines *Mores* to be *Consuetudines vetustate probatæ*; to bee *customes approued by antiquitie, or vnwritten lawes.* Now custome differeth from use, as the cause from the effect: in that custome is by vse and continuance established into a Law: but yet there where the law is defectiue, saith *Isidore.*

And of customes there are two generall natures, containing innumerable particulars; the first are written customes, receiued and exercised by Nations, as the customes of *Burgundie* and *Normandie*, the ancient generall custome of *England*, and the customes of *Castill*, and other *Prouinces.*

The second are these petty customes, vsed in particular Places, Cities, Hundreds, and Mannors. The generall or Nationall customes are some written, others vnwritten.

The particular or petty customes are seldome written, but witnessed by testimonie of the inhabitants. The Customes of the *Duchie* of *Cornwall*, comprehending also the *Stannerie* of *Deuon*, as touching *Tin*, and *Tin* causes, are written in *Deuon*, but not in *Cornwall.* But howsoeuer vse and time hath made these customes as lawes, yet ought euery custome to be *rationabilis*, as well as *præscripta. Non firmatur tractu temporis quod de iure ab initio non subsistit*; *That which at first was not grounded vpon good right, is not made good by continuance of time.* And (saith *Vlpian*) *quod ab initio vitiosum est, non potest tractu temporis conualescere*; *Course of time amends not that which was naught from the first beginning.* For these two defences are necessary in all lawes of custome; the one, that it be not repugnant to the law diuine, and naturall: the other, that the cause and reason be strong, prouing a right birth, and necessary continuance: it being manifest, that euery custome which is against the law, had his beginning from euill deeds, and therefore not without the former considerations to be allowed. And it is true, that all customes of this nature were but tolerated for a time, by the Law-makers, though they haue beene since continued, because posterity is not bound to examine by what cause their Ancestors were thereto moued. For, *non sufficit simplex toleratio.* And it is in this sort ouer-ruled in the law; *Per populum consuetudo contra legem induci non potest, nisi de voluntate illius qui nouam legem, & nouam constitutionem statuere potest, qui solus Princeps est*; *The people cannot bring in a new custome against law: saue by his will, who hath power to make a new law and ordinance, which is onely the Prince.*

In Reg. Iur. v. 2, q. 117. art. 1.

Vlp. l. 29.

Humane Law generally taken, to wit, humane law written, is by some defined to be the decree or doome of practique reason: by which humane actions are ruled and directed. *Papinian* calls the Law a common precept, the aduisement of wise men, and the restraint

restraint of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. *Isidore* calles the Law a Constitution written, agreeing with Religion, fittest for Gouernment and common profit: And more largely, *Omne id quod ratione consistit*; *All that stands with reason.*

Lastly, and more precisely it is thus defined. Humane Law is a righteous decree, agreeing with the Law natural, and eternall: made by the rational discourse of those, that exercise publike authority: prescribing necessary obseruances to the subiect. That euery Law ought to be a righteous decree, S. *Augustine* teacheth, saying: *Mihi lex esse non videtur, quæ iusta non fuerit*; *It seemes to be no law at all to me, which is not iust*: and iust it cannot be, except it agree with the law naturall and eternall. For there is no Law iust and legitimate (saith S. *Augustine*) which the Law-makers haue not deriued from the eternall. *Nihil iustum atque legitimum est, quod non ab æterna lege sibi homines deriuauerint.*

Greg. de Val. ex Tho. q. 91. art. 3. & q. 94. art. 2.

L. 1. de lib. arb. cap. 5.

Secondly, it ought to be constituted by discourse of reason, whereby it is distinguished from the Law naturall, to wit, the naturall, indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration, from whence the law humane is taken and deduced.

Thirdly, that it ought to bee made by an authorised Magistracie, it cannot bee doubted, be the gouernment of what kinde soeuer. For it falleth otherwise vnder the Title of those decrees called *Violentiæ*, or *iniquæ constitutiones*; *Violences*, or *wicked constitutions.*

Of humane Law there are foure properties, especially answering these foure conditions in the former definition. First, as it is drawne out of the law of nature: so euery particular of the humane Law may be resolued into some principle or rule of the naturall.

4. Parts.

Tho. q. 9. 5. art. 2.

Secondly, it is to be considered as it is referred vnto, and doth respect the common good.

Thirdly, it is to be made by publique authority.

Fourthly, concerning the matter of the Law, it prescribeth, and directeth, all humane actions. And so is the Law as large and diuers, as all humane actions are diuers, which may fall vnder it. For according to *Thomas*, *Alia lex Iulia de Adulteryis, alia Cornelia de Sicarys*; *The Law of* Iulian *against Adulteryis one, the* Cornelian *against Ruffians, is another.* Now the humane Law, generally taken, is in respect of the first of these considerations, diuided into the Law of Nations, and the Ciuill.

The Law of Nations is taken lesse or more properly; lesse properly for euery Law which is not of it selfe, but from other higher principles deduced: and so it seemeth that *Vlpian* vnderstands it: for he defineth *Ius gentium*, or *the Law of Nations*, to be that which is onely common amongst Men, as Religion, and the worship of God: which is not in the very nature of this Law of Nations; but from the principles of the Scriptures, and other diuine Reuelations. But the Law of Nations properly taken, is that *dictate*, or *sentence*, which is drawne from a very probable, though not from an euident principle, yet so probable, that all Nations doe assent vnto the conclusion, as that the free passage of *Ambassadours* be granted betweene enemies, &c. which Nationall Law, according to diuers acceptions, and diuers considerations had of the humane Law, may be sometime taken for a *Species* of the Naturall, sometime of the Humane.

Ius Ciuile, or the Ciuill Law, is not the same in all Common-wealths, but in diuers estates it is also diuers and peculiar, and this Law is not so immediately deriued from the Law of Nature, as the Law of Nations is: For it is partly deduced out of such principles as all Nations doe not agree in, or easily assent vnto; because they depend on particular circumstances, which are diuers, and doe not fit all estates. Hereof *Vlpian*, *Ius ciuile, neque in totum à naturali & gentium recedit, neque per omnia ei seruit: itaq; cum aliquid addimus vel detrahimus Iuri communi, Ius proprium, id est, Ciuile efficimus*; *The Ciuill Law* (saith he) *doth neither wholly differ from the Law of Nature, and Nations, nor yet in all points obey it: therefore when we adde ought to, or take from the Law that is common, we make a Law proper, that is, the Ciuill Law.*

In Leg. 6. ta ff. de Iustitia Iure.

The Law now commonly called the Ciuill Law, had its birth in *Rome*: and was first written by the *Decem viri*, 303. yeeres after the foundation of the City. It was compounded as wel out of the *Athenian*, & other *Grecian* Lawes, as out of the ancient *Romane* customes and Lawes *Regall.* The Regal Lawes were deuised by the first Kings; and called *Leges Regiæ*, or *Papyrianæ*, because they were gathered by *Papyrius*, *Tarquin* then reigning. For though so many of the former Lawes as maintained Kingly authority, were abolished,

Dion. Hal. shed, with the name; yet those of *Seruius Tullius*, for Commerce and Contracts, and all that appertained to Religion, and common vtility, were continued, and were a part of the Lawes of the twelue Tables. To these Lawes of the twelue Tables were added (as the times gaue occasion) those made by the *Senate*, called *Senatus-consulta*: those of the common people called *Plebei-scita*, those of the Lawyers, called *Responsa-prudentum*: and the Edicts of the *Annuall Magistrate*: which Edicts being first gathered and interpreted by *Iulian*, and presented to *Adrian* the Emperour, they were by him confirmed and made perpetuall Lawes, and the *Volume* stiled *Edictum perpetuum*; as those and the like Collections of *Iustinian* afterward were.

C. Sigon. l. 1. out of Pomponius.

The difference anciently betweene Lawes and Edicts, which the *French* call *Reglements*, consisted in this, that Lawes are the Constitutions made or confirmed by soueraigne authority (be the soueraignty in the people, in a few, or in one) and are withall generall and permanent: but an Edict (which is but *Iussum Magistratus*, vnlesse by authority it be made a Law) hath end with the *Officer*, who made the same, saith *Varro*. *Qui plurimum Edicto tribuunt, legem annuam esse dicunt*; *They who ascribe the most vnto an Edict, say that it is a Law for one yeere*: Though *Isidore* doth also expresse by the word *Constitutions* or *Edicts*, those Ordinances called *Acts of Prerogatiues*; as *Constitutio vel Edictum est quod Rex, vel Imperator constituit, vel edicit*; *An Ordinance or Edict is that which a King or Emperour doth ordaine or proclaime*.

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Lastly, the *Humane Law* is diuided into the *Secular*, and into the *Ecclesiasticall*, or *Canon*. The *Secular* commanding temporall good, to wit, the peace and tranquility of the Common-weale: the *Ecclesiasticall* the spirituall good, and right Gouernment of the *Ecclesiasticall Common-wealth*, or *Church*, *illud naturæ legem, hoc diuinam spectat*; *That respecteth the Law of Nature, this the Law of God*, And so may *Ius Ciuile* be taken two wayes; first, as distinguished from the Law of Nations, as in the first diuision: Secondly, as it is the same with the *Secular*, and diuers from the *Ecclesiasticall*. But this diuision of the *Schoolemen* is obscure. For although the *Ciuill* be the same with the *Secular*, as the *Ciuill* is a Law, yet the *Secular* is more generall, and comprehendeth both the *Ciuill*, and all other Lawes not *Ecclesiasticall*. For of *Secular* Lawes, in vse among *Christian* Princes, and in *Christian* Common-weales, there are three kindes; the *Ciuill*, which hath euery where a voyce; and is in all *Christian* estates (*England* excepted) most powerfull; the Lawes of *England* called Common, and the Lawes of custome or *Prouinciall*. In *Spaine* besides the Law *Ciuill*, they haue the customes of *Castill*, and other Prouinces. In *France* besides the *Ciuill*, the customes of *Burgundy*, *Bloys*, *Berri*, *Niuernois*, and *Lodunois*, *&c. Tous lieux situes & assis en Lodunois, seront gouernez selon les costumes du dit pays*; *All places lying within the precincts of Loduneis, shall be gouerned according to the customes of that place*. There are also in *France* the customes of *Normandy*, and these of two kindes; Generall, and Locall; and all purged and reformed by diuers Acts of the three Estates. The *Charters* of confirmation of these ancient customes, before and since their reformation haue these words; *Nos autem, registrum predictum, vsus laudabiles, & consuetudines antiquas, &c. laudamus, approbamus, & authoritate Regia confirmamus*; *The Register aforesaid, laudable vse, and ancient customes we praise, approue, and by our Kingly authority confirme*. The common Law of *England* is also compounded of the ancient customes of the same, and of certaine *Maximes* by those customes of the Realme approued. Vpon which customes also are grounded those Courts of *Record*, of the *Chancery*, *Kings Bench*, *Common Pleas*, and *Exchequer*, with other small Courts.

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Art. 3. tit. 5. G. Cust.

These ancient customes of *England* haue beene approued by the Kings thereof, from age to age: as that custome by which no man shall be taken, imprisoned, disseised, nor otherwise destroyed, but he must first be put to answer by the Law of the Land, was confirmed by the *Statute* of *Magna Charta*. It is by the ancient custome of *England*, that the eldest sonne should inherite without partition. In *Germany*, *France*, and elsewhere otherwise, and by partition. In *Ireland* it is the custome for all Landes (that haue not beene resigned into the Kings hands) that the eldest of the House shall enioy the Inheritance during his owne life: and so the second and third eldest (if there be so many brothers) before the Heire in lineall descent: this is called the custome of *Tanistrie*. For example, if a Lord of Land haue foure sonnes, and the eldest of those foure haue also a Sonne, the three Brothers of the eldest Sonne, shall after the death of their Brother, enioy their Fathers Lands before the Grand-childe: the custome being

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grounded

grounded vpon the reason of necessity. For the *Irish* in former times, hauing alwayes liued in a subdiuided *Ciuill* Warre, not onely the greatest against the greatest, but euery *Baron* and *Gentleman* one against another, were enforst to leaue successors of age and ability, to defend their owne *Territories*. Now as in *Normandie*, *Burgundie*, and other Prouinces of *France*, there are certaine peculiar and petty Customes, besides the great and generall custome of the Land, so are there in *England*, and in euery part thereof. But the greatest bulke of our Lawes, as I take it, are the *Acts of Parliament*: lawes propounded and approued by the three estates of the Realme, and confirmed by the King, to the obedience of which all men are therefore bound, because they are *Acts* of choise, and

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selfe-desire. *Leges nulla alia causa nos tenent, quàm quòd iudicio populi receptæ sunt*; *The lawes doe therefore binde the subiect, because they are receiued by the iudgement of the subiect. Tum demum humanæ leges habent vim suam, cum fuerint non modò institutæ, sed etiam firmatæ approbatione communitatis*; *It is then that humane lawes haue their strength, when they shall not onely be deuised, but by the approbation of the people confirmed.*

Vlp. ff. de Leg. Leg. 32.

Aug. de vera relig. cap. 31.

Gratian in dec. dist. 4. Cum in istis.

Isidore fasteneth these properties to euery *Christian* Law, that the same bee honest, that it bee possible, that it bee according to Nature, and according to the custome of the Countrey; also for the time and place conuenient, profitable, and manifest, and without respect of priuate profite, that it be written for the generall good. He also giues foure effects of the Law, which *Modestinus* comprehends in two; to wit, obligation,

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and instigation: the former bindes vs by feare, to auoide vice; the latter incourageth with hope, to follow vertue. For according to *Cicero*, *Legem oportet esse vitiorum emendatricem, commendatricemque virtutum*: *It behoueth the Law to bee a mender of vices, and a commender of vertues*. The part obligatorie or binding vs to the obseruation of things commanded or forbidden, is an effect common to all lawes: and it is two-fold; the one constraineth vs by feare of our consciences, the other by feare of externall punishment. These two effects the law performeth, by the exercise of those two powers, to wit, *Coactiue* and *Directiue*.

The second of these two effects remembred by *Modestinus*, is *Instigation*, or incouragement to vertue, as *Aristotle* makes it the end of the law, to make men vertuous. For lawes being such as they ought to be, doe both by prescribing and forbidding, vrge vs to well-doing; laying before vs the good and the euill, by the one and the other purchased. And his power affirmatiue commanding good, and power negatiue forbidding euil, are those into which the law is diuided, as touching the matter: and in which *Dauid* comprehendeth the whole body and substance thereof: saying, *Declina à malo, & fac bonum: Declina ab malo, & fac bonum*; *Decline from euill, and doe good.* Psalme 37.

§. XVI. *That onely the Prince is exempt from humane Lawes, and in what sort.*

NOW whether the power of the humane Law bee without exception of any person, it is doubtfully disputed among those that haue written of this subiect, as well *Diuines* as *Lawyers*: and namely, whether Soueraigne Princes bee compellable; yea, or nor But whereas there are two powers of the law, as aforesaid; the one *Directiue*, the other *Coactiue*: to the power *Directiue* they ought to bee subiect, but not to that which constraineth. For as touching violence or punishments, no man is bound to giue a prejudiciall iudgement against himselfe; and if equals haue not any power ouer each other, much lesse haue inferiours ouer their superiours, from whom they receiue their authority and strength.

And speaking of the supreme power of lawes, simply then is the Prince so much aboue

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the lawes, as the soule and body vnited, is aboue a dead and senselesse carkasse. For the King is truly called, *Ius viuum, & lex animata*: *An vnimate and liuing law*. But this is true, that by giuing authority to lawes, Princes both adde greatnes to themselues, & conserue it; and therefore was it said of *Bracton* out of *Iustinian*; *Meritò debet Rex tribuere legi quod lex attribuit ei: nam lex facit vt ipse sit Rex*; *Right fully ought the King to attribute that to the law, which the Law first attributeth to the King; for it is the law that doth make Kings.*

But whereas *Bracton* ascribeth this power to the humane law, he is therein mistaken. Bract. l. 2.

For Kings are made by God, and lawes diuine; and by humane lawes onely, declared to bee Kings. As for the places remembred by the Diuines and Lawyers, which inferre

akinde of obligation of Princes, they teach no other thing therein, than the bond of conscience, and profit arising from the examples of vertuous Princes, who are to giue an account of their actions to God onely.

Psal. 50. ff. de Leg. *Tibi soli peccaui*, saith *Dauid*; *Against thee onely haue I sinned*: therefore, the Prince can not bee said to be subiect to the Law; *Princeps non subijcitur legi*. For seeing according to the *Schoolemen*, the Law humane is but *quoddam organum & instrumentum potestatis gubernatiuæ: non videtur posse eius obligatio ad eum se extendere, ad quem ipsa vis potestatis humanæ non pertinet; sed vis potestatis humanæ non se extendit ad gubernatorem, in quo illa residet. Ergo neq; lex condita per talem potestatem obligare potest ipsum conditorem. Omnis enim potentia actiua, est principium transmutandi aliud; Seeing humane Law* (say they) *is but a kind of Organ or Instrument of the power that gouerneth, it seemes that it cannot extend it selfe to binde any one whom no humane power can controll, or lay hold of: but the Gouernour himselfe, in whom the gouerning power doth reside, is a person that cannot by himselfe, or by his own power be controlled. And therefore the Law which is made by such a power, cannot binde the law-maker himselfe: for euery actiue ability, is a cause or principle of alteration in another body*, not in the body in which it selfe resides. And seeing Princes haue power to deliuer others from the obligation of the Law: *Ergo etiam potest ipsemet Princeps siue legislator sua* Greg. de Valentia de Leg. *se voluntate pro libito ab obligatione legis liberare; Therefore also may a Prince or Law-maker at his owne will and pleasure deliuer himselfe from the bond of the Law.* Therefore in the rules of the Law it is thus concluded: *Subditi tenentur leges obseruare necessitate coactionis, Princeps vero sola voluntate sua, & intui. u boni communis; The subiects are bound to fulfill the Law by necessity of compulsion, but the Prince onely by his owne will, and regard of the common good.*

Now concerning the politique Lawes, giuen by *Moses* to the Nation of the *Israelites*, whether they ought to be a President, from which no ciuill institutions of other people should presume to digresse, I will not presume to determine, but leaue it as a question for such men to decide, whose professions giue them greater ability. Thus much I may be bold to affirme, That we ought not to seeme wiser than *God* himselfe, who hath told vs that there are no Lawes so righteous, as those which it pleased him to giue to his Elect people to be gouerned by. True it is, that all Nations haue their seuerall qualities, wherein they differ, euen from their next borderers, no lesse than in their peculiar languages: which disagreeable conditions to gouerne aptly, one and the same Law very hardly were able. The *Roman* ciuill Lawes did indeed containe in order a great part of the then knowne World, without any notable inconuenience, after such time as once it was receiued and become familiar: yet was not the administration of it alike in all parts, but yeelded much vnto the naturall customes of the sundry people, which it gouerned. For whether it be through a long continued perswasion; or (as *Astrologers* more willingly grant) some influence of the Heauens; or peraduenture some temper of the soile and climate, affoording matter of prouocation to vice (as plenty made the *Sybarites* luxurious: want and oportunity to steale, makes the *Arabians* to be Theeues) very hard it were to forbid by Law an offence so common with any people, as it wanted a name, whereby to be distinguished from iust and honest. By such rigour was the Kingdome of *Congo* vnhappily diuerted from the Christian Religion, which it willingly at the first imbraced, but after with great fury reiected, because plurality of Wiues was denied vnto them, I know not how necessarily, but more contentiously than seasonably. In such cases, me thinkes, it were not amisse to consider that the high *God* himselfe permitted some things to the *Israelites*, rather in regard of their naturall disposition (for they were hard-hearted) than because they were consonant vnto the ancient rules of the first perfection. So, where euen the generall nature of man doth condemne (as many things it doth) for wicked and vniust; there may the Law, giuen by *Moses*, worthily be deemed the most exact reformer of the euill, which forceth man, as neere as may be, to the will and pleasure of his Maker. But where nature or custome hath entertained a vicious, yet not intolerable habite, with so long and so publike approbation, that the vertue opposing it would seeme as vncouth, as it were to walke naked in *England*, or to weare the *English* fashion of apparell in *Turkie*: there may a wise and vpright Law-giuer, without presumption, omit somewhat that the rigour of *Moses* his Law required; euen as the good King *Hezekia* did, in a matter meerely *Ecclesiasticall*, and therefore the lesse capable of dispensation, praying for the people; The good Lord be mercifull vnto him, that prepareth his whole heart to

to seeke the Lord God, the *God of his Fathers*, though hee be not cleansed according to the purification of the Sanctuary: which prayer the Lord heard and granted. 2 Chron. cap. 30. v. 18. 19.

To this effect it is well obserued by Master Doctor *Willet*, that the morall Iudicials of *Moses* doe partly binde, and partly are let free. They doe not hold affirmatiuely that we are tyed to the same seuerity of punishment now, which was inflicted then; but negatiuely they doe hold, that now the punishment of death should not be adiudged, where sentence of death is not giuen by *Moses*: Christian Magistrates ruling vnder *Christ* the Prince of peace, that is, of Clemency and Mercy, may abate of the seuerity of *Moses* Law, and mitigate the punishment of death, but they cannot adde vnto it to make the burden more heauy: for to shew more rigour than *Moses*, becommeth not the *Gospell*. Isa. 9.

But I will not wander in this copious argument, which hath beene the subiect of many learned discourses, neither will I take vpon me, to speak any thing definitiuely in a case which dependeth still in some controuersie among worthy Diuines. Thus much (as in honour of the Iudiciall Law, or rather of him that gaue it) I may well and truly say, that the defence of it hath alwayes beene very plausible. And surely howsoeuer they be not accepted (neither were it expedient) as a generall and onely Law: yet shall we hardly find any other ground, whereon the conscience of a Iudge may rest, with equall satisfaction in making interpretation, or giuing sentence vpon doubts, arising out of any Law besides it. Hereof, perhaps, that Iudge could haue beene witnesse, of whom *Fortescue* that notable Bulwarke of our Lawes doth speake, complaining of a iudgement giuen against a Gentlewoman at *Salisbury*, who being accused by her owne Man, without any other proofe, for murdering her Husband, was thereupon condemned, and burnt to ashes: the Man who accused her, within a yeere after being conuict for the same offence, confest that his Mistris was altogether innocent of that cruell fact, whose terrible death hee then (though ouer-late) greeuously lamented: but this Iudge, saith the same Author, *Sæpius ipse mihi fassus est, quod nunquam in vita sua animum eius de hoc facta ipse purgaret; He himselfe often confessed vnto me, that he should neuer during his life, be able to cleare his conscience of that fact.* Wherefore that acknowledgement which other *Sciences* yeeld vnto the *Metaphysiques*, that from thence are drawne propositions, able to proue the principles of Sciences, which out of the Sciences themselues cannot be proued, may iustly be granted by all other politique institutions, to that of *Moses*; and so much the more iustly, by how much the subiect of the *Metaphysiques*, which is, *Ens quatenus Ens*; *Being as it is being*, is infinitely inferiour to the *Ens Entium*; *The being of beings*, the onely good, the fountaine of truth, whose feare is the beginning of wisedome. To which purpose well saith Saint *Augustine*, *Conditur legum temporalium si vir bonus est & sapiens, illam ipsam consulit æternam, de qua nulli animæ iudicare datum est; The Author of temporall Lawes, if he be good and wise, doth therein consult the Law eternall, to determine of which there is no power giuen to any soule.* And as well Prince *Edward*, in *Fortescue* his discourse, *Nemo potest melius aut aliud fundamentum ponere, quam posuit Dominus; No man can lay a better, or another foundation than the Lord hath laide.* Ca. 5. 3.

CHAP. V.

The Story of the Israelites from the receiuing of the Law to the death of MOSES.

§. I. *Of the numbring and disposing of the Host of Israel, for their marches through the Wilderness; with a note of the reuerence giuen to the worship of God, in this ordering of their troupes.*

WHen *Moses* had receiued the Law from God, and published it among the people, and finished the Tabernacle of the *Arke* and *Sanctuary*; he mustred all the Tribes and Families of *Israel*: and hauing seene what numbers of Men fit to beare armes, were found in euery Tribe, from 20. yeeres of age vpwards; he appointed vnto them, by direction from the Lord, such Princes and Leaders, as in worth and reputation were in euery Tribe most eminent. The number

number of the whole Army was 603550. able men for the wars, besides women & children; also, besides the strangers which followed them out of *Egypt*. This great Army was diuided by *Moses* into foure grosse and mighty Battalions, each of which contained the strength of three whole Tribes.

The first of these containing 186400. able men, consisted of three Regiments, which may well, in respect of their numbers, be called Armies; as containing the three whole Tribes of *Iudah*, *Issachar*, and *Zabulon*. In the Tribe of *Iudah* were 74600. fighting men, led by *Naasson*: in *Issachar* 54400. led by *Nathaniel*: in *Zabulon* 57400. led by *Eliab*. All these marched vnder the Standard of the Tribe of *Iudah*, who held the Vauntgaurd, and was the first that moued & marched, being lodged and quartered at their generall incamping on the East-side of the Army, which was held the first place, and of greatest dignity.

The second Battalion or Army, called in the Scriptures the Host of *Reuben*, had ioyned vnto it *Simeon* and *Gad*, in number 151450. All which marched vnder the Standard of *Reuben*. In the Tribe of *Reuben* were 46500. vnder *Elizur*: in *Simeon*: 59300. vnder *Shelumiel*: in *Gad* 45650. vnder *Eliasaph*: These had the second place, and incamped on the South-side of the Tabernacle.

The third Army marched vnder the Standard of *Ephraim*, to whom were ioyned the Regiments of *Manasse* and *Beniamin*; who, ioyned together, made in number 108100. able men. These marched in the third place, incamping on the West quarter of the Tabernacle. *Ephraim* had 40500. vnder *Elishama*: *Manasse* 32200. vnder *Gamliel*: *Beniamin* 35400. vnder *Abidam*.

The fourth and last Army, or Squadron, of the generall Army, containing 157600. able men, marched vnder the Standard of *Dan*; to whom were ioyned the two Tribes of *Nephtali* and *Asher*. And these had the Rereward, and moued last, incamping on the North-side. *Dan* had 62700. vnder *Ahiezer*: *Asher* 41500. vnder *Pagiel*: *Nephtali* 53400. vnder *Ahira*.

Besides these Princes of the seuerall Tribes, there were ordained Captaines ouer Thousands, ouer Hundreds, ouer Fifties, and ouer Tens; as it may appeare by that mutinie and insurrection against *Moses*; *Num.* 16. v. 1. & 2. For there arose vp against *Moses* 250. Captaines of the *Assembly, famous in the Congregation, and men of renowne*: of which number were *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. Which three principall Mutiners, with those 250. Captaines that followed them, were not any of the 12. Princes of the Tribes or Generall Colonels before spoken of, as by their names, *Num.* 1. is made manifest.

The blessing which *Israel* gaue to his children, tooke place not onely in the diuision of the Land of promise, and other things of more consequence, long after following; but euen in sorting them vnder their seuerall Standards in the wildernesse it was obserued. For *Iudah* had the precedency and the greatest Army, which also was wholly compounded of the Sonnes of *Leah*, *Iacobs* wife. *Reuben* hauing lost his birth-right, followed in the second place, accompanied with his brother *Simeon*, who had vnder-gone his Fathers curse; and with *Gad*, the sonne of his Mothers Hand-maide. *Ioseph*, who in temporall blessings had the prerogatiue of the first borne a double portion, was accounted as two Tribes, and diuided into two Regiments: the younger (according to *Iacobs* prophecy) taking place before the elder. He was assisted by *Beniamin*, his best beloued brother, the other son of *Rachel*. To *Dan*, the eldest son of *Iacobs* Concubines, was giuen the leading of the fourth Army, according to *Iacobs* prophecy. Hee had with him vnder his Standard none of the children of *Lea*, or *Rachel*, but onely the sonnes of the Hand-maides.

In the middle of these foure Armies, was the Tabernacle, or portable Temple of the Congregation carried, sur-rounded by the *Leuites*. Neere vnto which, as the Heathens and Pagans could not approach, by reason of these foure powerfull Armies which guarded the same: so was it death for any of the children of *Israel* to come neere it, who were not of the *Leuites*, to whom the charge was cõmitted. So sacred was the moueable Temple of God, and with such reuerence guarded and transported, as 22000. persons were dedicated to the seruice and attendance thereof: of which 8580. had the peculiar charge, according to their seuerall offices and functions; the particulars whereof are written in the third and fourth of *Numbers*. And as the Armies of the people obserued the former order in their incampings: so did the *Leuites* quarter themselues, as in an inner square, on euery side of the Tabernacle; the *Gershonites* on the West, within the Armie, and Standard of *Ephraim*, ouer whom *Eliasaph* commanded; in number 7500.

The

The Family of *Cohath* on the South-side guided by *Elizaphan*, within the Army of *Reuben*, and betweene him and the Tabernacle, in number 8600. The third company were of the Family of *Merari*, ouer whom *Zuriel* commanded, in number 6200. and these were lodged on the North side, within the Army of *Dan*; On the East side, and next within those Tribes and Forces which *Iudah* led, did *Moses* and *Aaron* lodge, and their children, who were the first and immediate Commanders, both of the Ceremonies and of the People; vnder whom, as the chiefe of all the other *Leuiticall* Families, was *Eleazar* the sonne of *Aaron*, his successour in the high Priest-hood.

This was the order of the Army of *Israel*, and of their incamping and marching; the Tabernacle of God being alway set in the middle and center thereof. The reuerend care, which *Moses* the Prophet, and chosen seruant of God, had in all that belonged euen to the outward and least parts of the Tabernacle, *Arke* and *Sanctuary*, witnessed well the inward and most humble zeale borne towards God himselfe. The industry vsed in the framing thereof, and euery, and the least part thereof; the curious workmanship thereon bestowed; the exceeding charge and expence in the prouisions; the dutifull obseruance in the laying vp, and preseruing the holy Vessels; the solemne remouing thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon, and the prouident defence of the same, which all Ages haue in some degree imitated, is now so forgotten and cast away in this super-fine Age, by those of the *Family*, by the *Anabaptist*, *Brownist*, and other *Sectaries*, as all cost and care bestowed and had of the Church, wherein God is to be serued and worshipped, is accounted a kinde of *Popery*, and as proceeding from an idolatrous disposition: insomuch as Time would soone bring to passe (if it were not resisted) that God would be turned out of Churches into Barnes, and from thence againe into the Fields and Mountaines, and vnder the hedges; and the Offices of the *Ministery* (robbed of all dignity and respect) be as contemptible as these places; all Order, Discipline, and Church-gouernment, left to newnesse of opinion, and mens fancies: yea, and soone after, as many kindes of Religions would spring vp, as there are Parish-Churches within *England*: euery contentious and ignorant person clothing his fancie with the *Spirit of God*, and his imagination with *the gift of Reuelation*; insomuch, as when the *Truth*, which is but one, shall appeare to the simple multitude, no lesse variable than contrary to it selfe, the Faith of Men will soone after dye away by degrees, and all Religion be held in scorne and contempt. Which distraction gaue a great Prince of *Germany* cause of this answer to those that perswaded him to become a *Lutheran*, *Si me adiungo vobis, tunc condemnor ab alijs: si me alijs adiungo, à vobis condemnor; quid fugiam video, sed quid sequar, non habeo: If I adioyne my selfe to you, I am condemned by others; If I ioyne with others, I am condemned by you: what I should auoide I see, but I know not what I should follow.*

§. II. *The offerings of the twelue Princes: the Passeouer of the second yeere: The departing of* Iethro.

NOw when *Moses* had taken order for all things necessary, prouided for the seruice of God, written the Lawes, numbred his Army, and diuided them into the battailes and troupes before remembred, and appointed them Leaders of all sorts; The twelue Princes or Commanders of the Tribes brought their offerings before the Lord, to wit, sixe couered Chariots, and twelue Oxen to draw them, therein to transport, as they marched, the parts of the Tabernacle, with all that belonged thereunto: the *Sanctuary* excepted, which for reuerence was carried vpon the shoulders of the sons of *Korah*, to whom the charge was committed; and the Chariots in which was conueyed the other parts of the Tabernacles and Vessels thereto belonging, were deliuered to the *Leuites* for that seruice, namely to the Sonnes of *Gershon* and *Merari*. Num. 6.

Besides these Chariots, each of these Commanders, Princes, or Heads of Tribes, offered vnto God, and for his seruice in the Temple, a Charger of fine siluer, weighing 130. sheckles; a siluer Boll of 70. sheckles; after the sheckle of the *Sanctuary*; and an Incense-Cup of gold, of ten sheckles, which they performed at the same time when the Altar was dedicated vnto God by *Aaron*: and before they marched from *Sinai* towards

The Hebrew *Gerah* weigheth sixteene grames: so a *Gerah* of siluer is about three Siele of Siluer

halfe-pence sterling: the *Siele* of the Sanctuary (as it is expounded, *Exod.* 30. 13.) containeth 20. *Gerahs*, so a Sanctuary Siele is about 7. groats, the common Siele is but halfe as much, to wit ten *Gerahs*: as it is vsually expounded; though *Villalpandus* labours to proue that the common and the Sanctuary Siele were all one, Num. 9. 1. verse 5. Num. 10. 11. Exodus. *vlt.* 34. Numbers 9. 17.

their

their conquest, besides the Beasts which they offered for sacrifice, according to the Law Ceremoniall, the weight of all the twelue siluer Chargers, and twelue siluer Bolles, amounted vnto 2400. sheckles of siluer; and the weight of gold in the Incense-Cuppes, to 120. sheckles of gold; which makes of sheckles of siluer 1200. euery sheckle of gold valuing ten of siluer, so that the whole of gold and siluer which they offered at this time, was about foure hundreth and twenty pound sterling. This done, *Moses*, as in all the rest by the Spirit of God conducted, gaue order for the celebrating of the *Passeouer*, which they performed on the foureteenth day of the second moneth of the second yeare: and on the twentieth day of the same, the cloude was lifted vp from aboue the Tabernacle, as a signe of going forward; *Moses* beginning his march with this inuocation to God: *Rise* 10 *vp Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate thee, flie before thee.* Then all the people of *Israel* remoued from their incamping at the foote of the Mountaine *Sinai*, towards *Paran*, the Armie, or great squadron of *Iuda*, led by *Naasshon*, taking the Vaunt-guard, followed by *Nethanael* and *Eliab*, Leaders of the Tribes of *Issacar* and *Zabulon*: after whom the rest marched, as in the figure expreſt. And because the passage through so many deserts and mountaines, was exceeding difficult: *Moses* leauing nothing vnforethought which might serue for the aduancement of his enterprise, he instantly intreated his Father in Law, whom in the tenth of *Numbers* he calleth *Hobab*, to accompany them in their iourney towards *Canaan*; promising him such part and profit of the enterprize, as God should bestow on them: for this man, as he was of great vnderstanding & iudge- 20 ment (as appeared by the Counsell hee gaue to *Moses* for the appointing of Iudges ouer the people) so was he a perfect guide in all those parts, himselfe inhabiting on the frontier thereof, at *Midian*, or *Madian*: and (as it seemeth) a man of great yeeres and experience; for he was then the Priest or Prince of *Madian*, when *Moses* fled first out of *Egypt*, and married his Daughter, which was 42. yeeres before this request made. And though *Moses* himselfe had liued 40. yeeres in these parts of *Arabia*, through which he was now to trauell: yet the better to assure his passage, and so great a multitude of soules, which could not be so few as a Million, it was necessary to vse many guides, and many conducters. To this request of *Moses*, it may seeme by the places, *Exod.* 18.27. and *Num.* 10.30. that *Iethro*, otherwise called *Hobab*, yeelded not: for it is euident, that he went backe from 30 *Moses* into his owne Countrey. But because it appeareth by other places of Scripture, that the posterity of this *Hobab* was mingled with the *Israelites*, it is most likely that this his returne to his owne Countrey, was rather to fetch away his Family, and to take his leaue of his owne Countrey, by setting things in order, than to abide there.

Iudic. 1.16. & 4.11. Also 1 Sam.15.6. And 2.*Reg.*10. 15. 1 *Chro.*2.55. Ier.35.

§. III.

The voyage from Horeb to Kades: the mutinies by the way: and the cause of their turning backe to the Red Sea.

AFter this dismission of *Hobab*, *Israel* began to march towards the *Deserts of Paran*: 40 and after three daies wandring, they sate downe at the *Sepulchers* of lust, afterward called *Tabeera*, or *Incensio*: by reason that God consumed with fire those Mutiners and Murmurers which rose vp in this remoue, which happened about the 23. day of the same Moneth. And from this 23. day of the second Moneth, of the second yeere, they rested and fed themselues with Quailes (which it pleased God by a Sea-winde to cast vp- on them) to the 24. day of the third moneth, to wit, all the moneth of *Sinan* or *Iune*: whereof surfaiting there dyed great numbers: from whence in the following moneth, called *Thamus*, answering to our *Iuly*, they went on to *Hazeroth*, where *Miriam* the sister of *Moses* was stricken with the leprosie, which continued vpon her seuen dayes, after whose recouery *Israel* remooued toward the border of *Idumæa*; and incamped at *Rithma*, 50 neere *Kades Barnea*, from whence *Moses* sent the twelue discouerers into the Territory of *Canaan*, both to informe themselues of the fertility and strength of the Countrey; as also to take knowledge of the Wayes, Passages, Riuers, Fords, and Mountaines. For *Arad* king of the *Canaanites* surprized diuers companies of the *Israelites*, by lying in ambush neere those wayes, through which the discouerers and searchers of the Land had formerlie past. Now, after the returne of the discouerers of *Kades*, the wrath of God was turned against *Israel*; whose ingratitude and rebellion after his so many benefits, so many remissions, so many miracles wrought, was such, as they esteemed their deliuerance from the

Num.11.& 13 Num.12.

Num.21.

the *Egyptian* slauery, his feeding them, and conducting them through that great and terrible *Wilderness* (for so *Moses* calleth it) with the victory which he gaue them against the powerfull *Amalekites*, to be no other than the effects of his hatred, thinking that hee led them on and preserued them, but to bring them, their wiues, and children to be slaughtered, and giuen for a prey and spoyle to the *Amorites* or *Canaanites*. For it was reported vnto them, by the searchers of the Land, that the Cities of their enemies were walled and defended with many strong Towers and Castles; that many of the people were *Gyant-like*, (for they confest that they saw the sonnes of *Anac* there) who were men of fearefull stature, and so farre ouer-topped the *Israelites*, as they appeared to them, and to them- 10 selues, but as Grashoppers in their respect. Now, as this mutiny exceeded all the rest, wherein they both accused God, and consulted to choose them a Captaine (or as they call it now adayes, an *Electo*) to carry them backe againe into *Egypt*; so did God punish the same in a greater measure, than any of the former. For he extinguished euery soule of the whole multitude (*Iosua* and *Caleb* excepted) who being confident in Gods promises, perswaded the people to enter *Canaan*, being then neere it; and at the mountaine foote of *Idumæa*, which is but narrow, laying before them the fertility thereof, and assuring them of victory. But as men, whom the passion of feare had bereaued both of reason and common sense, they threatned to stone these encouragers to death; accounting them as men either desperate in themselues, or betrayers of the liues, goods, and children 20 of all their brethren, to their enemies; but God resisted these wicked purposes, and interposing the feare of his bright glory between the vnaduised fury of the multitude, and the innocency and constancy of his seruants, preserued them thereby from their violence; threatning an intire destruction of the whole Nation, by sending among them a consuming and mercilesse pestilence. For this was the tenth insurrection and rebellion, which they had made, since God deliuered them from the slauery of the *Egyptians*. But *Moses* (the mildest or meekest of all men) prayed vnto God to remember his infinite mercies; alledging, that this so seuere a iudgement, how deseruedly soeuer inflicted, would increase the pride of the Heathen Nations, and giue them occasion to vaunt, that the God of *Israel*, failing in power to performe his promises, suffered them to perish in these bar- 30 ren and fruitlesse Desarts. Yet as God is no lesse iust than mercifull, as God is slow to anger, so is his wrath a consuming fire; the same being once kindled by the violent breath of mans ingratitude: and therefore, as with a hand lesse heauy than hoped for, he scourged this iniquity, so by the measure of his glory (euermore iealous of neglect and derision) he suffered not the wicked to passe vnpunished; reseruing his compassion for the innocent: whom, because they participated not with the offences of their Fathers, he was pleased to preserue, and in them to performe his promises, which haue neuer beene frustrate.

Num. 14. 10.

Num.14.22.

Num.12.3.

§. III.

40 *Of their vnwillingnesse to returne: with the punishment thereof, and of diuers accidents in the returne.*

NOW when *Moses* had reuealed the purposes of God to the people, and made them know his heauy displeasure towards them, they began to bewaile themselues, though ouer-late: the times of grace and mens repentance, hauing also their appointment. And then when God had left them to themselues, and was no more among them, after they had so often plaid and dallied with his mercifull sufferings, they would needs amend their former disobedience by a second contempt: and make offer to enter the Land contrary againe to the aduice of *Moses*; who assured them, that God was 50 not among them; and that the Arke of his couenant should not moue, but by His direction, who could not erre; and that the enemies sword which God had hitherto bended and rebated, was now left no lesse sharpe than death; and in the hands of the *Amalekites*, and *Canaanites* no lesse cruell. But as men from whom God hath with-drawne his grace, doe alwayes follow those counsels which carry them to their owne destructions: so the *Hebrewes*, after they had forsaken the opportunity by God and their Conducters offered: and might then haue entered *Iudæa* before their enemies were prepared and ioyned; did afterward, contrary to Gods commandement, vndertake the enterprise of themselues; and ranne head-long and without aduice into the mountaines of *Idumæa*. There the

the *Canaanites* and the *Amalekites* being ioyned, and attending their aduantage, set on them, brake them: and of their numbers slaughtered the greatest part: and following their victory and pursuite, consumed them all the way of their flight, euen vnto *Hormah*; the *Amalekites* in reuenge of their former losse, and ouerthrow at *Raphidim*: the *Canaanites* to preuent their displantation and destruction threatned. Of which powerfull assembly of those two Nations (assisted in all likelihood with the neighbour Kings ioyned together for their common safetie) it pleased God to forewarne *Moses*, and to direct him another way, than that formerly intended. For he commanded him to returne by those painefull passages of the Deserts, through which they had formerly trauelled, till they found the bankes of the red Sea againe: in which retraite before they came backe to passe ouer *Iordan*, there were consumed 38. yeeres; and the whole number of the 600. and odde thousand, which came out of *Ægypt* (*Moses*, *Ioshua*, and *Caleb* excepted) were dead in the Wildernesse, the stubborne and carelesse generations were wholly worne out, and the promised Land bestowed on their children; which were increased to 600000. and more. For besides the double fault both of refusing to enter the Land vpon the returne of their discouerers, and the presumption then to attempt it, when they were countermaunded: it seemeth that they had committed that horrible Idolatry of worshipping *Moloch*, and the Host of Heauen. For although *Moses* doth not mention it, yet *Amos* doth, and so doth the Martyr *Stephen*; as also that the *Israelites* worshipped the Sunne and Moone in after-times, it is proued out of sundry other places.

Amos 5.25. Acts 7.42. 2 Kin.17.16. & cap.21.v.3. & c.23.v.4, 5. 11. 2 Chron.33.3. Hierem.6.19. v.13.&c.

Now after the broken Companies were returned to the Campe at *Cades*, *Moses* according to the commandement receiued from God, departed towards the South from whence hee came, to recouer the shoares of the *Red Sea*. And so from *Cades* or *Rithma* hee remoued to *Remmonparez*, so called of abundance of Pomegranates there found and diuided among them. From whence he went on to *Libnah*, taking that name of the Frankincense there found. From *Libnah* he crost the Valley, and sate downe at *Ressa*, neere the foote of the mountaine. And after he had rested there, he bended towards the West, and incamped at *Ceelata*; where one of the *Hebrewes*, for gathering broken wood on the *Sabbath*, was stoned to death. After which, *Moses* alwayes keeping the Valley, betweene two great ledges of mountaines, (those which bound the Desert of *Sinne*, and those of *Pharan*) crost the same from *Ceelata*, and marched Eastward to the mountaine of *Sapher*, or *Sepher*: this making the Twentieth mansion. From thence hee passed on to *Harada*; then to *Maceloth*; and then to *Thabah*, and so to *Thara* or *Thare*; the foure and twentieth mansion. Where *Moses* rested, the people began that insolent and dangerous mutiny of *Korah*, *Dathan*, & *Abiram*; who for their contempt of God & his Ministers, were some of them swallowed vp aliue, and by the Earth opening her mouth deuoured; others, euen two hundred and fifty which offered incense with *Korah*, were consumed with fire from Heauen; and 14700. of their party, which murmured against *Moses*, stricken dead with a sudden pestilence: one of the greatest maruailes and iudgements of God, that hath been shewed in all the time of *Moses* his gouernment, or before. For among so great a multitude, those lay-men who would haue vsurped Ecclesiasticall authority, were suddenly swallowed vp aliue into the Earth with their families and goods; euen while they sought to ouerthrow the Order, Discipline, and power of the Church, and to make all men alike therein, rebelliously contending against the *High Priest and Magistrate*, to whom God had committed the gouernment both of his Church, and Common-weale of his people. And the better to assure the people, and out of his great mercy to confirme them, it pleaseth him in this place also to approue by miracle the former election of his seruant *Aaron*, by the twelue rods giuen in by the Heads of the twelue Tribes; of which *Moses* receiued one of euery Head, and Prince of his Tribe: which being all withered and dried Wands, and on euery rod the name of the Prince of the Tribe written, and *Aarons* on that of *Leui*, it pleased God, that the rod of *Aaron* receiued by his power a vegetable spirit, and hauing laine in the Tabernacle of the Congregation, before the *Arke* one night, had on it both Buddes, Blossomes, and ripe Almonds.

Num.33.

From *Tharah* the whole Army remoued to *Methra*; and thence to *Esmona*; and thence to *Moseroth*, (or *Masurit*, after Saint *Hierome*) and from *Moseroth* to *Beneiacan*; and so to *Gadgad*, which *Hierome* calleth *Gadgada*; thence to *Ietabata*, the thirtieth Mansion; where from certaine fountaines of water gathered in one, *Adrichomius* maketh a Riuer, which falleth into the *Red Sea*, betweene *Madian* and *Asiongaber*.

Now

Now although it be very probable, that at *Asiongaber*, where *Salomon* furnished his Fleetes for the East *India*, there was store of fresh water; and though *Herodotus* maketh mention of a great Riuer in *Arabia the stonie*, which he calleth *Corys*, from whence (saith he) the inhabitants conueigh water in pipes of leather to other places, by which deuice the King of *Arabia* releeued the Army of *Cambyses*: yet is *Adrichomius* greatly deceiued, as many times hee is, in finding these Springs at *Gadgad*, or *Ietabata*, being the nine and twentieth or thirtieth Mansion. For it was at *Punon*, that those Springs are spoken of, which in *Deuteronomy* the tenth, and the seauenth *Verse*, is also called *Ietabata*, or *Iotbath*, a Land of running waters, and which by all probability fall into the Riuer *Zared*, the next adioyning. And that these Springs should fall into the *Red Sea*, at *Asiongaber*, or *Eloth*, I cannot beleeue, for the way thither is very long. And this I finde in *Belonius*, that there are diuers Torrents of fresh water in those sandy parts of *Arabia*: which though they continue their course for a few miles, yet they are drunke vp by the hot and thirsty sand, before they can recouer the bankes of the *Red Sea*.

Her.l.3.

From *Ietabata*, *Moses* directed his iourney towards the *Red Sea*, and incamped at *Hebrona*, and from thence to *Esiongaber*: which City in *Iosephus* time had the name of *Berenice*; and in *Hieromes*, *Esia*. From thence, keeping the Sea, and *Eloth* on his right hand, hee turned towards the North, as hee was by God commanded: *Esiongaber* being the farthest place towards the South-East, that *Moses* trauailed in that passage.

Deut. 2.

It seemeth that *Esiongaber* or *Asiongaber*, *Eloth* and *Madian*, were not at this time in the possession of the Kings of *Edom*. For it is said, *That the Lord spake vnto* Moses *and* Aaron *in the Mount Hor; neere the Coast of the Land of Edom*; so as the Mount *Hor* was at this time in the South border of *Idumæa*. And if *Esiongaber*, and the other places neere the *Red Sea*, had at this present beene subiect vnto the *Idumæans*, *Moses* would also haue demanded a free passage through them. It is true, that in the future the *Idumæans* obtained those places: for it is said; *And they arose out of Midian, and came to Paran, and tooke men with them*; which were those companies that followed young *Adad* of *Idumæa*, into *Egypt*, when he fled from *Ioab*. Likewise it is said of *Salomon*, that hee made a Nauy of shippes in *Esiongaber* besides *Eloth*, in the Land of *Edom*.

Num.c.20. v.13.

1 Kings 11.18.

§. V.

Of Moses *arriuall at Zin Kades: and of the accidents while that they abode there.*

FROM *Esiongaber* hee turned againe towards the North, and pitched in the *wilderness* of *Zin*, which is *Kadesh*: or in *Beroth*, of the children of *Iacan*; where they sate downe in the first Moneth of the fortieth yeere, after they left *Egypt*. For at the next Mansion *Aaron* died in the first day of the fifth Moneth of the fortieth yeere: the nine and thirtieth yeere taking end at *Esiongaber*. And at this City of *Cades* (for so it was thought to be) or neere it, died *Miriam*, or *Mary*, *Moses* sister, whose Sepulcher was to be seene in Saint *Hieromes* time, as himselfe auoweth. From hence ere they departed to the Mountaine *Hor*, all the people murmured most violently against *Moses*, by reason of the scarcity of water. For neither the punishments by fire from Heauen; by being deuoured and swallowed vp by the earth; by the sudden pestilence, which often seized them; nor any miracle formerly shewing, either the loue or wrath of God, could preuaile with this Nation any longer, than while they were full fed and satisfied in euery of their appetites: but in stead of seeking for helpe and reliefe at Gods hands, when they suffered hunger, thirst, or any other want, they murmured, repined, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed estates, and casting vngratefully on *Moses* all their misaduentures; yea, though they well knew that their owne Fathers had left their bodies in the Deserts, and that they were now entred into the fortieth yeere, wherein all their miseries were to take end. And being, as it were, in the sight of the Land promised, they againe as obstinately tempted God as in former times, and neither trusted his promises, nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purposes of

Num.20.1.

Num.20.3.

God

GOD are without beginning; so his mercies being without end, he commanded *Moses*
Num. 20. 9. to strike a Rocke adioyning with his rod; and the waters issued out in a great abundance, with which both themselues and their cattell were satisfied. Neuertheless, because God perceiued a kinde of diffidence both in *Moses* and *Aaron*, at this place; therefore he permitted neither of them to enter the Land promised, whereto perchance their worldly desires might inuite them. But it pleased him to end the trauailes of *Aaron* at the Mountaine *Hor*, being the next, and foure and thirtieth Station. At which Mountaine of *Hor*,
2553. *Aaron* was despoyled of the garments of his Priest-hood, and the same put on *Eleazar* his sonne, as God had commanded. Which done, MOSES and ELEAZAR descended the Mountaine; but GOD receiued *Aaron* on the top thereof, and he was no more 10 seene.

Of this Mountaine called *Hor*, otherwise *Mosera*, as in *Deuteronomy* 10. *Verse* 6. those *Horites* tooke name, which the *Idumæans* had formerly vanquished. Some there are which make *Mosera*, which was the seauen and twentieth Mansion; and *Mosera* which they write *Moseroth* for difference, which was the foure and thirtieth Mansion, and is also called *Hor*, to be two distinct places: because *Moses* in passing from *Cadesbarne* towards *Esiongaber*, incamped at *Mosera*, after hee departed from *Hesmona*, and before he came to
Num. 33. *Beniaacan*. And this *Mosera*, which is also called *Hor*, he came vnto after he left *Cades*, where *Miriam*, *Moses* sister dyed; the first being the seauen and twentieth, and the second being the foure and thirtieth Mansion. But for *Hor*, which is also called *Mosera*, it should 20 haue beene written, *Hor iuxta Mosera*; *Hor neere Mosera*: for it is but one roote of a Mountaine, diuided into diuers tops, as *Sinai* and *Horeb* are: Whereof the West part *Moses* calleth *Mosera*, and the East part *Horeb*. By the West part *Moses* encamped, as hee past towards the *Red Sea*, on his left hand; by the East part, as hee went backe againe North-wards towards *Moab*: as in the description of *Moses* his passage through *Arabia*, the Reader may perceiue.

Now it was from *Cades*, before they came to *Hor*, because *Hor* belonged to *Edom*, that *Moses* sent messengers to the Prince of *Idumæa*, praying him that he might passe with the people of *Israel* through his Territory into the Land of *Canaan*, which bordered it. For it was the neerest way of all other from the City of *Kadesh*, where *Moses* then encamped; 30 whereas otherwise taking his iourney by the Riuers of *Zared*, *Arnon*, and *Iordan*, hee might haue runne into many hazards in the passage of those Riuers, the farre way about, and the many powerfull Kings, which commanded in those Regions. Now the better to perswade the Prince of *Idumæa* hereunto, *Moses* remembred him, that hee was of the same race and family with *Israel*: calling him by the name of brother, because both the *Edomites* and *Israelites* were the sonnes of one father, to wit, *Isaac*; inferring thereby that hee had more reason to fauour and respect them, than hee had to assist the *Canaanites*; against whom *Esau* his Ancester had made warre, and driuen out the *Horites* (who were of their ancient races descended of *Cham*) out of the Region of *Seir*, calling it by his owne name *Edom*, or *Edumæa*. He also making a short repetition of Gods blessings bestowed 40 on them, and of his purposes, and promises; assured *Edom*, or the King thereof, that hee would no way offend his people, or waste his Countrey, but that hee would restraine his Army within the bounds of the Common, and Kings high wayes, paying money for whatsoeuer he vsed, yea, euen for the water, which themselues or their Cattell should
Deut. 2. 4. drinke. For *Moses* was commanded by God, not to prouoke the children of *Esau*. But the King of *Edumæa* knowing the strength of his owne Countrey, the same being neere *Canaan*, rampard with high and sharpe mountaines; and withall suspecting, as a naturall wise man, that 600000. strangers being once entred his Countrey, it would rest in their wills to giue him law, resoluedly refused them passage, and deliuered this answer to the
Num. 10. 20. & 21. Messengers: That, if they attempted to enter that way, he would take them for enemies, 50 and resist them by all possible meanes. And not knowing whether such a deniall might satisfie or exasperate, hee gathered the strength of his Countrey together, and shewed himselfe prepared to defend their passage. For, as it is written; *Then* Edom *came out a-*
Num. c. 20. *gainst him* (to wit, *Moses*) *with much people, and with a mighty power*. Whereupon *Moses* considering, that the end of his enterprise was not the conquest of *Seir* or *Edumæa*, and that the Land promised was that of *Canaan*: like vnto himselfe who was of naturall vnderstanding the greatest of any man, and the skilfullest man of warre that the world had, hee

hee refused to aduenture the Army of *Israel* against a Nation, which being ouercome, gaue but a passage to inuade others; and which by reason of the seate of their mountainous Countrey, could not but haue endangered, or (at least) greatly enfeebled the strength of *Israel*, and rendred them lesse able, if not altogether powerlesse, to haue conquered the rest.

§. VI.

Of their compassing Idumæa, and trauelling to Arnon, the border of Moab.

10 HE therefore leauing the way of *Idumæa*, turned himselfe towards the East, and marched towards the Deserts of *Moab*. Which when *Arad* King of the *Canaanites* vnderstood, and that *Moses* had blanched the way of *Idumæa*; and knowing that it was *Canaan*, and not *Edom*, which *Israel* aimed at, he thought it safest, rather to finde his enemies in his neighbours Countrey, than to be found by them in his owne: which he might haue done with a farre greater hope of victory, had *Moses* beene enforst first to haue made his way by the Sword through *Idumæa*, and thereby though victorious, greatly haue lessened his numbers. But although it fell out otherwise than *Arad* hoped for, yet being resolued to make triall, what courage the *Israelites* brought with them out of
20 *Egypt*, before they came neerer his owne home; leading the strength of his Nation to the edge of the Desert, he set vpon some part of the Army; which, for the multitude occupied a great space, and for the many heards of Cattell that they draue with them, could not encampe so neere together, but that some quarter or other was euermore subiect to surprise. By which aduantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance vnexpected, he slew some few of the Israelites, and carried with him many prisoners.

Now it is very probable, that it was this *Canaanite*, or his Predecessour, which ioyned his forces with the *Amalekites*, and gaue an ouerthrow to those mutinous *Israelites*, Num. 14. 45.
which without direction from God by *Moses*, would haue entred *Canaan* from *Cadesbarne*. For it seemeth that the greatest number of that Army were of the *Canaanites*, be-
30 cause in the first of *Deuteronomy*, 44. the *Amorites* are named alone without the *Amalekites*, and are said to haue beaten the *Israelites* at that time. And this *Arad*, if he were the same that had a victory ouer *Israel*, neere *Cadesbarne*; or if it were his Predecessour that then preuailed, this man finding that *Moses* was returned from the *Red Sea*; and in his way towards *Canaan*, and that the South part of *Canaan* was first to be inuaded, and in danger of being conquered, not knowing of *Moses* purpose to compasse *Moab*, determined while he was yet in the Desert, to trie the quarrell. And whereas it followeth in the third verse of the twelfth Chapter of *Numbers*, that the *Israelites* vtterly destroyed the *Canaanites* and their Cities, they are much mistaken that thinke, that this destruction was presently performed by the *Israelites*. But it is to be vnderstood, to haue beene done in
40 the future, to wit, in the time of *Iosua*. For had *Moses* at this time entred *Canaan* in the pursuit of *Arad*, he would not haue fallen backe againe into the Deserts of *Zin* and *Moab*, and haue fetcht a wearisome and needlesse compasse, by the Riuers of *Zared* and *Arnon*.

Neither is their coniecture to be valued at any thing, which affirme, that *Arad* did not inhabite any part of *Canaan* it selfe, but that his Territory lay without it, and neere the Mountaine *Hor*. For *Hor* and *Zin Cades* were the South borders of *Edom*, and not of *Ca-* Num. 33. 40.
naan. And it was in the South of the Land of *Canaan*, that *Arad* dwelt: which South part of *Canaan* was the North part of *Edom*.

Againe, *Horma* (for so farre the *Israelites* after their victory pursued the *Canaanites*) is
50 seated in the South of *Iudæa*. There is also a City of that name in *Simeon*. But there is no such place to the South of *Edom*. And were there no other argument, but the mutiny which followed presently after the repetition of this victory, it were enough to proue, that the same was obtained in the future, and in *Iosua* his time, and not at the instant of *Arads* assault. For had the *Israelites* at this time sackt the Cities of *Arad*, they would not the next day haue complained for want of water and bread. For where there are great Cities, there is also water and bread. But it was in the time of *Iosua*, that the *Israelites* tooke their reuenge; and after they had past *Iordan*: *Iosua* then gouerning them; who in the twelfth Chapter and foureteenth Verse, nameth this *Arad* by the name of his

City

Citie so called; and with him the King of *Horma*: to which place the Israelites pursued the Canaanites. And he nameth them amongst those Kings, which he vanquished, and put to death.

Now after this assault and surprize by *Arad*, *Moses* finding that all entrance on that side was defended, he led the people Eastward to compasse *Idumæa* and the *Dead Sea*, and to make his entrance by *Arnon* and the Plaines of *Moab*, at that time in the possession of the Amorites. But the Israelites, to whom the very name of a Desert was terrible, began againe to rebell against their Leader; till God by a multitude of fiery Serpents, (that is, by the byting of Serpents, whose venom inflamed them, and burnt them as fire) made them know their error, and afterward, according to his plentifull grace, cured them 10 againe by their beholding an artificiall Serpent, by his Commandement set vp.

From the *Mount Hor*, *Moses* leauing the ordinary way which lyeth betweene the *Red Sea*, and *Cælosyria*, encamped at *Zalmona*: and thence hee remoued to *Phunon*, where hee erected the Brazen Serpent; making these iourneys by the edge of *Idumæa*, but without it. For *Phunon* was sometime a principall City of the Edomites. Now where it is written in *Numbers* 21. *Verse* 4. *That from Mount Hor they departed by the way of the Red Sea, which grieued the people*, it was not thereby meant that the Israelites turned back towards the *Red Sea*; neither did they march (according to *Fonseca*) *per viam quæ habet à latere mare rubrum*; *By the way that sided the Red Sea*, but indeed they crost, and went athwart the common way from *Galaad*, *Traconitis*, and the Countreys of *Moab*, to the *Red Sea*, 20 that is, to *Esiongaber*, *Eloth*, and *Midian*: which way, as it lay North and South, so *Israel* to shunne the border of *Edom*, and to take the vtmost East part of *Moab*, crost the common way towards the East, and then they turned againe towards the North, as before.

From *Phunon* he went to *Oboth*; where they entred the Territory of *Moab*, adioyning to the Land of *Suph*, a Countrey bordering on the *Dead Sea*; and from thence to *Abarim*, the eight and thirtieth Mansion, that is, where the Mountaines so called take beginning, and are as yet but small Mountures of Hills, on the East border of *Moab*; From thence they recouered *Dibon Gad*, or the Riuer of *Zared*, which riseth in the mountaines of *Arabia*, and runneth towards the *Dead Sea*, not farre from *Petra* the *Metropolis* thereof, being the nine and thirtieth Station. And hauing past that Riuer, they lodged at *Dibon Gad*, 30 and from thence they kept the way to *Diblathaim*, one of the Cities of *Moab*; which *Hieremie* the Prophet *Chap.* 48. *Verse* 22. calleth the *House of Diblathaim*, the same which afterward was destroyed among the rest by *Nabuchadnezzar*. From thence they came to the Riuer of *Arnon*, and encamped in the mountaines of *Abarim*: though in the 22. of *Numbers*, *Moses* doth not remember *Helmondiblathaim*, but speaketh of his remoue from the Riuer of *Zared*, immediately to the other side of *Arnon*; calling *Arnon* the border of *Moab*, betweene them and the Amorites: speaking, as he found the state of the Countrey at that time. For *Arnon* was not anciently the border of *Moab*, but was lately conquered from the Moabites, by *Sehon*, King of the Amorites: euen from the Predecessour of *Balac Peor* then reigning. From *Diblathaim*, *Moses* sent messengers to *Sehon*, King of the 40 Amorites, to desire a passage through his Countrey: which though he knew would be denied him, yet he desired to giue a reason to the neighbour Nations, of the warre he vndertooke. And though *Edom* had refused him as *Sehon* did, yet he had no warrant from God to enforce him. *Moses* also in sending messengers to *Sehon*, obserued the same precept, which he left to his posterity and successours, for a law of the warre; namely in *Deut.* 20. *Verse* 10. in these words; *When thou commest neere vnto a Citie to fight against it, thou shalt offer it peace; which if it doe accept of and open vnto thee, then let all the people found therein be tributaries vnto thee, and serue thee; but if it refuse, &c. thou shalt smite all the males thereof with the edge of the sword.* Which ordinance all commanders of Armies haue obserued to this day, or ought to haue done.

Num.21.

§. VII.

Of the Booke of the battailes of the Lord, mentioned in this Story, and of other Bookes mentioned in Scripture, which are lost.

Num.c.21.v.14.

NOw concerning the Warre betweene *Israel* and *Sehon*, *Moses* seemeth to referre a great part of this Story to that *Booke* intituled, *Liber bellorum Domini*; *The booke of Gods battailes*: and therefore passeth ouer many encounters, and other things memora-

memorable, with greater breuity in this place. His words after the *Geneua* Translation are these: *Wherefore it shall be spoken in the Booke of the battailes of the Lord, what things he did in the Red Sea, and in the Riuers of Arnon.* The *Vulgar* copie differeth not in sense from this: But the *Greeke Septuagint* vary. For the *Greeke* writes it to this effect; *For thus it is said in the Booke: The warre of the Lord hath burnt (or inflamed) Zoob, and the brookes of Arnon: Iunius* for the *Red Sea*, which is in the *Geneuian* and *Vulgar Edition*, names the Region of * *Suph*, a Countrey bordering the *Dead Sea* towards the East, as he coniectureth. The Text he readeth thus. *Idcircò dici solet in recensione bellorum* Iehouæ, *contra* Vahebum *in Regione* Suph: *& contra flumina, flumina Arnonis*; *Therefore is it spoken in repeating of the* 10 *battailes of* Iehouah, *against* Vaheb, *in the Countrey of* Suph: *and against the Riuers, the Riuers of Arnon.* In which words he vnderstands, that amongst the warres which the Lord disposed for the good of the Israelites, there was in those times a famous memory in the mouth of most men, concerning the warre of *Sehon* against *Vaheb*, the King of the Moabites, and of his winning the Countrey neere *Arnon*, out of the possession of the Moabites. For this *Vaheb* was the immediate predecessour of *Balac*, who liued with *Moses*: though it be written that this *Balac* was the son of *Zippor*, and not of *Vaheb*. For it seemes (as it is plaine in the succession of the *Edomites*) that these Kingdomes were electiue, and not successiue. And as *Iunius* in this Translation vnderstandeth no speciall Booke of the battailes of the Lord: so others, as *Vatablus* in his Annotations, doubt whether in this 20 place any speciall Booke be meant; and if any, whether it be not a prediction of warres in future ages, to be waged in these places, and to be written in the Book of *Iudges*. *Syracides c.*46. tells vs plainely, that those battailes of the Lord were fought by *Iosua*; *Who was there* (saith he) *before him like to him? for he fought the battailes of the Lord.* But seeing the Histories of the Scripture elsewhere often passe ouer matters of great weight in few words, referring the Reader to other Bookes, written of the same matter at large: therefore it seemeth probable, that such a Booke as this there was; wherein the seuerall victories by *Israel* obtained, and also victories of other Kings, making way for the good of the Israelites, were particularly and largely written. And that the same should now be wanting, it is not strange, seeing so many other Volumes, filled with diuine discourse, haue perished 30 in the long race of time, or haue beene destroyed by the ignorant and malicious Heathen Magistrate. For the Bookes of *Henoch*, howsoeuer they haue beene in later ages corrupted, and therefore now suspected, are remembred in an Epistle of *Thaddæus*, and cited by *Origen* περὶ ἀρχῶν, and by *Tertullian*.

That worke also of the Patriarch *Abraham*, *of Formation*, which others bestow on *Rabbi Achiba*, is no where found. The Bookes remembred by *Iosua c.* 10. *v.*13. and in the second of *Samuel*, *c.*1. *v.*18. called the *Booke of Iasher*, or *Iustorum*, is also lost; wherein the stay of the Sunne and Moone in the middest of the Heauens is recorded, and how they stood still till *Israel* had auenged themselues of their enemies: out of which also *Dauid* tooke the precept, of teaching the children of *Iuda*, to exercise their bowes against 40 their enemies.

Some thinke this to be the Booke of eternall Predestination, in which the iust are written, according vnto the sixty and ninth *Psalme*, *Verse* 28. where it is said; *Let them bee put out of the Booke of Life, neither let them bee written with the righteous.* Hierome thinkes, that *Dauid* by this Booke vnderstood those of *Samuel*; *Rabbi Salomon*, that the Bookes of the Law are thereby meant, in which the acts of the iust *Abraham*, of *Isaac*, *Iacob*, and *Moses*, are written; Others, that it was the Booke of *Exodus*; others, as *Theodoretus*, that it was a Commentary vpon *Iosua*, by an vnknowne Authour.

The booke of *Chozai*, concerning *Manasse*, remembred in the second of *Chron.*33. 50 *v.*18. & 16, Of this booke, also lost, *Hierome* conceiues that the Prophet *Isay* was the Authour.

The same mischance came aswell to the Story of *Salomon*, written by *Ahia Silonites*, who met with *Ieroboam*, and foretold him of his obtaining the Kingdome of *Israel* from the sonne of *Salomon*; as to the bookes of *Nathan* the Prophet, and to those of *Iedo* the *Seer*, remembred in the second of *Chron. c.*9. *v.*29. With these haue the bookes of *Shemaiah* and of *Iddo*, remembred in the second of *Chron*, *c.*12. *v.*15. perished: and that of *Iehu* the sonne of *Hanani*, of the acts of *Iehosaphat*, cited in the second of *Chron. c.*20. *v.*34, Also that booke of *Salomon* which the *Hebrewes* write *Hascirim*, of 5000. verses,

* Of the countrey of *Suph*, see more chap. 10.§.4.†.2. & of the force of the word *Suph*, also cha. 18 §.3.

Num.21.26.

1. *Chron.c.*11.

Hieron. in annot. in Paralip.

Hieron. in quæst. super. lib. Regum.

of which that part called *Canticum Canticorum*, onely remaineth, 1. *Kings* 4. 32. and with this diuers others of *Salomons* works haue perished, as his Booke of the natures of Trees, Plants, Beasts, Fishes, &c. 1. *Kings* 4. 33. with the rest remembred by *Origen, Iosephus, Hierome, Cedrenus, Ciccus Asculanus, Picus Mirandula*, and others.

Of these and other Bookes many were consumed with the same fire, wherewith *Nebuchadnezzar* burnt the Temple of *Hierusalem*. But let vs returne thither where wee left.

§. VIII.

Of Moses *his sparing the issue of* Lot; *and of the Giants in those parts; and of* Sehon *and* Og.

WHen *Moses* had past *Arnon*, he incamped on the other side thereof at *Abarim*, opposite to the City of *Nebo*, leauing the City of *Midian* on the left hand, & attempting nothing vpon the *Moabites* on that side. For *Moab* did at this time inhabite on the South-side of *Arnon*, hauing lost all his ancient and best Territory, which was now in the possession of *Sehon* the *Amorite*. For *Moses* was commanded by God not to molest *Moab*, neither to prouoke them to battaile, God hauing giuen that Land to the children of *Lot*; the same which was anciently possest by the *Emims*, who were men of great stature, and comparable to those Giants called *Anakims*, or the sonnes of *Anac*.

Deut. 2. v. 9. & 10, 11, & 12.

God also commanded *Moses* to spare the *Ammonites*, because they likewise were descended of *Lot*: who had expelled from thence those Giants, which the *Ammonites* called *Zamzummims*. For it seemeth that all that part, especially to the East of *Iordan*, euen to the Desert of *Arabia*, as well on the West, as on the East-side of the Mountaines of *Gilead*, was inhabited by Giants. And in the plantation of the Land promised, the *Israelites* did not at any time passe those Mountaines to the East of *Basan*, but left their Countrey to them, as in the description following is made manifest. We find also, that as there were many Giants both before and after the floud: so these Nations, which anciently inhabited both the border of *Canaan*, and the Land it selfe, had among them many Families of Giant-like men. For the *Anakims* dwelt in *Hebron*, which sometimes was called the City of *Arbah*, which *Arbah* in *Iosua* is called the father of the *Anakims*; and the greatest man of the *Anakims*. There had also beene Giants in the Land of the *Moabites*, called *Emims*: and their chiefe City was *Aroer* or *Ar*, neere the Riuer of *Arnon*. To the Giants of the *Rephaims*, the *Ammonites* gaue the name of *Zamzummims*; which were of the same ancient *Canaanites*: and their chiefe City was *Rabba*, afterward *Philadelphia*. They were also called *Zuzims*, which is as much to say, as *Viri robusti, horrendiq; Gigantes*; *Strong men, and fearefull Giants*, who inhabited other Cities of *Ham*, or *Hom*, in the same Prouince, and not farre to the North of *Aroer*.

Ios. 15. v. 13. c. 14. v. 15.

Now *Moses* hauing past *Arnon*, and being encamped at *Abarim*; and hauing (as before) sent to *Sehon*, as he had done to *Edom*, to pray a passage through his Countrey, was denied it. For *Sehon* being made proud by his former conquest vpon *Vaheb* the *Moabite*; which Nation the *Amorites* esteemed but as strangers and vsurpers, (themselues being of the sonnes of *Canaan*, and the *Moabites* of *Lot*) refused to grant *Israel* any entrance that way; and withall prepared to encounter *Moses* with as much speed as he could, because *Moses* encamped in the Countrey of his new conquests, to wit, the Plaines of *Moab*, the two and fortieth and last Mansion: which *Moses* wasted with the multitude of his people, and cattell. Towards him therefore hasting himselfe, they encountred each other at *Iahaz*: where *Sehon* with his children and people were broken and discomfited: and the victory so pursued by *Moses*, as few or none of the *Amorites* escaped. He also slaughtered all the Women and Children of the *Amorites*, which he found in *Essebon*, and all the other Cities, Villages, or Fields; they being of the race of *Canaan*, as those of *Basan* also were: and descended of *Emoreus* or *Amoreus*: for *Moses* calleth the *Basanites* also *Amorites*. And although *Israel* might now haue taken a ready way and passage into *Iudæa*: being at this time, and after this victory at the bankes of *Iordan*: yet he knew it to be perillous to leaue so great a part of that Nation of the *Amorites* on his backe, as inhabited all the Region of *Basan* or *Traconitis*: and therefore he led on his Army to inuade *Og*: a person of exceeding strength and stature: and the onely man of marke remaining of the ancient Giants

Deut. 1. v. 8.

of those parts, and who at that time had 60. Cities walled and defenced: lying betweene the Mountaine of *Hermon* (which Mountaine, saith *Moses*, the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites Shenir*) and the Riuer of *Iordan*. And it befell vnto the King of *Basan* (who attended *Moses* comming at *Edrei*) as it did vnto *Sihon*: for he and his sonnes perished, and all his Cities were taken and possest. After this, *Moses* with-drawing himselfe backe 2-gaine to the Mountaines of *Abarim*, left the prosequution of that warre vnto *Iair* the sonne of *Manasse*: who conquering the East parts of *Basan*, to wit, the Kingdome of *Argob*, euen vnto the Nations of the *Gessuri* and *Machati*, 60. walled Cities: called the same after his owne name *Hauoth Iair*: of all which conquests afterward the halfe Tribe of *Manasse* possest the North part as farre as *Edrei*, but the East part that belonged to *Sihon* the Amorite, with the Mountaines of *Gilead* adioyning, was giuen to *Reuben* and vnto *Gad*.

§. IX.

Of the troubles about the Madianites, and of Moses *his death.*

AFter these victories, and while *Israel* soiourned in the valley of *Moab*, the Madianites and Moabites (ouer both which Nations it seemeth that *Balac* King of the Moabites then commanded in chiefe) sought, according to the aduice of *Balaam*, both by alluring the Hebrewes to the loue of their daughters, and by perswading them to honour and serue their Idols, to diuide them both in Loue and Religion among themselues: thereby the better both to defend their owne interest against them, as also to beate them out of *Moab*, and the Countreys adioyning. The Israelites as they had euer beene inclined, so were they now easily perswaded to these euill courses, and thereby drew on themselues the plague of pestilence, whereof there perished 24000. persons: besides which punishment of God, the most of the offenders among the Hebrewes, were by his commandement put to the Sword, or other violent deaths: after this, when that *Phineas* the sonne of *Eleazar* had pierced the bodies of *Zimri*, a Prince of the Simeonites, together with *Cosbi* a daughter of one of the chiefe of the Midianites, the plague ceased, and Gods wrath was appeased. For such was the loue and kindnesse of his all-powerfulnesse, respecting the ardent zeale of *Phineas* in persequuting of *Zimri* (who being a chiefe among the Hebrewes, became an Idolater) as he forgaue the rest of *Israel*, and stayed his hand for his sake.

Num. 25. v. 9.

In this valley it was that *Moses* caused the people to be numbred the third time: and there remained of able men fit to beare armes, 601730. of which as his last enterprise, he appointed 12000. to bee chosen out, to inuade the Cities of *Midian*, who together with the Moabites practised with *Balaam* to curse *Israel*: and after that sought to allure them (as before remembred) from the worship of the true God, to the seruice of *Beth-Peor*: and to the rest of their barbarous Idolatry. Ouer which companies of 12000. *Moses* gaue the charge to *Phineas*, the sonne of *Eleazar* the high Priest: who slew the fiue Princes of the Midianites, which were, or had lately beene, the vassals of *Sehon*, as appeareth by *Iosuah*. These fiue Princes of the Midianites slaine by *Eleazar*, were at this time but the vassals of *Sehon* the Amorite, to wit, *Eui*, *Rekem*, *Zur*, *Hur*, and *Reba*, the Dukes of *Sehon* saith *Iosuah*. He slew also all the men, male-children, and women: sauing such as had not yet vsed the company of men, but those they saued, and dispierst them among the children of *Israel* to serue them.

Num. 31. v. 8. Ios. c. 13. v. 21. Cap. 13. 22.

And *Moses* hauing now liued 120. yeeres, making both his owne weakenesse of body knowne to the people, and his vnability to trauaile: and also that he was forewarned of his end by the Spirit of God: from whom hee receiued a new commandement to ascend the Mountaines of *Abarim*, and thereon to render vp his life: He hastned to settle the Gouernment in *Iosua*: whom hee perswaded with most liuely arguments to prosequute the conquest begun, assuring him of Gods fauour and assistance therein. And so hauing spent these his later dayes after the Conquest of *Og* and *Sehon*, King of the Amorites, in the repetition and exposition of the Law, (or an iteration of the Law, according to Saint *Augustine*) vsing both arguments, prayers, and threats vnto the people: which he often repeated vnto them; thereby to confirme them in knowledge, loue, feare, and seruice, of the all-powerfull God: He blessed the twelue Tribes, that of *Simeon* excepted, with seuerall and most comfortable blessings: prayſing the greatnesse and good-

Deut. 31. v. 1. Ddut. 31. v. 2.

Aug. l. 4. de Mirab. sacr. Scrip.

Deut. 33.

nesse

nesse of him, vnto whom in his prayers he commended them: He also commanded the Priests to lay vp the Booke of the Law, by the side of the *Arke* of God: The last that he
Deut. 32. 1. indited was that Propheticall Song, beginning: *Hearken ye Heauens and I will speake, and*
Deut. 34. v. 6. *let the Earth heare the words of my mouth*: and being called by God from the labours and sorrowes of this life, vnto that rest which neuer afterward hath disquiet, hee was buried in the Land of *Moab*, ouer against *Beth-Peor*: but no man knoweth of his Sepulcher to this day; which happened in the yeere of the World 2554.

§. X.

Obseruations out of the Story of Moses, *how God disposeth both the smallest occasions, and the greatest resistances, to the effecting of his purpose.*

NOw let vs a little, for instruction, looke backe to the occasions of sundry of the great euents, which haue beene mentioned in this Story of the life of *Moses*, for (excepting Gods miracles, his promise, and fore-choise of this people) hee wrought in all things else by the *medium* of mens affections, and naturall appetites. And so we shall finde that the feare which *Pharaoh* had of the increase of the *Hebrewes*, multiplied by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next naturall cause of the sorrowes and losse, which befell himselfe, and the *Egyptian* Nation: which numbers when he sought by cruell and vngodly policies to cut off and lessen, as when he commanded all the male-children of the *Hebrewes* to be slaine, God (whose prouidence cannot be resisted, nor his purposes preuented by all the foolish and saluage craft of mortall men) moued compassion in the heart of *Pharao's* owne daughter, to preserue that childe, which afterward became the most wise, and of all men the most gentle and milde, the most excellently learned in all Diuine and Humane knowledge, to be the conductor and deliuerer of his oppressed brethren, and the ouerthrow of *Pharao*, and all the flower of his Nation; euen then, when he sought by the strength of his men of Warre, of his Horse, and Chariots, to tread them vnder, and bury them in the dust. The griefe which *Moses* conceiued of the iniuries, and of the violence offered to one of the *Hebrewes* in his owne presence, moued him to take reuenge of the *Egyptian* that offered it: the ingratitude of one of his owne Nation, by threatning him to discouer the slaughter of the *Egyptian*, moued him to flie into *Midian*: the contention betweene the Shepheards of that place, and *Iethro's* Daughters, made him knowne to their Father: who not onely entertained him, but married him to one of those Sisters: and in that solitary life of keeping of his Father in lawes sheepe, farre from the presse of the World, contenting himselfe (though bred as a Kings Sonne) with the lot of a poore Heards-man, God found him out in that Desert, wherein he first suffered him to liue many yeeres, the better to know the wayes and passages through which he purposed that he should conduct his people, toward the Land promised: and therein appearing vnto him, he made him know his will and diuine pleasure for his returne into *Egypt*. The like may be said of all things else, which *Moses* afterward by Gods direction performed in the Story of *Israel* before remembred. There is not therefore the smallest accident, which may seeme vnto men as falling out by chance, and of no consequence: but that the same is caused by God to effect somewhat else by: yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greatest worldly importance, either presently, or in many yeeres after, when the occasions are either not considered, or forgotten.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Nations with whom the Israelites had dealing after *their comming out of Egypt; and of the men of renowne* in other Nations, about the times of *Moses* and *Iosua*, *with the summe of the History* of Iosua.

§. I.

How the Nations with whom the Israelites were to haue warre, were diuers wayes, as it were, prepared to be their enemies.

IN like manner if we look to the quality of the Nations, with whom the Israelites, after their comming out of *Egypt*, had to doe, either in the *wilderness*, or afterward: we shall finde them long before-hand, by the disposing prouidence of God, as it were prepared for enmity: partly in respect that they were most of them of the issue of *Canaan*, or at least of *Ham*: and the rest (as the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, & Israelites) were mingled with them by mutuall marriages: whereas the Israelites still continued strangers, and separate from them: and so partly in this respect, and partly by ancient iniuries or enmities, and partly by reason of diuersity in Religion, were these Nations, as it were prepared to be enemies to the Israelites: and so to serue for such purposes as God had reserued them for. To make these things more manifest, wee must vnderstand that this part of *Syria*, bounded by the mountaines of *Libanus*, and *Zidon* on the North, by the same mountaines continued as farre as the Springs of *Arnon* on the East: by the way of *Egypt*, and the *Red Sea*, on the South: and by the Mediterran Sea on the West: was inhabited and peopled by two Nations, the one springing from the sonnes of *Cham*, the other from *Sem*: but those of *Sem*, were but as strangers therein for a long time, and came thitherin effect but with * one Family, to wit, that of *Abraham*, and a few of his kindred. The other for the greatest part were the Cananites, the ancient Lords and possessors of those Territories; by processe of time diuided into seuerall Families and names: whereof some of them were of eminent stature and strength, as the Anakims, Zamzummims, or Zuzei, Emims, Horites, and others. These (as men most valiant and able commonly doe) did inhabite the vtter borders and mountaines of their Countries: the rest were the Zidonians, Iebusites, Amorites, Heuites, Hetites, and others, who tooke name after the sonnes of *Canaan*, and after whom the Countrey in generall was still called.

As for the Hebrewes which descended of *Shem* by *Abraham*, they were of another Familie, and strangers in that Countrey, especially the Israelites: and this was some cause that the Canaanites did not affect them, or indure them: no more than the Philistims did, who descended also of *Cham* by *Mizraim*. For though *Abraham* himselfe being a stranger, was liglily esteemed and honoured among them; especially by the Amorites inhabiting the West part of *Iordan*: yet now euen they which descended from *Abraham*, or from his kindred, abode and multiplied in those parts, were alienated in affections from the Israelites: as holding them strangers and intruders: making more account of their alliance with the Canaanites, and the rest of the issue of *Cham*, with whom they daily contracted affinity, than of that old petigree from *Abraham*.

True it is, that these Nations descended of *Abraham*, or of his kindred, who had linked themselues and matched with the Canaanites and others, had so farre possest themselues of the borders of those Regions, as they began to be equall in strength to the bordering Canaanites, if not superiour. For of *Lot* came those two great Families of the Moabites, & Ammonites: of *Esau* the Idumaeans: of *Madian* the Madianites: of *Ismael* the eldest sonne of *Abraham*, came the Ismaelites, with whom are ioyned as of the same Nation, the Amalekites, which though the more common opinion thinketh to haue beene a Tribe of *Edom*, because *Esau* had a grand-childe of that name, yet manifest reason con-

uinceth

* It seemeth also that *Hus*, the Sonne of *Nachor*, and *Buz* his Brother, planted themselues in the East side of *Iordan*, about *Basan*: where they finde the Land of *Hus*: in which *Iob* dwelt as one of the issue of *Hus* the Sonne of *Nachor*, and *Elihu*, his friend which is called a *Buzit*. See hereafter cha. 10. §. 7.

Exod. 17. 16.

Deut. 11. 5.

uinceth it to haue beene otherwise. For the Israelites were forbidden to prouoke the
Deut. c. 11. v. 5. Edomites, or doe them any wrong, whereas contrariwise *Amalek* was cursed, and enlesse
warre decreed against him: but hereof more elsewhere, Chap. 8. §. 3. Of *Ismaels* el-
Exod. c. 17. v. 16. dest sonne *Naboth* sprung the *Arabians* of *Petræa*, called *Nabathæi*. Now euen as *Abra-*
ham besought God to blesse *Ismael*, so it pleased him both to promise and performe it.
Gen. 17. For of him those twelue Princes came, which inhabited, in effect, all that Tract of Land
betweene *Hauilah* vpon *Tigris*, and *Sur* which is the West part of the *Desert of Arabia*
Petræa. Yet howsoeuer the strength of these later named Nations, which descended
from *Abraham*, were great; it is not vnlikely, but that some reason which moued them
not to fauour the entrance of the Israelites into *Canaan*, was in respect of feare: because
all Princes and States doe not willingly permit any stranger or powerfull Nation to en-
ter their Territories. Wherefore, though all these Families before named, were not so
vnited, in and among themselues, but that they had their iealousies of each other, and
contended for dominion: yet fearing a third more strong than themselues, whether they
stood apart or vnited, they were taught by the care of their owne preseruation, to ioyne
themselues together against *Israel*: though they did it nothing so maliciously and reso-
luedly as the Canaanites did. For the Edumæans onely denied the Hebrewes a passage,
which the Moabites durst not denie: because their Countrey lay more open; and because
themselues had lately beene beaten out of the richest part of their Dominions, by the A-
morites: and as for the Ammonites, their Countrey lay altogether out of the way, and the
strength of *Sehon* and *Og* Kings of the Amorites, was interiacent: and besides that, the bor-
der of the Ammonites was strong, by reason of the mountains which diuided it from *Ba-*
Num. c. 21. v. 24. *san*. Againe, that which moued the Moabites in their owne reason not much to interrupt
Israel, in the conquest of *Sehon* the Amorite, and of *Og* his confederate, was that the Moa-
bites might hope after such time as the Amorites were beaten by *Moses*, that themselues
might recouer againe their owne inheritance: to wit, the Vallies and Plaines lying be-
tweene the mountaines of *Arabia* and *Iordan*: But as soone as *Sehon* was slaine, and that
the King of *Moab*, *Balac*, perceiued that *Moses* allotted that valley to the Tribes of *Gad*
and *Ruben*, he began to practise with *Balaam* against *Israel*, and by the daughters of *Mi-*
dian as aforesaid, to allure them to Idolatry: and thus at the length the Moabites by spe-
ciall occasion were more and more stirred vp to enmity against *Israel*. And as for di-
uers of the rest that were descended from *Abrahams* kindred, we may note, how in the
beginning, betweene the Authors of their Petigrees, God permitted some enmities to be,
as it were presages of future quarrels, which in the posterity might be the easier incensed,
by the memory of old grudges: and withall by some disdaine from the elder in nature
to the younger. For the Ismaelites being descended from the eldest sonne of *Abraham*,
and the Edomites from the eldest sonne of *Isaac*, *Iacob*, being but a second sonne, of a se-
cond brother; those Princes which were descended of the elder Houses, being naturall
men might scorne to giue place, much lesse to subiect themselues to their inferiours, as
they tooke it: and for a more aggrauation, the issues of *Esau* Princes of *Edumæa*, might
Gen. 25. keepe in record that their Parent was bought out of his birth-right by *Iacobs* taking his
Gen. 27. aduantage, and that he was deceiued of his fathers blessing also by him: and that *Iacob*
Gen. 33. 14. after reconciliation came not vnto him as he promised, into *Seir* or *Idumæa*.

So also in the posterity of *Ismael*, it might remaine as a seed or pretence of enmity,
that their fore-father was by the instigation of *Sara*, cast out into the *Desert*, with his mo-
ther *Hagar*; and had therein perished, but that it pleased God by his Angell to relieue
them. *Ismael* also had an Egyptian both to his mother and to his wife: and *Amalec* was
also an Horite by his mother: which Horites were of the ancient Canaanites. The Edu-
mæans also, or Edomites, were by their Maternall line descended of the Canaanites. For
Gen. 36. *Esau* tooke two wiues of that Nation: one of them was *Adath*, the daughter of *Elon*, the
Hittite, and the other *Aholibamah*, the grand-child of *Zibeon* the Heuite, Lord of *Seir*, be-
fore the same was conquered by *Esau*, and called after his name, *Edom*, or *Edumæa*.

Lastly, it appeareth that all those Families of the Ismaelites, Amalekites, Moabites, Am-
monites, Edomites, &c. were in processe of time corrupted, and drawne from the know-
ledge and worship of God, and became Idolaters, infected and seduced by the conuer-
sation of those people among whom they dwelt, and by those wiues of the Canaanites
which they had married: onely a few of the Kenites and those Madianites, which inhabi-
ted on the edge of the Red Sea, whereof *Iethro* was Priest, or Prince, or both, worshipped
the true and euer-liuing God.

§. II.

§. II.

Of the Kings of the Canaanites and Madianites, mentioned in the ancient Warres of the Israelites.

OF the Kings of the *Canaanites*, descended of *Cham*, (for *Melchizedek* may be
thought to be of a better *Petigree*) we finde foure named by *Moses*: and one and
thirty remembred by *Iosua*, though few of these named, otherwise than by the
Cities ouer which they commanded: to which each of them had a small Ter-
10 ritory adioyning, and no other Dominion. These Canaanites in a generall consideration
are to be vnderstood for all those Nations, descended of *Cham* by *Canaan*, as the *Hittites*,
Iebusites, *Amorites*, *Gergesites*, *Heuites*, *&c.* and so here we vnderstand this name in speaking
of the Kings of the *Canaanites*: and so also we call the Countrey of their habitation, the
holy Land, or the Land of promise: for God hath appointed that the seuen principle Fa-
milies should be rooted out: and that his owne people should inherite their Lands and
Cities. But if we consider of the name and Nation in particular, then is their proper ha-
bitation bounded by *Iordan*, on the East, and by the *Mediterran* Sea on the West: in
which narrow Countrey, and in the choyfest places thereof, those *Canaanites* which held
their Paternall name chiefly inhabited.

20 The first King of these Nations, named in the Scriptures, was *Hamor* or *Hemer*, of the Gen. 34.
Heuites, whom *Simeon* and *Leui* slew, together with his sonne *Sichem*, in reuenge of their
sisters rauishment.

Arad was the second King which the Scriptures haue remembred, who had that part
of *Canaan* towards the South, neighbouring *Edom* and the dead Sea; the same which sur-
priled *Israel*, as they encamped in the *Wilderness* in the edge of *Edumæa*. Num. 21. 1.

The third named was *Sehon* King of *Essebon*, who before *Moses* arriuall had beaten the
Moabites out of the West part of *Arabia Petræa* or *Nabathea*, and thrust them ouer *Arnon* Num. 21. 24.
into the Deserts, the same whom *Moses* ouerthrew in the plaines of *Moab*: at which time
he tooke *Essebon*, and all the Cities of the *Amorites*. *Ios. 9. Ioseph. ant. lib. 4. c. 5.*

30 Presently after which victory, *Og* was also slaine by *Israel*, who commanded the North
part of that Valley betweene the Mountaines *Traconi* or *Galaad* and *Iordan*, who was also *Num. 21. 35.*
a King of the *Amorites*.

The fift was *Adonizedek* King of the *Iebusites*, and of *Hierusalem*, with whom *Iosua* na-
meth foure other Kings.

Hoham, King of *Hebron*.
Piram, King of *Iarmuth*.
Iapia, King of *Lachis*: and
Deber, King of *Eglon*, who were all *Amorites* ouerthrowne in battell: and hanged by Iosua 10.
Iosua. After this ouerthrow *Iosua* nameth *Iabin*, King of *Hazor*, and *Ioseph. ant. lib. 5. cap. 1.*
40 *Iobab*, King of *Madon*: whom he also slaughtered, and tooke his Cities: and this *Iabin*
seemed to haue some dominion ouer the rest; for it is said in the Text, *For* Hazor *be-* Iosua 11. v. 10.
fore times was the head of all those Kingdomes.

After these *Adonibezek* that notorious Tyrant is named: who confest that he had cut
off the thumbes of the hands and feete of seuenty Kings, inforcing them to gather *Iud. 1. Ioseph.*
crummes vnder his Table: who, after *Iuda* and *Simeon* had vsed the same exequution *lib. 5. cap. 2.*
vpon himselfe, acknowledged it to be a iust reuenge of God: this King was carried to
Hierusalem where he died.

The last King named is *Iabin* the second, who as it seemeth had rebuilt *Hazor*, burnt
by *Iosua*. For at such time as he employed *Sisara* against *Israel*, whom he oppreft twenty
50 yeeres, after the death of *Ehud*, He inhabited *Hazor*. This *Iabin*, *Barac* (encouraged by Iud. 4.
Debora) ouerthrew; and his Captaine *Sisara* had by *Iael*, the wife of *Heber* the *Kenite*, a
naile driuen into his head while he slept in her Tent: *Iabin* himselfe perishing afterward Iud. 4. Psal. 83.
in that warre.

The *Madianites* had also their Kings at times, but commonly mixt with the *Moabites*: *Ioseph. l. 5. c. 6.*
and they held a corner of Land in *Nabathea*: to the South-east of the Dead Sea. They
descended from *Madian*, *Abrahams* sonne, by *Cethura*. *Raguel* surnamed *Gethegleus* or *Ie-* Exod. 3.
thres, saith *Iosephus*, called *Iethro* in *Exodus*, *Kenis* in the first of *Iudges*, the sonne of *Da-*
than, the grand-childe of *Iexanu*, or *Iokshan*, the great grand-childe of *Abraham* by *Ce-*
thura,

Cedren. pag. 34. *thura*, was Priest or Prince of the *Madianites* by the Red Sea: whose Daughter or Neece, *Moses* married: and of whom I haue spoken elsewhere more at large. This *Iethro* if he were not the same with *Hobab*, must be his father: and this *Hobab* had seauen daughters. He guided *Moses* in the *Wildernesse*: and became one of the *Israelites*: of him descended the *Kenites*, so called of his father *Raguels* surname, of which *Kenites* was *Heber*, which had peace with *Iabin* the second, euen now remembred.

Ind.1.

1.Sam.15.6. At such time as *Saul* inuaded the *Amalekites*, he knowing the good affection of the *Kenites* to *Israel*, gaue them warning to separate themselues: and yet the *Kenites* had strong seates, and liued in the mountaines of the Deserts.

The Kings of the *Canaanites*, and *Madianites*, and the *Amalekites*, as many as I find named, were these:

1. *Homer* the *Heuite* of *Sichem*
2. *Arad* of the South parts
3. *Sehon* of *Essebon*
4. *Og* of *Basan*
5. *Adonizedek* the *Iebusite*, King of *Hierusalem*
6. *Hoham* of *Hebron* — Ios.10.
7. *Piram* of *Iarmuth*
8. *Iapia* of *Lachis*
9. *Debir* of *Eglon*
10. *Iabin* of *Hazor* — Ios.11.
11. *Iobab* of *Modon*
12. *Adonibezek* of *Bezek*, and
13. *Iabin* the second King of *Hazor*.

Of the *Madianites* these:

* *Eui* or *Euis*.
Rekam or *Recem* who built *Petra* the *Metropolis* of *Petræa*, so called by the *Greekes*: and by *Esai*.cap.16.verse 1. and *Selah*, which is as much as *Petra*: and so also it is called 2 Reg. 14.7. where it is also called *Iektheel*.
Zur
Hur and
Reba
* *Oreb*
Zeb
Zebah
Zalmunna.

* These fiue were first all at one time Kings of seuerall portions of the *Madianites*: slaine by *Phinehas* and the 12000. which hee led against them: Num. 31.v. 8.
* These foure last were likewise at one time, slaine in the pursuite of *Gideons* victory: Iud.c.7. v.25.& cap.8. v.12.

After the death of *Barac*, *Iudge of Israel*, the foure last named of these *Madianite* Kings, vexed *Israel* seuen yeeres: till they being put to flight by *Gideon*, two of them, to wit, *Oreb* and *Zeb*, were taken and slaine by the *Ephraimites*, at the passage of *Iordan*, as in the 6.7. and 8. of *Iudges* it is written at large. Afterward in the pursuite of the rest, *Gideon* himselfe laide hands vpon *Zebah* and *Salmana*, or *Zalmunna*, and executed them, being prisoners; in which expedition of *Gideon* there perished 120000. of the *Madianites* and their confederates. Of the *Idumæans*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, I will speake hereafter in the description of their Territories.

§. III.
Of the Amalekites, and Ismaelites.

OF the Kings of the *Amalekites* and *Ismaelites*, I finde few that are named; and though of the *Ismaelites* there were more in number than of the rest (for they were multiplied into a greater Nation, according vnto the promise of God made vnto *Abraham*) yet the *Amalekites*, who together with the *Midianites* were numbred among them, were more renowned in *Moses* time than the rest of the *Ismaelites*. So also were they when *Saul* gouerned *Israel*. For *Saul* pursued them from *Sur* vnto *Hauilah*, to wit, ouer a great part of *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Desert*. The reason to me seemeth to be this: That the twelue Princes which came of *Ismael*, were content to leaue those barren *Deserts* of *Arabia Petræa*, called *Sur*, *Paran*, and *Sin*, to the issue of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, that

Gen.17.20. Iud.c.7.

that ioyned with them (for so seeme the *Amalekites* to haue been, and so were the *Madianites*:) themselues taking possession of a better soyle in *Arabia* the Happy, and about the Mountaines of *Galaad* in *Arabia Petræa*. For *Nabaioth* the eldest of those twelue Princes planted that part of *Arabia Petræa*, which was very fruitfull though adioyning to the *Desert*, in which *Moses* wandred, afterward called *Nabathea*: the same which neighboureth *Iudæa* on the East-side. They also peopled a Prouince in *Arabia* the Happy, whereof the people were in after-times called *Napathei* (B) changed into (P).

Kedar, the second of *Ismaels* sonnes, gaue his own name to the East-part of *Basan*, or *Batanea*, which was afterward possest by *Manasse*, so much therof as lay within the mountaines *Traconi*, or *Gilead*. Which Nation *Lampridius* calleth *Kedarens*, & *Plinie Cedreans*. *Abbeel* sate downe in the *Desert Arabia*, neere the Mountaines which diuide it from the Happy: and gaue name to the *Adubens*, which *Ptolomy* calleth *Agubens*.

Mibsam was the Parent of the *Masamancuses*, neere the Mountaine *Zamath*, in the same *Arabia* the Happy.

The *Raabens* were of *Mishma*: who ioyned to the *Orchens*, neere the *Arabian* gulfe, where *Ptolomy* setteth *Zagmais*.

Of *Duma* were the *Dumæans*, betweene the *Adubens* and *Raabens*: where the Citie *Dumeth* sometimes stood.

Of *Massa* the *Massani*, and of *Hadar*, or *Chadar* the *Athritæ*, who bordered the *Napatheans* in the same Happy *Arabia*.

Thema begat the *Themaneans*, among the *Arabian* Mountaines, where also the Citie of *Thema* is seated.

Of *Ietur* the *Ituræans*, or *Chamathens*: of whom *Tohu* was King in *Dauids* time.

Of *Naphri* the *Nubeian Arabians*: inhabiting *Syria Zoba*: ouer whom *Adadezer* commanded, while *Dauid* ruled *Israel*. Plin.l.6.c.28.

Cadma, the last and twelfth of *Ismaels* sonnes, was the Ancestor of the *Cadmonæans*: who were afterward called *Asitæ*: because they worshipped the Fire with the *Babylonians*. Iunius.

The *Amalekites* gaue their Kings the name of *Agag*, as the *Egyptians* the name of *Pharaoh* to theirs, and the ancient *Syrians Adad* to theirs, and the *Arabian Nabatheans Aretas*, as Names of Honour.

The *Amalekites* were the first that fought with *Moses*, after he past the Red Sea: when of all times they flourished most, and yet were vanquished. Exod.17.

Afterward they ioyned with the *Canaanites*, and beate the *Israelites* neere *Cadesbarne*. Num.14.

After the gouernment of *Othoniel*, they ioyned them with the *Moabites*: after *Barac* with the *Madianites*: and inuaded *Israel*. God commanded that as soone as *Israel* had rest, they should roote out the name of the *Amalekites*: which *Saul* exequuted in part, when he wasted them from the border of *Egypt*, to the border of *Caldæa*: from *Hauilah* to *Shur*.

In *Dauids* time they tooke *Siklag* in *Simeon*: but *Dauid* followed them, and surprised them, recouering his prisoners and spoiles. And yet, after *Dauid* became King, they again vexed him, but to their owne losse. 1.Sam.30. 2.Sam.8.12.

In *Ezekias* time as many of them as ioyned to *Edumea* were wasted and displanted by the children of *Simeon*. 1.

§. IIII.
Of the instauration of Ciuility in Europe about these times, and of Prometheus *and* Atlas.

THere liued at this time, and in the same age together with *Moses*, many men exceeding famous, as well in bodily strength, as in all sorts of learning. And as the World was but euen now enriched with the written Law of the liuing God, so did Art and Ciuility (bred and fostered farre off in the East, and in *Egypt*) begin at this time to discouer a passage into *Europe*, and into those parts of *Greece*, neighbouring *Asia* and *Iudæa*. For if *Pelasgus* besides his bodily strength, was chosen King of *Arcadia*, because he taught those people to erect them simple Cottages, to defend them from raine and storme: and learned them withall to make a kinde of Meale, and bread of Acornes, who before liued for the most part, by Hearbes and Rootes: wee may thereby iudge how poore, and wretched those times were, and how fallsly those Nations haue vaunted of those their antiquities, accompanied not onely with ciuill learning, but with all other kindes of knowledge. And it was in this age of the World, as

both

both *Eusebius* and Saint *Augustine* haue obserued, that *Prometheus* flourished: *Quem propterea ferunt de luto formasse homines, quia optimus sapientiæ doctor fuisse perhibetur*; *Of whom it is reported that he formed men out of clay, because he was an excellent teacher of wisedome:* and so *Theophrastus* expoundeth the inuention of fire ascribed to *Prometheus*, *Ad inuentæ sapientiæ pertinere*; *To haue reference to wise inuentions*: and *Æschylus* affirmeth, That by the stealing of *Iupiters* fire, was meant, that the knowledge of *Prometheus* reached to the Starres, and other celestiall bodies. Againe, it is written of him, that he had the art so to vse this fire, as therby he gaue life to the Images of Wood, Stone, and Clay: meaning that before his birth and being, those people among whom hee liued, had nothing else worthy of men, but externall forme and figure. By that fiction of *Prometheus*, being bound on the top of the Hill *Caucasus*, his entrailes the while deuoured by an Eagle, was meant the inward care and restlesse desire he had to inuestigate the Natures, Motions, and Influences of Heauenly bodies; for so it is said: *Ideo altissimum ascendisse Caucasum, vt sereno cœlo quàm longissimè astra, signorum obitus & ortus spectaret*; *That he ascended Caucasus, to the end that he might in a cleere skye discerne afar off the settings and risings of the Starres*: though *Diodorus Siculus* expounds it otherwise, and others diuersly.

Aug. l. 18. c. 8. de Ciuit. Dei.

Æschyl. in Prom. vinct. In c. 8. lib. 18. de Ciuit. Dei.

L. Viues ex Hes.

Of this Mans knowledge Æscylus *giues this* testimonie.

Æschylus Prom. vincti.

Ast agebant omnia
Vt fors ferebat: donec ipse repperi
Signorum obitus, ortusq; qui mortalibus
Sunt vtiles: & multitudinem artium
His repperi: componere inde literas;
Matremq; Musarum auxi ego Memoriam
Perutilem cunctis; &c.

But Fortune gouern'd all their workes, till when
I first found out how Starres did set and rise:
A profitable art to mortall men:
And others of like vse I did deuise:
As letters to compose in learned wise
I first did teach; and first did amplifie
The Mother of the *Muses Memorie*.

Africanus makes *Prometheus* farre more ancient, and but 94. yeeres after *Ogyges*. *Porphyrius* sayes that he liued at once with *Inachus*, who liued with *Isaac*.

Aug. l. 18. c. 3. de Ciuit. Dei.

There liued also at once with *Moses*, that famous *Atlas*, brother to *Prometheus*, both being the sonnes of *Iapetus*, of whom though it bee said, that they were borne before *Moses* dayes, and therefore are by others esteemed of a more ancient date: yet the aduantage of their long liues gaue them a part of other ages among men, which came into the World long after them. Besides these sonnes of *Iapetus*, *Aesculus* findes two other, to wit, *Oceanus* and *Hesperus*, who being famous in the West, gaue name to the Euening, and so to the euening Starre. Also besides this *Atlas* of *Lybia*, or *Mauritania*, there were others which bare the same name: but of the *Lybian*, and the brother of *Prometheus*, it was that those Mountaines which crosse *Africa*, to the South of *Marocco*, *Sus*, and *Hea*, with the Sea adioyning, tooke name, which memory *Plato* in *Critias* bestowes on *Atlas*, the sonne of *Neptune*.

Cicero in the fifth of his *Tusculan* questions, affirmeth that all things written of *Prometheus* and *Atlas*, were but by those names to expresse diuine knowledge. *Nec verò Atlas sustinere cœlum, nec* Prometheus *affixus Caucaso, nec stellatus* Cepheus *cum vxore traderetur, nisi diuina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorem fabulæ traduxisset*; *Neither should Atlas be said to beare vp Heauen, nor* Prometheus *to bee fastened to Caucasus, nor* Cepheus *with his wife to be stellified; vnlesse their diuine knowledge had raised vpon their names these erroneus fables.*

Orpheus sometime exprest *Time* by *Prometheus*, sometime he tooke him for *Saturnus*, as *Rheæ coniux alme Prometheu*. But that the story of *Prometheus* was not altogether a fiction:

a fiction: and that he liued about this time, the most approued Historians and Antiquaries, and among them *Eusebius* and Saint *Augustine* haue not doubted; For the great iudgement which *Atlas* had in *Astronomy*, saith Saint *Augustine*, were his daughters called by the names of constellations, *Pleiades* and *Hyades*: Others attribute vnto him the finding out of the Moones course, of which *Archas* the sonne of *Orchomenus* challengeth the inuention. Of this *Arcas Arcadia* in *Peloponnesus* tooke name; and therefore did the *Arcadians* vaunt that they were more ancient than the Moone: *Et Luna gens prior illa fuit*: which is to be vnderstood, saith *Natalis Comes*, before there had been any obseruation of the Moones course: or of her working in inferiour bodies. And though there be that bestow the finding out thereof vpon *Endymion*: others (as *Xenagoras*) on *Typhon*: yet *Isacius Tzetzes*, a curious searcher of antiquities, gaue it *Atlas* of *Libya*: who besides his gifts of minde, was a man of vnequalled and incomparable strength: from whom *Thales* the *Milesian*, as it is said, had the ground of his *Philosophy*.

Lib. 18. cap. 8. de Ciuit. Dei.

Ouid. de fast. l. 1.

§. V.
Of Deucalion *and* Phaeton.

AND in this age of the World, and while *Moses* yet liued, *Deucalion* reigned in *Thessalie*, *Crotopus* then ruling the *Argiues*. This *Deucalion* was the son of *Prometheus*, saith *Herodotus*, *Apollonius*, *Hesiodus*, and *Strabo*. *Hesiodus* gaue him *Pandora* for mother; the rest *Clymene*: *Homer* in the fifteenth of his *Odyssees*, makes *Deucalion* the sonne of *Minos*: but hee must needs haue meant some other *Deucalion*; for else either *Vlysses* was mistaken, or *Homer*, who put the tale into his mouth. For *Vlysses* after his returne from *Troy*, fained himselfe to be the brother of *Idomeneus*, who was sonne to this later *Deucalion*, the sonne of *Minos*: but this *Minos* liued but one age before *Troy* was taken: (for *Idomeneus* serued in that warre) and this *Deucalion* the sonne of *Prometheus*, who liued at once with *Moses*, was long before. In the first *Deucalions* time happened that great inundation in *Thessalie*: by which in effect euery soule, in those parts, perished, but *Deucalion*, *Pyrrha* his wife, and some few others. It is affirmed that at the time of this floud in *Thessalie*, those people exceeded in all kinde of wickednesse and villany: and as the impiety of men is the forcible attractiue of Gods vengeance, so did all that Nation for their foule sinnes perish by waters: as in the time of *Noah*, the corruption and cruelty of all man kinde drew on them that generall destruction by the floud vniuersall. Onely *Deucalion*, and *Pyrrha* his wife, whom God spared, were both of them esteemed to be louers of Vertue, of Iustice and of Religion. Of whom *Ouid*:

Cem. Alex. strom. lib. 1. Strabo. lib. 9.

Non illa melior quisquam, nec amantior æqui
Vir fuit: aut illa reuerentior vlla dearum.

No man was better, nor more iust than he:
Nor any woman godlier than shee.

It is also affirmed that *Promethius* fore-told his sonne *Deucalion* of this ouer-flowing; and aduised him to prouide for his safty: who hereupon prepared himselfe a kinde of Vessell, which *Lucian* in his *Dialogue* of *Timon* calles *Cibotium*; and others *Larnax*. And because to these circumstances, they afterward adde the sending out of the Doue, to discouer the waters fall and decrease, I should verily thinke that this Story had been but an imitation of *Noahs* floud deuised by the *Greekes*, did not the times so much differ, and Saint *Augustine* with others of the Fathers and reuerent Writers approue this Story of *Deucalion*. Among other his children *Deucalion* had these two of note, *Hellen* of whom *Greece* had first the name of *Hellas*, and *Melantho*, on whom *Neptune* is said to haue begot *Delphus*, which gaue name to *Delphos*, so renowned among the Heathen for the *Oracle* of *Apollo* therein founded.

August. de Ciuit. Dei. l. 18. c. 10. ex Eusebio & Hieronymos.

And that which was no lesse strange and maruailous than this floud, was that great burning and conflagration which about this time also happened vnder *Phaeton*; not onely in *Ethiopia*, but in *Istria*, a Region in *Italy*, and about *Cumæ*, and the Mountaines of *Vesuuius*: of both which the *Greekes*, after their manner, haue inuented many strange fables.

§.VI.

Of Hermes Trismegistus.

BVt of all other which this age brought forth among the Heathen, *Mercurius* was the most famous, and renowned; the same which was also called *Trismegistus*, or *Ter Maximus*; and of the *Greekes*, *Hermes*.

Many there were of this name; and how to distinguish, and set them in their owne times, both S. *Augustine* & *Lactantius* finde it difficult. For that *Mercury* which was esteemed the God of Theeues, the God of Wrestlers, of Merchants, and Sea-men, and to the God of Eloquence (though all by one name confounded) was not the same with that *Mercury*, of whose many workes some fragments are now extant.

Cicero, Clemens Alexandrinus, Arnobius, and certaine of the *Greekes* reckon fiue *Mercuries*. Of which, two were famous in Egypt, and there worshipped; one, the sonne of *Nilus*, whose name the Egyptians feared to vtter, as the Iewes did their *Tetragrammaton*; the other, that *Mercury*, which slew *Argus* in Greece, and flying into Egypt, is said to haue deliuered literature to the Egyptians, and to haue giuen them Lawes. But *Diodorus* affirmeth, that *Orpheus*, and others after him, brought learning and letters out of Egypt into Greece: which *Plato* also confirmeth, saying; That letters were not found out by that *Mercury* which slew *Argus*, but by that ancient *Mercury*, otherwise *Theuet*; whom *Philo Byblius* writeth *Taautus*; the Egyptians *Thoyth*; the Alexandrians *Thot*; & the Greekes (as before) *Hermes*. And to this *Taautus*, *Sanconiatho*, who liued about the war of Troy giues the inuention of letters. But S. *Augustine* making two *Mercuries*, which were both Egyptians, calles neither of them the son of *Nilus*, nor acknowledgeth either of them to haue slaine *Argus*. For he findes this *Mercury* the slayer of *Argus*, to be the grand-child of that *Atlas*, which liued while *Moses* was yet young. And yet L. *Viues* vpon S. *Augustine* seemes to vnderstand them to be the same with those, whom *Cicero*, *Alexandrinus*, and the rest haue remembred. But that coniecture of theirs, that any *Græcian Mercury* brought letters into Egypt, hath no ground. For it is manifest, (if there be any truth in prophane antiquitie) that all the knowledge which the Greekes had, was transported out of Egypt or Phœnicia, & not out of Greece, nor by any Græcian into Egypt. For they all confess, that *Cadmus* brought letters first into Bœotia, either out of Egypt, or out of Phœnicia: it being true, that betweene *Mercurius*, that liued at once with *Moses*, and *Cadmus*, there were these descents cast; *Crotopus* King of the Argiues, with whom *Moses* liued, and in whose time about his tenth yeere *Moses* died; after *Crotopus*, *Sthenelus*, who reigned eleuen yeeres; after him *Danaus* fifty yeeres; after him *Linceus*: in whose time, and after him in the time of *Minos* King of Crete, this *Cadmus* arriued in Bœotia. And therefore it cannot bee true that any *Mercurius* about *Moses* his time, flying out of Greece for the slaughter of *Argus*, brought literature out of Greece into Egypt. Neither did either of those two *Mercuries* of Egypt, whom Saint *Augustine* remembreth, the one the grand-father, the other the Nephew or grand-child, come out of Greece. *Eupolemus* and *Artapanus* note, that *Moses* found out Letters and taught the vse of them to the Iewes; of whom the Phœnicians their neighbors receiued them; & the Greeks of the Phœnicians by *Cadmus*. But this inuention was also ascribed to *Moses*, for the reason before remembred; that is, because the Iewes & the Phœnicians had them first from him. For euery Nation gaue vnto those men the honour of first Inuentors, from whom they receiued the profit. *Ficinus* makes that *Mercury*, vpon part of whose workes hee Commenteth, to haue beene foure descents after *Moses*; which he hath out of *Virgil*, who calles *Atlas*, that liued with *Moses*, the maternall grand-father of the first famous *Mercury*, whom others, as *Diodorus*, call the Counsailer and Instructer of that renowned *Isis*, wife of *Osiris*. But *Ficinus* giueth no reason for his opinion herein. But that the elder *Mercury* instructed *Isis*, *Diodorus Siculus* affirmeth, and that such an inscription was found on a pillar erected on the Tombe of *Isis*. *Lod. Viues* vpon the sixe and twentieth Chapter of the eight Booke of Saint *Augustine*, *de Ciuitate Dei*, conceiueth, that this *Mercury*, whose workes are extant, was not the first which was entituled *Ter maximus*, but his Nephew or grand-child, *Sanchoniaton*, an ancient Phœnician, who liued shortly after *Moses*, hath other fancies of this *Mercury*; affirming that he was the *Scribe of Saturne*, and called by the Phœnicians *Taautus*; and by the Egyptians *Thoot*, or *Thoyt*. It may be, that the many yeeres which he is said

Lod. Viues out of Cicero in Aug. de Ciu. Dei. l.8.c.26.

Euseb. l.1. c.6. de Præp. Euan.

Virg. l.4. Aeneid.

Ficin. in Præfat. Pæmand Mercurii Trismegisti.

* Or *Sanchoniatho*: See *Euseb. de præp. Euang. l.1. c.6.*

said to haue liued, to wit, three hundred yeeres, gaue occasion to some Writers to finde him in one time, and to others in other times. But by those who haue collected the grounds of the *Egyptian* Philosophie and Diuinitie, he is found more ancient than *Moses*: because the Inuentor of the *Egyptian Wisedome*, wherein it is said, that *Moses* was excellently learned.

Viues in lib. 8 c.26 Aug. de Ciuit. Dei.

It is true, that although this *Mercurie* or *Hermes* doth in his Diuinitie differ in many particulars from the Scriptures, especially in the approuing of Images, which *Moses* of all things most detested: yet whosoeuer shall reade him with an euen iudgement, will rather resolue, that these workes which are now extant, were by the *Greekes* and *Egyptian* Priests corrupted, and those fooleries inserted, than that euer they were by the hand of *Hermes* written, or by his heart and spirit deuised. For there is no man of vnderstanding, and master of his owne wits, that hath affirmed in one and the same Tract, those things which are directly contrary in doctrine, and in nature: For out of doubt (*Moses* excepted) there was neuer any man of those elder times that hath attributed more, and in a stile more reuerend and diuine, vnto Almighty God, than he hath done. And therefore if those his two Treatises, now among vs; the one conuerted by *Apuleius*, the other by that learned *Ficinus*, had beene found in all things like themselues: I thinke it had not beene perillous to haue thought with *Eupolemus*, that this *Hermes* was *Moses* himselfe; and that the *Egyptian Theologie* hereafter written, was deuised by the first, and more ancient *Mercurie*, which others haue thought to haue been *Ioseph*, the son of *Iacob*: whom, after the exposition of *Pharaohs* dreames, they called *Saphanetphane*, which is as much to say, as *absconditorum repertor*; *A finder out of hidden things*. But these are ouer-venturous opinions. For what this man was, it is known to God. Enuy and aged time hath partly defaced, and partly worne out the certaine knowledge of him: of whom, whosoeuer he were, *Lactantius* writeth in this sort: *Hic scripsit libros, & quidem multos, ad cognitionem diuinarum rerum pertinentes, in quibus Maiestatem summi ac singularis Dei asserit, ijsdemque nominibus appellat, quibus nos, Deum & Patrem; Hee hath written many bookes belonging to, or expressing the knowledge of diuine things, in which he affirmeth the Maiesty of the most High and one God, calling him by the same names of God and Father, which wee doe.* The same Father also feareth not to number him among the *Sybils* and *Prophets*. And so contrary are these his acknowledgements to those Idolatrous fictions of the *Egyptians* and *Græcians*, as for my selfe I am perswaded, that whatsoeuer is found in him contrary thereunto, was by corruption inserted. For thus much himselfe confesseth: *Deus omnium Dominus, & Pater, fons & vita, potentia & lux, & mens, & spiritus; & omnia in ipso, & sub ipso sunt. Verbum enim ex eius esse prodiens, perfectissimum existens, & generator & opifex, &c.* God (saith he) *the Lord and Father of all things, the fountaine, and life, and power, and light, and minde, and spirit: and all things are in him and vnder him. For his Word out of himselfe proceeding, most perfect, and generatiue, and operatiue, falling vpon fruitfull nature, made it also fruitfull and producing.* And hee was therefore (saith *Suydas*) called *Ter maximus*, *quia de Trinitate loquutus est: in Trinitate vnum esse Deum asserens*; *Because hee spake of the Trinity, affirming that there is one God in Trinity. Hic ruinam* (saith Ficinus) *præuidit priscæ Religionis, hic ortum nouæ fidei, hic aduentum Christi, hic futurum iudicium, resurrectionem sæculi, beatorum gloriam, supplicia peccatorum*; *This* Mercurie *foresaw the ruine of the old or superstitious Religion, and the birth of the new faith, and of the comming of Christ; the future iudgement, the resurrection, the glory of the Blessed, and the torment or affliction of the wicked or damned.*

L. 1. c. 6. fol. 4.

Masius.

In Præf. Mercurii Trismeg.

To this I will onely adde his two last speeches reported by *Calcidius* the *Platonist*, and by *Volteran* out of *Suydas*: *Hactenus fili pulsus à patria, vixi peregrinus & exul, nunc incolumis repeto: cumq; post paulum à vobis corporeis vinculis absolutus discessero, videtote me me quasi mortuum lugeatis. Nam ad illam optimam beatamq; Ciuitatem regredior, ad quam vniuersi ciues mortis conditione venturi sunt. Ibi namq; solus Deus est summus Princeps: qui ciues suos replet suauitate mirifica: ad quam hac, quam multi vitam existimant, mors est potius dicenda quam vita*; *Hitherto, O Sonne being driuen from my Country, I haue liued a strangen and banished man: but now I am repaired home-ward againe in safty. And when I shall after a few dayes (or in a short time) by being loosed from these bonds of flesh and bloud depart from you, see that you doe not bewaile me as a man dead, for I doe but returne to that best and blessed Citie, to which all her Citizens (by the condition of death) shall repaire. Therein is the only God, the most high and chiefe Prince, who filleth or feedeth his Citizens with sweetnesse more than*

marueilous: in regard whereof, this being, which others call a life, is rather to be accounted a death than a life. The other, and that which seemeth to be his last, is thus conuerted by others, agreeing in sense but not in words with *Suydas*: *O cœlum magni Dei sapiens opus; téq O vox patris quam ille primam emisit, quando vniuersum constituit mundum, adiuro per vnigenitum eius verbum, & Spiritum cuncta comprehendentem, miseremini mei, I adiure thee O heauen, thou wise worke of the great God, and thee O voyce of the Father, which he first vttered, when he framed the whole World, by his only begotten Word, and Spirit, comprehending all things, Haue mercy vpon me.*

But *Suydas* hath his inuocation in these words: *Obtestor te cœlum magni Dei sapiens opus, obtestor te vocem Patris quam loquutus est primùm, cum omnem mundum firmauit, obtestor te per vnigenitum Sermonem omnia continentem, propitius, propitius esto; I beseech thee O heauen, wise worke of the great God, I beseech thee O voyce of the Father, which he spake first when he established all the World, I beseech thee by the only begotten Word containing all things, be fauourable, be fauourable.*

§. VII.

Of Iannes *and* Iambres, *and some other that liued about those times.*

THere were also in this age both *Æsculapius*, which after his death became the God of *Physicians*, being the brother of *Mercurius*, as *Viues* thinks in his Commentary vpon *Augustine, de Ciuitate Dei. lib. 8.* and also those two notorious Sorcerers, *Iannes* and *Iambres*, who in that impious art excelled all that euer had beene heard of to this day: and yet *Moses* himselfe doth not charge them with any familiary with Diuels, or ill Spirits: words indeed that seldome came out of his mouth; how-euer by the *Septuagint* they are called *Sophistæ* or *Venefici* and *Incantatores*, Sophists Poysoners and Inchanters: by *Hierome, sapientes & malefici*; Wise men, and euill doers: and so by *Vatablus*, who also vseth the word *Magi*. The *Greeke* it selfe seemes to attribute somewhat of what they did to naturall *Magick*: calling them, φαρμακὸς, workers by drugs. The *Geneuian, Sorcerers and Inchanters*: Iunius, *Sapientes præstigiatores & Magi*. Magicians and Wise men here by him are taken in one sense: and Prestigiators are such as dazell mens eyes, and make them seeme to see what they see not: as false colours, and false shapes. But as some vertues and some vices are so nicely distinguished, and so resembling each other, as they are often confounded, and the one taken for the other: (Religion and superstition hauing one face and countenance) so did the workes and workings of *Moses*, and of *Pharaos* Sorceres appeare in outward shew, and to the beholders of common capacities, to be one and the same art and gift of knowledge. For the Diuell changeth himselfe into an *Angell* of light: and imitateth in all he can the waies and workings of the most High. And yet on the contrary euery worke which surmounteth the wisedome of most men, is not to be condemned, as performed by the helpe or ministery of ill Spirits. For the properties and powers which God hath giuen to naturall things, are such as where he also bestoweth the knowledge to vnderstand their hidden and best vertues, many things by them are brought to passe, which seeme altogether impossible, and aboue nature or art: which two speculations of workes of nature, and of miracle, the *Cabalists* distinguished by these names; *Opus de Bereſith, & opus de mercana*: the one they call *Sapientiam naturæ*; *The Wisedome of nature*: the other *Sapientiam diuinitatis*; *The wisedome of diuinity*: the one *Iacob* practised in breeding the pied Lambes in *Mesopotamia*, the other *Moses* exercised in his miracles wrought in *Egypt*, hauing receiued from God the knowledge of the one in the highest perfection, to wit, the knowledge of nature: of the other so farre as it pleased God to proportion him, both which he vsed to his glory that gaue them: assuming to himselfe nothing at all, either in the least or most. Also Saint *Augustine* noteth, that from the time that *Moses* left *Egypt*, to the death of *Ioshua*, diuers other famous men liued in the World, who after their deaths for their eminent vertues and inuentions, were numbred among the Gods: as *Dionysius*, otherwise *Liber Pater*, who taught the *Græcians* the vse of the Vine in *Attica*: at which time also there were instituted *Musicall* playes to *Apollo Delphicus*: thereby to regaine his fauour, who brought barrennesse and scarcity vpon that part of *Greece*, because they resisted not the attempts of *Danaus*, who spoiled his Temple and set it on fire: so did *Erichthonius* institute the like games to

I. Viues. in l. 8. August. de Ciu. Dei. c. 26.

Exod. 9. 11.

to *Minerua*: wherein the Victor was rewarded with a present of *Oyle*, in memory of her that first prest it out of the Oliue.

In this age also *Xanthus* rauished *Europa*: and begat on her *Radamanthus*, *Sarpedon* and *Minos*, which three are also giuen to *Iupiter* by other Historians. To these Saint *Augustine* addeth *Hercules*; the same to whom the twelue labours are ascribed, natiue of *Tyrinthia* a City of *Peloponnesus*: (or as others say, only nursed and brought vp there) who came into *Italy*, and destroyed many Monsters there; being neither that *Hercules*, which *Eusebius* surnameth *Delphin*, famous in *Phœnicia*; nor that *Hercules*, according to *Philostratus*, which came to *Gades*, whom he calleth an *Egyptian*: *Manifestum fit, non Thebanum* Herculem, *sed Ægyptium ad Gades peruenisse, & ibi finem statuisse terræ* (saith *Philostratus*;) *It is manifest that it was the Egyptian* Hercules, *and not the Theban, which trauailed as farre as the streights of Gades, and there determined the bounds of the earth.* In this time also while *Moses* wandered in the Deserts, *Dardanus* built *Dardania*.

Lib. de Ciuit. Dei. cap. 12.

Philost. l. 2.

But whosoeuer they were, or how worthy soeuer they were that liued in the dayes and age of *Moses*, there was neuer any man, that was no more than man, by whom it pleased God to worke greater things; whom he fauoured more, to whom (according to the appearing of an infinite God) he so often appeared; neuer any more familiar and conuersant with Angels; neuer any more learned both in Diuine and Humane knowledge; neuer a greater Prophet in *Israel*. He was the first that receiued and deliuered the Law of God entire; the first that left to posterity by letters, the truth and power of one infinite God; his creating out of nothing the World vniuersall, and all the creatures therein; that taught the detestation of Idolatry, and the punishment, vengeance, and eradication, which followed.

Syracides calleth *Moses* the beloued of God and Men, whose remembrance is blessed. *Hee made him* (saith the same Author) *like to the glorious Saints, and magnified him by the feare of his enemies, made him glorious in the sight of Kings, shewed him his glory, caused him to heare his voyce, sanctified him with faithfulnesse and meekenesse, and chose him out of all men.*

Syrac. 45. 12. 13

Hee is remembred among prophane Authors; as by *Clearchus* the *Peripatetick*: by *Megastenes*, and *Numenius* the *Pythagorian*. The long liues which the *Patriarchs* enioyed before the floud, remembred by *Moses, Estieus, Hieronymus Egiptius, Hecatæus, Elanicus, Acusilaus, Ephorus*, and *Alexander the Historian*, confirme. The vniuersall flood which God reuealed vnto *Moses, Berosus, Nicolaus Damascenus*, and others haue testified. The building of the Tower of *Babel*, and confusion of tongues, *Abydenus, Estieus*, and *Sybilla* haue appoued. *Berosus* also honoureth *Abraham*. *Hecatæus* wrote a Booke of him. *Damascenus* before cited, speaketh of *Abrahams* passage from *Damascus* into *Canaan*, agreeing with the Bookes of *Moses*. *Eupolemon* writeth the very same of *Abraham*, which *Moses* did. For beginning with the building of *Babel*, and the ouerthrow thereof by diuine power, he saith that *Abraham*, borne in the tenth generation, in the City called *Camerina*, or *Vrien*, excelled all men in wisedome: and by whom the Astrologie of the *Caldæans* was inuented. *Is iustitia pietateq; sua* (saith *Eusebius* out of the same Author) *sic Deo gratus fuit, vt diuino præcepto in Phœnicem venerit, ibiq; habitauerit*; *For his iustice and piety he was so pleasing vnto God, as by his commandement he came into Phœnicia, and dwelt there.* Likewise *Diodorus Siculus*, in his second Booke and fift Chapter, speaketh reuerently of *Moses*: There are many other among prophane Authors, which doe confirme the Bookes of *Moses*, as *Eusebius* hath gathered in the ninth of his *Preparation to the Gospell*, Chapter the third and fourth, to whom I referre the Reader. Lastly, I cannot but for some things in it commend this notable testimony of *Strabo*, who writeth of *Moses* in these words. Moses *enim affirmauit, docebatq; Aegyptios non rectè sentire, qui bestiarum & pecorum imagines Deo tribuerunt: itemq; Afros & Græcos, qui Dijs hominum figuram affinxerunt: id verò solum esse Deum, quod nos & terram & mare continet, quod cœlum & mundum, & rerum omnium naturam appellamus: cuius profectò imaginem, nemo sanæ mentis, alicuius eorum rerum, quæ penes nos sunt, similem audeat effingere. Proinde (omni simulachrorum effictione repudiata) dignum ei Templum ac Delubrum constituendum, ac sine aliqua figura colendum*: Moses *affirmed and taught, that the Egyptians thought amisse, which attributed vnto God the Images of beasts and cattell: Also that the Affricans and Greekes greatly erred in giuing vnto their Gods the shapes of men: whereas that onely is God indeed, which containeth both vs, the Earth and Sea, which we call Heauen, the World, and the nature of all things, whose image,*

Strabo l. 16.

image, doubtlesse, no wise man will dare to fashion out vnto the likenes of those things, which are amongst vs: That therefore (all deuising of Idols cast aside) a worthy Temple and place of prayer was to be erected vnto him, and he to be worshipped without any figure at all therein.

Now concerning the *Egyptian* wisedome, for which the *Martyr Stephen* commended *Moses*, saying, *That Moses was learned in all the wisedome of the Egyptians, and was mighty in his works and words*; the same is corrected (how truly I know not) by *Diodorus, Diogenes, Laertius, Iamblicus Philo Iudæus*, and *Eusebius Cæsariensis*, and diuided into foure parts, *viz.* Mathematicall, Naturall, Diuine, and Morall. Act.7.22.

In the Mathematicall part, which is distinguish't into *Geometrie, Astronomie, Arithmetick*, and *Musick*; the ancient *Egyptians* exceed all others. For *Geometry* which is by interpretation measuring of grounds, was vsefull vnto them: 10 because it consisting of infallible principles, directed them certainly in bounding out their proper Lands, and Territories, when their fields and limits, by the inundations of *Nilus*, were yeerely ouerflowne and confounded, so as no man could know what in right belonged vnto him.

For the second part, to wit, *Astronomie*, the site of the Country being a lenell and spacious Plaine, free and cleere from the clouds, yeelded them delight with ease, in obseruing and contemplating the risings, fallings, and motions of the Starres.

Arithmeticke also, which is the knowledge of numbers, they studied; because without it, in *Geometry* and *Astronomy*, nothing can be demonstrated or concluded. But of *Musicke* they made no other account, nor desired farthar knowledge, than seemed to them 20 sufficient to serue and magnifie their Gods, their Kings, and good Men.

The Naturall part of this Wisedome, which handleth the principles, causes, elements, and operations of naturall things, differs little from *Peripateticall Philosophie*; teaching, that *Materia prima* is the beginning of all things; that of it all mixt bodies & liuing creatures haue their being; that Heauen is round like a Globe; that all Starres haue a certain fouent heate, and temperate influences, whereby all things grow and are produced; that raines proceed and be from mutations in the ayre; that the Planets haue their proper soules, &c.

The Diuine part of this wisedome, which is called *Theologie*, teacheth and beleeueth that the world had a beginning, and shall perish; that men had their first orignall in 30 *Egypt*; partly by meanes of the temperatenesse of that Country, where neither Winter with cold, nor Summer with heate are offensiue; and partly through the fertility, that *Nilus* giueth in those places; That the soule is immortall, and hath transmigration from body to body; That God is one, the Father and Prince of all Gods; and that from this God, other Gods are, as the Sunne and Moone, whom they worshipped by the names of *Osiris* and *Isis*, and erected to them Temples, Statues, and diuers Images, because the true similitudes of the Gods is not known; that many of the Gods haue beene in the estate of mortall men, and after death, for their vertues, and benefits bestowed on mankinde, haue beene Deified; that those beasts, whose Images and formes the Kings did carrie in their Armes, when they obtained victory, were adored for Gods: because vn- 40 der those Ensignes they preuailed ouer their enemies. Moreouer the *Egyptian* Diuines had a peculiar kinde of writing, mysticall and secret, wherein the highest points of their Religion and worship of God, which was to be concealed from the vulgar sort, were obscured.

Clemens distributeth the whole summe of this later *Egyptian* learning into three seuerall sorts, *viz. Epistolar*, which is vsed in writing common Epistles; *Sacerdotall*, which is peculiar to their Priests; and *Sacred*, which Sacred containeth Scripture of two kindes: the one proper, which it expressed by letters Alphabeticall in obscure and figuratiue words; as for example, where it is written: The *Ibis* by the Hornet participateth the beauty of the Hawke; which is read thus: The Moone doth by the Sunne borrow part of the light of God: because Light is an Image of Diuine beauty; the other symbolicall, or by signatures, which is threefold, *viz.* Imitatiue, Tropicall, and Ænygmaticall: Imitatiue, which designeth things by characters, like to the things signified, as by a Circle the Sun; and by the Hornes of the Moone, the Moone it selfe: Tropicall or transferent, which applies the diuers formes and figures of naturall bodies or creatures, to signifie the dignities, fortunes, conditions, vertues, vices, affections, and actions of their Gods, and of men. So with the *Egyptian* Diuines, the Image of an Hawke signifieth God, the figure of the Hornet signifieth the Sunne, the picture of the Bird *Ibis* signifieth the Moone: by Clem.Strom.l.5.

by the forme of a Man, Prudence and Skilfulnesse: by a Lion, Fortitude: by a Horse, Libertie: by a Crocodile, Impudency: by a Fish, Hatred is to be vnderstood: Ænigmaticall is a composition or mixture of Images or Similitudes: in which sense, the monstrous Image of a Lions body hauing a Mans head, was grauen on their Temples and Altars, to signifie, that to men all diuine things are Ænigmaticall and obscure. So the Image of the Sun set on the head of a Crocodile, (which liueth aswell in the Waters, as on Land) expresseth that the Sun nourisheth Meteors in the Aire, aswell from the Waters as from the Earth. So a Scepter, at the top wherof is made an Eye, and an Eare, signifieth God, Hearing, Seeing, and gouerning all things. The Scythians are thought to 10 haue been delighted with this kinde of writing. For *Pherecides Syrius* reporteth, That when *Darius* sending letters, threatned *Idanthura*, King of the Scythians, with ruine & destruction of his Kingdome, unlesse he would acknowledge subiection: *Idanthura* returned to him a Mouse, a Frog, a Bird, a Dart, and a Plough-share: which *Orontopagas*, Tribune of the Souldiers, interpreted to signifie, that by the mouse, their dwellings: by the Frog, their waters: by the Bird, their ayre: by the Dart, their weapons: by the Plough, their landes: were signified to bee ready to be deliuered to *Darius*, as their Soueraigne Lord. But *Xyphodres* made another construction, *viz.* that the King meant, That except *Darius* with his men did hasten away, as a Bird through the Ayre, or creep into holes as a mouse, or runne into the waters which they had passed as a Frog, they 20 should not escape his armes, but either be slaine, or being made Captiues; Till his grounds. The same History is with little difference reported by *Herodotus*. Herod.l.4

The fourth and last part, which is Morall and Politique, doth containe especially the Lawes, which (according to *Laertius*) *Mercurius Trismegistus*, or *Ter Maximus* deuised: who in his Bookes or Dialogues of *Pimander* & *Asclepius*, hath written so many things of God, worthy of admiration; aswell (saith *Sixtus Senensis*) of the *Trinity*, and of the comming of *Christ*, as of the last and fearefull day of *Iudgement*: that (as saith the same Author, the opinion being also ancient) he is not onely to be accounted a Philosopher, but a Prophet of things to come.

Iamblicus in his Bookes of Mysteries of the Egypsians, taking two very ancient Hi- 30 storians for his Authors, to wit, *Seleucus* & *Menætus*, affirmeth that this *Mercury* was not onely the Inuentor of the Egyptian Philosophy, but of all other learning, called, the *Wisedome of the Egyptians* before remembred: and that he wrote of that subiect 36525. Books, or Pages. Of which there were numbred, of Fiery Spirits, one hundred Books; of Æreall Spirits as many, and of Spirits Celestiall a thousand; which because they were out of the Egyptians language conuerted by certaine learned Philosophers into the naturall *Greeke*, they seemed to haue beene first written in that Tongue. *Clemens Alexandrinus* writeth, that among the Bookes of *Hermes*, to wit, of the *Wisedome of the Egyptians*, there were extant in his time 36. of *Physick* sixe Bookes; of the orders of *Priests* ten; and of *Astrology* foure. Clem.Strom.l.6.

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§. VIII.

A Briefe of the History of Iosua; *and of the space between him and* Othoniel: *and of the remainders of the Canaanites; with a note of some Contemporaries to* Iosua: *and of the breach of Faith.*

AFter the death of *Moses*, and in the one and fortieth yeere of the Egression, in the first moneth called *Nisan*, or *March*, *Iosua* the son of *Nun*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, being filled with the Spirit of wisedome, tooke on him the gouernment of Israel: God giuing him comfort, and encouraging him to passe the 50 Riuer of Iordan, and to possesse, and diuide among the Israelites the Land promised.

The beginning of *Iosua's* rule, Saint *Augustine* dates with the raigne of *Amyntas*, the eighteenth King in *Assyria*; with *Corax* the sixteenth King in *Sicyonia*, when *Danaus* gouerned the *Argiues*; and *Ericthonius*, *Athens*. Lib.18. de Ciuit Dei.c.11.

Iosua imitating in all things his Predecessor, sent ouer *Iordan* certaine discouerers to view the seate and strength of *Iericho*, the next City vnto him on the other side of the Riuer, which hee was to passe ouer. Which discouerers being saued, and sent back by *Rahab*, a woman of ill fame, because she kept a Tauerne or Vitling-house, made *Iosua* know that the inhabitants of *Iericho*, and those of the Countrey about it, hearing of the approach Ios.2.1. Ios.2.11.

of

Ios.2.11. of *Israel*, had lost courage. Whereupon the day after the returne of the Spies, which was
Ios.3.1. the sixth day of the one and fortieth yeere after the Egression, *Iosua* remooued from Sittim in the plaines of Moab, and drew down his Army to the bankes of the Riuer Iordan;
Ios.3.3. and gaue them commandement to put themselues in order to follow the *Arke of God*, when the Leuites tooke it vp, and moued towards the Riuer; giuing them withall this forcible encouragement, That they should thereby assure themselues of his fauour and
Ios.3.13. presence who is Lord of all the world, when the Riuer of Iordan should be cut off and diuided, and the waters comming from aboue should stand still in a heape, whereby those below towards the *Dead Sea* wanting supply, they might passe ouer into the land of Canaan with dry feet.

Ios.1.12. Hee also commanded *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, to prepare themselues (according to their Couenant made with *Moses*) to march in the head of the rest, and as we call it in this age, to leade in the Vanguard, which through all the Deserts of Arabia, from the Mount Sinai to this place, those of the Tribe of Iuda had performed. For these Tribes being already prouided of their habitations, and Countrie and Cities of the Amorites, by the helpe of the rest, conquered for them: It agreed with iustice and equalitie, that *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the halfe of *Manasse* should also assist their brethren in the obtaining of their parts, as yet in their enemies possession.

On the banks of Iordan they rested themselues from the sixth day to the ninth; and on the tenth day of the first moneth *Nisan*, or *March*, they past ouer to the other side, taking with them twelue stones from the drie ground in the middest of the Riuer: which, for a memory of that miracle by God wrought, they set vp at Gilgal, on the East side of the
Ios.4.19. Citie of Ierico, where they encamped the first night. At which place *Iosua* gaue commandement, that all born in the last fortieth yeere in the Deserts should be circumcised, which
Ios.5.2. ceremonie to that day had beene omitted. Of the neglect whereof S. *Augustine* giueth
Aug. q.3. in Ios. for cause, The peoples contempt of their superiours. *Thomas* excuseth it in this sort; That
Tom. part 3. quæst.70.art.4. ad.3. the Israelites knew not the certaine time of their remouing from one place to another: *Damascen*, That it was not needfull by circumcision to distinguish them from other Nations, at such time as they liued by themselues, and a-part from all Nations.

Ios.5.10. On the fourteenth day of the same Moneth, the children of Israel celebrated the *Passe-ouer* now the third time; first, at their leauing Egypt; secondly, at Mount Sinai; and now at Gilgal. After which being desirous to taste of the fruits of the Countrie, and hauing, as it were, surfeted on *Man*, they parched of the Corne of the land, being not yet fully ripe, and ate thereof.

And as *Moses* began to distribute those Regions beyond Iordan, to wit, the Lands of the Amorites, which *Og* of Basan, and *Sehon* held, so did *Iosua* performe the rest; and after a view and partition made of the Territories, hee gaue to each Tribe his portion by lot.
Ios.14.3. But this partition and distribution was not done at once, but at three seuerall times; first, by *Moses* to *Gad*, *Reuben*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, of the Lands ouer Iordan; Secondly, by *Iosua*, to the Tribe of *Iuda*, *Ephraim*, and the other halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, about the fift yeere of his gouernment; proued in the 14. of *Iosua*, *v.* 10. and a third di-
Ios.18. uision was made to the other seuen Tribes, at Shilo, where *Iosua* seated the *Tabernacle of the Congregation*.

The victories of *Iosua* against the Kings of the Canaanites, are so particularly set down in his own bookes, as I shall not need to lengthen this part by their repitition. In whose Storie I chiefly note these particulars. First, how in the beginning of the warre, those little Kings or *Reguli* of the Canaanites, had not so much vnderstanding, as to vnite themselues together against the Israelites; but according to the custome of those estates, from whose Gouernours God hath taken away all wisedome and fore-sight, they left those of their owne Nation, which were next the inuaders, to themselues, and to their owne defences; hoping that the fire kindled somewhat farre off might againe haue been quenched, ere it could spread it selfe so farre as their owne Territories and Cities. But after such time as Ierico and Ai were entred, and the Kings, People, and Cities consumed; fiue of those 31. Kings, all which at length perished in that warre, ioyned themselues together, first attempting the Gibeonites, who had rendred themselues to *Iosua*. Onely fiue (the rest looking on to the successe) namely, the King of the Iebusites, in Iebus, or Hierusalem, the Kings of Hebron, *Iarmoth*, *Lachis*, & *Eglon*, addrest themselues for resistance: whose Armie being by *Iosua* surprised and broken, themselues despairing to escape by flight,

flight, and hopelesse of mercy by submission, creeping into a Caue vnder ground, were thence by *Iosua* drawne forth and hanged. In the prosequution of which victory he also tooke *Makkedath*, and *Libnah*, and *Lachis*. To the reliefe whereof *Horam* King of *Gezar* Ios.10.
hastened, and perished. After which *Iosua* possest himselfe of *Eglon*, *Hebron*, and *Debir*; Ios.10.
destroying the Cities with their Princes.

In the end, and when the South Countries were possest, the Cities thereof conquered, and their Kings and People made dust: the rest of the *Canaanites*, guided by the ouerlate counsailes of necessitie, vnited themselues, to make one grosse strength and body of an Armie: which *Iabin*, King of *Hazor*, practised and gathered together; by *Iosua* dis-
10 couered, as the same rested neere the Lake of *Merom*, he vsed such diligence, as he came on them vnawarres; and obtaining absolute victory ouer them, he prosecuted the same to the vtmost effect. And, besides the slaughter of the defendants, he entred their Cities, of which he burnt *Hazor* only, reseruing the rest for *Israel* to inhabite and enioy.

Secondly, I note, that *Iosua* shewed himselfe a skilfull man of Warre, for that in those ancient times he vsed the stratagem of an ambush in taking of *Ai*; and in that hee broke the Armies of the first fiue Kings of the *Amorites*, which attempted *Gibeon* by surprise. For hee marched all night from his campe at *Gilgal*, and set on them early the next day; Ios.10.v.9.
when he ouerthrew *Iabin* and his confederates. After which, making the best profit of his victory, he assaulted the great Citie of *Hazor*.

20 Thirdly, the miracles which God wrought during this warre, were exceeding admirable; as the stay of the Riuer *Iordan* at the Springs, so as the Armie of *Israel* past it with a drie foote; the fall of *Ierico* by the sound of the Hornes; the showres of Haile-stones, Ios.3.v.13.
which fell vpon the *Amorites* in their flight from *Gibeon*, wherby more of them perished Cap.10.v.11.
than by the sword of *Israel*: againe, the arrest of the Sunne in the firmament, whereby the day was so much the more lightened, as the *Israelties* had time to execute all those which fled after the ouerthrow: a wonder of wonders, and a worke only proper to the all-powerfull God.

Fourthly, out of the passage betweene *Iosua* and the *Gibeonites*, the Doctrine of keeping Faith is so plainely and excellently taught, as it taketh away all euasion, it admitteth no
30 intrusion, nor leaueth open any hole or out-let at all to that cunning perfidiousnes, and horrible deceit of this latter age, called *Equiuocation*. For, notwithstanding that these *Gibeonites* were a people of the *Leuites*, expressly and by name, by the commandement of Ios.9.7.
God to be rooted out, and notwithstanding that they were liars, and deceiuers, and counterfeits, and that they did ouer-reach, and as it were, deride *Iosua*; and the Princes of *Israel*, by fainingto bee sent as Embassadours from a farre Country, in which trauaile their clothes were worne, their bread mouldie, which they auowed to haue been warme for newnesse when they first set it out; their barrels and bottels of wine broken; their shoes patcht; and their sacks rent and ragged: Yet *Iosua* hauing sworne vnto them by Ios.9. from the 5. to the 13.v.
the Lord God of *Israel*, hee durst not, though vrged by the multitude of the people, to
40 laie violent hands on them; but hee spared both their Liues, and the Cities of their inheritance.

Now if euer man had warrant to breake Faith, and to retract his promise made, *Iosua* had it. For first, the commandement which he receiued from God to roote out this Nation among the rest, preceded by farre the peace which he had granted them. Secondly, he might iustly haue put these men to the sword, and haue sackt their Cities; if there be any euasion from a promise made, whereof the liuing God is called to witnesse. For it was not to the *Gibeonites* hee gaue peace, because hee knew them to be a people hated of God. He told them, that if they were of the *Heuites*, it was not in his power to make a Ios.9.7.
league with them. But it was to a strange people that he gaue faith, & to a Nation which
50 came from farre, who hearing of the wonders which the God of *Israel* had done in *Egypt* and ouer *Iordan*, sought for peace and protection from his people. Thirdly, the Ios.c.9.v.13.
accord, which *Israel* made with these crafty *Canaanites*, was without warrant. For it is written in the same place, That the *Israelites* accepted their tale, that is, beleeued what they had said, *and counsailed not with the mouth of the Lord*. Fourthly, these men who were knowne Idolaters, and serued those Puppets of the Heathen, men of an Apish Religion, as all Worshippers of Images are, could not challenge the witnesse of the true God, in whom they beleeued not. I say therefore, that if euer man might haue serued himselfe by any euasion or distinction, *Iosua* might iustly haue done it. For hee needed

not)

not in this case the helpe of *Æquiuocation* or *Mentall Reseruation*. For what he sware, he sware in good Faith; but he sware nothing, nor made any promise at all to the *Gibeonites*. And yet, to the end that the faithlesse subtiltie of man should borrow nothing in the future, from his example, who knowing well, that the promises hee made in the name of God, were made to the liuing God, and not to the dying Man, hee held them firme, and inuiolable, notwithstanding that they, to whom he had sworne it, were worshippers of the Deuill.

For it is not, as faithlesse men take it, that he which sweareth to a Man, to a Societie, to a State, or to a King, and sweareth by the name of the liuing Lord, and in his presence, That this promise (if it bee broken) is broken to a man, to a Societie, to a State, or to a Prince; but the promise in the name of God made, is broken to God. It is God, that we therein neglect: we therein professe that we feare him not, and that we set him at naught and defie him. If he that without Reseruation of honour giueth a lie in the presence of the King, or of his Superiour, doth in point of Honour giue the lie to the King himselfe, or to his Superiour; how much more doth he breake Faith with God, that giueth Faith in the presence of God, promiseth in his name, and makes him a witnesse of the Couenant made?

Out of doubt, it is a fearefull thing for a Sonne to breake the Promise, Will, or Deed of the Father; for a State, or Kingdome, to breake those Contracts which haue beene made in former times, and confirmed by publike faith. For though it were 400 yeeres after *Iosua*, that *Saul*, euen out of deuotion, slaughtered some of those people descended of the *Gibeonites*: yet God, who forgat not what the Predecessors and Fore-fathers of *Saul* and the *Israelites* had sworne in his name, afflicted the whole Nation with a consuming famine; and could not be appeased, till seuen of *Sauls* sonnes were deliuered to the *Gibeonites* grieued, and by them hanged vp.

And certainely, if it be permitted by the helpe of a ridiculous distinction, or by a God-mocking equiuocation, to sweare one thing by the name of the liuing God, and to reserue in silence a contrary intent: the life of man, the estates of men, the faith of Subiects to Kings, of Seruants to their Masters, of Vassals to their Lords, of Wiues to their Husbands, and of Children to their Parents, and of all trialls of right, will not only be made vncertaine, but all the chaines wherby free men are tied in the world, be torne asunder. It is by oath (when Kings and Armies cannot passe) that wee enter into the Cities of our enemies, and into their Armies: it is by oath that warres take end, which weapons cannot end. And what is it or ought it to bee that makes an oath thus powerfull, but this; That he that sweareth by the name of God, doth assure others that his words are true, as the Lord of all the World is true whom he calleth for a witnesse, and in whose presence he that taketh the oath hath promised? I am not ignorant of their poore euasions, which play with the seuerity of Gods commandements in this kinde: But this indeed is the best answer, That hee breakes no faith, that hath none to breake. For whosoeuer hath faith and the feare of God, dares not doe it.

The *Christians* in the *Holy Land* when they were at the greatest, and had brought the *Caliph* of *Egypt* to pay them tribute, did not onely lose it againe, but were soone after beaten out of the *Holy Land* it selfe: by reason (saith *William* of *Tyre*, a reuerend Bishop which wrote that Storie) that *Almerick* the fiftieth King after *Godfrey* brake faith with the *Caliph Elhadech*, and his Vicegerent. The *Soldan Sanar*; who being suddenly inuaded by *Almerick*, drew in the *Turke Syracon* to their aide: whose Nephew *Seladine*, after he had made *Egypt* his owne, beat the *Christians* out of the *Holy Land*; neither would the wooden Crosse (the very *Crosse*, say they, that Christ died on) giue them victorie ouer *Seladine*, when they brought it into the field as their last refuge: seeing they had forsworne themselues in his name, that was crucified thereon. And if it be a direction from the holy Ghost, *That he that speaketh lies shall be destroyed*, and that *the mouth which vttereth them slaieth the soule*: how much more perillous is it (if any perill be greater than to destroy the soule) to sweare a lie? It was *Eugenius* the Pope, that perswaded, or rather commanded the King of *Hungarie* after his great victory ouer *Amurath* the *Turk*, & when the said King had compelled him to peace, the most aduantagious that euer was made for the Christians, to breake his Faith, and to prouoke the *Turke* to renew the warre. And though the said King was farre stronger in the field than euer; yet hee lost the battaile with 30000 *Christians*, and his owne life. But I will stay my hand: For this first volume

Psal. 5. 6. Wisd. 1. 11.

volume will not hold the repetition of Gods iudgements vpon faith-breakers; bee it against Infidels, Turks, or Christians of diuers Religions. Lamentable it is, that the taking of oathes now-a-dayes, is rather made a matter of custome than of conscience.

It is also very remarkeable; That it pleased God to leaue so many Cities of the Canaanites vnconquered by Israel, to scourge and afflict them, by fore-seeing their Idolatrie, and as it is said in the scriptures, *To be Thornes in their eyes to proue them, and to teach them to make warre*. For these Cities hereafter named did not only remaine in the Canaanites possession all the time of *Iosua*; but soone after his death the Children of *Dan* were beaten out of the plaine Countries, and enforst to inhabite the Mountaines, and places of hardest accesse. And those of Iuda were notable to be Masters of their owne Vallies; because, as it is written in the *Iudges*, The Canaanites had Chariots of Iron. And those principall Cities which stood on the Sea-side, adioyning vnto Iuda, were still held by the remainder of the Anakims, or Philistims: as Azzah, Gath, Asdod; out of one of which Cities came *Goliath*, remembred in *Samuel*.

Iosu. 23. Iudg. 1. & Iudg. 3. v. 2. Iudg. 1. v. 34. Iud. 1. v. 19. Ios. 11. v. 19. Sam. 1. 17. 4.

Neither did the children of *Manasse* ouer Iordan expell the Geshurites, nor the Maachathites: which inhabited the North parts of Basan, afterward Traconitis.

Nor the *Nepthalims* possesse themselues of *Bethshemish*, nor of *Bethanah*; but they inforst those Canaanites to pay them tribute. Neither did *Asher* expell the Zidonians, nor those of Acho, or Acon, Athlab, Achzib, Heblah, Aphike, & Rehob, nor inforce them to tribute. Ios. 13. v. 13. Iud. 1. v. 31.

No more could *Zabulon* enioy Kitron, and Nahalol; but receiued tribute from them. Also the Canaanites dwelt in Gezer among the Ephraims: and among the children of *Manasse*, on the West of Iordan, the Canaanites held Bethshean, Taacnach, Dor, Ibleam, and Megaddo; yea, Hierusalem it selfe did the Iebusites defend aboue foure hundred yeeres, euen till *Dauids* time. Ios. 16. v. 10. Iud. 2. v. 27.

Now *Iosua* liued one hundred and ten yeares, eighteene of which he gouerned Israel, and then changed this life for a better. The time of his rule is not expressed in the Scriptures, which causeth diuers to coniecture diuersly of the continuance. *Iosephus* giues him fiue and twenty yeeres: *Seder Ollam Rabbi* the Authors of the *Hebrew Chronologie* eight and twentie; and *Masseus* sixe and twentie: *Maimonius* cited by *Massius*, foureteene: *Ioannes Lucidus*, seuenteene: *Caietanus* ten: *Eusebius* giueth him seuen & twentie: and so doth S. *Augustine*: *Melanchton*, two and thirtie: *Codoman*, fiue and twentie. But whereas there passed 480. yeares from the deliuery of Israel out of Egypt, vnto the building of the Temple, it is necessary that wee allow to *Iosua* onely eighteene of them, as finding the rest supplied otherwise, which to me seemes the most likely, and as I thinke, a well approued opinion.

The same necessity of retaining precisely 480. yeeres from the departure out of Egypt vnto the building of the Temple, conuinceth of errour, such as haue inserted yeeres betweene *Iosua* and *Othoniel*, of whom *Eusebius* findes eight yeeres, to which *Arius Montanus* adhereth, and for which hee giueth his reason in his foure and twentieth and last Chapters vpon *Iosua*: *Bunting* reckons it nine yeeres: *Bucholzer* and *Reusner* but one; *Codoman* twentie, and *Nicephorus* no lesse than three and thirtie: whereas following the sure direction of these 480. yeeres, there can be no voide yeeres found betweene *Iosua*, and *Othoniel*, vnlesse they be taken out of those eighteene ascribed vnto *Iosua* by the account already specified. The prayses and acts of *Iosua* are briefly written in the sixe and fortieth Chapter of *Ecclesiasticus*, where among many other things it is said of him, *who was there before him like to him, for he fought the battels of the Lord?*

Euseb. Præp. Euang.

That he wrote the booke called by this name, it was the opinion of *Arius Montanus*, because it is said in the last Chapter, *v. 26. And* Iosua *wrote these words in the booke of the Law of God*: which seemeth rather to haue beene meant by the couenant which *Iosua* made with Israel in Sichem, where they all promised to serue & obey the Lord: which promise *Iosua* caused to be written in the booke of the Law: and of this opinion were *Caietan* and *Abulensis*: *Theodoret* doth likewise conceiue that the book of *Iosua* was collected out of an ancient Volume, intituled *Liber Iustorum*, remembred by *Iosua* himselfe, and others, that it was the work of *Samuel*: for whereas *Montanus* groundeth his opinion vpon these words of the 26. verse, *And Iosua wrote these words, &c.* this place hath nothing in it to proue it: for when the people had answered *Iosua*, *The Lord our God will we serue, and his voice will we obey*, it followeth that *Iosua* made a couenant with the people, and wrote the same in the booke of the Law of God. 26.

1. 10. 13. 1. last v. 24. 26.

There liued at once with *Iosua*, *Erictbonius* in Attica, who taught that Nation to yoke beasts together, thereby to till the ground with more ease and speed: And about the same time the fiftie Daughters of *Danaus* (as it is said) slew the fiftie Sonnes of *Ægyptus*, all but *Lynceus*, who succeeded *Danaus*, if the tale be true. There liued also with *Iosua*, *Phœnix*, and *Cadmus*, and neere the end of *Iosua's* life, *Iupiter* is said to haue rauished *Europa* the Daughter of *Phœnix*, (afterward married to *Asterius* King of Creta) and begat on her *Minos*, *Radamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. But S. *Augustine* reports this rauishment to bee committed by *Xanthus*, and yet they are more commonly taken for the Sons of *Iupiter*. But it may be doubted whether *Minos* was father to *Deucalion*, & *Deucalion* to *Idomeneus*, who was an old man at the warre of Troy, and *Sarpedon* was in person a young or strong man at the same Troian war. And so doth *Nestor* reckon vp in the Councell of the Greeks, *Theseus* and *Perithous* for men of Antiquitie, and of Ages past: *Minos* being yet more ancient than any of these. But hereof else-where.

Lib. 18. c. 12. De Ciuit. Dei

Homer. Odyss. & Iliad.

Hom. Iliad. 1.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Tribes of Israel, that were planted in the borders of Phœnicia, with sundrie Stories depending vpon those places.

§. I.

The Proœme to the description of the whole Land of Canaan, with an Exposition of the name of Syria.

THE story of the *Iudges* ought to follow that of *Iosua*, after whom the Common-wealth of the Iewes was gouerned by Kings, of which so many of them as ruled the tenne Tribes, shall be remembred when we come to the description of Samaria: but because the Land of Canaan, and the borders thereof, were the Stages and Theaters, whereon the greatest part of the Story past, with that which followeth, hath beene acted, I thinke it very pertinent (for the better vnderstanding of both) to make a *Geographicall* description of those Regions: that all things therein performed by the places knowne, may the better be vnderstood, and conceiued. To which purpose (besides the addition of the Neighbour Countries) I haue bestowed on euery Tribe his proper portion: and doe shew what Cities and Places of strength were by the Iewes obtained: and what numbers it pleased God to leaue vnconquered; by whom he might correct and scourge them, when vngratefull for his many graces, they at sundry times forgat or neglected the Lord of all power, and adored those deafe and dead Idols of the Heathen. *Diuina bonitas* (saith *Augustine*) *ideo maximè irascitur in hoc seculo, ne irascatur in futuro: & misericorditer temporalem adhibet seueritatem, ne æternam iustè inferat vltionem; The Diuine goodnesse is especially therefore angry in this world, that it may not be angry in the world to come, and doth mercifully vse temporall senerity, that it may not iustly bring vpon vs eternall vengeance.*

To the Cities herein described, I haue added a short Story of the beginnings and ends of diuers Kingdomes and common-weales: and to helpe my selfe herein, I haue perused diuers of the best Authors vpon this subiect: among whom, because I finde so great disagreement in many particulars, I haue rather in such cases aduentured to follow mine owne reason, than to borrow any one of their old patternes.

And because Canaan, with Palestina of the Philistims, and the Lands of *Og* and *Sehon* Kings of Basan, and the Arabian Amorites, were but small Prouinces of Syria: it shall be necessarie, first to diuide and bound the generall, and so to descend to this particular now called the holy Land.

Syria, now Soria, according to the largest description, and as it was anciently taken, imbraced all those Regions from the Euxine Sea, to the Red Sea: and therefore were the Cappadocians, which look into Pontus, called *Leucosyrians* or white *Syrians*. But taking it shorter,

Ptol. Asia, tab. 4. Ptol. 5.

shorter, and from the coast of Cilicia, which is the North border, vnto Idumæa towards the South, Tigris towards the Sunne rising, and the Mediterran Sea Westward: it then containeth besides Babylonia, Chaldæa, Arabia the Desert, & Arabia Petræa, that Region also which the Greekes call Mesopotamia, the Hebrewes Syria, of the two Riuers, to wit, Tigris and Euphrates, for so *Aran Nahairaim* is expounded: also *Padan Aram*; that is, *Iugum Syriæ*, because the two Riuers goe along in it as it were in a yoke.

Edessa, sometime Rages, now Rage, was the Metropolis of this Region of Syria. In Syria taken largely, there were many small Prouinces, as Cœlesyria which the Latines call *Syria Cœua*, because it lay in that fruitfull Valley betweene the Mountaines of Lybanus, and Antylibanus, in which the famous Cities of Antioch, Laodicea, Apamea, with many others were seated. Then Damascena, or Syria Lybanica, taking name of the Citie Damascus, and the Mountaines of Lybanus, the Regall seate of the *Adades*, the first Kings of Syria. Adioyning to it was the Prouince of Sophene, or Syria Soba, Choba, or Zobal: ouer which *Adadezer* commanded in *Salomons* time. Then *Phœnicia* and the people Syraphœnicies: and lastly Syria Palæstina bordering Egypt: of which *Ptolomie* maketh Iudæa also a part: and to that Prouince which *Moses* calleth Seir and Edom, *Pomponius Mela* giueth the name of Syria Iudæa.

Aurogallæa.

1. K. 11.

Herod in Pylym. Dio. l. 27.

Ptol. Asiæ. tab. 4.

§. II.

Of the bounds of the Land of Canaan, and of the promises touching this Land.

BVt that Land which was anciently *Canaan*, taketh a part of *Phœnicia*, and stretcheth from behinde *Lybanus* to the great *Deserts* betweene *Idumæa* and *Egypt*: bounded by the Mid-land Sea on the West, and the Mountaines of *Hermon*; *Galaad* and *Arnon* towards the East: the same Hills which *Strabo* calleth *Traconi* or *Traconitæ*, and *Ptolomie Hippus*. The name of *Canaan* it had from *Canaan* the sonne of *Cham*, *& lingua appellata fuit* Canaan; *The language was also called* Canaan, saith *Montanus*: and after *Hebræa* of the *Hebrewes*: who tooke name from *Heber*, the sonne of *Sale*, according to S. *Augustine*. But *Arias Montanus* not so well allowing of this deriuation, makes it a common name to all those of *Noahs* Sonnes, which past ouer *Euphrates* towards the West Sea. For the word *Heber*, saith hee, is as much as *transiens* or *transmittens*, *of going* or *passing ouer*. And because the children of *Abraham* had for a long time no certaine abiding: therefore as he thinkes, they were by the *Egyptians* called *Hebræi*, as it were passengers, which is also the opinion of *C. Sigonius*, and of *Eusebius* long before them both. It had also the name of *Iudæa* from *Iuda*; and then afterwards intituled the holy Land, because therein our *Sauiour Christ* was borne and buried. Now this part of *Syria* was againe diuided into foure; namely, into *Edom*, (otherwise *Sier*, or *Edumæa*) *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and *Iudæa*. *Galilee* is double, the *superior* called *Gentium*, and the *inferiour*: and that *Galilee* and *Iudæa* are distinguished, it is plaine in the *Euangelists*, though both of them belong to *Phœnicia*.

Strab. l. 10.

Caleb. f. 62.

Euseb. Prep. Euang. l. 9. c. 3.

Math. 2. Luke 2. John 4.

Now besides these Prouinces of *Phœnicia*, and *Palæstina* (both which the Riuer of *Iordan* boundeth; sauing that *Phœnicia* stretcheth a little more Easterly towards *Damascus*) that part also to the East of *Iordan*, and within the Mountaines of *Hermon Gilead*, and *Arnon*, otherwise *Traconi*, fell to the possession of halfe *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*, and therefore are accounted a part of *Canaan* also: aswell because anciently possest by the Amorites, as for that they were conquered and enioyed by the Israelites, which Eastermost parts are againe diuided into *Basan* or *Batanea*, into *Gilead*, *Moab*, *Midian*, *Ammon*, and the Territories of the *Machati*, *Gessuri*, *Argobe*, *Hus*. They are knowne to the latter *Cosmographers* by the name of *Arabia* in generall: and by the names of *Traconitis*, *Pieria*, *Batanea*, *&c.* of which I will speake in their proper places.

But where *Moses* describeth the Land of *Canaan* in the tenth of *Genesis*, hee maketh no mention of the later Prouinces, which fell to *Manasse*, *Gad*, and *Reuben*, for these be his words, *Then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon, and thou commest to Gerar vntill Azzah* (which is *Gaza*) and this was the length of the Countrey North and South: then it followeth in the Text; *And as thou goest vnto Sodome and Gomorah, and Admah, and Seboym, euen vnto Lasha*: by which words *Moses* setteth downe the breadth, to wit, from the *Dead Sea* to the *Mediterran*. But in *Deuteronomie* it seemeth to be far more large: For it is therein written; *All the places whereon the soale of your feet shall tread, shall bee yours*: Deut. 11. 24.

your coast shall be from the wildernesse, and from Libanon, and from the Riuer Perah, vnto the vttermost Sea. Now for the length of the Countrie North and South, this description agreeth with the former: only *Libanon* is put for *Zidon*: and the *Wildernesse* for *Gerar* and *Azzah*, which make no difference: but for the breadth and extent East and West, if *Perah* be taken for *Euphrates*: then the Land promised stretcheth it selfe both ouer *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Desert*, as farre as the border of *Babylon*: which the *Israelites* neuer possest; nor at any time did so much as inuade or attempt. And therfore *Vadianus* doth conceiue, that by the Riuer *Perah*, was meant *Iordan*, and not *Euphrates*: taking light from this place of *Iosua*: *Behold, I haue diuided vnto you by lot these Nations, that remaine to bee an inheri-*
23.v.4. *tance according to your Tribes: from Iordan with all the Nations that I haue destroyed, euen vnto the great Sea westward.*

And though it be true that *Dauid* greatly enlarged the Territorie of the Holy Land: yet as *Vadianus* well noteth, if *Perah* in the former place be taken for *Euphrates*: then was it put *per gentes in amicitiam receptas*. For *Dauid* did not at any time enter so farre to the East as *Assyria*, or *Babylonia*. Neither doth the not possessing of all these Countries giue aduantage to those that would make any irreligious cauill, as touching the promise of God to the Israelites vnperformed: For when both their Kings, Magistrates, and People, fell from his worship and seruice, it pleased him not onely to inclose them within that Territorie, which was for so many people exceeding narrow; but therein and elsewhere to subiect them vnto those Idolatrous Nations, whose false and foolish gods themselues also serued and obeyed. And sure the promise by which the *Hebrewes* claimed the inheritance of *Canaan*, and the lasting inioying thereof, to wit, *as long as the heauens were aboue the earth*, was tied to those conditions, both in the Verses preceding, and subsequent; which the Israelites neuer performed. And therefore they could not hope for other than all mankinde could or can expect; who knew that all sorts of comforts from the mercifull goodnesse of God looked for, as well in this life as after it, are no longer to be attended, than while we perseuere in his loue, seruice, and obedience. So in the eight Verse of the eleuenth of *Deuteronomy*, the keeping of Gods Commandements was a condition ioyned to the prosperity of Israel. For therein it is written, *Therefore shall ye keepe all the Commandements which I command you this day: that ye may be strong, and goe in, and possesse the Land, whither yee goe to possesse it. Also that you may prolong your dayes in the Land which the Lord sware vnto your Fathers, &c.*

Vadian. Epitõ trius terræ partitum. cap. Palæstin.

Deut.11. v.21.

Deut.11.

The like condition was also annexed to the enioying of the Land conquered, and the possession thereof, so long as the heauens were aboue the earth. *For if yee keepe diligentlie*, saith he, *all these commandements, which I command you to doe, that is, to loue the Lord your God, &c. then will the Lord cast out all these Nations before you, and yee shall possesse great Nations, & mightier than you.* And here, though it be manifest, that by reason of the breach of Gods Commandements, and their falling away from the worship of his all-powerfull Maiestie, to the Idolatry of the Heathen, the conditionall promises of God were absolutely void, as depending vpon obedience vnperformed: yet I cannot mislike that exposition of *Melanchon*: *For*, saith he, *Ostendit promissionem præcipuam non esse de hoc politico regno; He sheweth that his chiefe promise is not of a ciuill Kingdome.* To which agrees that answer which S. *Hierome* made to a certaine Heretique in his Epistle *ad Dardanum*, who accused S. *Hierome* that he ouerthrew the reputation of the *Iewes* Storie, & brought the truth thereof in question, by drawing it altogether into an *Allegorie*, and *ad illam duntaxat viuentium terram quæ in cœlis est*; (that is) *Onely to that Land of the liuing which is in Heauen. Quoniam tota Iudæorum Regio adeo angusta sit ambitu, vt vix longitudinem habeat 160. milliarium, latitudinem verò 40. & in his etiam regiones, loca, vrbes & oppida sunt plurima, nunquam à Iudæis occupata, sed tantùm diuina pollicitatione promissa; Because the whole Countrey of the Iewes is so narrow in compasse, that it scarce hath 160. miles in length, & 40. miles in breadth, and in these are Countries, places, Cities, & many Townes, which the Iewes neuer possest, but were onely granted by diuine promise.* In like manner the same Father speaketh vpon *Esay* touching the blessings promised vnto *Hierusalem*: where hee hath these words: *De quo discimus Hierusalem nequaquam in Palæstinæ Regione petendam: quæ totius Prouinciæ deterrima est: & saxosis montibus asperatur, & penuriam patitur sitis: ita vt cælestibus vtatur pluuijs, & raritatem fontium cisternarũ extructione soletur: sed in Dei manibus, ad quam dicitur, festinauerunt structores tui; From whence*, saith he, *we learne, that Hierusalem is not to be sought in that region of Palæstina, which is the worst of the whole Prouince, & ragged with*

Deut.11.

cap.49.14.

with craggie Mountaines, and suffereth the penurie of thirst: so as it preserueth raine water, and supplieth the scarcitie of Wells by building of Cesternes; but this Hierusalem is in Gods hands, to which it is said, Thy builders haue hastened: so farre S. *Hierome*, where also to preuent mistaking, he thus expoundeth himselfe. *Neq; hoc dico in suggillationem terræ Iudææ, vt hæreticus Scycophanta mentitur: aut quo auferam historiæ veritatem: quæ fundamentum est intelligentiæ spiritualis, sed vt decutiam supercilium Iudæorum: qui Synagogæ angustias latitudini Ecclesiæ præferunt. Si enim occidentem tantùm sequuntur literam, & non spiritum viuificantem: ostendant terram promissionis lacte & melle manantem; Neither* (saith hee) *say I this to disgrace the land of Iudæa (as the Heretical sycophant doth belie me) or to take away*
10 *the truth of the Historie, which is the foundation of spirituall vnderstanding, but to beat down the pride of the Iewes, which enlarge the straits of the Synagogue farther than the breadth of the Church: for if they follow onely the killing letter, and not the quickening spirit, let them shew the Land of promise, flowing with milke and honey.*

By this it may also be gathered, howsoeuer it be vnlikely (seeing the West-bound in the place, *Deut.*11.24. had his truth in the literall sense, that *Euphrates* or *Perath*, which is made the East-bound, should be taken onely in a spirituall sense) yet neuertheless that *Hieroms* opinion inclineth to this; as if this *Perath* were not to be vnderstood for *Euphrates*, and that the promise it selfe was neuer so large: much lesse the plantation and conquest of *Israel*.

20 And now for a more particular description of this Holy Land, because *Asher*, *Nephtalim*, and *Zabulon*, held the Northermost part, and were seated in *Phœnicia*, I will begin with these three, taking *Asher* for the first: of which Tribe yet before I speake, I must admonish the Reader touching the names of places in this, and the other Tribes to bee mentioned, that he remember that many names by reason of the diuers fancies of Translators, are diuersly expressed, so that to the vnskilfull they may seeme diuers, when they are one and the same: the reason of this diuersitie (as by those learned in the *Hebrew* I am taught) is, partly because the ancient Editions of the *Hebrew* want vowels, the old Translators imagined other vowels than now the *Hebrew* Editions haue; and partly because the Ancient expressed or omitted diuers consonants, otherwise than the latter doe
30 thinke fit.

§. III.
THE TRIBE OF ASHER.

†. I.
The bounds of the Tribe of Asher.

40 THE *Asherites* descended of *Asher* the Sonne of *Iacob* by *Zelpha*, the handmaid of *Lea*, were increased while they abode in *Egypt*, to the number of 41500. and odde persons, all men aboue twenty yeeres of age, and able to beare armes, at the time when they were mustered by *Moses* at Mount *Sinai*: all which number perishing in the Deserts, there remained of their issues, besides women and children 53400. bodies fit for the warres: which past the Riuer of *Arnon*, into the Plaines of *Moab*, and after the Conquest of *Canaan*, had for their portion that part of *Phœnicia*, from *Zidon* and the fields of *Libanus*, vnto *Ptolomais Acon* alongst the Sea-coast: containing thirtie English miles or thereabout: and from the Mid-land sea to the East border some twelue miles: though *Antoninus* makes it somewhat larger. *Ant.Itin.*
This part of *Canaan* was very fruitfull, abounding in Wine, Oyle, and Wheate, besides
50 the *Balsamum*, with other pleasant and profitable commodities: according to that *Prophecie*, Asser *pinguis panis*: Concerning *Asser*, his bread shall bee fat: *And hee shall giue pleasures for a King.* Gen.49.

†. II.
Of Zidon.

THE first City seated on the North border of the Territory of *Asser*, was *Zidon*, which *Iosua* calleth the great *Zidon*, both for strength and magnitude. The *Greekes* and

Iustin.l.18. *Q.Curtius* make *Agenor* the founder thereof: and *Iustine* deriues the name from the abundance of fish found on those shores: whereof it hath beene called *Zidona*. But that it
Gen.10. Ioseph. was farre more ancient, *Moses*, *Iosua*, and *Iosephus* witnesse, the same being founded by *Zidon* the eldest of *Canaans* Sonnes: and so strong it was in *Iosua's* time, as neither did himselfe attempt it, neither could the Asserites, or any of their successors master it: but it continued all the time of the *Iudges* and *Kings*, euen vnto the comming of *Christ*; a Citie interchangeably gouerned, by their owne Princes or other Magistrates: though accor-
Esa.23. Hier. 47. Ezek. 28. & 32. Zac.9. ding to the warnings and threats of the Prophets, *Esay*, *Hieremie*, *Ezechiel*, and *Zacharie*, it was often afflicted both by the enemies sword, and by the pestilence.

Zidon is seated on the very wash of the Phœnician Sea, which is a part of the Mediterran or Mid-land Sea. It hath to the North the Citie of *Berythus*, and the Riuer *Leontis*: and to the South *Sarepta*, or *Sarphat*: which standeth betweene it and *Tyre*, the distance betweene which two great and famous Cities, to wit, *Zidon* and *Tyre*, is 14. thousand paces,
Paleſt. Seig.f. 19. Vadian. Phœn.f.278. Strab.l.16. saith *Seiglerus*: but *Vadianus* makes it two hundred furlongs, and so doth *Weissinburie* in his description of the holy Land, and both from *Strabo*: which two hundred furlongs make fiue and twentie miles. This difference of distance as well betweene these two knowne Cities, as all the rest, make it ouer-difficult to deuise any new scale to the Mappe and description of the holy Land.

What Kings it had till *Agenors* time there is no memorie: The story which *Zeno* the Philosopher, who was a Zidonian, wrote thereof, being by time consumed and lost. It
Strab.l.16. Zach.9.v.2. Herod.l.5. Plin.l.5.c.19. seemeth to bee more ancient than *Tyre*; which was also built by the Zidonians. For as *Strabo* noteth, *Homer* speaking of *Zidon*, neglecteth the memorie of *Tyre*, because it was but a member of *Zidon*; and a City subiect to the Kings thereof: though it be true that in after-times it contended with *Zidon* for Primacie, and became farre more renowned, opulent, and strong: From *Zidon* had *Salomon* and *Zorobabel* their principall workemen, both in Timber and Stone, for the building of the Temple. For as it flourished in all sorts of learning, so did it in all other Mechanicall Arts or Trades: the Prophet *Zacharie* calling them the wise Zidonians. The Citie was both by nature & Art exceeding strong, hauing a Castle or Citadell on the North-side, standing vpon an vnaccessible Rocke, and compassed by the Sea, which after the Citizens became Christians, was held and defen-
30 ded by the Knights of the Dutch Order: and another Castle it hath on the South side by the Port of *Egypt*, which the Templers guarded. It also sent many other *Colonies* beside that of *Tyre*, into places remote: as vnto *Thebes*, and *Sephyra*, Cities of *Bœotia* in Greece. *Strabo* and *Plinie* giue the Zidonians the inuention of * Glasse, which they vsed to make of those sands which are taken out of the Riuer *Belus*, falling into the Mediterran Sea, neere *Ptolomais* or *Acon*: and from whence the Venetians fetch the matter of those cleere Glasses which they make at *Murana*: of which S. *Hierome* and *Plinie*: Zidon *insignis artifex vitri*: Zidon *vitrarijs officinis Nobilis*; Zidon *a famous Glassemaker, or a skilfull worker in Glasse houses*.

They were in Religion Idolaters (as the rest of the Canaanites) worshippers of *Baal* 40 and *Astaroth*: which Idols though common to the other of the issue of *Canaan* (as *Pineda* gathers out of 1. *Sam.*31.10. and *Iudg.*10.6.) yet especially and peculiarly were accounted the Gods of the Zidonians: as appeares 1. *Kings* 11.5. in the story of *Salomons* Idolatrie: where *Astaroth* is called the God of the Zidonians: and 1. *Reg.*16.33. in the story of *Achab*, the chiefe worshipper of *Baal*, where it is said that hee marrying *Iezabel* the Daughter of the King of the Zidonians, worshipped their *Baal*. Diuers *Baals* & diuers *Astaroths* in their Idolatries they acknowledged: as it appeares by the plurall names of *Baalim* and *Astaroth*, 1. Sam. 12.10. and elsewhere: for euen the name *Astaroth*, as I am informed by a skilfull *Hebritian*, is plurall: the singular being *Astoreth*: whence *Iudg.*2.13. the *Septuagint* reade ἐλάτρευσαν τοῖς ἀστάρταις: *They worshipped the Astarties*. The occasion of this their multiplying of their *Baals*, & *Astoreths*, may be diuersly vnderstood: either in respect of the diuersitie of the formes of the Images, or of the worship in diuers places, or of the stories depending vpon them: which (as fables vse to be) were doubtlesse in diuers Cities diuers. *Augustine quæst.19. in Iudg.* thinkes *Baal* and *Astarte* to be *Iupiter* and *Iuno*. For the *Carthaginians* (which were *Tyrians*) call *Iuno* by such a name as *Astarte*. *Tullie, lib.* 3. *de Nat. Deorum*, making diuers *Goddesses* of the name of *Venus*, expounds the fourth to bee *Astarte*: whom hee makes to bee borne of *Tyrus* and *Syria*, and to haue beene the Wife of *Adonis*: as also *Macrob.2.Saturn.cap.21.* saies that *Adonis* was with great

Palestil. Seig.f. 19. Vadian. Phœn.f.278. Strab.l.16.

* It seems that euen in *Iosua's* time they practised glasse-making, whence *Iunius* for *Misphreboth maym*, which *ad verbũ* is as much as *combustiones aquarũ*, reades *fornaces vitrarias Ios.*11.8. as it seems, because these fornaces were where there was store of water, either for the mouing of the bellows by the force of the water, or for other necessary vses. But there are others that take them for salt pits, & other againe for hot baths. The forme of *Astoreth* (or *Astarte*) seemeth to haue beene a sheep, for *Deut.* 7.13. the word in the plurall number signifieth sheepe: & this may confirm *Augustins* opinion, that *Astarte* was *Iuno*: for the forme of her husband *Iupiter Hammon* was a Ram.

veneration commonly worshipped of the Assyrians: and *Hierome* vpon *Ezek.*8.44. notes that *Thammuz* (whom there the Idolatrous women are noted to bewaile) is the name of *Adonis* among the Syrians. So that it may seeme that in the worship of *Astarte* or *Venus*, they did bewaile her Husband *Adonis*: as also the Græcians did in their songs of *Adonis*: *Mourne for* Adonis *the faire, dead is* Adonis *the faire*. Howbeit others in that place of *Ezekiel* not without good probability, expound the mourning for *Thammuz*, to bee the mourning for *Osiris* in the sacrifice of *Isis*: whose losse o-her Husband *Osiris*, was as famous in the Egyptian Idolatrie, as with the Grecians, *Venus* losse of *Adonis*. And to this agreeth that which *Plutarch* hath, *de Iside & Osiride*; that *Osiris* with the Egyptians is cal-
10 led *Ammuz*: which word may seeme to be the same with *Ezekiels Thammuz*. But howsoeuer these Zidonians were thus anciently fostered with the milke of Idolatry: yet they were more apt to receiue the Doctrine and Gospell of *Christ* after his Ascension, than the Iewes: who had beene taught by *Moses* and the *Prophets* so many yeeres, whereof our Sauiour in *Mathew* and *Luke*: *Woe be to thee Corazin, &c. for if the great works which were done in thee, had beene done in Tyrus and Zidon, they had repented long agone, &c. but I say vnto you, it shall be easier for Tyrus and Zidon, at the day of Iudgement, than for you.* Mat.11.v.21.

It receiued a *Christian* Bishop with the first: who was afterward of the Diocesse of *Tyre*. But in the yeere of our Redemption 636. it fell into the hands of the Saracens: and continued in their possession till *Baldwinus* the first, then King of *Hierusalem*: in the yeere
20 1111. by the helpe of the Danes and Norwaies, who came with a Fleet to visite the holy Land, and tooke Port at *Ioppa*, it was againe recouered, the commandement thereof being giuen to *Eustace Gremer*, a Noble man of that Countrey. And againe in the yeere 1250. it was reedified and strengthened by *Lodowicke* the French King: while hee spent foure yeere in the Warre of the holy Land. Lastly, in the yeere 1289. it was reconquered by the Saracens: and is now in possession of the Turke, and hath the name of *Zai*.

Tyr.11.Bell. Sacr.14. Vitriac.c.27. Niger Postellus.

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†. III.

30 *Of Sarepta, with a briefe History of Tyre in the same Coast.*

Sarepta, or after the *Hebrew*, *Sarphath*, is the next City Southward from *Zidon*, between it and the Riuer called *Naar*, or *Fons hortorum Libani* (of which more hereafter) standing in the way towards *Tyre*, a City very famous for the excellent wine growing neere it: of which *Sidonius*:

Vina mihi non sunt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna.
Quæq; Sareptano palmite missa bibas.

40 I haue no wine of *Gaza*, nor *Falerna* wine,
Nor any for the drinking of *Sarepta's* vine.

This City had also a *Bishop*, of the Diocesse of *Tyre*: after it came to the Saracens and Turkes, as the rest: and is now called *Saphet*, saith *Postellus*.

Not farre from *Sarepta* was situate that sometime famous City of *Tyre*, whose fleetes of shippes commanded, and gaue the law ouer all the *Mediterran* Sea, and the borders thereof: during which time of greatnesse and power, the *Tyrians* erected *Vtica*, *Leptis*, and *Carthage* in *Affrica*, of which *Virgil. Vrbs antiqua fuit, Tyrij tenuere Coloni, Carthago*. And *Carthage* was therefore called *Punica quasi Phœnicum*, a *Colonie* of the *Phœnicians*. In
50 *Spaine* they founded *Gades*, now *Calix*. In *Italie*, *Nola*: in *Asia* the lesse, *Dromos Achillis*, which Citie the *Scholiast* of *Apollonius* placeth neere the Riuer *Phyllis*, in *Bythinia*.

Virgil.l.1. Plin.l.5.c.19. Marcelin.l.22.

It had anciently the name of *Zor*, or *Tzor*: and so it is written in *Iosua* the 19. taking name from the situation, because built on a high Rocke, sharpe at one end. The *Latines*, as it seems, knew it by the name of *Sarra*: for *Virgil* calleth the purple of *Tyre*, *Ostrum Sarranum*, by wich name *Iuuenal* and *Silius* remember it. The Zidonians built it vpon a high Hill, whereof many ruines remaine to this day; the place being still knowne by the name of the ancient *Tyre*: and because it was a *Colonie* of the Zidonians, the Prophet

Gellius.l.4.c.6.

Esay

Cap. 23. *Esay* calleth it the Daughter of *Zidon*; which *Trogus* also confirmeth, though *Berosus* by affinity of name makes *Thiras* the sonne of *Iaphet* to be the Parent thereof: and though
Cap. 23. no doubt it was very ancient (for so much the Prophet *Esay* also witnesseth, *Is not this your glorious Citie, whose antiquity is of ancient dayes?*) yet, that *Thiras* the sonne of *Iaphet* set himselfe in the bosome of the *Canaanites* who built *Zidon*, and peopled all that Region: I see nothing to perswade me.

Iustin. l. 18. Curt. l. 4. Euseb. in chro. Ioseph. ant. l. 8. cap. 2. Cedren. pa. 17. But that new *Tyre* in after-times so renowned, seemeth to bee the worke of *Agenor*: and of this opinion was *Curtius*: and *Iosephus*, and *Eusebius* make this City elder than *Salomons* Temple 240. yeeres: *Cedrenus* 361. who also addeth that *Tyrus* the wife of *Agenor* gaue it her name: but of *Agenor* I will speake more at large in the story of their 10 Kings.

For strength and for the commodity of the harbour, and the better to receiue Trade from all places, it was in this new erection founded in an Iland, 700. paces from the con-
Ezek. 28. 2. 27. verse 3. tinent; and therefore *Ezekiel* placeth it in the middest of the Sea, as some reade, or as others in the inner-most part of the Sea, whence he calleth it *situate at the entry of the Sea*,
Esai. 23. 3. as also the same Prophet calleth it *the Mart of the people for many Iles*: and *Esay*, *a Mart of*
27. 8. *the Nations*: and so Proude, Wealthy, and Magnificent was this City, as the Prophet *Esay* calleth the Merchants thereof Princes, and their Chapmen the Nobles of the World.

It excelled both in learning, and in manu-facture: especially in the making and dying 20 of Purple, and Scarlet-cloth: which, saith *Iulius Pollux*, was first found out by *Hercules* Dogge, who passing along the Sea-coast, and eating of the Fish *Conchilis* or *Purpura*: the haire of his lippes became of that colour. It worshipped the same Idols that *Zidon* did: sauing that *Hercules* became their *Patron* in after-times. For *Alexander Macedon*, when the *Tyrians* presented him with a Crowne of gold, and other gifts, desiring to remaine his friends and allies, answered them, that he had vowed a sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Defender of their City, and the Ancester of the Macedonians Kings: and must therefore enter it. Whereupon they sent him word, that *Hercules* his Temple was in the Mountaine of old *Tyre*: where he might performe that ceremony. But this auailed not: For *Alexander* was not so superstitious, as ambitious; he desired to enter the Towne, which being denied, he 30 as one whom no perill could feare, nor labour weary, gathered together as many ships as he could, and brought from *Libanus* so great a number of *Cedars*, and so many weighty stones, from the old City of *Tyre* adioyning, as notwithstanding that his materials were often washt away with the strength of the Sea and the Tydes, yet he neuer rested, till hee had made a foote passage from the Continent to the Iland: and hauing once approached their Walls, he ouer-topt them with Turrets of wood, and other frames: from whence (hauing filled the body of force with the violent mouing spirit of resolution) he became Lord thereof, putting all to the Sword that resisted; after which, he caused 2000. more to be hung vp in a ranke all alongst the Sea-shore: which exequution vpon cold blood hee performed (as some Authours affirme) vpon the issues of those slaues which had former- 40
Ioseph. ant. Iudæ. l. 11. c. 8. ly slaine all their Masters, taking their Wiues, Children, Riches, and power of Gouernement to themselues. This victory of *Alexander* ouer the Tyrians, *Iosephus* remembreth: and how *Sanaballat* reuolted from *Darius*, and came to *Alexander* with 8000. Souldiers: who was the last *Satrapa* or Prouinciall Gouernour, which *Darius* seated in *Samaria*: the same who hauing married his Daughter to *Manasse*, brother to *Iaddas* the high Priest of *Hierusalem*, obtained of *Alexander* that a Temple might be built on the Mountaine *Gariziim* ouer *Samaria*: that the forces of the Iewes being diuided, *Alexander* might the better hold them in obedience. The honour of which Priesthood hee bestowed on his son in law *Manasse*, whom the Iewes oppugned, for that he had married out of their Tribes,
De bell. sacr. l. 13. c. 4. and with a *Gentile*: but while *Alexander* besieged *Gaza*, *Sanaballat*, whom *Guil. Tyrius* 50 calleth *Sanabula*, died.

Long before this desolation of *Tyre* by the cruelty of *Alexander*, it was attempted by *Salmanasser* the *Assyrian* King: when the growing pride of the *Assyrians*, after that they had conquered the ten Tribes, with the rest of *Syria*, became enuious of the beauty, riches, and power of that City. He besieged it both on the Land-side, and with threescore
Iosep. Ant. lib. 9. cap. 14. shippes of Warre held the Port: to the end that neither any victuals nor any supply of men might enter it: but the *Tyrians* with twelue saile scattered that fleet, and tooke 500. prisoners of the *Assyrians*: notwithstanding, the *Assyrian* continued his resolution, and lay before

before it by his Lieutenants fiue yeeres, but with ill successe. And this siege *Menander Ephesius*, cited by *Iosephus*, made report of in his *Chronicles*, as hee found the Story among the *Annalls* of the *Tyrians* (which the said *Menander* conuerted into *Greeke*) adding, that *Elulæus*, whom *Tyrius* calleth *Helisæus*, was then King of *Tyre*, hauing gouerned the same fixe and twenty yeeres. Soone after this repulse of *Salmanassar*, and about 200. yeeres 15 before the victory of *Alexander*, *Nabuchodonosor* at such time as he destroyed *Hierusalem* with the Temple, came before this City: who indeed gaue to *Alexander* the example of that despairefull worke, of ioyning it to the Continent. For *Nabuchodonosor* had formerly done it: though by the diligence of the Citizens, and the strength of the Sea, the 10 same cawsey and passage was againe broken downe, and demolished.

Et cont. Ap. l. 1. Guil. Tyrius de Bell. Sacr. 13. 4. Ioseph. Ant. lib. 9. cap.

Against *Nabuchodonosor*, for many yeeres, the *Tyrians* defended themselues: for so long did those *Babylonians* continue before it, *As euery head was made bald, and euery shoulder made bare*, saith *Ezekiel*, who with the Prophet *Esay* had manifestly foretold the destru-
Eze. 29. 18. Isai. 23. &c. ction of this proude place. In the end and after thirteene yeeres siege or more, the *Tyrians* despoiled of all their hopes, and remembring ouer-late the predictions and threatnings of Gods Prophets, hauing prepared a conuenient number of shippes, abandoned their City, transporting with themselues the ablest of all that remained: and with their wiues, children, and portable riches, sayled thence into *Cyprus*, *Carthage*, and other Maritimate Cities of their Tributaries, or Confederates: so as the *Babylonians* finding nothing 20 therein, either to satisfie so many labours and perils, or any person vpon whom to auenge themselues for the losse of so many bodies in that Warre: It pleased God in recompence thereof (who strengthened this resolution, as in a worke of his owne) to make *Nebuchodonosor* victorious ouer the *Egyptians*: and gaue him that Kingdome and the spoile there-
Ezek. 29. 19. of, as it were in wages for his Army. Whereupon Saint *Hierome* noteth, that God leaueth not the good deeds of the Heathen vnrewarded: who though they cannot hope by any laudable worldly action, to attaine vnto that eternall happinesse reserued for his *Seruants* and *Saints*: yet such is the boundlesse goodnesse of God, as he often repayeth them with many worldly gifts and temporall blessings.

Now of this enterprise of *Nebuchodonosors* against *Tyre*, prophane Historians haue 30 not beene silent. For both *Diocles*, and *Philostratus* (as *Iosephus* citeth them) the one in his
Iosep. ant. l. 10. c. 13. second Booke, the other in his *Phœnician* Histories, remember it.

After these two great *Vastations* by the Kings of *Babylon* and *Macedon*: this City of *Tyre* repaired and recouered it selfe againe: and continued in great glory about 300. yeers, euen to the comming of our *Sauiour Christ*: and after him flourished in the *Christian* Faith neere 600. yeeres: the *Archbishop* whereof gaue place to none but to the *Patriarke* of *Hierusalem* onely, who within his owne Diocesse and foureteene great Cities, with their Bi-
Guil. Tyr. bell. sac. shops and suffragans: namely *Caipha*, otherwise *Porphiria*, *Acon*, or *Ptolomais*, *Sarepta*, *Zidon*, *Cæsarea Philippi*, *Berytus*, *Byblus*, *Botrys*, *Tripolis*, *Orthosia*, *Archis*, *Aradus*, *Antaradus* (or *Tortosa*) and *Maraclea*. But in the yeere 636. it was with the rest of that beautifull Re-
40 gion of *Phœnicia* and *Palestina*, subiected to the cruell and faithlesse *Saracen*. Vnder the burthen and yoke of whose tyranny it suffered, with the other *Palestine* Cities, 488. yeeres.

In the yeere 1112. it was attempted by *Baldwine* King of *Hierusalem*; but in vaine: yet in the yeere 1124. by *Guaremonde*, *Patriarke* of *Hierusalem*, *Vicegerent* to *Baldwine* Guil. Tyr. l. 1. Bell. sacr. 17. the second, with the assistance of the *Venetians*, and their fleete of Gallies, it was againe recouered, and subiected to the Kings of *Hierusalem*, and so it remained 165. yeeres.

Finally, in the yeere 1189. *Saladine* hauing first taken *Hierusalem*, remoued his whole Army and sate downe before *Tyre*: drawing his fleete of shippes and Gallies from *Alexandria* into the Port, this City as then onely remaining in the Christian power.

50 The Citizens finding themselues reduced into great famine, and many other miseries, they at once with certaine rafters of timber, fiered, burnt, and brake the Saracens fleete, and sallyed out resoluedly vpon his Army, slew so great numbers of them, and followed their victory with such fury, as that the Saracens forsaking their Trenches and Tents, remoued in great disorder and dishonour. Two yeeres after which victory the body of that famous *Fredericke Barbarossa* (who by the lamentable accident of following the *Christians* enemies ouer a Riuer vnfoordable, perished by the weight of his armour therein) was brought and interred in the *Cathedrall* Church of *Tyre*, neere vnto that glorious Sepulchre of *Origen*, garnished and grauen with guilt pillars of Marble, 940. yeeres before

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Cap. 23.

Iustin. l. 18. Curt. l. 4. Euseb. in Chro. Ioseph. ant. l. 8. cap. 2. Cedren. pa. 17.

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For strength and for the commodity of the harbour, and the better to receiue Trade from all places, it was in this new erection founded in an Iland, 700. paces from the continent; and therefore *Ezekiel* placeth it in the middest of the Sea, as some reade, or as others in the inner-most part of the Sea, whence he calleth it *situate at the entry of the Sea*, as also the same Prophet calleth it *the Mart of the people for many Iles*: and *Esay*, *a Mart of the Nations*: and so Proude, Wealthy, and Magnificent was this City, as the Prophet *Esay* calleth the Merchants thereof Princes, and their Chapmen the Nobles of the World.

Ezek. 28. 2. 27. verse 3. Esai. 23. 3. 27. 8.

It excelled both in learning, and in manu-facture: especially in the making and dying of Purple, and Scarlet-cloth: which, saith *Iulius Pollux*, was first found out by *Hercules* Dogge, who passing along the Sea-coast, and eating of the Fish *Conchilis* or *Purpura*: the haire of his lippes became of that colour. It worshipped the same Idols that *Zidon* did: sauing that *Hercules* became their *Patron* in after-times. For *Alexander Macedon*, when the *Tyrians* presented him with a Crowne of gold, and other gifts, desiring to remaine his friends and allies, answered them, that he had vowed a sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Defender of their City, and the Ancester of the Macedonians Kings: and must therefore enter it. Whereupon they sent him word, that *Hercules* his Temple was in the Mountaine of old *Tyre*: where he might performe that ceremony. But this auailed not: For *Alexander* was not so superstitious, as ambitious; he desired to enter the Towne, which being denied, he as one whom no perill could feare, nor labour weary, gathered together as many ships as he could, and brought from *Libanus* so great a number of *Cedars*, and so many weighty stones, from the old City of *Tyre* adioyning, as notwithstanding that his materials were often washt away with the strength of the Sea and the Tydes, yet he neuer rested, till hee had made a foote passage from the Continent to the Iland: and hauing once approached their Walls, he ouer-topt them with Turrets of wood, and other frames: from whence (hauing filled the body of force with the violent mouing spirit of resolution) he became Lord thereof, putting all to the Sword that resisted; after which, he caused 2000. more to be hung vp in a ranke all alongst the Sea-shore: which exequution vpon cold blood hee performed (as some Authours affirme) vpon the issues of those slaues which had formerly slaine all their Masters, taking their Wiues, Children, Riches, and power of Gouernement to themselues. This victory of *Alexander* ouer the Tyrians, *Iosephus* remembreth: and how *Sanaballat* reuolted from *Darius*, and came to *Alexander* with 8000. Souldiers: who was the last *Satrapa* or Prouinciall Gouernour, which *Darius* seated in *Samaria*: the same who hauing married his Daughter to *Manasse*, brother to *Iaddas* the high Priest of *Hierusalem*, obtained of *Alexander* that a Temple might be built on the Mountaine *Gariazim* ouer *Samaria*: that the forces of the Iewes being diuided, *Alexander* might the better hold them in obedience. The honour of which Priesthood hee bestowed on his son in law *Manasse*, whom the Iewes oppugned, for that he had married out of their Tribes, and with a *Gentile*: but while *Alexander* besieged *Gaza*, *Sanaballat*, whom *Guil. Tyrius* calleth *Sanabula*, died.

Ioseph. ant. Iudæ. l. 11. c. 8.

De bell. sacr. l. 13. c. 4.

Long before this desolation of *Tyre* by the cruelty of *Alexander*, it was attempted by *Salmanasser* the *Assyrian* King: when the growing pride of the *Assyrians*, after that they had conquered the ten Tribes, with the rest of *Syria*, became enuious of the beauty, riches, and power of that City. He besieged it both on the Land-side, and with threescore shippes of Warre held the Port: to the end that neither any victuals nor any supply of men might enter it: but the *Tyrians* with twelue saile scattered that fleet, and tooke 500. prisoners of the *Assyrians*: notwithstanding, the *Assyrian* continued his resolution, and lay before

Iosep. Ant. lib. 9. cap. 14.

before it by his Lieutenants fiue yeeres, but with ill successe. And this siege *Menander Ephesius*, cited by *Iosephus*, made report of in his *Chronicles*, as hee found the Story among the *Annalls* of the *Tyrians* (which the said *Menander* conuerted into *Greeke*) adding, that *Elulæus*, whom *Tyrius* calleth *Helisæus*, was then King of *Tyre*, hauing gouerned the same six e and twenty yeeres. Soone after this repulse of *Salmanassar*, and about 200. yeeres before the victory of *Alexander*, *Nabuchodonosor* at such time as he destroyed *Hierusalem* with the Temple, came before this City: who indeed gaue to *Alexander* the example of that despairefull worke, of ioyning it to the Continent. For *Nabuchodonosor* had formerly done it: though by the diligence of the Citizens, and the strength of the Sea, the same cawsey and passage was againe broken downe, and demolished.

Et cont. Ap. 1. Guil. Tyrius de Bell. Sacr. 13. 4. Ioseph. Ant. lib. 9. cap. 15.

Against *Nabuchodonosor*, for many yeeres, the *Tyrians* defended themselues: for so long did those *Babylonians* continue before it, *As euery head was made bald, and euery shoulder made bare*, saith *Ezekiel*, who with the Prophet *Esay* had manifestly foretold the destruction of this proude place. In the end and after thirteene yeeres siege or more, the *Tyrians* despoiled of all their hopes, and remembring ouer-late the predictions and threatnings of Gods Prophets, hauing prepared a conuenient number of shippes, abandoned their City, transporting with themselues the ablest of all that remained: and with their wiues, children, and portable riches, sayled thence into *Cyprus*, *Carthage*, and other Maritimate Cities of their Tributaries, or Confederates: so as the *Babylonians* finding nothing therein, either to satisfie so many labours and perils, or any person vpon whom to auenge themselues for the losse of so many bodies in that Warre: It pleased God in recompence thereof (who strengthened this resolution, as in a worke of his owne) to make *Nebuchodonosor* victorious ouer the *Egyptians*: and gaue him that Kingdome and the spoile thereof, as it were in wages for his Army. Whereupon Saint *Hierome* noteth, that God leaueth not the good deeds of the Heathen vnrewarded: who though they cannot hope by any laudable worldly action, to attaine vnto that eternall happinesse reserued for his *Seruants* and *Saints*: yet such is the boundlesse goodnesse of God, as he often repayeth them with many worldly gifts and temporall blessings.

Ezek. 29. 18. Isai. 23. &c.

Ezek. 29. 19.

Now of this enterprise of *Nebuchodonosors* against *Tyre*, prophane Historians haue not beene silent: For both *Diocles*, and *Philostratus* (as *Iosephus* citeth them) the one in his second Booke, the other in his *Phœnician* Histories, remember it.

Iosep. ant. l. 10. c. 13.

After these two great *Vastations* by the Kings of *Babylon* and *Macedon*: this City of *Tyre* repaired and recouered it selfe againe: and continued in great glory about 300. yeers, euen to the comming of our *Sauiour Christ*: and after him flourished in the *Christian* Faith neere 600. yeeres: the *Archbishop* whereof gaue place to none but to the *Patriarke* of *Hierusalem* onely, who within his owne Diocesse and foureteene great Cities, with their Bishops and suffragans: namely *Caipha*, otherwise *Porphiria*, *Acon*, or *Ptolomais*, *Sarepta*, *Zidon*, *Cæsarea Philippi*, *Berytus*, *Byblus*, *Botrys*, *Tripolis*, *Orthosia*, *Archis*, *Aradus*, *Antaradus* (or *Tortosa*) and *Maraclea*. But in the yeere 636. it was with the rest of that beautifull Region of *Phœnicia* and *Palestina*, subiected to the cruell and faithlesse *Saracen*. Vnder the burthen and yoke of whose tyranny it suffered, with the other *Palestine* Cities, 488. yeeres.

Guil. Tyr. bell. sac.

In the yeere 1112. it was attempted by *Baldwine* King of *Hierusalem*; but in vaine: yet in the yeere 1124. by *Guaremonde*, *Patriarke* of *Hierusalem*, *Vicegerent* to *Baldwine* the second, with the assistance of the *Venetians*, and their fleete of Gallies, it was againe recouered, and subiected to the Kings of *Hierusalem*, and so it remained 165. yeeres.

Guil. Tyr. 11. Bell. sacr. 17.

Finally, in the yeere 1189. *Saladine* hauing first taken *Hierusalem*, remoued his whole Army and sate downe before *Tyre*: drawing his fleete of shippes and Gallies from *Alexandria* into the Port, this City as then onely remaining in the Christian power.

The Citizens finding themselues reduced into great famine, and many other miseries, they at once with certaine rafters of timber, fiered, burnt, and brake the Saracens fleete, and sallyed out resoluedly vpon his Army, slew so great numbers of them, and followed their victory with such fury, as that the Saracens forsaking their Trenches and Tents, remoued in great disorder and dishonour. Two yeeres after which victory the body of that famous *Fredericke Barbarossa* (who by the lamentable accident of following the *Christians* enemies ouer a Riuer vnsoordable, perished by the weight of his armour therein) was brought and interred in the *Cathedrall* Church of *Tyre*, neere vnto that glorious Sepulchre of *Origen*, garnished and grauen with guilt pillars of Marble, 940. yeeres before

before therein buried: but in the yeere 1289. the Saracens againe attempted it, and carried it, and it now remaineth subiect to the Turkes.

†. IIII.

Of Ptolomais or Acon.

THe third City alongst the coast of the Sea, which the Asserites could not obtaine, on the South bound of Asser was Acho, which was the ancient name thereof after *Hierome*, though other good Authours affirme that it tooke name from *Acon* the brother of *Ptolomy*. *Plinie* calleth it Ace: and otherwise the Colonie of *Claudius*. It had also the name of Coth, or Cod, and by *Zeiglerus* it is called Hactipos.

Plin. lib. 5. c. 19. In descrip. terr. sanct.

But lastly, it was intituled Ptolomais after the name of one of the Egyptian *Ptolomies*: which City also as it is, 1 *Mac.* 11. another of the *Ptolomies*, infideliously wrested from his sonne in law *Alexander*, which called himselfe the sonne of *Antiochus Epiphanes*: the same *Alexander* hauing married *Cleopatra* daughter of the said *Ptolomie* not long before. Therein also was *Ionathan Machabæus* treacherously surprised and slaine, as it is 1 *Mac.* 12.48. by the perfidiousnesse of *Tryphon*, whom soone after *Antiochus* pursued, as it is in the Story ensuing: and by like reason about the same time was the aforesaid *Alexander* in the warre against *Demetrius*, one of the sonnes of *Antiochus* the great with whom *Ptolomie* ioyned, ouerthrowne & treacherously murthered by *Zabdiel* the Arabian: to whom he fled for succour: and his head presented vnto his father in law *Ptolomie*: who enioyed not the glory of his victory and treason aboue three dayes, for God strucke him by death.

Ptolomæus Philometer.

1 Macc. 1. 10.

1 Macc. 11. 18.

For the beauty and strength of this City, this *Alexander* made it his regall seate; two parts of the same being inuironed by the Sea, and the port for safety and capacity not inferiour to any other in all that Tract. This Citie is distant from *Hierusalem* some foure and thirty miles: foure miles to the North from the Mountaine Carmel, and as much to the South from *Castrum Lamberti*: from Tyre, *Antonius* maketh it two and thirty Italian miles. In the middest of the City there was a Tower of great strength, sometime the Temple of *Bel-zebub*: and therefore called the Castle of Flies, on the top whereof there was maintained a perpetuall light, like vnto that called Pharus in Egypt: to giue comfort in the night to those shippes, which came neere and sought that part. It had in it a Bishops seate, of the Diocesse of Tyre, after it became Christian: but in the yeere *636*. (a fatall yeere to the Christians in those parts) it was forced and taken by *Haomarus* the Saracen. In the yeere 1104. it was regained by *Baldwine* the first, by the helpe of the Gallies of *Genoa*: to whom a third of the reuenew was giuen in recompence. Againe, in the yeere of our Lord God, one thousand one hundred fourescore and seuen, *Saladine* King of Egypt, and Syria, became Lord thereof. In the yeere of Christ, one thousand one hundred ninety and one, by *Richard* King of England, and *Philip* King of France, it was repossessed and redeliuered to the Christians. Lastly, in the yeere 1291. it was by the fury of the Saracens besieged with an Army of 150000. entred, sackt, and vtterly demolished: though in some sort afterward reedified, and it is now Turkish.

Ant. Itin.

Hervold.

G. Tyr. bell. sacr. lib. 10. cap. 28. Hervold. 11. bell. sacr. tit. 7. & lib. 2. cap. 2. & alibi.

†. V.

Of the Castle of Saint George.

FIue miles from Ptolomais towards the East, is the Castle of Saint *George* seated, in which he was borne: the Valley adioyning bearing the same name. And though for the credit of Saint *Georges* killing the Dragon, I leaue euery man to his owne beliefe: yet I cannot but thinke, that if the Kings of England had not some probable record of that his memorable act, among many others: it was strange that the Order full of Honour, which *Edward* the third founded, and which his Successours royally haue continued, should haue borne his name, seeing the World had not that scarcity of Saints in those dayes, as that the English were driuen to make such an erection vpon a fable, or person fained. The place is described by *Adrichomius* in his description of Asser, to haue beene in the fieldes of Libanus: betweene the Riuer Adonis, and Zidon: his owne words are these:

Brach.

Itin. 4.

Of the place & memory of his death. See Chap. 9. §. 1.

Hoc loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur, non longè à Beryto, memorant inclytum Christi Militem D. Georgium, *Regis filiam ab immanissimo Dracone asseruâsse: eamq; mactata bestia parenti restituisse. In cuius rei memoriam Ecclesia postmodum fuit ædificata; In this place, which by the Inhabitants is called* Cappadocia, *not far from* Berytus, *men say that the famous Knight of Christ, Saint* George, *did rescue the Kings Daughter from a huge Dragon: and hauing killed the beast, deliuered the Virgin to her Parent. In memory of which deed a Church was after built there*: Thus farre *Adrichomius*. His Authours he citeth *Lodouicus Roman, Patric. Nauigationum l. 1. c. 3.* and *Bridenbach Itin. 5.* The Valley vnder this Castle sometime called *Asser*, was afterward called the Valley of Saint *George*. If this authority suffice not, we may rather make the Story allegoricall, figuring the victory of *Christ*, than except of *George* the *Arrian* Bishop, mentioned by *Am. Marcellinus*.

†. VI.

Of Acziba, Sandalium, and others.

BEtweene *Ptolomais* and *Tyre* alongst the Sea coast, was the strong City of Acziba, or Achazib, which Saint *Hierome* calleth Achziph, and *Iosephus Ecdippos*, *Plinie Ecdippa*, one of those which defended it selfe against the Asserites. *Belforrest* findes Acziba and Sandalium, or the Castle of *Alexander* to be one, but I know not whence he had it.

The twelue searchers of the Land which *Moses* sent from Cadesbarne, trauailed as far to the North as Roob, or Rechob, in the Tribe of *Asser*, which Rechob, as also Berothæ which by *Ezekiel cap. 47. verse 16.* is placed in these North borders, belonged in *Dauids* time to the King *Hadarhezer*, as it may be gathered out of the second of *Samuel* the 8. chap. and 8. verse, and cap. 10. verse 6. and it defended it selfe against the Asserites, as Zidon, Tyre, Achziph, Ptolomais, Alab, Helbah, and Aphck did.

Hieron. de Locis Hebr. Ios. Bell. Iud. l. 1. c. 11. Plin. l. 5. c. 19.

This Aphek it was, whose wall falling downe, slew seuen and twenty thousand of *Benhadads* Souldiers, after that a hundred thousand had beene slaughtered by the Israelites, vnder the conduct of *Ahab*. Here *Iunius* findes that the Philistims encamped a little before the battaile at *Gilboa*, though in his note vpon the first of *Samuel*, the 9. and 1. he takes Aphek there mentioned (at which battaile the Arke was taken) to haue beene in Iuda. Of which *Ios.* 15. and 53. and in the second of *Kings* 13. 17. he reades, *Fortiter*, for, *in Aphek*. Where others conuert it, *Percutiens Syros in Aphek*.

1 Kin. 20. 29. 1 Sam. 29. 1.

The next place alongst the coast is Sandalium, first called Schandalium of Schander, which we call Alexander, for *Alexander Macedon* built it, when he besieged Tyre: and set it on a point of Land which extendeth it selfe into the Sea, betweene Acziba and Tyre: which Castle *Baldwine* the first rebuilt and fortified; in the yeere of *Christ* 1157. when he vndertooke the recouery of Tyre.

Not much aboue a mile from this Castle, there ariseth that most plentifull Spring of water, which *Salomon* remembreth, called *the Well of liuing waters*: from whence not onely all the fields and plaines about Tyre are made fruitful by large pipes hence drawn: but the same Spring, which hath not aboue a bow-shot of ground to trauaile till it recouer the Sea, driueth sixe great Milles in that short passage, saith *Brochard*.

Cant. 4.

Itin. 1.

Within the Land, and to the east of Acziba, and Sandalium, standeth Hosa: and beyond it, vnder the Mountaines of Tyre, the City of Achsaph, or Axab, or after Saint *Hierome* Acisap, a City of great strength, whose King amongst the rest was slaine by *Iosua*, at the waters of Merom.

Ios. 12. 20.

†. VII.

Of Thoron, Giscala, and some other places.

FArther into the Land towards Iordan, was seated the Castle of Thoron, which *Hugo de Sancto Abdemare* built on the Easter-most Hils of Tyre, in the yeere 1107. therby to restraine the excursions of the Saracens, while they held Tyre against the Christians: the place adioyning being very fruitfull, and exceeding pleasant. From this Castle the Lords of Thoron, famous in the Story of the Warres for the recouery of the Holy Land, deriue their names, and take their Nobility. It had in it a curious Chappell, dedicated to the blessed *Virgin*, in which *Hunfrey* of Thoron, Constable to *Baldwine* the 3. King of Hierusalem, lyeth buried: There were fiue Castles besides this within the Territory of Asser: where-

wherof foure are seated almost of equall distance from each other: to wit, Castrum, Lamperti, Montfort, Indin (or *Saron*) Castrum Regium, and Belfort: The first neere the Sea vnder the Hills of Saron: the next three, to wit, Indin, Montfort, and Regium, stand more within the Land, and belonged to the Brotherhood and fellowship of the *Teutonici*, or *Dutch Knights* by which they defended themselues, and gaue succour to other Christians at such time as the Saracens possest the best part of the vpper Galilee) the chiefe of which Order was in Ptolomais Achon. The first fortresse was for beauty and strength called Belfort, seated in the high ground vpon the Riuer Naar, neere the Citie Rama: of which in this Tribe *Ios.* 19. 29. for which the Vulgar reades Horma: making the article a part of the word, and mistaking the vowels: from the siege of this Castle of Belfort, the great *Saladine* King of Syria and Egypt, was by the Christians Army raised, and with great losse and dishonour repulsed.

Herold. l. 2. c. 4. Continuationis Bell. ac.

To the East of Belfort, is the strong City of Alab (or Achlab) which Saint *Hierome* calleth Châlab, one of those that defended themselues against *Asser*, as Roob (or Rechob) not farre thence did.

Towards the South from Roob they place Gabala (which *Herod* surnamed the Ascalonite rebuilt) making it of the Territory of *Chabol*, *Quod Syrorum lingua dispiceere significat* (saith *Weissenburg*) so called, because *Hiram* of Tyre was ill pleased with those twenty Cities, seated hereabout, which *Salomon* presented vnto him in recompence of those prouisions sent him for the building of the Temple. Others think this Chabol (or Cabul) containing a circuit of those twenty Cities giuen to *Hiram*, to haue beene without the compasse of the holy Land: though bordering Asher on the North side: as it is said, 1 *Reg.* 9. 11. That they were *in Regione limitis*: that is, *in limite Regionis*, in the border of the Countrey: for it was not lawfull, say they, to giue to strangers any part of the possessions allotted to the Israelites: howsoeuer, that after *Hiram* had refused them, they were peopled by the Israelites, it appeares, 2 *Chron.* 8. 14. And it seemes they were conquered by *Dauid* from the *Syri Rechobeæ*, whose City Roob, or Rechob, was in these parts.

Ioseph. ant. 13. 21. & 15. 10.

Iun. annot. in 1 Reg. 9. 11.

2 Sam. 10. 6.

Almost of equall distance from the Castle of Thoron, they place the Cities of Giscala, and Gadara: of which Gadara is rather to be placed ouer Iordan: Giscala was made famous by *Iohn* the sonne of *Leui*, who from a meane estate gathering together foure hundred Theeues, greatly troubled all the vpper Galilee: at such time as the Romans attempted the conquest of Iudæa: by whose practice *Iosephus*, who then commanded in the vppen Galilee, was greatly indangered: whereof himselfe hath written at large, in his second Booke of those Warres. This *Iohn* betraying in all hee could the City of Giscala (whereof he was natiue) to the *Roman State*: and finding a resistance in the City, gaue opportunity, during the contention, to the Tyrians and Gadarims, to surprize it: who at the same time forst it, and burnt it to the ground: but being by *Iosephus* authority rebuilt, it was afterward rendred to *Titus* by composition. They finde also the Cities of Cana Maior, and * Cades, (or Cadessa) of the first was that *Syro-phœnician*, whose Daughter Christ deliuered of the cuill Spirit. Neere the other, they say, it was that *Ionathas Machabeus* ouerthrew the Army of *Demetrius*.

Cap. 26.

* See *Kadesh* in *Nephthalim* Math. 15. Mark. 7. *Macca.* 1. 73. *Iosephus Antiq.* 12. *cap.* 8.

There are besides these forenamed Cities within the Tribe of *Asser*, diuers others: as on the south border, and neere the Sea, Mesall or Misheall: within the Land [a] Besara, Berthdagon, and Bethemec, standing on the south border betweene Asher and Zabulon: on the North side ioyning to Syro-phœnicia, is the City of Hethalon, or Cherhlon, the vtmost of the holy Land that way: vnder which towards the Sea is Chali, and then [c] Enoch supposed to be built by *Cain*, and named of his sonne *Enoch*, but without probability, as I haue formerly proued. There are others also besides these, as Ammon or Chammon, of which *Ios.* 19. 28. where also we reade of Nehiel, Rama, Alamelec, and Behaue already mentioned, were by the Asserites giuen to the Leuites. Of others held by the Ganaanites, mention is made, *Iudges* 1. 30. to which out of *Iosua* wee may adde Ebron, Amhad, and others, on which no story dependeth; and therefore I will not pester the description with them.

a Of which *Iosephus in vita sua.*

b Of both which *Ios.* 19. 27. *Ezek.* 47. 15.

c Or *Enos*: *Ioseph. ant. lib.* 1. *cap.* 4. *Ios.* 21. 30.

†. VIII.

Of the Riuers and Mountaines of Asser.

THe Riuers to the North of *Asser*, are *Adonis*, afterward *Canis*, to which *Ziegler* ioyneth *Lycus*; *Ptolomy*, *Leontis*: both which fall into the Sea neere *Berytus*: which Riuer of *Leontis*, *Montanus* drawes neere vnto *Zidon*: finding his head notwithstanding, where *Ptolomy* doth, betweene *Zidon* and *Tyre*. It hath also a Riuer called *fons hortorum Libani*, which *Adrichome* out of *Brochard* intituleth *Eleutherus*: for which he also citeth *Plinie*; and the first of *Machabees* the 11. Chapter, but neither of those authorities proue *Eleutherus* to be in *Asser*: for this Riuer falleth into the Sea at the Ile of *Aradus*: not farre from *Balanea*, witnesse *Ptolomie*: and therefore *Pinetus* calleth it *Valania*, and *Postellus Velana*: which Riuer boundeth *Phœnicia* on the North-side: to which *Strabo* also agreeth: but this principall Riuer of *Asser*, *Arias Montanus* calleth *Gabatus*. *Christianus Chrot* out of the mouth and Papers of *Peter Laicstan* (which *Laicstan* in this our age both viewed and described the Holy Land) calleth the maine Riuer *Fons hortorum Libani*: and one of the streames which runneth into it from the North-side, *Naar*, and another from the South-west, *Chabul*: of the City adioyning of the same name: for *Eleutherus* it cannot be. There is also another Riuer described by *Adrichome*, named *Iepthael*, which I finde in no other Authour, and for which he citeth the nineteenth of *Iosua*, but the word [d] *Ghe* which is added there to *Iepthael*, is not taken for a Riuer, but for a Valley: and for a Valley the *Vulgar*, the *Geneua*, and *Arius Montanus* turne it. There is also found in *Asser*, the Riuer of *Belus*, remembred by *Iosephus* and *Tacitus*, which is also called *Pagidas*, saith * *Plinie*: out of the sands of this Riuer are made the best Glasse, which sometime the *Zidonians* practised: and now the *Venetians* at *Murana*. *Arias Montanus* makes *Belus* to be a branch of *Chedumim*, which it cannot be: for *Belus* is knowne to flow from out the Lake *Cendeuia*, as all *Cosmographers*, both Ancient and Moderne, and the later Trauailers into those parts, witnesse. It is true that the Riuer of *Chison* taketh water from *Chedumim*: but not in that fashion which *Montanus* hath described it: neither doth it find the Sea at *Ptolomais Acon*, according to *Montanus*: but farther to the *south* betweene *Caiphas* and *Sicaminum*, witnesse *Ziegler*, *Adrichomius*, and *Schrot*.

Plin. l. 9. Asiæ. Tab. 4.

Post Orthosian & Eleutherum est Tripolis.

d The word *Nachal* is ambiguous, either for a Valley or for a Riuer: but this word *Ghe* is alway a valley, as in *Gebinnon* and *Gesemanim*.

Ioseph. lib. 2. Bell. Iud. c. 3.

* *l. 5. c. 19.* In *Iosua*, *c. 19. v.* 26. it is called *Shicor*, of which name many vnderstand an other streame *Ios.* 13. 3. which running by *Petra* of *Arabia*, falleth into the Lake *Sirbonis*, & diuideth *Egypt* from the promised land whereabout they place *Rhinocolura*, for which city *Iunius* taketh *Sichor* in that place of *Iosua*: but howsoeuer whether this *Sichor Ios.* 13. 3. be a Riuer or a City, it appears that this name is found, both in the North bound of the holy Land, *Ios.* 19. 26. & in the South bound, *Ios.* 13. 3. a See the marginall Note aboue in the second Section of this Paragraph.

Strab. l. 10. Plin. l. 5. c. 20. Deut. 4. 48. Strab. l. 10. Pto. Asiæ. Tab. 4. Suetonius. Nig. pag. 503.

There are also three Riuers of Mountaines which bound *Asser* on the North, are those of *Anti-libanus*, which with *Libanus* bound *Cœlesyria*: two great ledges of Hills, which from the Sea of *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, extend themselues farre into the Land East-ward: foure hundreth stadia or furlongs, according to *Strabo*: for that length he giueth to the Valley of *Cœlesyria*: which those Mountaines inclose: but *Plinie* giues them 1500. furlongs in length from the West (where they begin at *Theipsophon*, or *Dei facies*, neere *Tripolis*) to the Mountaines of *Arabia* beyond *Damascus*: where *Anti-libanus* turneth towards the South. These ledges where they begin to part *Traconitis* and *Basan*, from the *Desert Arabia*, are called *Hermon*: which *Moses* also nameth *Sion*, the *Phœnicians Syrion*, and the *Amorites Sanir*, neither is this any one Mountaine apart; but a continuation of Hills: which running farther southerly, is in the Scriptures called *Galaad* or *Gilead*: the same being still a part of *Libanus*, as the Prophet *Hieremy* proueth: *Galaad tu mihi caput Libani*: noting that this *Galaad* is the highest of those Hills of *Libanus*. *Strabo* knowes them by the name of *Traconitæ*: and *Ptolomie* by *Hippus*. *Arius Montanus* calleth these Mountaines bordering *Asser*, *Libanus*, for *Anti-libanus*; contrary to all other *Cosmographers*; but he giueth no reason of his opinion.

They take the name of *Libanus* from their white tops, because according to *Tacitus*, the highest of them are couered with Snow all the Summer: the *Hebrew* word *Libanos* (saith *Weissenburg*) signifieth whiteness. Others call them by that name of the Frankincence which those Trees yeeld: because λιβανος is also the *Greeke* word for that Gumme.

Niger out of *Aphrodiseus* affirmeth, that on *Libanus* there falleth a kinde of hony dew, which is by the Sunne congealed into hard sugar, which the Inhabitants call *Sacchar*, from whence came the *Latine* word *Saccarum*.

The Riuers which *Libanus* bestoweth on the neighbour Regions, are, *Chrysorrhoas*, *Iordan*, *Eleutherus*, *Leontes*, *Lycus*, *Adonis*, *Fons hortorum Libani*, and others.

The rest of the Mountaines of *Asser*, are those Hills aboue *Tyre*, and the Hills of *Saron*, both exceeding fruitfull: but those are but of a low stature, compared with *Libanus*: for from *Nebo*, or the Mountaine of *Abarim* in *Reuben*, *Moses* beheld *Libanus* threescore miles distant.

§. IIII.
THE TRIBE OF NEPHTALIM.

†. I.
Of the bounds of Nephtalim, and of Heliopolis, and Abila.

THe next Portion of the Land of *Canaan* bordering *Asher*, was the vpper *Galilee*: the greatest part whereof fell to the lot of *Nephtalim*, the sonne of *Iacob* by *Bilha*, the hand-maide of *Rachel*: who while they abode in *Egypt*, were increased to the number of 53400. persons, able men to beare armes, numbred at Mount *Sinai*: all which leauing their bodies in the Deserts, there entred the Holy Land of their sonnes 45400. besides Infants, Women, and Children, vnder twenty yeares of age. The Land of *Nephtalim* tooke beginning on the North part, from the Fountaines of *Iordan*, and the Hills of *Libanus* adioyning, as farre South as the Sea of *Galilee*, bounded on the West by *Asher*, and on the East and South-east by *Iordan*.

On the North-side of *Libanus*, and adioyning to this Territory of *Nephtalim*, did the *Amorites* (or *Emorites*) also inhabite, in which Tract and vnder *Libanus*, was the City of *Heliopolis*: which the heighth of the Mountaines adioyning shadowed from the Sunne, the better part of the day. *Postellus* calls it Balbec; *Niger*, Marbech, and *Leonclauius*; Beallebeca.

Of this name of *Heliopolis*, there are two great Cities in *Egypt*: the first called *On*, by the *Hebrewes*, and the *Chaldæan Paraphrast*, otherwise *Bethsemes*, or after the *Latines*, *Solis oppidum*, or *Domus Solis*; *The City of the Sunne*: into which, saith *Vlpian*, *Seuerus* the *Romanus Emperour* sent a *Colonie*: the other *Gestelius* nameth *Dealmarach*: and of this name *Stephanus* also findeth a City in *Thrace*, and *Glycas* in *Phrygia*.

There is also in the same Valley adioyning to *Nephtalim*, *Chalcis*, and *Abila*. *Chalcis*, of whom the Region towards *Palmyrena* hath the name of *Chalcidica*, ouer which *Herod*, *Agrippa*, and *Brenice* the Queene commanded.

Abila also gaue name to the Region adioyning, of which *Lysanius* the sonne of *Herod* the elder, became *Tetrarch* or Gouernour: whereof *Ptolomie* gaue it the addition of *Lysanij*, and called it *Abila Lysanij*. *Volaterran* names it *Aphila*, of which he notes that one *Diogenes*, a famous *Sophister*, was natiue, who by *Volaterran* is intituled *Aphileus*, not *Abileus*. After that this City of *Abila* or *Aphila*, had receiued the *Christian* Faith, *Priscillinus* became the Bishop thereof: slaine afterward by our *Brittish Maximus* at *Treuer*. For distinction of this Citie (if it be not the same, as it may be thought to be the same) it is to be remembred, that in the Tribe of [a] *Manasse*, ioyning vpon the bounds of the Tribe of *Nephtalim*, there is another City of the same name, sauing that it is written with an (*E*) for an (*I*) and called *Abela*, remembred in the 20. Chapter of the second of *Samuel*. The same *Iosephus* calls *Abelmachea*, and *Hierome Bethmacha*. In the place of *Samuel* for distinction sake, it is written *Abel Beth-Mahaca*, (for belike it was the Towne of *Mahaca*, the wife of *Macir*, the sonne of *Manasse*, the Father of *Gilead*) in the *Chronicles* it is called *Abel-Maim*. This City *Ioab* besieged: because *Seba* the sonne of *Bichri*, who rebelled against *Dauid*, fled thereinto for succour: but a certaine wise woman of the Citie perswading the people to cast *Seba* his head ouer the wall, *Ioab* retired his Army. The same Citie was afterward taken by the King of *Damascus*, *Benadad*: and after a while by *Teglatphalasar*.

The word *Abel* may be expounded, either to signifie bewailing, or a plaine ground; and therefore no maruell that many Townes (with some addition for distinction sake) were thus called: for euen of bewailing, many places tooke name; as *Bochim*, *Iudg.* 2. 4. and

Guil. Tyr. Bell. sacr. l. 9. c. 15. Theod. 4. Hist. Ecclesiast. Mela l. 3. c. 9. Iustin. Gestel. in itinerar. Iosep. in plurib. locis. Euseb. 8. Demonst. Volat. l. 11. f. 243.

a Also a third in *Ephraim* called *Abel Mechola*, and a fourth in *Reuben*, called *Abel-Sittim*, also *Abel-Mitsraim*, at the Foord of *Iordan*, and (as it seems) in the same Tribe of *Reuben*, of all which in that which follows: to which also we may adde *Abel-Magnum*, the name as some thinke of a City, otherwise called *Bethshemes*, neere the border of the *Philistim*, or according to others of the great stone in the border. 1 Sam. 6. 18. *Ioseph. ant. l. 7. cap. 10.* 2 Sam. 20. 1 King. 15. 2 King. 15.

and so doubtlesse * Abel-Misraim, *Gen.* 50. 11. and yet *Iunius* in his notes vpon *Num.* 33. 49. thinkes that Abel-Sittim was so called, rather by reason of the plaine ground there (to wit, in the Land of Moab;) and so perhaps Abel-Meholah in the Tribe of Ephraim: the Towne of *Elisha* the Prophet: also Abel-Vinearum of the Ammonites, whither *Iephta* pursued them.

* And *Abel Magnum*. 1 Sam. 6. 18. Iudg. 7. 24. & 1 Reg. 19. 15. Iudg. 11. 35.

†. II.
Of Hazor.

IN the Tribe of Nephtalim, was that famous City of *Iabin*, in *Iosua's* time called Asor (or after the Chaldæan Paraphrast, Haszor) by *Iosephus*, Asora; by *Iunius* * Chatzor: which *Laicstan* names Hesron; the Regall City, and Metropolis of Canaan: seated in the West part of Nephtalim, towards Asher. In this City was that great Rendeuous, and assembly of those foure and twenty Kings against *Iosua*: who being all ouerthrown, slain, and scattered, this their powerfull City was by *Iosua* taken and burnt to dust. But in processe of time the same being rebuilt by the Canaanites, a second King *Iabin*, 137. yeares after the death of this first *Iabin*, inuaded the Israelites: and being ordained of God to punish their Idolatry, he preuailed against them, and held them in a miserable seruitude twenty yeares: till *Debora* the Prophetesse ouerthrew *Sisera*, *Iabins* Leiutenant, and his Army, neere the Mountaine Tabor. This City *Salomon* restored at such time as hee also reedified Gezar, burnt by *Pharao* of Egypt, with [a] Megiddo, Bethoron, and other Cities; but about 260. yeares after, it fell into the hands of *Teglatphalasar*, King of the Assyrians. It is now, saith *Adrichomius*, called Antiopia: it was one of the principall Cities of Decapolis. There is another Citie of this name in the Territory of *Beniamin*, seated on the confines of *Ascalon*, called the new Hazor, [b] saith *Hierome*.

* Of two other Cities of this name in *Iuda*, see chap. 9. §. 1. Of a fourth in *Beniamin*, see that which follows in this place: of a fift in this tribe of *Nephtalim*, called *Hen-Chatsor* we reade, *Ios.* 19. 27. 10 which we may adde *Chatsor-Henan*, in the vttermost North East of *Manasse*, ouer *Iordan*. *Ex.* 47.

Num. 34. 8. Also in *Simeon*, *Chatsar-Susima*, of which, 1 *Chron.* 4. 31. which also is called *Chatsar-Susa*, and *Chatsar-Gadde*, and lastly *Chatsar-Shuleh*, another City of *Simeon*. *fol.* 19. 3. a 1 *Kings* 9. b *Hieron. loc. Hebr. l.* 4. out of *Nehem.* 11. 33. as it seemes.

†. II.
Of Cæsarea Philippi.

30 THere was also on the border, and within the Territory of *Nephtalim*, that renowned City of *Lais*, or *Lajisch*, as *Iunius* writes it, or *Leschen*; which City the children of *Dan* (being straitned in their Territory vnder *Iuda*) inuaded and mastered; and gaue it the name of their owne parent *Dan*: and by that name it is written in *Genesis* the foureteenth, at which place *Abraham* surprized *Chedorlaomer* and his confederates, and followed his victory as farre as *Sobah*, formerly remembred in the diuision of *Syria*, otherwise called *Sophena*. And after the possession of the *Danites*, it had the ioynt name of *Leschem-Dan*. *Weissenburg* writes it *Lacis*, the *Geneua Laish*, Iosephus, *Dana*; Beniamin, *Balina*; Breidenbach, *Belena*: but the now Inhabitants know it by the name of *Belina* to this day: witnesse *Neubrigensis*, *Tyrius*, *Volaterranus*, *brochard* the *Monke*, and *Postellus*: who also taketh this City to be the same, which in *Mathew* the 15. *verse* 39. in the *Vulgar* is called *Magedan*, for which the *Greeke* Text hath *Magdala* in that place, and in Saint *Marke* speaking of the same story, *Dalmanutha*. At such time as the children of *Dan* obtained this place, it seemeth that it was either a free City, of the alliance & confederacy of the *Zidonians*, or else subiect vnto the Kings thereof; for it is written in the eighteenth of *Iudges*, *And there was none to helpe, because Lais was farre from Zidon: and they had no businesse with other men*, for it was aboue thirty English miles from the *Mediterran* Sea, and from *Zidon*.

Iudg. 18. 27. Ios. 19. 47. Iudg. 18. Chap. 8. 10. Verse 28.

In after-times when these Regions became subiect to the state of *Rome*, it had the 50 name of *Paneas*, from a Fountaine adioyning so called: and therefore *Ptolomie* calls it *Cæsarea Pania*. *Hegesippus* calls it *Parnium*, saith *Weissenburg*: but hee had read it in a corrupt copy: for in *Hegesippus* set out by *Badius*, it is written *Paneum* without an (*R*): and at such time as *Philip* the sonne of the elder *Herod*, brother to *Herod*, *Tetrarch* of *Galilee*, became Gouernour of *Traconitis*, sometime *Basan*; this City was by him amplified and fortified; and both to giue memory to his owne name, and to flatter *Tiberius Cæsar*, he called it * *Cæsarea Philippi*: and so it became the *Metropolis*, and head City of *Traconitis*, and one of the first Cities of *Decapolis*. And being by *Agrippa* in the succeeding age greatly adorned; by him in honour of *Nero*, it was called *Neronia*, or *Neronias*. But as nothing

Plin. l. 5. c. 15. Hege. l. 1. c. 3. 5.

* Of another *Cæsaria* (or *Cæsarea*) called *Cæsarea Palestina*, see hereafter in the former part of *Manasse*.

Of Dioceſarea, ſee Sephuris in Zabulon. Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl. l. 7. c. 14. Niceph. l. 6. c. 15.

nothing remained with that Emperour, but the memory of his impiety: ſo in Saint *Hieromes* time the Citizens remembred their former *Paneas*, and ſo recalled it, with the Territory adioyning by the ancient name. Of this City was that woman whom *Chriſt* healed of a bloudy iſſue, by touching the hemme of his Garment with a conſtant Faith: who afterward, as ſhee was a woman of great wealth and ability, being mindfull of Gods goodneſſe, and no leſſe gratefull for the ſame, as *Euſebius* and *Nicephorus* report, cauſed two *Statues* to be caſt in pure Copper: the one repreſenting *Chriſt*, *as neere as it could be moulded*: the other made like her ſelfe, kneeling at his feet, and holding vp her hands towards him. Theſe ſhee mounted vpon two great Baſes or *Pedeſtals* of the ſame Mettall, which ſhee placed by a Fountaine neere her owne houſe: both which (ſaith *Euſebius*) remained in their firſt perfection, euen to his owne time: which himſelfe had ſeene, who liued in the Raigne of *Conſtantine* the Great. But in the yeare after *Chriſt* 363. that Monſter *Iulian Apoſtata*, cauſed that worthy Monument to be caſt downe, and defaced: ſetting vp the like of his owne in the ſame place: which Image of his was with fire from Heauen broken into ſitters: the head, body, and other parts, ſundered and ſcattered, to the great admiration of the people at that time liuing. The truth of this accident is alſo confirmed by *Sozomenus Salaminius*, in his fift booke and twentieth Chapter.

a *Iosephus* in the booke of the Iewiſh war. l. 8. ſaith, that *Philip* the *Tetrarch* caſt chaffe into a Fountaine called *Phiala*, diſtant 120. ſtadia North-eaſt from *Cæſarea*, which chaffe being carried vnder ground was caſt vp againe at *Panias* or *Dan*, whereby it is coniectured that the firſt Spring of *Iordan* is from this Fountaine called *Phiala*, from whence *Ior* and *Dan* receiue their waters.

This City built by the *Danites*, was neere the ioyning together of thoſe two Riuers, which ariſing from the ſprings of *Ior* and *Dan*, the two [a] apparant Fountaines of *Iordan*: in a ſoyle exceeding fruitfull, and pleaſant; for, as it is written, *Iudges* 18. it is a place *which doth want nothing that is in the World*. In the fields belonging to this Citie it was that Saint *Peter* acknowledged *Chriſt* to be the Sonne of God: whereupon it was anſwered, *Tues* Petrus, *& ſuper hanc Petram, &c.* After this City receiued the *Chriſtian* faith, it was honoured with a Biſhops ſeate: and it ranne the ſame fortune with the reſt, for it was after taken and retaken by the *Saracens*, and *Chriſtians*: vnder *Fulch* the fourth King of *Hieruſalem*, and after the death of *Godfrey* of *Bullion*, the King of *Damaſcus* wreſted it from the *Chriſtians*; and ſhortly after by them againe it was recouered. Laſtly, now it remaineth with all that part of the World ſubiected to the *Turke*.

†. IIII.

Of Capernaum, and the Cities of Decapolis.

AMong the remarkable Cities within this Tribe, *Capharnaum* is not the leaſt: ſo often remembred by the *Euangeliſts*. This City had the honour of *Chriſts* preſence three yeares: who for that time was a Citizen thereof, in which he firſt preached and taught the doctrine of our ſaluation: according to that notable Prophecy of *Eſay* 9. *The people that walked in darkneſſe, haue ſeene a great light: they that dwelt in the Land of the ſhadow of death, vpon them hath the light ſhined.*

Capharnaum was ſeated on *Iordan*, euen where it entreth into the Sea of *Galilee*: in an excellent and rich ſoyle: of whoſe deſtruction *Chriſt* himſelfe prophecied in theſe words. *And thou Capharnaum which art lifted vp vnto heauen, ſhalt be brought downe to Hell, &c.* which ſhewed the pride and greatneſſe of that City: for it was one of the principall Cities of *Decapolis*, and the *Metropolis* of *Galilee*. And although there were ſome markes of this Cities magnificence in Saint *Hieromes* time, as himſelfe confeſſeth; it being then a reaſonable Burge or Towne: yet thoſe that haue ſince, and long ſince ſeene it, as *Brochard*, *Breidenbech*, and *Saligniac* affirme, that it then conſiſted but of ſix poore Fiſher-mens houſes.

Math. 4. Marke 7. Luke 8. *Niger comment. Aſiæ 4. f. 503.*

The Region of ten principall Cities called *Decapolitana* or *Decapolis*, is in this deſcription often mentioned, and in Saint *Mathew*, *Marke* and *Luke* alſo remembred; but I finde no agreement among the *Coſmographers*, what proper limits it had: and ſo *Plinie* himſelfe confeſſeth; for *Marius Niger*, ſpeaking from others, bounds it on the North by the mountaine *Caſius* in *Caſiotis*: and endeth it to the South at *Egypt* and *Arabia*; by which deſcription it imbraceth *Phœnicia*, a part of *Cœleſyria*, all *Palæſtina*, and *Iudæa*.

Plin. l. 5. c. 18. *Opotor* a City ſtanding in the Valley of *Cœleſyria*, watered by *Chryſorroas* as *Damaſcus* is. *Plin. l. 5.*

Plinie alſo makes it large, and for the ten Cities of which it taketh name, hee numbreth foure of them to be ſituated towards *Arabia*: to wit, firſt theſe three, *Damaſcus*, *Opotor*, *Raphana*, then *Philadelphia* (which was firſt called *Amana*, ſaith *Stephanus*, or as I gheſſe *Amona* rather, becauſe it was the chieſe City of the *Ammonites*, knowne by the name of *Rabbah*, before *Ptolo. Philadelphus* gaue it this later and new name.) Then *Scythopolis*, ſometime

ſometime *Niſa*, built (as is ſaid) by *Bacchus*, in memory of his Nurſe, who died therein, anciently knowne by the name of *Bethſan*; for the ſixt he ſetteth *Gadara* (not that *Gadara* in *Cœleſyria*, which was alſo called *Antioch* and *Seleucia*:) but it is *Gadara* in *Baſan*, which *Plinie* in this place meaneth, ſeated on an high hill, neere the Riuer of *Hieromaix*. This Riuer *Ortelius* takes to be the Riuer *Iaboc*: which boundeth *Gad* and *Manaſſeh* ouer *Iordan*: but he miſtaketh it; for *Hieromaix* falleth into the Sea of *Galilee*, betweene *Hippos* and *Geraſa*, whereas *Iaboc* entreth the ſame Sea betweene *Ephron* and *Phanuel*. For the ſeuenth he nameth * *Hippos*, or *Hippion*, a City ſo called of a *Colonie* of Horſemen there garriſond by *Herod*, on the Eaſt-ſide of the Galilean Sea, deſcribed hereafter in the Tribe of *Manaſſe* ouer *Iordan*. For the eighth *Pella*, which is alſo called *Butis*, and *Berenice*, ſeated in the South border of the Region ouer *Iordan*, called *Perea*. For the ninth *Gelaſa*, which *Iosephus* takes to be *Geraſa*: and *Geraſa* is found in *Cœleſyrea* by *Iosephus*, *Hegeſippus*, and *Stephanus*: but by *Ptolomie* (whom I rather follow) in *Phœnicia*. The tenth and laſt, *Plinie* nameth *Canatha*, and ſo doth *Suetonius* and *Stephanus*, which *Volaterran* calls *Gamala*, but *Hegeſippus* rightly *Camula*, a City in the Region of *Baſan* ouer *Iordan*, ſo called, becauſe thoſe two Hills on which it is ſeated, haue the ſhape of a Camell. But the collection of theſe ten Cities, whereof this Region tooke name, is better gathered out of *Brochard*, *Breidenbach*, and *Saligniac*, which makes them to be theſe; *Cæſarea Philippi*, and *Aſor*, before remembred, *Cedes Nephtalim*, *Sephet*, *Corazin*, *Capharnaum*, *Bethſaida*, *Iotapata*, *Tiberias*, and *Scythopolis*, or *Bethſan*. For all other Authours diſagree herein, and giue no reaſon for their opinion. One place of the *Euangeliſt* Saint *Mathew* makes it manifeſt, that this Region called *Decapolitana*, was all that Tract betweene *Zidon*, and the Sea of *Galilee*. For thus it is written: *And he departed againe from the coaſts of Tyrus and Zidon, and came vnto the Sea of Galilee, through the middeſt of the coaſts of Decapolis*: ſo that it was bounded by *Damaſcus* and *Libanus* on the North: by the *Phœnician* Sea, betweene *Zidon* and *Ptolomais* on the Weſt: by the Hills of *Gelbo* and *Bethſan* on the South: and by the Mountaines *Tracones*, otherwiſe *Hermon*, *Sanir*, and *Galaad*, on the Eaſt: which is from Eaſt to Weſt the whole breadth of the Holy Land: and from the North to the South, neere the ſame diſtance, which may be each way forty Engliſh miles.

* *Plinie* hath *Hippion Dion*, for which *Volaterran* reades *Hippidion*, *Ortelius* takes them for two Cities.

†. V.

Of Hamath.

BVt to looke backe againe towards *Libanus*, there is ſeated neere the foot thereof the City of * *Hammath* or *Chammath*, of which (as they ſay) the Countrey adioyning taketh name: the ſame which *Iosephus* calleth *Amathitis*, and *Amathenſis*: [a] *Iacobus Zeigler*, *Ituræa*. *Ituræa Regio tenet borealia tribus Nephtali, per montem Libanum vſq; Trachones*. The Countrey of *Ituræa*, ſaith hee, containeth the North parts of the Tribe of *Nepthali*, along the Mount *Libanus* to *Trachones*. But herein following *Strabo*, who calls *Trachonitis* *Ituræa*, hee miſtakes the ſeate of this Region: and ſo doth *Mercator*. For indeed were *Ituræa* (which *Hegeſippus* calls *Perea*, and *G. Tyrius*, *Baccar*) the ſame with *Traconitis*, yet *Traconitis* it ſelfe is farre more to the Eaſt than *Hammath* in *Nephtalim*: for *Traconitis* lyeth betweene *Cæſaria Philippi*, and the Mountaines *Trachones*: which the Hebrewes call *Gilead*: and this *Hammath* or *Chammath* is ſeated vnder *Cæſarea*, towards the Sea Weſt-ward. And it ſeemeth that this miſtaking grew by confounding *Emath* or *Hamath* the great in *Cœleſyria*, beyond the Mountaines *Trachones*, which [b] *Hierome* vpon *Amos* calls *Antiochia*, with *Hammath* or *Hamath* the leſſer in *Phœnicia*, and *Nephtalim*, which hee calleth *Epiphania*: for this *Hammath*, or in our Tranſlation *Hamath*, (and not that which is commonly called *Emath*, which 2 *Chron.* 8. 3. is ſet farre from the North border of *Canaan* in *Syria Soba*) is remembred in *Numbers* 34. *verſe* 8. and *Numbers* 13. *ver.* 22. and in *Ezekiel* 47. 16. In the firſt of which places it bordereth the Land of promiſe, theſe being the words: *From Mount Hor you ſhall point* (that is, direct or draw a line) *vntill it come to Hamath*: In

* The *Septuagint* write it *Ammath*, Hierome *Emath*, Iosephus *Amath*: *Ios. c. 19. v. 35. Chammath*, *c. 21. v. 32. Chammath Dor*, in the firſt of *Chron. 6. 76. Chanimon*, 2 *Kings* 14. 8. *Chammath-Iehudæ*, as *Iunius* reades it, whereas alſo for further diſtinction there is added [in Iſrael] to note that it was of old belonging to *Iuda*, though ſeated in *Iſrael*, that is, in the Kingdome of the ten Tribes, the other *Chamath*, being in *Syria Soba*, a *Zeigler*, in *Neptal*.

[a] The other *Hamath*, 2 *Chron.* 8. 3. for diſtinction is called *Chamath Tseba*, as this (as it may ſeeme by *Ios.* 21. 32.) was *Chamath Dor*, the

[b] So *Hierome* in his Comment on *Amos*, where there is mention of *Hamath* the great, as it ſeemes for diſtinction from the other in *Nephthalim*, though *Matt. Beroaldus* reiecting *Hierome*, rather follow the opinion of *Zeigler* aboue mentioned, as indeed it cannot eaſily bee iuſtified, that either one or other of theſe is either *Antiochia* or *Epiphania*, howbeit that the ſame City which *Iosua* 19. 35. is called *Chammath*, and placed in *Nephthalim*, was alſo called *Chamath* (whence the word *Hamath* and *Emath*, were framed) it may bee gathered partly becauſe the other *Hamath*, 2 *Chron.* 8. 3. for diſtinction is called *Chamath*

and *Chamath Iudæ*, as we haue noted, 2 *Reg.* 14. Secondly, because *Num.* 34. 8. and also *Ezekiel* 47.10. *Chamath* in the North side of the holy Land, is placed too neere the West corner, to be that *Chamath Tsoba*: for in the line which should make the North border which begins at the great Sea, they make *Moses* to name neuer a place Eastward along all the breadth of the holy Land, vntill we come to *Hermon* (for so they expound Mount *Hor*, *Num.*34.7.) and beyond *Hermon* Eastward in this North side, they make him to name diuers Townes, first *Chamath*, then *Tsedad*, then *Ziphron*, and lastly, *Chatsar-henan*, a thing most vnlikely: seeing *Israel* had little or nothing Eastward beyond *Hermon*. Therefore we must needs expound *Hor* to bee one of the Hills neere *Sidon*, and so those Townes, as they are named to lie in order on the North side of *Asher*, *Nephthalim*, and *Manasses*: and in like manner those in *Ezekiel*: first, *Cheelon*, then *Chamath*, and so in order, *Berotha*, *Sibraim*, *Tsedad*, *Chauran*, *Chatsar-henan*. c Of which *Ios.* 19. 35. d Which *Rehob*, or *Rechob*, in *Iosua* 19.28. is placed in *Asher* towards *Zidon*, in the confines of *Nephthalim*.

the second place thus: *So they went vp, and searched out the Land from the wildernesse of Sin, vnto Rehob to goe to Hamath*: Then in *Exekiel*; *The West part also shall bee the great Sea from the border, till a man come ouer against Hamath*: that is, the coast of the Sea shall bee the West border from the Southermost part of the holy Land, till you come directly ouer against *Hamath* Northward: from whence if a line bee drawne to the Sea, it will touch the walls of *Zidon*: which is [c] the Northwest corner of the holy Land. Now that this *Hamath* or *Hammath*, which *Moses* also made the confine of the holy Land, is that of *Nephthalim*, both the reference which it hath to the West Sea, and the City of [d] *Rehob* adioyning prooue it: the other *Hamath* or *Emath* (being farre remoued and beyond the forenamed mountaines, which inclose all those Lands which *Israel* euer had possession of) is that *Emath*, which is also called *Ituræa*, witnesse [e] *Stella* end *Laicstan*; and not that in *Nephtalim*, where [f] *Ionathas Macchabæus* attended the Army of *Demetrius*, who fled from him, and remoued by night.

e *Tilemanus*, *Stella* and *Peter Laicstan*, in their Tables of the holy Land.

f *Ioseph. Ant.* 13.8.

For though *Traconitis* be comprehended within *Ituræa* (and therefore it is said to bee *finimitâ Galileæ Gentium*) yet it hath beginning ouer the mountains *Traconis*, and so it stretcheth into the plaines of the Territory of *Ituræa*; whence *Philip* the brother of *Herod* was *Tetrarch* or *President* both of *Ituræa* and *Trachonitis*: both which are ouer *Iordan* towards the East. But *Chemath* in *Nephtalim*, is on the West side of *Iordan* towards the *Mediterran* Sea.

The Countrey *Ituræa* was so called of *Iethur* one of the sonnes of *Ismael*, it is placed in the bounds of *Cœlesyria* and *Arabia* * the Desart.

* That it doth properly belõg to *Arabia*, the name of *Ietur Ismaels* sonne, whose issue setled in the *Arabiaes*, may in part giue witnesse. Also the place of the 1 Chro. 5.19. confirmes it where *Ietur* is named among the *Hagarens*, against whom the *Rubenites* & *Gadites* made war, and whose countrie they possest in the time of *Ieroboam*, as their fore-fathers had done in the time of *Saul* after his conquest of the *Amalekites*, *Chro* 1. *cap.* 5. *ver.*10. where the countrie is placed at the East of *Gilead*.

The people *Ituræi* were valiant and warlike men, and excellent Archers: Of whom *Virgil*:

Ituræos Taxi torquentur in arcus.

Of Eugh the *Ituræans* bowes were made.

This City *Chamath* or *Hamath* in *Nephtalim* seemes to haue beene as ancient as the other in *Ituræa*, both built by *Amatheus* the eleuenth son of *Canaan*. Whether in the time of *Dauid*, this, or the other had *Tohu* for King, it is not certaine, for *Hamath* or *Emath* beyond the Mountaines, and *Hammath* in *Nephtalim*, were both neighbours to *Damascus*: of whose subiugation *Tohu* reioyced, because *Hadadeser* whom the *Damasceni* came to helpe, was his enemy. This *Tohu* fearing the strength and prosperity of *Dauid*, hearing of his approach towards his Territory, bought his peace with many rich presents, and with many ancient vessels of gold, siluer, and brasse.

But it seemeth that *Dauid* in such great successe would not haue had peace with *Tohu*, if he had beene King of any place in *Nephtalim*, and therefore it is probable that he ruled in *Tsoba*: which City *Salomon* after his Fathers death made himselfe Master of, as a part of the lands (* in the larger and conditionall promise) allotted by God to the children of *Israel*.

* Of the larger promise expresst, *Deut.* 1.7. where *Euphrates* is named for one of the bounds; see *cap.*7.§.2. *Hieron. de Locis Hebr.*

But this *Hammath* of *Nephtalim*, in the end, and after diuers mutations and changes both of name and fortune, being, as it hath beene said, possessed by *Antiochus Epiphanes*, it was called *Epiphania*.

While Saint *Hierome* liued, it remained a City well peopled, knowne to the *Syrians* by the name *Amathe*, and to the *Greekes* by *Epiphania*.

†. VI.

Of Reblatha and Rama, and diuers other Townes.

IN the border of *Hamath* or *Emath* towards *Iordan* standeth the Citie *Reblatha*, or *Ribla*, watered from the fountaine *Daphnis*: which falleth into the lake of *Merom*. Hereunto was

was *Zedekias* brought prisoner, after his surprize in the fields of *Ierecho*: and deliuered to *Nabuchodonosor*: who to be auenged of *Zedekia's* infidelity, beyond the proportion of piety, first caused the Princes his children to be slaine in his presence: and to the end that this miserable spectacle might be the last that euer he should behold in this world, and so the most remembred, he commanded both his eyes presently to be thrust out: and binding him in Iron chaines, he was led a slaue to *Babylon*, in which estate hee ended his life. Of which seldome-exempled calamity, though not in expresse words, *Hieremie* the Prophet fore-told him in *Hierusalem* not long before: But *Ezechiel* thus directly, speaking in the person of God, *I will bring him to Babel to the Land of the Chaldæans, yet shall he not see it, though he shall die therein.*

Hierem. 52. 21. &c. *Ezek.* 21. 52.

There are besides these before remembred, many other strong Cities in *Nephthalim*, as that which is called [a] *Cedes*: there are two other of the same name, one in [b] *Isachar*, another in *Iuda*, of which *Ios.* 15.23. and therefore to distinguish it, it is knowne by the addition of [c] *Nephtalim*, as *Iudg.*4. It is seated on a high hill, whence *Ios.*20.7. *Kedesh in Galilæa in monte Nephtali*: *Iosephus* calls it *Cedesis*, and in Saint *Hieromes* time it was called *Cidissus*. *Belforest* greatly mistakes this *Cedes*, and confounds it with *Cades* in the *Desart of Pharan*.

a Or *Kedesh*, *Ios.* 19.37. & 10.7. & 21.32. *item Iud.*4.6.

b 1 *Chron.* 6. 72. which *Ios.* 19.20. is called *Kishion*.

c Sometime *Kedesh* in *Galilea*, 1 *Chron.* 6.76. *Ios.* 12.22. 2 *Reg.* 15.29.

After the King thereof among other of the *Canaanites* perished by the hand of *Iosua*, it was made a City of refuge, and giuen to the *Leuites*. Herein was *Barac* borne; who ouerthrew the Armie of the second *Iabin* of *Hazor*, at the Mount *Tabor*. It was sometime possest by *Teglatphalasser*, when he wasted all *Nephtalim*: afterward by the *Romans*, and numbered for one of the ten Cities of the *Decapolitan* Region: When it had imbraced the Christian faith, it was honoured with a Bishops seate, but in time it fell with the rest into the power of the *Saracens* and *Turkes*, and by them it was demolished.

From *Cedes* some foure Italian miles towards the South-west, standeth *Sephet*, otherwise *Zephet*, which was also one of the ten *Decapolitan* Cities: a place exceeding strong, and for many yeares the inexpugnable Fortresse of the *Christians*, and afterward of the *Saracens*; for from hence they conquered all the neighbour Cities of those regions, both In-land and Maritimate neere it. Touching *Rama* of *Nephtalim*, seated North-ward neere *Sephet*; this is to be noted: that there are () diuers places of this name in *Palæstine*, all situate on Hills: and therefore called *Rama* (*Rama Hebræis excelsum*; *Ramath with the Hebrewes is high*.) Also that from this *Rama Ios.* 19.36. they reade *Arama*, making the article (which it hath in the *Hebrew*, as being a name of diuers Townes) to be a part of the word: whence casting away the aspiration, they read *Arema*. From *Sephet* towards the West they place * *Bethsemes*, of which *Ios* 19.38. which defended it selfe against *Nephtalim*, *Iud.* 1.33. but paid them tribute. On the other side of *Sephet* towards the East was *Bethanath*, who also kept their Citie from the *Nephtalims*.

a Other Cities there were of this name, (which is as much as *domus solis*) as that in *Iuda*, 2 *Kin.*14. 15. where *Joash* King of the ten tribes ouercame *Amasia* of *Iuda*, of which also I vnderstand the place, *Ios.* 21. 16. & 1 *Sam.* 6.14. & 2. *Chron* 29.18.

A third as it seemes was in *Dan*: 1 *Kin.*4.9. which *Ios.*19. 41. is written *Hirshemes* which is as much as *Civitas solis*. *Iud.* 1.31.

* So it appears by comparing of the places. *Ios.* 21. 32. and 1 *Chr.*6. 6.

Adioyning to which standeth *Carthan* [d] or *Kiriathaïm* a Citie of the *Leuites*, not farre from the Mountaine out of which the springs of *Capharnaum* arise, called *Mons Christi*: a place by our Sauiour often frequented: as also then when calling his Disciples together, he made choise of twelue, which he called and ordained to be his *Apostles* or Messengers: of which place or the acts therein done, there is often mention in the [e] *Euangilists*.

Adrichomius both here and elsewhere deemed by the double name, makes two of one: although I deny not but that there was another *Kiriathaim* in *Reuben*, of which *Ios.* 13.19.

e *Marke* 3. *Math.* 10. *Acts* 1.

Adioyning to these are *Magdalel*, a place of strength, [f] and *Mesaloth*, of which we reade that it was forced by *Bacchides* in the time of the [g] *Macchabees*: also (according to *Adrichomius*) one of the two *Berothaes* of *Nephtalim*. For *Adrichomius* maketh two of this name in this Tribe, [h] one neere *Chamath* in the North border, of which *Ezek.*47.6. another (vpon a weake coniecture out of *Ioseph. ant. l.*5. *c.*2.) he therefore placeth in this tract neere the waters of *Merom*; because the Kings that ioyned with *Iabin* against *Iosua*, which incamped at the waters of *Merom*, *Ios.*11.5. are by *Iosephus* said to haue incamped at the Citie *Berotha* in *Galilee*, not farre from *Cedesa superiour*, which is also in *Galilee*: all which may be true of that *Berotha* of which *Ezek.* seeing it is in that *Galilee* which is called the vpper *Galilee* or *Galilee*, of the *Gentiles*. The same *Adrichomius* placeth the Region of *Berim* neere *Abela* (of which *Abela* or *Abel-beth Mahacah* we haue spoken alreadie) this he doth vpon a coniecture touching the place 2 *Sam.*20.14. where some reade *Abel & Beth-mahacah*, *& omnia loca Berim*: but the better reading is, *& omnes Berim*, that is, *with all the Berei*: for *Sheba* being of *Beniamin* (in which Tribe also there is a Citie called *Berotha* or *Beeroth*) drew the men of that Citie after him.

f *Ios.* 19. 38.

g 1 *Mac.* 9.2.

h *Barathena Ptolomæo in fine Arabiæ deserta*: *Idnio eadem cum Berothai vna ciuitatum Hadadezeris*, 2 *Sam.* *cap.*8.*v.*8. *Ios.*18.25.

To the North of *Berotha* of *Nephtalim* standeth *Sebarim* vnder *Libanus*, remembred by

Ezek.

*Ezek.*47.and *Aroseth gentium*, neere the waters of *Merom* or *Samochonitis*, the Citie of *Sisara* Lieutenant of the Army of the second *Iabin*: from whence not farre off towards the Sea of *Galilee*, is *Edrai*, or *Edrehi*, a strong Citie: besides many others, whereof I finde no particular storie of importance: as *Ser* in *Iosua* c.19.v.35. called *Triddim-Tzer*, and named for the first of their fenced Cities: whence they make two Cities, *Assedim* & *Ser*. Then *Adama*, which they call *Edama*: also *Hion* which they call *Ahion*, of which in the Bookes of *Kings*. Then the strong Citie of *Cinnereth* after called *Gennezareth*, whence we reade of the Land and Lake of *Gennezareth*, the same Lake which is also called the Sea of *Tiberius*. In the body of the Land they place *Galgala* to the South border: of which * *Mac.*1.9.2. also diuers others named, *Ios.*19. as *Vcuca* or *Chukkok Horem* and *Azanoth-tabor* (which they place towards the East parts) and out of the same place of *Iosua*, *Ierzon*, *Lakkum Iepnael*, *Heleb*, and k *Raccath*, which two last they place neere *Cæsarea Philippi*: To these they adde out of *Iosua*, *Nekeb*, and *Adami*: for which two *Iunius* readeth *Fossa Adamæi*, making it no Towne but a Ditch cast by some of *Adameth*, as it seemes; or at least the custodie of which March or Limit belonging to the Towne. To these out of *Num.*34.10. they adde *Sephana*, which 1 *Sam.*30.21. seemes to be called *Sipmoth*. As for *Tichon* and *Helon*, whereof the former they fetch out of *Ezek.*47.16. and the later out of *Iosua* 19.33. it may appeare by *Iunius* his Translation, that neither are to be taken for Cities: for the former hee readeth *Mediana*, and for the later *Quercetum*. The Citie of l *Nephthalim* which they make the natiue place of *Tobie*, and *Naasson* neere vnto it, they fetch out of the *Vulgar* Translation, *Tob.*7.7. but in the *Greeke* Text there is no signe, neither of the one nor of the other.

Aroth. Hieró. Ios.4. Lyra in Ios.4. Ios.19.37. 1 Reg.15.20. 2 Reg.15.29. Marc.6.53. Luc.5.1.

* This place of the *Maccbab.* warrants no *Galgala* or *Gilgal* in *Nephtali*, but may well be vnderstood of *Gilgal* in *Beniamin* or in *Manasse*.

k This *Reccath* or *Raeath Iunius* thinkes that it is the same with *Karthan* (one of these being made of the other by Transposition of letters) of which *Karthan* wee haue noted already, that it is also called *Kiria-thaim*. l In the place, 1 *Reg.*4. it is, which also they bring to prooue that there was a Citie called *Nepthalim*, as it is euident by the following Verses: the Tribe of *Nephthalim* is meant, and not any Citie of that name.

§. V.

THE TRIBE OF ZABVLON.

OF *Zabulon* or *Zebulon*, another of the sonnes of *Iacob* by *Lea*, there were mustered at Mount *Sinai*, 57400. able men, besides women, children, and aged vnable persons: all which dying in the Desarts, there entred the Holy Land of their issues 65000. fit to beare armes: who inhabited that part of *Canaan*, from *Asher* to the Riuer *Chison* Southward, and from the Sea of *Galilee* to the *Mediterran*, East and West.

The Cities within this Tribe which border *Asher*, are *Sicaminum* on the Sea shore; of which *Ioseph.Ant.*13.c.19. *Debbaset* of * which *Ios.*19.11. *Iekonam* or *Iokneham* (whose King was a slaine by *Iosua*, and the Citie was giuen to the *Leuites*:) and *Gaba* after called the Citie of Horsemen, of a Regiment there garrisond by *Herod*. Then the City which beareth the name of *Zabulon*, or the *Citie of men*, exceeding ancient and magnificent, b burnt to the ground by *Cestius*, Lieutenant of the *Romane* Armie. *Adrichomius* makes it the birth-Citie of c *Elon* Iudge of *Israel*, because he is called *Zabulonita*: not marking that in the same place, he is said to be buried at *Aialon*.

To the East of this City of *Zabulon* is *Cateth*, of which *Ios.*19.15. on the border of *Asher*: and beyond it the lesser d *Cana* of *Galilee*, where *Christ* conuerted Water into Wine: the natiue Citie of *Nathaniel*, and as it is thought, of *Simon Zelotes*. Beyond it begin the Mountaines of *Zabulon*: and then the Citie of *Cethron* (in *Zeigler*, *Ghiltron*) which defended it selfe against *Zabulon*. Then *Bersabe* which standeth in the partition of the vpper and nether *Galilee*, fortified by *Iosephus* against the *Romanes*. Not farre from hence standeth *Shimron* of *Meron*, whose King was slaine by *Iosua*.

Then *Damna* or *Dimna*, a Citie of the *Leuites*: then *Noa* or rather *Neha*, of which *Ios.*19.13. Then *Dothan* or *Dothain*, where *Ioseph* found his brethren feeding their flockes: the same wherein *Elizæus* besieged by the *Syrians*, strooke them all blinde.

Beyond it towards the East they imagine e *Amthar* or *Amathar*: then *Remmon* of the *Leuites*. The last of the Cities on the north border of *Zabulon* is *Bethsaida*, one of the ten Cities of *Decapolis*, situate on the *Galilean* Sea, and watered by the springs of *Capharnaum*, the natiue Citie of the Apostles, *Peter*, *Andrew*, and *Philip*. Herein *Christ* did manie miracles, but these people being no lesse incredulous than the *Capharnaiths*, and others,

* *Iosua.*12.22. a *Ios.*2.*bel.*19. b *Ios.*2.*bel.*22. c *Iud.*12.12. d The greater *Cana* is in the Tribe of *Asser*. *Ios.*22.2. *Nathaniel* is said to bee of *Cana* in *Galilee*. Of *Simon* it may be doubted: for *Angelus Canisius* reades *Mat.*10.4. *Simon Cananites*, which word (*Luc.*6.) hee thinketh to be expounded by *Zelotes*.

e The *Hebrew Hamethhoth*, (for which the Vulgar hath *Amthar*, *Ios.*19.13.) *Patablus* expounds *quæ gerit*; *Iunius* ioynes it with the word going before it, & reades *Kimmaneno Methoaiji*, *Mat.*8.11. *Marc.*1.6. *Luc.*4.10.

thers, receiued the same Curse of threatened Miseries, as, *Woe bee vnto thee Bethsaida, &c.*

Alongst the West border of *Galilee*, towards the South from *Bethsaida*, was the strong Castle of *Magdalum*, the habitation of *Marie Magdalen*, not long since standing.

And beyond it the strong and high seated Citie of *Iotapata*: fortified by *Iosephus* in the *Roman* Warre: but in the end after a long siege surprised by *Vespasian*, who slaughtered many thousand of the Citizens, and held 1200. prisoners, whereof *Iosephus* the Historian was one.

The last and greatest of the Cities on that * Sea, and the Lake of *Genezzareth* within
10 *Zabulon*, was that of *Tiberias*, from whence afterward the *Galilean* Sea also changed name, and was called the Sea of the Citie *Tiberias*, so named in the honour of *Tiberius Cæsar*; it was one of the ten Cities, and the *Metropolis* of the Region *Decapolitan*, and the greatest and last of the lower *Galilee*. From hence our *Sauiour* called *Matthew*, from the toll or custome house, to be an Apostle, and neere vnto it raised the daughter of *Iairus* from death: it was built (as *Iosephus* reports) by *Herod* the *Tetrarch*, the brother of *Philip*, in the beginning of the raigne of *Tiberius Cæsar*, in the most fruitfull part of *Galilee*; but in a ground full of *Sepulchers*: *Quum iuxta nostras leges* (saith hee) *ad septem dies impurus habeatur, qui in talibus locis habitet*; *whereas by our law hee should be seuen daies held as vncleane, who inhabited in such a place*: by which words, and by the whole place of *Iosephus*
20 it appeares, that this *Tiberias* is not (as some haue thought) the same as the old *Cinnereth*, which was seated, not in *Zabulon*, but in *Nephtalim*.

Neere vnto this *Tiberias*, at *Emaus*, there were hot baths, where *Vespasian* the Emperour encamped against *Tiberias*. More into the Land toward the South-west is *Bethulia*, seated on a very high Hill, and of great strength, famous by the storie of *Holofernes* and *Iudith*, such as it is. Neere which standeth *Bethleem* of *Zabulon*: and adioyning vnto it *Capharath*, fortified by *Iosephus* against the *Romans*: and *Iapha* an exceeding strong place, afterward forced by *Titus*: who in the entrance, and afterward in furie slew 15000. of the Citizens; and carried away aboue two thousand prisoners.

On the South side are the Cities of *Cartha* of the *Leuites*, and *Gabara*, of which *Iose-*
30 *phus* in his owne life, then *Iafie* according to *Adrichomius* (of which *Ios.* 19.12.) for hee thinkes that it is not that *Iapha* of which wee spake but now out of *Iosephus*. *Ideala*, of which *Ios.*19.15. *Hierome* calls it *Iadela*: vnder it Westward, *Legio*, (afterward a Bishops seate) and the Citie *Belma*, in ancient times exceeding strong, remembred *Iudith* 7.3. otherwise *Chelma*. Betweene *Legio* and *Nazeret* is the Citie *Saffa* or *Saffra*, the birth-Citie of *Zebedæus*, *Alphæus*, *Iames* and *Iohn*: Then *Sephoris*, or *Sephora*, according to *Iosephus*: *Sephorum* according to *Brochard*: which afterward, saith *Hegesippus* and *Hierome*, was called *Diocæsarea*; the Citie of *Ioachim* and *Anna*, the Parents of the Virgin *Mary*; it was called by *Herod* the *Tetrarch*, and by him, as *Iosephus* speakes, made the head and defence of *Galilee*: in another place he saith, *Vrbium Galilæarum maximæ Sephoris & Tibe-*
40 *rias*. This *Sephoris* greatly vexed *Vespasian* ere he wanne it. *Herod Antipas* when he made it the Regall seat of the nether *Galilee*, and surrounded it with a strong wall, called it *Autocratorida*, which is as much to say as Imperiall, saith *Iosephus*; and it is now but a Castle called *Zaphet*.

To the South-west of this *Sephoris* or *Diocæsarea* was that blessed place of *Nazareth*, the Citie of *Mary* the Mother of *Christ*; in which hee himselfe was conceiued; it standeth betweene Mount *Tabor*, and the *Mediterran Sea*. In this Citie hee abode chiefly foure and twenty yeares, and was therefore called a *Nazarite*, as the *Christians* afterward were for many years. It was erected into an *Archbishoprick* in the following age. Neere vnto it are the Cities *Buria* (afterward well defended against the *Turkes*) and *Nahalal*, of
50 which *Ios.*19.15. and *Iud.*1.30. where it is called *Nahalal*: and *Ios.*21.35. where it is a Citie of the *Leuites*, neere the Sea; adioyning to the Riuer of *Chison* is *Sarid*, noted in *Iosua* for the vtteremost of *Zabulon*.

In this Territorie of *Zabulon* there are diuers small Mountaines: but *Tabor* is the most renowned, by the Aparition of *Moses* and *Elias*: and by the Transfiguration of *Christ* in the presence of *Peter*, *Iames*, and *Iohn*: vnto whom *Moses* and *Elias* appeared; in memorie whereof on the top of the Mountaine, the *Empresse Helen* built a sumptuous Chappell.

The chiefe Riuer of *Zabulon* is *Chison*, which rising out of *Tabor*, runneth with one streame

* The names of the chiefe Cities seated about this Sea, or lake, thorow which *Iordan* runneth, where *Capernaum*, *Taberias*, *Bethsaida*, *Gadara*, *Tarichea*, and they adde *Cinnereth*, which in foretimes gaue name to the Lake and Countrie. *Math.*9. *Luc.*5. *Iose.Ant.*18.3. *Ioseph.* 10.15. *Adrich.in Zab.*

*Iose.in vit.sua. Iosep.2.Bel.*25.

Iosua 21.35. otherwise *Kisloth Thabor*, as *Iunius* thinkes vpon *Ios.*19.12. whence 1 *Chro.* 6.77. it is called *Thaber*.

Iohan. de Monteuilla, c.4. & 20.

Iosep.ant. 18.3. & *in vita sua.*

streame Eastward to the Sea of *Galilee*, and with another streame Westward into the great Sea. This Riuer of *Chison* where it riseth, and so farre as it runneth Southward, is called *Chedumim* or *Cadumim*: and for mine owne opinion, I take it to be the same which *Ptolomie* calleth *Chorseus*: though others distinguish them, and set *Chorseus* by *Cæsaria Palestinæ*. There is a second Torrent or Brooke that riseth in the Hills of *Bethulia*, and falleth into the Sea of *Galilee* by *Magdalum*: and the third is a branch of a riuer rising out of the Fountaines of *Capharnaum*, which falleth also into the same Sea, and neere *Magdalum*; which Torrent they call *Dotham*, from the name of the Citie, from which it passeth Eastward to *Bethsaida*, and so ioyning with *Iordanis parum*, which runneth from the Valley of *Iephthael*, which *Iosua* reckoneth in the bounds of *Zabulon*, it endeth in the Sea of *Galilee*.

See Laicstan: Map in Ortelius. Iosu 9.14.

§. VI.

THE TRIBE OF ISACHAR.

THE next adioyning Territory to *Zabulon*, to the South and Southwest, was *Isachar*, who inhabited a part of the nether *Galilee*, within *Iordan*: of whom there were increased in *Egypt*, as appeared by their musters at Mount *Sinai*, 54400. able and warlike men; who leauing their bodies with the rest in the Deserts, there entred the Holy Land, 64300.

Tarichea in Sueton.

The first Citie of this Tribe neere the Sea of *Galilee*, was *Tarichea*, distant from *Tiberias* eight English miles, or somewhat more; a City wherein the *Iewes* (by the practice of a certaine mutinous vpstart, *Iohn* the sonne of *Leui*) tooke armes against *Iosephus* the Historian, then Gouernour of both *Galilees*. This Citie was first taken by *Cassius*, and 3000. *Iewes* carried thence captiue; and afterward with great difficultie by *Vespasian*, who entred it by the Sea side, hauing first beaten the *Iewes* in a sea-fight vpon the Lake or Sea of *Galilee*; he put to the sword all sorts of people, and of all ages: sauing that his furie being quenched with the Riuers of bloud running through euery street, he reserued the remainder for slaues and bond-men.

Next to *Tarichea* is placed *Cession*, or *Cishion*, of the *Leuites*, and then *Isachar*, remembred in the first of *Kings c.4.v.17.* then *Abes* or *Ebets*, *Iosf.19.20.* and *Remeth*, *Iosf.19.21.* otherwise *Ramoth*, 1 *Chron.6.73.* or *Iarmuth*, *Iosf.21.29.* this also was a City of the *Leuites*, from whose Territorie the Mountaines of *Gilboe* take beginning: and range themselues to the *Mediterran* sea, and towards the West as farre as the Citie of *Iezreel*, between which and *Ramoth*, are the Cities of *Bethpheses*, or *Bethpasses*, according to *Zeiler*; and *Enadda*, or *Hen-chadda*, neere which *Saul* slew himselfe: vnder those, *Aphec* or *Apheca*, which *Adrichomius* placeth in *Isachar*: betweene which and *Suna*, hee saith, that the *Philistims* incamped against *Israel*, & afterward against *Saul*: a Land thirstie of bloud, for herein also, saith he, the *Syrians* with two and thirty *Reguli* assisting *Benhabad*, incountered *Achab*: and were ouerthrowne and slaughtered: to whom the King of *Israel* made a most memorable answer, when *Benhadad* vaunted before the victory: which was, *Tell* Benhadad, *Let not him that girdeth his harneis, boast himselfe as he that putteth it off*: meaning, that glorie followed after victorie, but ought not to precede it. In the yeere following, in the fields, as they say, adioyning to this Citie, was the same vaine-glorious *Syrian* vtterly broken and discomfited by *Achab*: and 100000. footmen of the *Aramites* or *Syrians* slaine: before which ouerthrow the seruants and Counsailors of *Benhadad* (in derision of the God of *Israel*) told him, *That the Gods of Israel were Gods of the Mountaines: and therefore if they fought with them in the plaines, they should ouercome them.*

Iosf.21.28. Kishion, which 1 Chr.6.72.is called Kedesh.

Iosua 19. 1 Sam.4.1. 1 Sam.3.19. 1 Kings 20. 26. In the latter two places Iunius makes Aphec in Asser, according to Iosf.19.30. in the first hee placeth it in Iuda, out of Iosf. 15.53. 1 Kings 20.

1 Kings 20.23.

Vnder *Aphec* towards the Sea they set the Citie of *Esdrelon*; in the plaines of *Galilee*, so called also the great field of *Esdrelon*, and *Maggedo*: in the border whereof are the ruines of *Aphec* to be seene, saith *Brochard*, and *Breidenbach*. After these are the Cities of *Casaloth*, of which, 1 *Machab.9.2.* *Anem* or *Hen-Gannim* of the *Leuites*, and *Seesima* or *Shahatsima*; the West border of *Isachar*, of which *Iosf.19.22.* From hence ranging the Sea coast, there is found the Castle of *Pilgrims*: a strong Castle inuironed with the Sea, sometime the store-house and Magasine of the *Christians*, and built by the Earle of *S. Giles* or *Tolouse*.

Iudith 1.8. & 7.3. 1 Chron.6.73. Iosf.21.29.

From the Castle of *Pilgrims* the Sea maketh a great Bay towards the North, and the farthermost

farthermost shore beginneth Mount *Carmel*, not farre from the Riuer *Chison*, where *Elijah* assembled all the Prophets and Priests of *Baal*, and prayed King *Achab* and the people assembled, to make triall whether the God of *Israel*, or the Idoll of *Baal* were to be worshipped, by laying a sacrifice without fire on the Altar: which done, the Priests of *Baal* prayed, and cut their owne flesh after their manner, but the fire kindled not, while *Elijah* in derision told them that their God *was either in pursuite of his enemies, not at leysure, or perchance a-sleepe, &c.* but at the prayer of *Elijah* his fire kindled, notwithstanding that he had caused the people to cast many Vessells of water thereon: by which miracle the people incensed, slew all those Idolaters on the bankes of *Chison* adioyning.

At the foot of this Mountaine to the North standeth *Caiphas*, built, as they say, by *Caiphas* the high Priest. It is also knowne by the name of *Porsina* and *Porphyria*, sometime a *Suffragane* Bishops seate. Returning againe from the Sea-coast towards *Tiberias* by the bankes of *Chison*, there are found the City of *Hapharaim* or *Aphraim*, and the Castles of *Mezra*, and *Saba*: of which *Brochard* and *Breidenbach*: and then *Naim* on the Riuer *Chison*: a beautifull Citie while it stood, in the Gates whereof *Christ* raised from death the widowes onely sonne. Luk.7.

Then *Seon* or *Shion* named, *Iosf.19.* betweene the two Hills of *Hermon*, in *Isachar*: beyond it standeth *Endor*, famous by reason of the Inchantresse that vndertooke to raise vp the body of *Samuel* at the instigation of *Saul*.

Beyond it stands *Anaharath* and *Rabbith*, named *Iosf.c.19.v.19.20.* Then *Dabarath*, as it is named, *Iosf.21.28.* or *Dobratha*, as it is named, 1 *Chron.6.71.* This Citie (which stretcheth it selfe ouer *Chison*) was a Citie of refuge belonging to the *Leuites*.

Next to *Daberath* is *Arbela* situate, neere the Caues of those two Theeues which so greatly molested *Galilee* in *Herods* time. It ioyneth on one side to the Mountaine of *Isachar* or *Hermon*, and on the other to the Valley of *Iesrael*: which valley continueth it selfe from *Bethsan* or *Scythopolis*, the East border of *Isachar*, euen to the *Mediterran* Sea: two parts whereof are inclosed by the Mountaines of *Gilboe* on the South, and by *Hermon*, and the Riuer *Chison* on the North. In these * plaines *Gideon* ouerthrew the *Madianites*, and herein, they thinke, *Saul* fought against the *Philistims*: *Achab* against the *Syrians*, and the *Tartars* against the *Saracens*.

*Called Campus Magnus. 1 Mac.12.49. and Harbathæ for Harabath. 1 Macc.5.23. & 9.2. Iudg.6. 1 Sam.31. 1 King. 20.

§. VII.

THE HALFE OF THE TRIBE OF MANASSE.

†. 1.

Of the bounds of this halfe Tribe: and of Scythopolis, Salem, Thersa, and others.

THE next Tribe which ioyneth it selfe to *Isachar* towards the South, is the halfe of *Manasse*, on the West side of *Iordan*. *Manasses* was the first begotten of *Ioseph*, the eleuenth sonne of *Iacob*. His mother was an Egyptian, the daughter of *Putiphar*, Priest and Prince of *Heliopolis*: which *Manasses*, with his brother *Ephraim*, the grand-children of *Iacob*, were by adoption numbred amongst the sonnes of *Iacob*, and made vp the number of the twelue *Patriarkes*.

Of *Manasse* there were increased in *Egypt*, as they were numbred at Mount *Sinai*, 32200. able men: all which being consumed in the *Desarts*, there entred of their issues, 52700. bearing armes. The Territory which fell on this one halfe of *Manasse*, was bounded by *Iordan*, on the East, and *Dora* vpon the *Mediterran* Sea on the West, *Iesrael* on the North, and *Machmata* is the South border.

The first and principall Citie which stood in this Territorie was *Bethsan*, sometime *Nysa*, saith *Plinie*, built by *Liber Pater*, in honour of his Nurse there buried, of the same name, which *Solinus* confirmes. Afterward when the *Scythians* inuaded *Asia* the lesse, and pierc't into the South, to the vttermost of *Cælosyria*, they built this Citie a-new, and very magnificent: and it had thereupon the name of *Scythopolis*, or the Citie of *Scythians* giuen by the *Greekes*. Plin.lib.5.c.18.

These barbarous Northren people constrained the *Iewes* to fight against their owne Nation

Nation and kindred, by whose hands when they had obtained victory, they themselues set on the Iewes which serued them, and slew them all. *Stephanus* makes it the vtmost towards the South of Cœlesyria: and *Strabo* ioynes it to Galilee. It is seated betweene Iordan and the Hills of Gilboe, *in aulone ad montes acrabitenæ*, saith *Zeigler*. But I finde it in the East part of the Valley of Iesrael neere Iordan: after that, Iordan strengtheneth it selfe againe into a Riuer, leauing the Sea or Lake Genezareth. Notwithstanding, *Montanus* describes it farre to the West, and towards the Mediterran Sea, neere Endor, contrarie to *Stella*, *Laicstan*, *Adrichome*, and all other the best Authors. This Citie was the greatest of all those of Decapolis: but the children of *Manasse* could not expell the Inhabitants thereof: and therefore called it Sane an enemie, or Beth-san, the house of an enemie. 10

Iudg. 1. Ios. 17. de Bell. sacr.

Ouer the walls of this Bethsan the Philistims hung the body of *Saul*, and his sonnes slaine at Gilboe. It had, while the Christian religion flourished in those parts, an Archbishop, who had nine other Bishops of his Diocesse, numbred by *Tyrius*, in his 14. Booke and 12. Chapter: but the same was afterward translated to Nazareth. The later trauailers in those parts affirme, that there is daily taken out among the rubble and the ruines of that Citie, goodly pillars and other pieces of excellent Marble, which witnesse the stately buildings, and magnificence which it had in elder times, but it is now a poore and desolate Village.

Hierō. in Epist. ad Euagr. & in Loc. Hebr.

From Bethsan keeping the way by Iordan, they finde an ancient Citie called Salem, which Citie the ancient Rabbines, saith *Hierome*, doe not finde to be the same with Hierusalem: there being in the time of *Hierome* and since, a towne of that name, neere Scythopolis before remembred, which if the place of Scripture, *Gen.* 13. 18. doe not confirme, where the Vulgar readeth *transiuit q. in Salem vrbem Sichemorum* (for which others reade *venit incolumis ad Ciuitatem Sechemam*, making the word *Shalem* not to be a proper name, but an adiectiue) yet the place *Iohn* 3. 13. where it is said, that *Iohn* was baptizing in Ænon neere Salem, may somewhat strengthen this opinion, and yet it is not vnlikely that this Salem of which *S. Iohn* speaketh, is but contracted of Shahalim, of which in the Tribe of *Beniamin*, 1 *Sam.* 9. 4. This word *Iunius* maketh to bee the plurall of Shuhal: of which wee reade, 1 *Sam.* 13. 17. for as for that which is added out of *Canticles* 6. 12. of Shulammitis, as if it had beene as much as a Woman of this Saleim, neere Ænon, it hath no probability.

This City *Begek* by the place, *Iud.* 1. 3. seemeth to haue beene in *Iuda*. *Iose. ant.* 6. c. 5. 1 Sam. c. 11.

Not farre from thence where they place Salem, they find Bezech the City of Adonibezec, *Iosephus* calls it Bala: here it was that *Saul* assembled the strength of Israel and Iuda, to the number of 330000. when he meant to relieue Iabesh Gilead, against *Naash* the Ammonite: who would giue them no other conditions of peace, than to suffer their right eyes to be thrust out. Neere Bezech is the City of Bethbera or rather Beth-bara, of which *Iudg.* 7. 24. in the storie of *Gideon*: and then Ephra or Hophra, wherein *Gideon* inhabited: in the border whereof stood an Altar consecrated to *Baal*, which hee pulled downe and defaced; and neere it that stone, on which *Abimelech* the Bastard slew his 70. brothers: a Heathenish cruelty, practised by the Turke to this day; and not farre hence, betweene 40 the Village of Asophon and Iordan, *Ptolomeus Lathurus* ouerthrew *Alexander* King of the Iewes, and slaughtered, as *Iosephus* numbreth them, 3000. but according to *Timagenes* 50000. after which victory, as *Ptolomie* past by the Villages of the Iewes, he slew all their women, and caused the young children to be sod in great Caldrons, that the rest of the Iewes might thereby thinke that the Egyptians were growne to be men-eaters, and strike them with the greater terror.

Ios. l. 13. c. 21. ant.

Towards the West and on the border of Isachar, they place the Cities of * *Aner* of the Leuites, and Abel-Mehola, which *Iunius*, *Iudg.* 7. 22. placeth in Ephraim, it was the habitation of *Helisæus* the Prophet, numbred among those places, 1 *Reg.* 4. 12. which were giuen in charge to *Baana* by *Salomon*, to whose charge also Tahanac belonging, a place of 50 great strength, which at the first resisted *Iosua*, though their King was afterward hanged, and their Citie giuen to the Leuites.

* This *Aner Iunius* vpon 1 *Chron.* 6. 70. makes to bee the same with *Tahanac*, of which *Ios.* 21. 25. *Hierome* names it from *Gener* the Confederate of *Abraham*. Gen. 14. 13. Iosua 12. 17. 1 King. 14.

In the body of this Territory of Manasse, but somewhat neerer Iordan than to the Mediterran Sea, were three great Cities, to wit, Thersa, whose King was one of those that *Iosua* slew: which the Kings of Israel vsed for their Regall seate, till such time as Samaria was built. From hence the wife of *Ieroboam* went to *Achia* to enquire of her sons health: who knowing her, though she were disguised, told her of her sonnes death.

The second was Thebes neere Samaria, of which name there are both in Egypt, and Greece,

Greece, of great fame: in the assault of the Tower of this Towne, wherein to the Citizens retired, the Bastard *Abimelec* was wounded by a waighty stone, throwne by a Woman ouer the Wall, who despairing of his recouery, commanded his Page to slay him outright, because it should not be said that hee perished by the stroke of a Woman. But o- *Iudg. 9. v. 54.*
thers set this Citie in *Ephraim* neere *Sichem* or *Neapolis*.

The third is *Acrabata*, of which the Territory adioyning is called *Acrabatena*; (one of the ten *Toparchies* or Gouernments in *Iudea*) for which *Hierome*, 1 *Macc.* 5. reades *Arabathena*: but in the Greeke it is *Acrabatine*: *Isidore* calls it *Agrabat*. This Citie had one of the largest Territories of all *Palæstine* belonging to the Gouernour thereof. *Iosephus* re- *Hier. Mac. 1. c. 5.*
10 membreth it often, as in his second Booke of the Iewes Warres, c. 11. 25. 28. & elsewhere.

The difference betweene a *Tetrarchie* and a *Toparchie*, was, that the first was taken for a Prouince, and the other for a City with some lesser Territory adioyning; and a *Tetrarch* is the same with *Præses* in Latine, and *President* in English, being commonly the fourth part of a Kingdome: and thereof so called: *Plinie* nameth seuenteen *Tetrarchies* in *Syria*: the Holy Land had foure, and so hath the Kingdome of *Ireland* to this day, *Lemster*, *Vlster*, *Connath*, and *Mounster*. *Plin. l. 5.*

To the South-west of *Acrabata* they place the Cities of *Balaam* or *Bilham*, & *Gethremmon* of the Leuites: but *Iunius* out of *Ios.* 21. 25. and 1 *Chron.* 6. 70. gathers that these two are but one: and that *Ibleham*, *Ios.* 16. 11. is another name of the same Citie. *Euseb. in Chron.*

20 Then is *Iezael* a Regall Citie, set at the foot of the Mountaines of *Gilboe*, towards the South-west: herein *Iezabel* by a false accusation caused *Naboth* to be stoned, to the end she might possesse his Vineyard adioyning to the Citie, which *Naboth* refused to sell, because it was his inheritance from his Father.

Ioram also was cast vnburied into the same field: for which his Mother *Iezabel* murthered *Naboth*. 2. King. cap. 2.

Toward the Sea from *Iezael* is the Citie which they call *Gaber*: in whose ascent as *Ahaziah* King of *Iuda* fled from *Iehu*, when he had slaine *Ioram*, he was wounded with the shot of an arrow, of which wound he died at *Maggeddo* adioyning. The Scripture calls this Citie of *Gaber*, *Gur*. 2 King. 9. 27.

30 Then *Adadremmon*, neere vnto which the good King *Iosias* was slaine by *Necho*, King of *Egypt*, in a War vnaduisedly vndertaken. For *Necho* marched towards *Assyria* against the King thereof; by the commandement of God: whom *Iosias* thought to resist in his passage. It was afterward called *Maximianopolis*.

A neighbour City to *Adadremmon* was *Maggeddo*, often remembred in the Scriptures; whose King was slaine among the rest by *Iosua*: yet they defended their Citie for a long time against *Manasse*. The Riuer which passeth by the Towne, may perhaps be the same which *Ptolomie* calleth *Chorseus*: and not that of which we haue spoken in *Zabulon*. For because this name is not found in the Scriptures, many of those that haue described the Holy Land, delineate no such Riuer. *Moore* onely sets it downe in his *Geographie* of the 40 twelue tribes: but the Riuer which passeth by *Maggeddo*, he vnderstandeth to bee but a branch, falling thereinto. *Laicstan* and *Schrot* make a great confluence of waters in this place, agreeable to this Scripture in the fifth of *Iudges*: *Then fought the Kings of Canaan in Tanach by the waters of Maggeddo*. But these Authors, and with them *Stella*, giue it no other name than the Torrent so called. *Iud. 1. & 5.* *Ios. 12. 17.*

But seeing that ancient *Cosmographers* stretch out the bounds of *Phœnicia*, euen to *Sephaste* or *Samaria*; and *Strabo* farre beyond it on the Sea-coast: And *Iosephus* calls *Cæsaria Palæstinæ* a Citie of *Phœnicia*, yea *Laurentius Coruinus* extendeth *Phœnicia* as farre as *Geza*: seeing also *Ptolomie* sets downe *Chorseus* for the partition of *Phœnicia* and *Iudæa*, this Riuer running East and West parallel with *Samaria*: it is very probable that this Torrent 50 called *Maggeddo*, after the name of the Citie, which it watereth, is the same which *Ptolomie* in his fourth Table of *Asia*, calleth *Chorseus*. The later trauailers of the holy Land call *Maggeddo Subimbre* at this day. *Strab. l. 16.* *Iosep. l. 25. c. 13.* *Niger.*

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†. II.

Of Cæsaria Palæstinæ, and some other Townes.

FROM *Maggeddo* toward the West, and neere the *Mediterran* Sea, was that glorious Citie of *Cæsaria Palæstinæ*: first, the Tower of *Straton*: the same which *Plinie* calls

Apollonia:

Apollonia: though *Ptolomy* sets *Apollonia* elsewhere, and toward *Egypt*, betweene this City and *Ioppe*, to which *Vespasian* gaue the name of *Flauia Colonia*. It was by *Herod* re-built; who therein laboured to exceed all the workes in that part of the world. For besides the edifices, which he reared within the Walls, of cut and polisht marbles, the *Theater* and *Amphitheater*, from whence he might looke ouer the Seas farre away, with the high and stately Towers and Gates: hee forced a Harborow of great capacitie, being in former times but an open Bay: and the winde blowing from the Sea, the Merchants haunting that Port, had no other hope, but in the strength of their Cables and Anchors. This work he performed with such charge and labour, as the like of that hath not been found in any Kingdome, nor in any age: which, because the Materials were fetcht from farre, and the waight of the stones was such as it exceedeth beliefe, I haue added *Iosephus* owne words of this worke, which are these: *Hanc locorum in commoditatem correcturus, circulum portus circumduxit, quantum putaret magnæ classi recipiendæ sufficere: & in vigintí vlnarum profundum, prægrandia saxa demisit: quorum pleraq; pedum quinquaginta longitudinis, latitudinis verò octodecim, altitudine nouem-pedali: fuerunt quædam etiam maiora, minora alia. To mend this inconuenience of place* (saith Iosephus) *hee compast in a Bay wherein a great fleete might well ride: and let downe great stones twentie fadome deepe: whereof some were fifty foot long, eighteen foot broad, and nine foot thicke: some bigger, and some lesser.* To this he added an arme or cawsie of two hundred foot long, to breake the waues: the rest hee strengthened with a stone wall, with diuers stately Towers thereon builded: of which the most magnificent he called *Drusus*, after the name of *Drusus* the sonne in law of *Cæsar*: in whose honour he intituled the Citie it selfe, *Cæsaria* of *Palæstine*: all which he performed in twelue yeeres time. It was the first of the Easterne Cities that receiued a Bishop: afterward erected into an Archbishopricke, commanding twentie others vnder it, saith *Tyrius*.

Ios.l.15.c.13.

Ios.c.12.bell. sacr.

S. *Hierome* nameth *Theophilus*, *Eusebius*, *Acacius*, *Euzorus*, and *Galasius* to haue beene Bishops thereof. In this Citie was *Cornelius* the *Centurion* baptized by Saint *Peter*: and herein dwelt *Philip* the Apostle: S. *Paul* was herein two yeeres prisoner, vnder the *President Fœlix*, vnto the time and gouernment of *Porcius Festus*: by whom making his appeale, he was sent to *Cæsar*. Here, when *Herod Agrippa* was passing on to celebrate the *Quinquennalia*, taking delight to be called a god by his flatterers, hee was stricken with an Angell vnto death, saith *Iosephus*.

To the North of *Cæsaria* standeth *Dora*, or *Naphoth Dor*, as some reade, *Ios.* 1.2. so called (saith *Adrichomius*) because it ioyneth to the Sea, whose King was slaine by *Iosua*. But *Iunius* for *in Naphoth Dor*, reades *in tractibus Dor*: and so the Vulgar, *in regionibus Dor*, although 1 *Reg.*4.11. for the like speech in the Hebrew it readeth *omnis Nephath Dor*: The *Septuagint* in the place of *Iosua* call it *Nephith-Dor*, and in the other of the Kings, *Nepha-Dor*: but the true name by other places (as *Ios.*12.23. *Iudg.* 1.27.) may seeme to be *Dor*. It was a strong and powerfull Citie, and the fourth in account of those twelue Principalities or *Sitarchies*, which *Salomon* erected. *Iunius* vpon *Macchab.*15.11. place this betweene the Hill *Carmel*, and the mouth of the Riuer *Cherseus*: for so some name the Riuer *Chorseus*, of which we haue spoken already.

Into this Citie, for the strength thereof, *Tryphon* fled from *Antiochus* the son of *Demetrius*, where hee was by the same *Antiochus* besieged with 12000. foot-men, and 8000. Horse: the same perfidious villain that receiued 200. talents for the ransome of *Ionathan Macchabæus* (whom he had taken by treacherie) and then slew him: and after him slew his owne Master, vsurping for a while the kingdome of *Syria*. It had also a Bishops seate of the Diocesse of *Cæsaria*.

Macc.1.13.15.

From *Cæsaria* towards the South, they place the Cities of *Capharnaum*, *Gabe*, and *Galgal*: for besides that *Capharnaum* famous in the *Euangelists*, they finde in these parts neere the West Sea, another of the same name. Of *Gabe Hierome in locis Hebraicis*. The famous *Galgal* or *Gilgal*, was in *Beniamin*: but this *Gilgal*, they say, it was whose King was slaine by *Iosua*.

Gul.Tyr.de Bell.sacr.l.10. c.6.

Then *Antipatris*, so called of *Herode*, in honour of his Father: but in the time of the *Macchabees* it was called *Capharsalama*: in the fields whereof *Iudas Macchabæus* ouerthrew a part of the Armie of *Nicanor*, Lieutenant to *Demetrius*: an armie drawn into *Iudea* by a traiterous Iew, called *Alcimus*: who contended for the Priest-hood, first vnder *Bacchides*, and then vnder *Nicanor*. To this was S. *Paul* carried prisoner from *Hierusalem*, conducted

Mac.7.v.31.

conducted by 470. Souldiers, to defend him from the furie of the Iewes. In after-times the Armie of *Godfrey* of *Bulion* attempted it in vaine: yet was it taken by *Baldwine*. It was honoured in those dayes with a Bishops seate, but it is now a poore Village called *Assur*, saith *Brochard*. Neere vnto this Citie the Prophet *Ionas* was three daies preserued in the body of a Whale.

Into the Land, from *Antipatris* and *Cæsaria*, standeth *Narbata*, whereof the Territory taketh name: which *Cestius* the Romane wasted with fire and sword, because the Iewes which dwelt at *Cæsaria* fled thence, and carried with them the Bookes of *Moses*. Neere vnto it is the Mountaine of *Abdia*, the Steward of King *Achab*: wherein hee hid an hundreth Prophets, and fedde them, after which hee himselfe is said to haue obtained from God the Spirit of Prophesie also.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Kingdome of Phœnicia.

§. I.

The bounds and chiefe Cities, and Founders, and Name, of this Kingdome: and of the inuention of Letters ascribed to them.

BEcause these fiue Tribes, of *Asser*, *Nephtalim*, *Zabulon*, *Issachar*, and the halfe of *Manasse*, possest the better part of that ancient Kingdome of *Phœnicia*, to wit, of so much as lay to the South part of *Anti-libanus*: I haue therefore gathered a briefe of those Kings which haue gouerned therein: at least so many of them as time (which deuoureth all things) hath left to posteritie: and that the rest haue perished, it is not strange; seeing so many volumes of excellent learning in so long a race and reuolution, and in so many changes of Estates and Conquest of Heathen Princes, haue beene torne, cast away, or otherwise consumed.

The limits of this Kingdome, as touching the South parts, are very vncertaine: but all *Cosmographers* doe in effect agree, that it takes beginning from the North, where that part of *Syria*, which is called *Casiotis*, ends: most of them bounding it by *Orthosia*, to the North of *Tripolu*. *Ptolomie* makes it a little larger, as reaching from the Riuer *Eleutherus*, that falls into the Sea at the Iland of *Aradus*, somewhat to the North of *Orthosia*, and stretching from thence alongst the coast of the *Mediterran* sea, as farre as the Riuer of *Chorseus*, which seemes to bee that which the Iewes call the Torrent or Riuer of *Mageddo*. *Plinie* extends it farther, and comprehends *Ioppe* within it: *Coruixus* and *Budæus*, *Ioppe* and *Gaza*. *Phœnicia apud priscos appellata* (saith *Budæus*) *quæ nunc Palæstina Syriæ dicitur*; *It was called Phœnicia of old* (saith he) *which now is called Palæstina of Syria*.

Ptol.4.Tab. Asiæ.

Plin.lib.5.c.19.

Strabo comprehends in this Countrey of *Phœnicia*, all the Sea side of *Iudæa*, and *Palestina*, euen vnto *Pelusium*, the first Port of *Egypt*. On the contrary *Diodorus Siculus* foldeth it vp in *Cœlesyria*, which hee boundeth not. But for my selfe I take a middle course, and like best of *Ptolomies* description, who was seldome deceiued in his owne Art. It had in it these famous Maritimate Cities (besides all those of the Ilands) to wit, *Aradus*, *Orthosia*, *Tripolis*, *Botrys*, *Byblus*, *Berytus*, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Ptolomais* (or *Acon*) *Dora*, and *Cæsaria Palestinæ*: and by reason of the many Ports and goodly Sea townes, it anciently commanded the Trades of the Easterne world: and they were absolute Kings of the *Mediterran* Sea.

Strab.l.16. Bude.de Asl.4.

The ancient Regall Seate of those Princes was *Zidon*, built by *Zidon* the first sonne of *Canaan*: and the people then subiect to that people were called Zidonians: the same state continuing euen vnto *Iosua's* time. For till then it is probable that there was but one King of all that Region; afterward called *Phœnicia*: which *Procopius* also confirmeth in his second Booke of *Vandall Warres*. But in processe of time the Citie of *Tyre* adioyning became the more magnificent: yet according to the Prophet, it was but a Daughter of *Zidon*, and by them first built and peopled.

Esay 23.

But after the death of *Moses*, and while *Iosua* yet gouerned Israel, *Agenor* an Egyptian of *Thebes*, or a Phœnician bred in *Egypt*, came thence with his sons of *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, *Cyrus*, and *Cilix*, (say *Cedrenus* & *Curtius*) and built and possest the Cities of *Tyre* and *Zidon*: to wit, the new *Tyrus*, and brought into *Phœnicia* (so called after the name of his second sonne) the vse of letters: which also *Cadmus* in his pursuite after his sister *Europa*, taught the Græcians. For *Taurus* King of *Crete*, when he surprised *Tyre*, had stollen her thence: of which the Poets deuised the fable of *Iupiters* transformation into a Bull, by whom that stealth was also supposed to be made. *Pomponius Sabinus* makes *Belus* the first King of *Phœnicia*; and findes *Cadmus* his successour, whom hee calleth his grandchilde: and it seemeth that *Belus* was the Father of *Agenor*, and not *Neptune*: because the successors of *Dido* held that name alwayes in reuerence, making it a part of their owne, as *Asdruball*, *Hannibal*: which memorie *Virgil* also toucheth in these Verses:

F.17.

Hic Regina grauem gemmis, auroq; poposcit
Impleuitq; moro pateram: quam Belus *& omnes*
A Belo *soliti.*

The Queene anon commands the waighty bowle
(Waightie with precious stones and massie gold)
To flow with wine. This *Belus* vs'd of old,
And all of *Belus* Line.

Whether this *Belus* were Father or Grand-father to *Agenor*, the matter is not great. But it seemes to me by comparing of times, that *Belus* was Ancestor to these Phœnicians, and preceded *Agenor*. For were *Belus*, or *Iupiter Belus*, the sonne of *Neptune* by *Lybia*, the Daughter of *Epaphus*, or were he the Sonne of *Thelegonus*, according to *Eusebius*; yet it is agreed that *Cecrops* then ruled in *Attica*: and in the end of *Cecrops* time, saith S. *Augustine*, *Moses* left *Egypt*: *Agenors* successor liuing at once with *Iosua*. Now that *Agenor* returned about the same time into the Territory of *Zidon*, I cannot doubt: neither doe I denie, but that he gaue that Region the name of *Phœnicia*, in honour of his Sonne. But in stead of the building of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, it is probable that hee repaired and fortified both: and therefore was called a founder, as *Semiramis* and *Nebuchodonosor* were of *Babylon*.

For be it true that *Agenor* was of the same Nation, and brought vp in *Egypt*: where he learnt the vse of letters (*Egypt* flourishing in all kinde of learning in *Moses* time) or were he by Nation an Egyptian, yet it is very likely that either he came to saue his owne Territory; or otherwise to defend the coast of *Canaan*, from the Israelites: who were by *Moses* led out of *Egypt*, to the great losse and dishonour of that Nation: and by *Iosua* conducted ouer *Iordan*, to conquer and possesse the Canaanites Land. For though the Egyptians, by reason of the losse which they receiued by the hand of God, in the Red Sea, and by the ten plagues cast on them before that, and by the slaughter of so many of the Male children at the same time, could not hinder the Hebrews from inuading *Canaan* by Land: which also they knew had so many powerfull Nations to defend it: the *Deserts* inter-jacent, and the strong Edomites, Moabites, Emorites & Ammonites their borderers: yet *Egypt* hauing such Vessels, or Ships, or Gallies, as were then in vse: did not in all probability neglect to Garrison the Sea coast, or assist *Agenor* with such forces, as they had to spare; and which they might performe with the greater facilitie, in that the Philistims which held the shores of *Canaan*, next adioyning vnto them, were their Friends and Confederates.

Now as it appeareth by the course of the storie, those Cities of *Phœnicia*, which *Agenor* was said to haue built (that is, to haue fortified and defended against *Iosua*, and against the Tribes after him, as *Zidon*, *Sor*, or *Tyre*, by *Iosua* called the strong Citie, *Accho* afterward *Ptolomais*, *Aczib* and *Dor*) were all that *Phœnicia* had in those dayes.

C.19.v.29.

That the Kings of *Phœnicia* were mighty, especally by Sea, it appeares, first by their defence against *Israel*: secondly by this, that *Dauid* and *Salomon* could not master them: but were glad of their alliance: thirdly, that one of their Cities, though they were then but *Reguli*, defended it selfe 13. yeeres against a King of Kings, *Nabuchodonosor*: and that *Alexander* the great (who being made victorious by the prouidence of God, seemed vnresistable) spent more time in the recouery of *Tyre*, than in the conquest of all the Cities in *Asia*.

Other

Other opinions there are, as that of *Berosus* out of *Iosephus*, who conceiues that *Tyre* was founded by *Tyrus* the sonne of *Iapket*. And for the Region it selfe, though *Calisthenes* deriue it, *ab arbore dactylorum*; and the Greekes from the word *Phonos*, of slaughter, because the Phœnicians slew all that came on their coasts, yet for my selfe I take it that *Phœnix* the sonne of *Agenor* gaue it that name. But that either *Agenor* in *Phœnicia*, or *Cadmus* his sonne in *Greece*, were the Inuentors of Letters, it is ridiculous: and therefore the dispute vnnecessary.

The Ethiopians affirme that *Atlas*, *Orion*, *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Hercules*, *Prometheus*, *Cadmus*, and others, had from them the first light of all those Arts, Sciences, and ciuill Policies, which they afterward profest, and taught others: and that *Pythagoras* himselfe was instructed by the Lybians: to wit, from the South and Superiour Egyptians: from whom those which inhabited neerer the out-let of *Nilus*, as they say, borrowed their Diuinitie and Philosophie: and from them the Greekes, then barbarous, receiued Ciuilitie. Againe, the Phœnicians challenge this inuention of Letters and of Learning: acknowledging nothing from the Egyptians at all; neither doe they allow that *Agenor* and his sonnes were Affricans; whence *Lucan*.

Phœnices primi (famæ si creditur) ausi
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris. Lucan.l.3.

Phœnicians first (if fame may credit haue)
In rude Characters dar'd our words to graue.

And that *Cadmus* was the sonne of *Agenor*, and was a Phœnician, and not an Egyptian, it appeareth by that answer made by *Zeno*; when hee in a kinde of reproach was called a stranger and not a Phœnician:

Si patria est Phœnix, quid tum? nam Cadmus *& ipse*
Phœnix; cui debet Græcia docta libros. Athen.1.Dipnos.

If a *Phœnician* borne I am, what then?
Cadmus was so: to whom *Greece* owes
The Bookes of learned men.

Out of doubt the Phœnicians were very ancient: and from the Records and Chronicles of *Tyre*, *Iosephus* the Historian confirmes a great part of his Antiquities. The Thracians againe subscribe to none of these reports: but affirme constantly, that the great *Zamolxis* flourished among them: when *Atlas* liued in *Mauritania*: *Nilus* and *Vulcan* in *Egypt*: and *Ochus* in *Phœnicia*. Yea, some of the French doe not blush to maintaine, that the ancient *Gaules* taught the *Greekes* the vse of Letters, and other Sciences. And doe not we know that our *Bardes* and *Druides* are as ancient as those *Gaules*, and that they sent their sonnes hither to be by them instructed in all kinde of learning? Ioseph.contra Appionem.

Lastly, whereas others bestow this inuention on *Moses*, the same hath no probabilitie at all, for he liued at such time as Learning and Arts flourished most, both in *Egypt*, and *Assyria*, and hee himselfe was brought vp in all the learning of the Egyptians, from his infancie.

But true it is, that letters were inuented by those excellent Spirits of the first age, and before the generall floud: either by *Seth* or *Enos*, or by whom else God knowes; from whom all wisedome and vnderstanding hath proceeded. And as the same infinite God is present with all his Creatures, so hath he giuen the same inuention to diuers Nations: whereof the one hath not had commerce with the other; as well in this as in many other knowledges: for euen in *Mexico*, when it was first discouered, there was found written Bookes after the manner of those *Hieroglyphicks*, anciently vsed by the Egyptians, and other Nations: and so had those Americans a kinde of Heraldrie; and their Princes differing in Armes and Scutchions, like vnto those vsed by the Kings and Nobilitie of other Nations, *Iura naturalia communia, & generalia, &c. Naturall Lawes are common and generall.* Iurisconsul.

§. II.
Of the Kings of Tyre.

BVt whatsoeuer remaineth of the storie and Kings of Phœnicia (the bookes of *Zeno, Sachoniatho, Mnaseas*, and others of that Nation, being no where found) the same is to bee gathered out of the Scriptures, *Iosephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*.

Agenor liued at once with *Iosue*, to whom succeeded *Phœnix*, of whom that part of Canaan, and so farre towards the North as *Aradus*, tooke the name of Phœnicia: what King succeeded *Phœnix* it doth not appeare: but at such time as the Græcians besieged Troy, *Phasis* gouerned Phœnicia.

In *Hieremies* time, and while *Iehoiakim* ruled in Iuda, the Tyrians had a King apart: for *Hieremie* speaketh of the Kings of Zidon, of Tyre, of Edom, &c. as of seuerall Kings. Chap.27.v.3.

In *Xerxes* time, and when he prepared that incredible Armie wherewith hee inuaded Greece, *Tetramnestus* ruled that part of Phœnicia, about Tyre, and Zidon: who commanded, as some writers affirme, *Xerxes* fleete, or rather, as I suppose, those 300. Gallies, which himselfe brought to his aide: for at this time it seemeth, that the Phœnicians were Tributaries to the *Persian*: for being broken into *Reguli*, and pettie Kings in *Hieremies* time, they were subiected by *Nabuchodonozor*; of whose conquests in the Chapter before remembred, *Hieremie* prophecied.

Tennes, though not immediately, succeeded *Tetramnestus*, remembred by *D. Siculus* in his 14. Booke.

Strato, his successor, and King of Zidon, *Alexander Macedon* threw out, because of his dependancie vpon *Darius*, and that his Predecessors had serued the East Empire against the Grecians. But diuers Kings, of whom there is no memorie, came betweene *Tennes* and *Strato*. For there were consumed 130. yeeres and somewhat more between *Xerxes* and *Alexander Macedon*. And this man was by *Alexander* esteemed the more vnworthy of restitution, because (saith *Curtius*) hee rather submitted himselfe by the instigation of his Subiects (who foresaw their vtter ruine by resistance) than that he had any disposition thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the Macedonians. L.4. Athē.l.12.c.13.

Of this *Strato*, *Athenæus* out of *Theopompus* reporteth, that hee was a man of ill liuing, and most voluptuous; also that hee appointed certaine games and prizes for Women-dancers, and singers, whom hee to this end chiefly inuited, and assembled: that hauing beheld the most beautifull and liuely among them, he might recouer them for his owne vse and delights. Of the strange accident about the death of one *Strato* King of these coasts, S. *Hierome* and others make mention: who hauing heard that the Persians were neere him with an Armie too waighty for his strength, & finding that he was to hope for little grace, because of his falling away from that Empire, and his adhering to the Egyptians; he determining to kill himselfe, but fainting in the execution, his wife being present, wrested the sword out of his hand and slew him: which done, shee also therewith pierced her owne body, and died. Hieron.l.1. com. Ioiakim.

After *Alexander* was possest of Zidon, and the other *Strato* driuen thence, He gaue the Kingdome to *Hephæstion*, to dispose of: who hauing receiued great entertainment of one of the Citizens, in whose house he lodged, offered to recompence him therewith; and willingly offered to establish him therein: but this Citizen no lesse vertuous than rich, besired *Hephæstion* that this Honour might be inferred on some one of the bloud and race of their ancient Kings: and presented vnto him *Balonymus*, whom *Curtius* calls *Abdolominus*, *Iustine Abdolomius*, and *Plutarch Alynomus*: who at the very houre that he was called to this regall Estate, was with his owne hands working in his Garden, setting hearbs and rootes, for his reliefe and sustenance: though otherwise a wise man and exceeding iust.

These were the ancient Kings of Zidon: whose estate being afterward changed into Popular or *Aristocraticall*: and by times and turnes subiected to the Emperours of the East: there remaineth no farther memorie of them, than that which is formerly deliuered in the Tribe of *Asser*.

The Kings of Tyre, who they were before *Samuels* time, it doth not appeare: *Iosephus* the Historian, as is said, had many things wherewith hee garnished his Antiquities from the Tyrian Chronicles: and out of *Iosephus*, and *Theophilus Antiochenus*, there may be

be gathered a descent of some twenty Kings of the Tyrians; but these Authors, though they both pretend to write out of *Menander Ephesius*, doe in no sort agree in the times of their raignes, nor in other particulars.

Abibalus is the first King of the Tyrians, that *Iosephus* and *Theophilus* remember: whom *Theophilus* calls *Abemalus*: the same perchance that the sonne of *Sirach* mentioneth in his fourtie and sixth Chapter, speaking of the Princes of the Tyrians. Cap. 46.

To this *Abibalus*, *Suron* succeeded, if he be not one and the same with *Abibalus*. *Dauid* (saith *Eusebius* out of *Eupolemus*) constrained this *Suron* to pay him Tribute, of whom also *Dauid* complaineth, *Psal.*83. Præp.Euang.l.9.c.4.

10 *Hiram* succeeded *Suron*, whom *Iosephus* calls *Irom*, and *Theophilus* sometime *Hieronimus*, sometime *Hieromus*, but *Tatian* and *Zonaras*, *Chiram*. Hee entred into a league with *Dauid*, and sent him Cedars, with Masons and Carpenters, to performe his buildings in *Hierusalem*, after he had beaten thence the Iebusites. The same was he that so greatly assisted *Salomon*: whom he not onely furnished with Cedars, and other Materials towards the raising of the Temple, and with great summes of money, but also he ioyned with him in his enterprize of the East *India*, and of *Ophir*: and furnished *Salomon* with Mariners and Pilots: the Tyrians being of all Nations the most excellent Nauigators: and lent him 120. talents of gold. Of this *Hiram*, there is not onely mention in diuers places of Scripture, but in *Iosephus* in his Antiquities the 7. and 8. chap. 2. & 3. in *Theophilus* his 3d 20 booke, in *Tatianus* his Oration against the Greekes: and in *Zonaras*, Tome the first. This Prince seemed to be very mighty and magnificent, hee despised the 20. Townes which *Salomon* offered him: he defended himselfe against that victorious King *Dauid*: and gaue his daughter in marriage to *Salomon*, called the Zidonian: for whose sake he was contented to worship *Asteroth*, the Idoll of the Phœnicians. *Hiram* liued 53. yeeres.

2 Sam.5.&c. 2 Sam.c.5. 2 Kin.c.1.9.20. 1 Chron.14. 2 Chron.2.8.9.

Baleastartus whom *Theoph. Antiochenus* calleth *Bazorus*, succeeded *Hiram*, King of *Tyre* and *Zidon*, and reigned 7. yeeres according to *Iosephus*. 1 King.11. Theoph. 17. yeeres.

Abdastartus the eldest sonne of *Baleastartus*, gouerned 9. yeeres, and liued but 20. yeeres according to *Iosephus*: but after *Theophilus* hee reigned 12. yeere, and liued 54. who being slaine by the foure sonnes of his owne Nurse, the eldest of them held the 30 Kingdome 12. yeeres.

Astartus brother to *Abdastartus*, recouered the Kingdome from this Vsurper, and reigned 12. yeares.

Astarimus, or *Atharimus*, after *Theophilus*, a third brother followed *Astartus*, and ruled 9. yeeres, and liued in all 54. Ioseph.54. Theoph.58.

Phelles the fourth sonne of *Baleastartus*, and brother to the three former Kings, slew *Astarimus*, and reigned 8. moneths; liued 50. yeeres. Theoph.

Ithobalus (or *Iuthobalus*, in *Theophilus*) sonne to the third brother *Astarimus*, who was the chiefe Priest of the *Goddesse Astarta*, which was a dignity next vnto the King, reuenged the death of his father, and slaughtered his Vnckle *Phelles*: and reigned 32. yeeres, 40 the same which in the first of Kings, chap. 16. is called *Ethbaal*, whose daughter *Iezabel*, *Achab* married. Ioseph.32. Theoph.12.

Badezor or *Bazor* the sonne of *Ithobalus* or *Ethbaal*, brother to *Iezabel*, succeeded his Father, and reigned 6. yeeres, and liued in all 45. 1 King.16.31. Ioseph.6. yeeres

Mettimus succeeded *Badezor*, and reigned but 9. yeeres (saith *Iosephus*) he had two sons, *Pygmalion* and *Barca*, and two daughters *Elisa* and *Anna*. Theoph.26. Ioseph.9. Theoph.29.

Pygmalion reigned after *Mettimus* his Father 40. yeeres, and liued 56. In the seuenth yeere of whose reigne, *Elisa* sailed into *Affrica*, and built *Carthage*, 143. yeeres and 8. moneths after the Temple of *Salomon*: which by our accompt was 289. yeeres after *Troy* taken, and 143. before *Rome*: and therefore that fiction by *Virgil* of *Æneas* and 50 *Dido* must be farre out of square. For *Pygmalion* couetous of *Sicheus* his riches, who had married his sister *Elisa*, slew him traiterously as he accompanied him in hunting: or if we beleeue *Iustine* and *Virgil*, at the Altar: whereupon *Elisa* fearing to be despoiled of her husbands treasure, fled by Sea into *Affrica*, as aforesaid: whom when *Pygmalion* prepared to pursue, he was by his mothers teares, and by threats from the *Oracle* arrested. *Barca* accompanied his sister, and assisted her, in the erection of *Carthage*: and from him sprang that noble Family of the *Barcæ* in *Affrica*, of which race descended many famous Captaines, and the great *Hanniball*. *Seruius* interprets this name of *Dido* by *Virago*, because of her man-like acts: others from *Iedidia*, a surname of *Salomon*. Iustin.l.18. Virgil.l.1.

Eluleus

Eluleus succeeded *Pygmalion*: and reigned 36. yeeres: the same that ouerthrew the fleet of *Salmanassar*, in the Port of *Tyre*: notwithstanding which, he continued his siege before it on the Land side fiue yeeres, but in vaine.

After *Eluleus*, *Ethobales* gouerned the Tyrians, who vaunted himselfe to bee as wise as *Daniel*: and that hee knew all secrets (saith *Ezekiel*) of whom the Prophet writeth at large in his 28. Chapter: out of whom it was gathered, that this Prince dyed, or was slaine in that long siege of *Nabuchodonosor*: who surrounded and attempted *Tyre*, 13. yeeres together, ere he preuailed.

Baal followed *Ethobales*, and reigned 10. yeeres a tributary, perchance, to *Nabuchodonosor*: for after his death, it was gouerned by diuers *Iudges*, succeeding each other: First, by *Ecnibalus*, then by *Chelbis*, *Abarus* the Priest, *Mittonus*, and *Gerastus*, who held it among them some 7. years, and odde months: after whom *Balatorus* commanded therein as a King for one yeere: after him *Merbalus* sent from *Babylon* 4. yeeres: after him *Irom* sent thence also, 26. yeeres. In the 17. of whose reigne *Cyrus* began to gouerne *Persia*.

§. III.

Of Bozeus *his conceit, that the Edumæans inhabiting along the Red Sea, were the Progenitors of the Tyrians, and that the Tyrians from them receiued and brought into Phœnicia the knowledge of the true God.*

OF the great mutations of this Kingdome and State of the Tyrians, mixed with a discourse of diuers other Nations, there is one *Bozius* that hath written a Tract at large, intituled *de ruinis Gentium*. And although the great, and many alterations found in this and other Cities, yea, in all things vnder heauen, haue proceeded from his ordinance who onely is vnchangeable, and the same for euer; yet whereas the said *Bozius*, inforcing heere-hence, that the prosperity and ruine of the Tyrians, were fruites of their embracing or forsaking the true Religion, to proue this his assertion, supposeth the Tyrians to haue beene Edumæans, descended from *Esau*, *Iacobs* brother: first, it can hardly be beleeued that *Tyre*, when it flourished most in her ancient glory, was in any sort truly deuout and religious. But to this end (besides the proofe which the Scriptures giue of *Hirams* good affection when *Salomon* built the Temple) hee brings many coniecturall arguments; whereof the strongest is their petigree and descent: it being likely in his opinion, that the posterity of *Esau* receiued from him by Tradition the Religion of *Abraham* and *Isaac*. That the Tyrians were Edumæans, he endeuours to shew, partly by weake reasons, painefully strained from some affinity of names, which are arguments of more delight than waight: partly by authority. For *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and others witnesse, that the Tyrians came from the red Sea, in which there were three Ilands, called *Tyrus*, *Aradus*, and *Sidon*: which very names (as he thinketh) were afterwards giuen to the Cities of *Phœnicia*. Considering therefore that all the coast of the Red Sea, was (in his opinion) vnder the Edumæans: as *Elah* and *Esiongaber*; or vnder the Amalekites, who descended of *Amalec* the Nephew of *Esau*, whose chiefe City was *Madian*, so called of *Madian* the sonne of *Abraham* by *Cethura*, whose posterity did people it: the consequence appeares good (as he takes it) that the Tyrians originally were Edomites: differing little or nothing in Religion from the children of *Israel*. Hereunto hee addes, that *Cadmus* and his Companions brought not into *Greece* the worship of *Astartis*, the Idoll of the Sidonians. That the Parents of *Thales* and *Pherecydes* being Phœnicians, themselues differed much in their Phylosophy from the Idolatrous customes of the Greekes. That in *Teman*, a Towne of the Edumæans, was an Vniuersity, wherein as may appeare by *Eliphas* the Temanite, who disputed with *Iob*, Religion was sincerely taught.

Boz. de ruin. Gent. l. 5. c. 7.

Such is the discourse of *Bozius*, who labouring to prooue one *Paradoxe* by another, deserues in both very little credit. For neither doth it follow, that if the Tyrians were Edumæans, they were then of the true Religion, or well affected to God and his people: neither is it true that they were Edumæans at all. In what Religion *Esau* brought vp his children, it is no where found written, but that himselfe was a prophane man, and disauowed by God, the Scriptures in plaine termes expresse. That his posterity were Idolaters, is directly proued in the 25. Chapter of the second booke of *Chronicles*. That the Edomites were perpetuall enemies to the House of *Israel*, saue onely when *Dauid* & some of his race, Kings of *Iuda*, held them in subiection, who knowes not? or who is ignorant

rant of *Dauids* vnfriendly behauiour amongst them, when first they were subdued? Surely it was not any argument of Kindred or Alliance, betweene *Tyrus* and Mount *Seir*, that *Hiram* held such good correspondence with *Dauid*: euen then when *Ioab* slew all the males of *Edom*: neither was it for their deuotion to God, and good affection to *Israel*, that the Edomites were so ill intreated. It seemeth that the piety and ancient wisedome of *Eliphaz* the Themanite was then forgotten, and the Edumæans punished, for being such as *Dauid* in his owne dayes found them. Although indeed the Citie of *Teman* whence *Eliphaz* came to reason with *Iob*, is not that in *Edumea*, but another of the same name, lying East from the Sea of *Galilee*, and adioyning to *Hus*, the country of *Iob*: and to *Sueh* the Citie of *Bildad* the *Suhite*, as both such *Chorographers* who best knew those parts, doe plainly shew, and the holy Text makes manifest. For *Iob* is said to haue exceeded in riches; and *Salomon* in wisedome, all the people of the East; not the inhabitants of Mount *Seir*, which lay due South from *Palestina*. True it is that *Eliphaz* the sonne of *Esau* had a sonne called *Teman*: but that Fathers were wont in those dayes to take name of their sonnes, I no where finde. And *Ismael* also had a son called *Thema*: of whom it is not vnlike that *Theman* in the East had the name: for as much as in the 7. Chap. of the booke of *Iudges*, the Midianites, Amalekites, and all they of the East are called Ismaelites. And he that well considers how great and strong a Nation *Amalec* was, which durst giue battaile to the Host of *Israel*, wherein were 600000. able men, will hardly beleeue that such a people were descended from one of *Esau* his grand-children. For how powerfull and numberlesse must the forces of all *Edom* haue beene? if one Tribe of them, yea, one Family of a Tribe had beene so great? surely Mount *Seir* and all the Regions adioyning could not haue held them. But we no where finde that *Edom* had to doe with *Amalec*: or assisted the Amalekites: when *Saul* went to roote them out. For *Amalec* is no where in Scripture named as a Tribe of *Edom*: but a Nation of it selfe, if distinct from the Ismaelites. The like may be said of *Midian*, that the Founder thereof being son to *Abraham* by *Cethura*, doubtlesse was no Edomite. And thus much in generall for all the *Seigniory* of the Red-sea coast, which *Bozius* imagines the Edumeans to haue held: if the Edomites in after-times held some places, as *Elan* and *Esiongaber* on the Red Sea shore, yet in *Moses* time, which was long after the building of *Tyre*, they held them not. For *Moses* himselfe saith, that *Israel* did compasse all the borders of *Edom*: within which limits had *Midian* stood, *Moses* must needs haue known it: because he had soiourned long in that Country: and there had left his wife and children, when he went into *Egypt*.

But coniecturall Arguments, how probable soeuer, are needlesse in so manifest a case. For in the 83. *Psal.* *Edom*, *Amalec*, and *Tyre*, are named as distinct Nations: yea the Tyrians and Sidonians being one people, as all good Authours shew, and *Bozius* himselfe confesseth, were Canaanites, as appeares, *Gen. c.* 10. *v.* 15. & 19. appointed by God to haue been destroyed, and their Lands giuen to the children of *Asser*, *Ios.* 29. because they were Idolaters, and of the cursed seed of *Canaan*, not Cousins to *Israel*, nor professors of the same Religion. For though *Hiram* said, *Blessed bee God that hath sent King Dauid a wise sonne*: wee cannot inferre that he was of *Dauids* Religion. The Turke hath said as much of Christian Princes, his confederates. Certaine it is, that the Sidonians then worshipped *Astaroth*; and drew *Salomon* also to the same Idolatry.

Whereas *Hiram* ayded *Salomon* in building the Temple, hee did it for his owne ends, receiuing therefore of *Salomon* great prouision of Corne, and Oyle, and the offer of 20. Townes and Villages in *Galilee*. And if we rightly consider things, it will appeare that *Hiram* in all points, dealt Merchant-like with *Salomon*. Hee allowed him Timber, with which *Libanus* was, and yet is ouer-pestered, being otherwise apt to yeeld silkes: as the *Andarine* silkes which come from thence, and other good commodities. For Corne and Oyle, which he wanted, he gaue that which he could well spare to *Salomon*. Also Gold for Land: wherein *Salomon* was the wiser; who hauing got the gold first, gaue to *Hiram* the worst Villages that he had: with which the Tyrian was ill pleased. But it was a necessary pollicy which inforced *Tyrus* to hold league with *Israel*. For *Dauid* had subdued *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Edom*, the *Aramites*, and a great part of *Arabia*, euen to *Euphrates*: thorough which Countries the Tyrians were wont to carry and re-carrie their Wares on Camels, to their fleets on the Red Sea, and backe againe to *Tyrus*: so that *Salomon* being Lord of all the Countries through which they were to passe, could haue cut off their Trade.

But

But the Israelites were no Sea-men, and therefore glad to share with the Tyrians in their aduentures. Yet *Salomon* as *Lord* of the Sea-townes, which his Father had taken from the Philistims, might haue greatly distressed the Tyrians, & perhaps haue brought them euen into subiection. Which *Hiram* knowing; was glad (and no meruaile) that *Salomon* rather meant as a man of peace to employ his Fathers treasure, in magnificent workes, than in pursuing the conquest of all Syria. Therefore he willingly ayded him, and sent him cunning workmen, to encrease his delight in goodly buildings, imageries, and instruments of pleasure.

As these passages betweene *Salomon* and *Hiram*, are no strong Arguments of pietie in the Tyrians: so those other proofes which *Bozius* frames negatiuely vpon particular examples are very weak. For what the Religion of *Cadmus* was, I thinke, no man knowes. It seemes to me, that hauing more cunning than the Greekes, and being very ambitious, he would faine haue purchased diuine honours: which his Daughters, Nephewes, and others of his house obtained, but his owne many misfortunes beguiled him of such hopes, if he had any. *Thales* and *Pherecydes* are but single examples: Euery saluage Nation hath some wisedome excelleth the Vulgar, euen of ciuill people. Neither did the morall wisedome of these men expresse any true knowledge of the true God. Only they made no good mention of the gods of Greece: whom being newly come thither, they knew not. It is no good argument to say, that *Cadmus* and *Thales* being Tyrians, are not knowne to haue taught Idolatry, therefore the Tyrians were not Idolaters. But this is of force, That *Carthage*, *Vtica*, *Leptis*, *Cadiz*, and all *Colonies* of the Tyrians (of which I thinke, the Ilands before mentioned in the Red Sea to haue beene, for they traded in all Seas) were Idolaters, euen from their first beginnings: therefore, the Tyrians who planted them, and to whom they had reference, were so likewise.

This their Idolatry from *Salomons* time on-wards is acknowledged by *Bozius*, who would haue vs thinke them to haue beene formerly a strange kinde of deuout Edomites. In which fancie he is so peremptory, that he styleth men of contrary opinion, *Impios politicos*, as if it were impiety to thinke that God (who euen among the Heathen, which haue not knowne his name, doth fauour Vertue and hate Vice) hath often rewarded morall honesty, with temporall happinesse. Doubtlesse, this doctrine of *Bozius* would better haue agreed with *Iulian* the *Apostata*, than with *Cyril*. For if the Assyrians, Greeks, Romanes, and all those Nations of the Gentiles, did then prosper most, when they drew neerest vnto the true Religion: what may bee said of the foule Idolatry which grew in *Rome*, as fast as *Rome* it selfe grew: aad was enlarged with some new superstition, almost vpon euery new victory? How few great battailes did the Romanes win, in which they vowed not either a Temple to some new god, or some new honour to one of their old gods? yea, what one Nation, saue onely that of the Iewes, was subdued by them, whose gods they did not afterward entertaine in their City? Onely the true God, which was the God of the Iewes, they reiected, vpbraiding the Iewes with him, as if he were vnworthy of the Romane Maiesty: shall we hereupon enforce the lewd and foolish conclusion which Heathen writers vsed against the *Christians* in the *Primitiue Church*: That such Idolatry had caused the Citie of *Rome* to flourish, and that the decay of those abominations did also bring with it the decay of the Empire? It might well be thought so, if prosperitie were a signe or effect of true Religion. Such is the blinde zeale of *Bozius*, who writing against those whom he falsely termes impious, giues strength to such as are impious indeed. But such indiscretion is vsually found among men of his humour; who hauing once either foolishly embraced the dreames of others, or vainely fashioned in their owne braines any strange *Chimera's* of Diuinity, condemne all such in the pride of their zeale, as Atheists and Infidels, that are not transported with the like intemperate ignorance. Great pitie it is, that such mad dogges are oftentimes incouraged by those who hauing the command of many tongues, when they themselues cannot touch a man in open and generous opposition, will wound him secretly by the malicious vertue of an *Hypocrite*.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Tribe of Ephraim, and of the Kings of the ten Tribes, whose head was Ephraim.

§. I.

Of the memorable places in the Tribe of Ephraim.

HAuing now past ouer *Phœnicia*, wee come to the next Territorie adioyning: which is that of *Ephraim*: sometime taken *per excellentiam* for the whole Kingdome of the ten Tribes. *Ephraim* was the second sonne of *Ioseph*, whose issues when they left *Egypt* were in number 45000. all which dying in the *Deserts*, (*Iosua* excepted) there entred the Holy Land of their children growne to be able men 32500. who sate downe on the West side of *Iordan*, betweene *Manasse*, and *Beniamin*: who bounded *Ephraim* by the North and South; as *Iordan*, and the *Mediterran* Sea, did by the East and West. Psal. 59, 78. 108, Pat. 25.

The first and chiefe Citie which *Ephraim* had, was *Samaria*, the *Metropolis* of the Kingdome of *Israel*, built by *Amru* or *Homri* King thereof, and seated on the toppe of the Mountaine *Somron*, which ouerlooketh all the bottome, and as farre as the Sea-coast. It was afterward called *Sebaste*, or *Augusta*, in honour of *August. Cæsar*. This Citie is often remembred in the Scriptures: and magnificent it was in the first building; for as *Brochard* obserueth, the ruines which yet remaine, and which *Brochard* found greater than those of *Hierusalem*, tell those that behold them, what it was when it stood vpright: for to this day there are found great store of goodly Marble pillars, with other hewne and carued stone in great abundance, among the rubble.

It was beaten to the ground by the sonnes of *Hircanus* the high Priest: restored and built by the first *Herod* the son of *Antipater*: who to flatter *Cæsar* called it *Sebaste*. Herein were the Prophets *Heliseus*, and *Abdias* buried: and so was *Iohn Baptist*. It now hath nothing but a few Cottages filled with *Grecian* Monkes.

Neere *Samaria* towards the South, is the Hill of *Bethel*, and a towne of that name: on the top of which Mountaine, *Ieroboam* erected one of his golden Calues, to be worshipped: with which he seduced the *Israelites*.

In sight of this Mountaine of *Bethel*, was that ancient Citie of *Sichem*; after the restauration called *Neapolis*, now *Pelosa*, and *Napolosa*: It was destroyed by *Simeon* and *Leui*, in reuenge of the rauishment of their sister *Dina*: and after that by *Abimelec* euened with the soyle. *Ieroboam* raised it vp againe: and the *Damascens* a third time cast it downe. *Sichar. Iob. 4.* *Mabortban.* *Ioseph. 11. ant. 8.*

Vnder *Sichem* toward the Sea standeth *Pharaton* or *Pirhathon*, on the Mountaine *Amalec*, the Citie of *Abdon* Iudge of *Israel*. And vnder it *Bethoron* of the *Leuites*, built as it is said by *Sara*, the daughter of *Ephraim*. Neere to this Citie *Iudas Machabæus* ouerthrew *Seron* and *Lysias*, Lieutenants to *Antiochus*. This Citie had *Salomon* formerly repaired and fortified. Iudg. 12. 15. 2. King. 13.

Betweene *Bethoron* and the Sea, standeth *Samir*, of which *Ios.* 10. and *Saron* whose King was slaine by *Iosua*: it is also mentioned *Acts* 9. 35. and of this *Saron* the Valley taketh name, which beginning at *Cæsarea Palestinæ*, extendeth it selfe alongst the coast as farre as *Ioppe*, saith *Adrichome*: though indeed the name *Sarona* is not particularly giuen to this Valley, but to euery fruitfull plaine Region; for not onely this Valley is so called, to wit, betweene *Cæsarea* and *Ioppe*, but that also betweene the Mountaine *Tabor* and the Sea of *Galilee*: for so S. *Hierome* vpon the fiue and thirtieth Chapter of *Esay*, interprets the word *Saron*: and so doth the same Father in his Commentaries vpon *Abdia*, read *Saron* for *Assaraim*, vnderstanding thereby a Plaine neere *Lidda*: which *Lidda* in his time was called *Diospolis*, or the City of *Iupiter*, one of the *Toparchies* of *Iudæa*, the first in dignitie (or the third after *Pliny*) where Saint *Peter* (*non sua, sed Christi virtute*) cured *Æneas*. *Niger* calls all that Region from *Anti-libanus* to *Ioppe*, *Sarona*. This *Ioppe* was Ios. c. 12. 18. 21. Act. 9. Luc. 23. *Niger. com. 4. Asiæ fol. 103. t. 4*

was burnt to the ground by the *Romanes*, those Rauens and spoylers of all Estates, disturbers of Common-weales, vsurpers of other Princes Kingdomes; who with no other respect led than to amplifie their own glory, troubled the whole world: and themselues, after murthering one another, became a prey to the most saluage and barbarous Nations.

In *Diospolis* (saith *Will.* of *Tyre*) was S. *George* beheaded, and buried: in whose honour and memory *Iustinian* the Emperour caused a faire Church to bee built ouer his Tombe; these bee *Tyrius* his words: *Relicta à dextris locis maritimis Antepatride, & Ioppe, per late patentem planitiem Elutheriam pertranseuntes, Liddam quæ est Diospolis, vbi & egregij Martyris* Georgij *vsque hodie Sepulchrum ostenditur, peruenerunt, eius Ecclesiam quam ad honorem eiusdem Martyris pius & orthodoxus Princeps Romanorum*, Augustus Iustinianus *multo studio & deuotione prompta ædificari præceperat, &c. They having left* (saith he) *on the right hand, the Sea Townes Antipatris, and Ioppe, passing ouer the great open plaine of Elutheria, came to Lidda, which is Diospolis: where the sumptuous Tombe of the famous Martyr* S. George *is at this day shewed; whose Church, when the Godly and Orthodox Prince of the Romanes, High and Mighty* Iustinian *had commanded to be built, with great earnestnesse and present deuotion, &c.* Thus farre *Tyrius*: by whose testimonie, wee may coniecture that this S. *George* was not that *Arrian* Bishop of *Alexandria*; but rather some better *Christian*: for this of *Alexandria* was slaine there in an vprore of the people, and his ashes cast into the Sea, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* reports. And yet also it may be, that this *Georgius* was a better *Christian*, than he is commonly thought: for his words of the Temple of *Genius*, *How long shall this Sepulchre stand?* occasioned the vprore of the people against him: as fearing lest he would giue attempt to ouerthrow that beautifull Temple. This also *Marcellinus* reports; who though he say that this *Georgius* was also deadly hated of the *Christians*, who else might haue rescued him: yet he addeth, that his ashes, with the ashes of two others, were therefore cast into the Sea, lest if their Reliques had beene gathered vp, Churches should bee built for them, as for others. But for my part, I rather thinke that it was not *Georgius*, whose name liues in the right honourable Order of our Knights of the Garter, but rather another, whom *Tyrius* aboue cited, witnesseth to haue beene buried at *Lidda* or *Diospolis*. The same also is confirmed by *Vitriac.* Saint *Hierome* affirmes that it was sometime called *Tigrida*; and while the *Christians* inhabited the Holy Land, it had a Bishop *Suffragan*.

Of this Saint *George* see more aboue in this 2 booke. C.7.§.3.† 5.

L.22.c.11.

Sallig. Tom.6. c.4.

Neere to *Lidda* or *Diospolis* standeth *Ramatha* of the *Leuites*, or *Aramathia*: afterward *Rama*, and *Ramula*, the natiue Citie of *Ioseph*, which buried the body of *Christ*. There are many places which beare this name of *Rama*; one they set in the Tribe of *Iuda* neere *Thecua* in the way of *Hebron*; another in *Nephtalim*, not far from *Sephet*; a third in *Zabulon*, which they say, adioyneth to *Sephoris*; a fourth, which they make the same with *Silo*; and a fift, which is this *Rama*, in the Hils of *Ephraim*, called *Rama-Sophim*, where *Samuel* liued, and wherein he is buried.

See in the Tribe of *Benjamin.cap.12.§1.*

1.Sam. 25.v.5.

From hence to the North alongst the coast are *Helon*, or *Aialon* of the *Leuites*, of which 1. Chron. 6. *Apollonia*, of which *Iosephus* in his Antiquities, and in the war of the *Iewes*. Also *Balsalisa* (for which *Iunius*, 2. *Reg.* 4.42. reades *planities Shalisæ*) they place hereabout in this Tribe of *Ephraim*; but *Iunius* vpon 1. *Sam.* 6. where we reade of the Land of *Shalisha*, findeth it in *Beniamin*.

Ant.13.27. de Bell.Iud.1.6.

On the other side of the Mountaines of *Ephraim* standeth *Gosna*, one of the *Toparchies* or Cities of gouernment, the second in dignity, of which the Country about it taketh name.

Then *Thamnath-sarah*, or according to the *Hebrew*, *Thimnath-Serach*: one also of the ten *Toparchies* or *Præsidencies* of *Iudæa*, which they call *Thamnitica*; a goodly City and strong, seated on one of the high Hils of *Ephraim*; on the North of the hill called *Gaas*, which City and Territory, *Israel* gaue vnto their Leader *Iosua*; who also amplified it with buildings, neere which he was buried. His Sepulchre remained in S. *Hieromes* time, and ouer it the *Sunne* engrauen, in memory of that greatest of wonders which God wrought in *Iosua's* time.

Iudg. 2.9. It is called *Thimnath Cheres.* Ios.9.50.

Hieron in locis Hebr.

In the places adioyning standeth *Adarsa*, or *Adasa*; where *Iudas Maccabæus* with 3000 *Iewes* ouerthrew the Army of *Nicanor*, Lieutenant of *Syria*; neere to *Gaser* or *Gezer* which *Iosua* tooke, and hung their King; a Citie of the *Leuites*. It was afterward taken by *Pharaoh* of *Egypt*; the people all slaine, and the Citie razed; *Salomon* re-built it.

Mac.1.7.40.

To

To the East of this place is the Frontier City of Iefleti, of which *Ios.* 16. 3. otherwise Pelethi, whence *Dauid* had part of his Prætorian Souldiers, vnder the charge of *Benaia*. Then that high and famous Mountaine and City of Silo, whereon the Arke of God was kept so many yeeres, till the Philistims got it.

To this they ioyne the City of Machmas, or Michmas: in which *Ionathas Maccabæus* inhabited, a place often remembred in the Scriptures. It standeth in the common way from Samaria towards Hierusalem: and is now called Byra.

See in *Beniamin.* Maccab.1.9. *v.vlt.*

Then the Village of Naioth where *Saul* prophecied; and neere it Ephron, one of those Cities which *Abijah* recouered from *Ieroboam*; after the great ouerthrow giuen him.

1 Kin. c.4. and see *Rana in Beniamin.*

10 Then Kimbtsaim, of the Leuites, of which *Iosua* 21.22. which *Iunius* thinks to be the same with Iokmeham, of which 1 *Chro.*6.28. As for *Absaloms Baalasor*, which they finde hereabout, *Iunius* reades it in the Plaine of Chatzor; and findes it in the Tribe of Iuda; as *Ios.*15. we reade of two Chatzors in that Tribe; one neere Kedesh, *v.* 23. and the other the same as Chetzron, *v.*25.

In this Tribe also they finde the City of Mello; whose Citizens, they say, ioyned with the Sichemites in making the Bastard *Abimelec* King: adding that for the building thereof with other Cities, *Salomon* raised a Tribute vpon the people. But it seemes that Mello or Millo is a common name of a strong Fort or Cittadell: and so *Iunius* for *domus* & 20. *Millo*, reades *incolæ munitionis*, and for *Salomo ædificabit Millo*, hee reades *ædificabat munitionem*, and so the *Septuagint* reade τὸν ἀκρον in that place. And without doubt the Millo which *Salomon* built, cannot be that of Sichem, but another in Hierusalem.

Iud.9.ver.6.

1 Reg. 11.27.

20 *Vatablus* expounds *Millo* in this place, *locum publicum necessarium ciuibus ierosolymitanis atque israelitis.*

The other Cities of marke in Ephraim, are Taphuach, whose King was slaine by *Iosua*; and Ianoach or Ianoah spoyled by *Teglatphalassar*; *Pekah* then gouerning Israel; with diuers others, but of no great fame. The Mountaines of Ephraim sometime signifie the greatest part of the Land of the sonnes of *Ioseph*, on the West of Iordan: seuerall parts whereof are the Hill of Samron or Samaria, 1 *Reg.*16.24. * the Hill of Gahas, *Iudg.*2.9. the Hill of Tsalmon or Salmon, *Iudg.*9.48. the Hills of the Region of Tsuph or Tsophim, *Iudg.*9.5. where Rama-Tsophim stood, which was the City of *Samuel*.

2 King.15.29.

Ios.17.v.15.16.

* Also the Hill of *Phineas*, where *Eleazar* the high Priest the son of *Aaron*, was buried, *Ios.*24.33.

The great plenty of fruitfull Vines vpon the sides of the Mountaines, was the occasion that *Iacob* in the Spirit of Prophecie, *Gen.*49.22. compared *Iosephs* two branches, Ephraim and Manasse, to the branches of a fruitfull Vine planted by the Well side, and spreading her [a] Daughter-branches along the Wall: which Allegory also *Ezekiel*, c.22. in his Lamentation for Ephraim (that is, for the ten Tribes, whose head was Ephraim) prosequutes: as also in his Lamentation for Iuda, he followeth the other Allegory of *Iacob*, *Gen.*49.9. comparing Iuda to a Lyon. Vpon the top of one of the highest of these Hills of Ephraim, which ouer-looketh all the plaines on both sides of Iordan, they finde the Castle called Dok: which they make to be the same with Dagon, of which *Ioseph.* 1. *Bell.Iudg.c.2.* in which Castle as it is, 1 *Macc.*16. *Ptolomie* most traiterously, at a banquet, slew *Simon Macchabeus* his Father in Law.

And *Gerizzim* where the blessings, & *Hebal* where the curses were to be read to the people: of which *Deut.* 11. & 27. & *Ios.*8.

[a] It seemeth that *Iacob* in this prophecie the rather vseth the word *Daughters* for *branches*, thereby the more plainly to signifie *Colonies*: which in the *Hebrew* phrase are called *Daughters* of the *Metropolis*, as in *Iosua* and elsewhere often.

40 Among the Riuers of this Tribe of Ephraim, they name Gaas, remembred in the second of *Samuel*, c.23. *v.*30. where though *Iunius* reade *Hiddai ex vna vallium Gahasi*: yet the Vulgar and *Vatablus* reade Giddai of the Riuer of Gaas. Also in this Tribe they place the Riuer of Carith, by which the Prophet *Elias* abode during the great droughth: where he was [b] fed with the Rauens: and after that the Riuer was dried vp, hee trauailed (by the Spirit of God guided) towards Sidon: where he was relieued by the poore Widow of Zarepta, whose dead sonne he reuiued, and increased her pittance of Meale and Oyle: whereby she sustained her life.

[b] 1 *Reg.*17.5. 1 *Reg.*17.

§.II.

Of the Kings of the ten Tribes from Ieroboam *to* Achab.

50 OF the first Kings of Israel, I omit in this place to speake: and reserue it to the Catalogue of the Kings of Iuda: of whom hereafter.

Touching the acts of the Kings of the ten Tribes, but briefly, beginning after the diuision from *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, now it followeth to speake. The first of these Kings *Ieroboam*, the sonne of *Nebat*, an Ephrathite of *Zereda*, who being a man of strength & courage, was by *Salomon* made ouerseer of the buildings of the Munition in *Hierusalem*, for as much as belonged to the charge of the Tribes of *Ephraim* & *Manasse*: & so many of them as wrought in those works. During which time as he went from

Hierusalem,

Hierusalem, he encountred the Prophet *Abijah*: who made him know that he was by God destinied to be King of *Israel*, and to command tenne of the twelue Tribes. After this, fearing that those things might come to *Salomons* knowledge, he fled into *Egypt* to *Shishak*, whom *Eusebius* calleth *Osochores*, whose Daughter hee married: the Predecessor of which *Shishak* (if not the same) did likewise entertaine *Adad* the Edumæan, when he was carried young into *Egypt* from the furie of *Dauid*, and his Captaine *Ioab*; which *Adad*, the King of *Egypt* married to his Wiues sister *Taphnes*; vsing both him and *Ieroboam* as instruments to shake the Kingdome of *Iudæa*; that himselfe might the easilier spoile it, as hee did: for in the fift yeare of *Rehoboam*, *Shishak* sackt the Citie of *Hierusalem*, and carried thence all the treasure of *Dauid* and *Salomon*, and all the spoyles which *Dauid* tooke from *Adadezer* of *Soba*, with the presents of *Tohu*, King of *Hamath*, which were of an inestimable value.

1 Kings 14.

This *Ieroboam* after the death of *Salomon* became Lord of the tenne Tribes: and though he were permitted by God to gouerne the *Israelites*, and from a meane man exalted to that state: yet preferring the policies of the world before the seruice and honour of God (as fearing that if the Tribes vnder his rule should repaire to *Hierusalem* to doe their vsuall Sacrifices, they might be drawne from him by degrees) he erected two golden Calues, one in *Dan*, and another in *Bethel*, for the people to worship (an imitation of the *Egyptian Apis*, saith *S. Ambrose*, or rather of *Aarons* Calfe in *Horeb*:) further he made election of his Priests out of the basest and vnlearned people. This King made his chiefe seate and Palace at *Sichem*: Hee despised the warning of the *Iudæan* Prophet, whom *Iosephus* calleth *Adon*, and *Glycas Ioel*: his hand there-after withered, and was againe restored: but continuing in his Idolatrie, and hardned vpon occasion that the Prophet returning was slaine by a Lyon, *Abijah* makes him know, that God purposed to roote out his posterity.

Ambrose vpon the 1. Chap. of the Epistle to the *Romanes*.

1 King. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. Chron. 13.

Hee was afterward ouerthrowne by *Abia* King of *Iuda*, and died after hee had gouerned two and twenty yeeres; whom *Nadab* his son succeeded: who in the second yeere of his raigne, together with all the race of *Ieroboam*, was slaine, and rooted out by *Baasha*, who raigned in his stead: so *Nadab* liued King but two yeeres.

Baasha the sonne of *Abijah*, the third King after the partition, made warre with *Asa* King of *Iuda*: he seated himselfe in *Thersa*: and fortified *Rama* against *Iuda*, to restraine their excursions. Hereupon *Asa* entertained *Benhadad* of *Damascus* against him, who inuaded *Nepthalim*, and destroyed many places therein: the meane while *Asa* carried away the materials, with which *Baasha* intended to fortifie *Rama*; but being an Idolater, he was threatned by *Iehu* the Prophet, that it should befall his race, as it did to *Ieroboam*: which afterward came to passe: He ruled foure and twenty yeeres, and died.

1 Kings 15. & 16.

To *Baasha* succeeded *Ela* his sonne, who at a feast at his Palace of *Thersa*, was in his cups slaine by *Zambris*, after he had raigned two yeeres: and in him the prophecie of *Iehu* was fulfilled.

Zambris succeeded *Ela*, and assumed the name of a King seuen dayes; But *Ambris* in reuenge of the Kings Murther, set vpon *Zambris*, or *Zimri*; and inclosed him in *Thersa*, and forc't him to burne himselfe.

1 Kings 16.

Ambris or *Homri* succeeded *Ela*, and transferred the Regall seate from *Thersa* to *Samaria*: which hee bought of *Shemer*, built, and fortified it. This *Ambris* was also an Idolater, no lesse impious than the rest: and therefore subiected to *Tabremmon*, King of *Syria*; the Father of *Benadad* according to *Eusebius*, *Nicephorus*, and *Zonaras*: but how this should stand, I doe not well conceiue; seeing *Benadad* the sonne of *Tabremmon* was inuited by *Asa* King of *Iuda*, to assaile *Baasha* King of *Israel*, the Father of *Ela* who forewent *Ambris*. This *Ambris* raigned twelue yeeres, sixe in *Thersa*, and sixe in *Samaria*, and left two children, *Achab* and *Athalia*.

2 Kings 16.

1 King. 15.

§. III.

Of Achab *and his Successors, with the captiuitie of the ten Tribes.*

Achab or *Ahab* succeeded *Omri*, who not onely vp-held the Idolatrie of *Ieroboam*, borrowed of the Egyptians: but he married *Iesabel* the *Zidonian*: and as *Ieroboam* followed the Religion of his Egyptian Wife: so did *Achab* of his *Zidonian*:

and erected an Altar and a Groue to *Baal* in Samaria. Hee suffered *Iezabel* to kill the Prophets of the most high God. *God* sent famine on the Land of Israel. *Achab* met *Elias*: *Elias* preuailed in the triall of the Sacrifice, and killeth the false Prophets; and afterward flyeth for feare of *Iezabel*.

Benadad, not long after besieged Samaria: and taken by *Achab*, was by him set at liberty: for which the Prophet (whom *Glycas* calleth *Michæas*) reproueth him: afterward he caused *Naboth* by a false accusation to be stoned. Then ioyning with *Iosaphat* in the warre for the recouery of Ramoth, he was slaine, as *Michæas* had foretold him.

Hee had three sonnes named in the Scripture, *Ochozias*, *Ioram*, and *Ioas*: besides seuentie other sonnes by sundry wiues and concubines.

Ochozias succeeded his father *Achab*. The Moabites fell from his obedience: he bruised himselfe by a fall: and sent for counsaile to *Beel-zebub* the God of Acharon. *Eliah* the Prophet meeteth the messenger on the way: and misliking that *Ochozias* sought helpe from that dead Idoll, asked the messenger, If there were not a God in Israel? *Ochozias* sendeth two Captaines, and with each fifty souldiers to bring *Eliah* vnto him, both which with their Attendants were consumed with fire. The third Captaine besought mercy at *Eliahs* hands, and he spared him, and went with him to the King, auowing it to the King that he must then die; which came to passe in the second yeare of his raigne.

Beelzebub was the same with *Belus*, and *Pluto*, saith *Viginere* vpon *Liui*.

2 Kings 1.

Ioram, the brother of *Ochozias* by *Iezabel*, succeeded: Hee allured *Iosaphat* King of Iuda, and the King of Edom to assist him against the Moabites, who refused to pay him the tribute of 20000. sheepe. The three Kings wanted water, for themselues and their Horses, in the Desarts. The Prophet *Elisha* causeth the ditches to flow. The Moabites are ouerthrown: their King flyeth to Kirharaseth, and being besieged, according to some Expositors, burnt his sonne on the walls as a Sacrifice, whereat the three Kings, moued with compassion, returned and left Moab, wasting and spoiling that Region. Others, as it seemes with better reason, vnderstand the Text to speake of the sonne of the King of Edom, whom they suppose in this irruption to haue beene taken prisoner by the Moabites, and that the King of Moab shewed him ore the walls, threatning, vnlesse the siege were dissolued, that he would offer him in sacrifice to his gods. Whereupon the King of Edom besought those of Iuda and Israel to breake off the siege for the safety of his sonne: which when the other kings refused to yeeld vnto, & that *Moab* according to his former threatning had burnt the King of Edoms sonne vpon the rampire, that all the assailants might discerne it, the king of Edom being by this sad spectacle inraged, forsooke the party of the other kings, for want of whose assistance the siege was broken vp.

2 Kings 3.

After this the King of Aram sent to *Ioram*, to heale *Naaman* the Captaine of his Armie of the Leprosie. The answer of *Ioram* was; Am I God to kill, and to giue life, that hee doth send to heale a man from his Leptosie? adding, that the Aramite sought but matter of quarrell against him. *Elisha* hearing thereof, willed the King to send *Naaman* to him; promising that hee should know that there was a Prophet in Israel; and so *Naaman* was healed by washing himselfe seuen times in Iordan. *Elisha* refused the gifts of *Naaman*; but his seruant *Gehazi* accepted a part thereof: from whence the sellers of spirituall gifts are called Gehazites, as the buyers are Simonians of *Simon Magus*.

2 Kings 5.

Afterward *Benhadad* king of Aram or Damascus, hauing heard that this Prophet did discouer to the king of Israel whatsoeuer the Aramite consulted in his secretest councell, sent a troupe of horse to take *Elisha*: all whom *Elisha* strooke blinde, and brought them captiues into Samaria: *Ioram* then asked leaue of the Prophet to slay them, *Elisha* forbad him to harme them: but caused them to be fed and sent backe to their own Prince in safetie.

The king of Aram notwithstanding these benefits, did againe attempt Samaria, and brought the Citizens to extreame famine. *Ioram* imputeth the cause thereof to the Prophet *Elisha*. *Elisha* by prayer caused a noise of Chariots and armour to sound in the ayre, whereby the Aramites affrighted, fled away, and left the siege. An act of great admiration, as the same is written in the second of *Kings*. After this, when *Azael* obtained the kingdome of Syria by the death of his Master, *Ioram* entring vpon his frontier, tooke Ramoth Gilead: in which war he receiued diuers wounds, and returned to Iezreel to be cured. But whilest he lay there, *Iehu* (who commanding the armie of *Ioram* in Gilead, was anointed king by one of the children of the Prophets sent by *Elisha*) surprised

2 Kings 7.

and slew both him and all that belonged vnto him, rooting out the whole posteritie of *Abab*.

Iehu who reighned after *Iehoram*, destroyed not onely the race of his fore-goers, but also their religion; for which he receiued a promise from God, That his seed should occupie the Throne vnto the fourth generation. Yet hee vpheld the Idolatry of *Ieroboam*,
Pag. 86. for which he was plagued with grieuous warre, wherein hee was beaten by *Hazael* the Aramite, who spoiled all the Countries to the East of *Iordan*: in which warre hee was slaine, saith *Cedrenus*: whereof the Scriptures are silent. *Iehu* reigned 28. yeeres.

Ioachaz or *Iehoahaz* the sonne of *Iehu* succeeded his father, whom *Azael* and his son
2 King. 13. *Benhadad* often inuaded, and in the end subiected, leauing him onely 50. horse, 20. chariots, and 10000. foot; and as it is written in the Scriptures, he made them like dust beaten into powder. *Ioachaz* reigned 17. yeares.

After *Ioachaz Ioas* his sonne gouerned *Israel*, who when hee repaired to *Elisha* the Prophet as hee lay on his death-bed, the Prophet promised him three victories ouer the *Aramites*: and first commanded him to lay his hand on his bowe, and *Elisha* couered the Kings hands with his, and bad him open the window westward (which was toward *Damascus*) and then shoot an arrow thence out. Hee againe willed him to beate the ground with his arrowes, who smote it thrice and ceased: The Prophet then told him, that hee should haue smitten fiue or sixe times, and then he should haue had so many victories ouer the *Aramites* as he gaue strokes. And so it succeeded with *Ioas*, who ouerthrew the *Aramites* in three battels, and recouered the Cities and Territorie from *Benhadad* the sonne of *Azael*, which his Father *Ioachaz* had lost. He also ouerthrew *Amazia* King of
2 King. 14. *Iuda*, who prouoked him to make the warre, whereupon he entred *Hierusalem*, and sacked it with the Temple. This *Ioas* raigned sixteene yeeres and died; in whose time also the Prophet *Elisha* exchanged this life for a better.

Ieroboam the third from *Iehu*, followed *Ioas* his father, an Idolater as his predecessors; but he recouered all the rest of the lands belonging to *Israel*, from *Hamath* which is neere *Libanus*, to the dead Sea, and raigned one and forty yeeres.

Zacharias the fift and last of the house of *Iehu*, slaine by *Shallum* his vassall, who raigned in his stead, gouerned six moneths. *Shallum* held the kingdome but one moneth, being slaughtered by *Menahem* of the *Gadites*.

Menahem who tooke reuenge of *Shallum*, vsed great crueltie to those that did not acknowledge him: ripping the bellies of those that were with childe. This *Menahem* be-
2 King. 16. 19. ing inuaded by *Phul*, bought his peace with ten thousand talents of siluer, which hee exacted by a Tribute of fifty shekels from euery man of wealth in *Israel*. *Menahem* gouerned twenty yeeres.

Pekahiah or *Phaceia*, or after *Zonaras*, *Phacesia* succeeded, and after hee had ruled two yeeres he was slaine by *Phaca* or *Pekah* the Commander of his army, who raigned in his place. In this *Pekahs* time, *Phulassar* or *Tiglat-Phylassar* inuaded the kingdome of *Israel*, and wan *Iion*, *Abel-bethmaaca*, *Ianoach*, *Kedesh*, *Hasor*, and *Gilead*, with all the Ci-
2 King. 15. 29. ties of *Galilee*, carrying them captiues into *Assyria*: he was drawne in by *Achas* king of *Iudæa*, against *Pekah* and *Rezin*, the last of the *Adades*. For *Achas* being wasted by *Pekah* of *Israel*, and by *Rezin* of *Damascus*, did a third time borrow the Church riches, & therewith ingaged the *Assyrian*, who first suppressed that Monarchy of *Syria* and *Damascus*, and then of *Israel*: and this inuiting of the great *Assyrian*, was the vtter ruine of both States, of *Israel* and of *Iudæa*. *Pekah* reigned twenty yeeres.

Then *Hoshea* or *Osea*, who slew *Pekah*, became the vassall of *Salmanassar*; but hoping to shake off the *Assyrian* yoke, he sought aide from *So*, or *Sua*, or *Sebicus* King of *Egypt*: which being knowne to the *Assyrian*, he cast him into prison, besieged *Samaria*, and ma-
stred it: carried the ten idolatrous Tribes into *Niniue* in *Assyria*, and into *Rages* in *Media*, and into other Easterne Regions, and there dispersed them: and replanted *Samaria* with diuers Nations, and chiefly with the *Cuthæ* (inhabiting about *Cutha* a riuer in *Persia*, or rather in *Arabia Deserta*) and with the people *Catanei* bounding vpon *Syria*, and with those of *Sepharuaim* (a people of *Sephar* in *Mesopotamia* vpon *Euphrates*, of whose conquest *Senacherib* vaunteth) also with those of *Aua*, which were of the ancient *Auim*, who inhabited the Land of the *Philistims* in *Abrahams* time, dwelling neere vnto *Gaza*, whom the *Caphtorims* rooted out: and at this time they were of *Arabia* the *Desart*, called *Hanci*, willing to returne to their ancient seates. To these he added those of *Chamath* or

or *Ituræa*, the ancient enemies of the Israelites, and sometime the Vassalls of the Adads of Damascus, which so often afflicted them. And thus did this Assyrian aduise himselfe better than the Romanes did. For after *Titus* and *Vespasian* had wasted the Cities of Iudæa, and Hierusalem, they carried the people away captiue: but left no others in their places, but a very few simple labourers, besides their owne thin Garrisons, which soone decayed: and thereby they gaue that dangerous entrance to the Arabians and Saracens, who neuer could be driuen thence againe to this day.

And this transmigration, plantation, and displantation, happened in the yeare of the world 3292. the sixth yeare of *Ezekiah* King of Iuda: and the ninth of *Hosea* the last King of Israel.

A Catalogue of the Kings of the ten TRIBES.

1.	*Ieroboam*,	Raigned 22 Yeares.
2.	*Nadab*,	2 Yeares.
3.	*Baasha*,	24 Yeares.
4.	*Ela*,	20 Yeares.
5.	*Zambris*,	7 Dayes.
6.	*Omri*,	11 Yeares.
7.	*Achab*,	22 Yeares.
8.	*Ochozias*,	2 Yeares.
9.	*Ioram*,	12 Yeares.
10.	*Iehu*,	28 Yeares.
11.	*Ioachaz*,	17 Yeares.
12.	*Ioas*,	16 Yeares.
13.	*Ieroboam*,	41 Yeares.
14.	*Zacharias*,	6 Moneths.
15.	*Shallum*,	1 Moneth.
16.	*Menahem*,	10 Yeares.
17.	*Pakahia*,	2 Yeares.
18.	*Phaca*,	20 Yeares.
19.	*Hosea*.	9 Yeares, about whose time Writers differ.

CHAP. X.

Of the memorable places of Dan, Simeon, Iuda, Reuben, Gad, and the other halfe of Manasse.

§. I.

Of Dan, whereof Ioppe, Gath, Accaron, Azotus, and other Townes.

NOw following the coast of the Mediterran Sea, that portion of Land assigned to the Tribe of *Dan*, ioyneth to Ephraim, whereof I spake last: of which family there were numbred at Mount Sinai 62700. fighting men, all which leauing their bodies with the rest in the Desarts; there entred the Holy Land of their sonnes 66400. bearing V. 46. armes. The first famous Citie in this Tribe on the Sea-coast was Ioppe, or Iapho, as in the 19. of *Iosua*: one of the most ancientest of the World, and the most famous of others on that coast, because it was the Port of Hierusalem. From hence *Ionas* imbarked himselfe when he fled from the seruice of God, towards Tharsis in Cilicia. In the time of the Macchabees this Citie receiued many changes: and while *Iudas Macchabæus* gouerned the Iewes, the Syrians Mac. 2. 12. that were Garrisond in Ioppe, hauing their fleete in the Port, inuited 200. principall Citizens aboord them, and cast them all into the Sea: which *Iudas* reuenged by firing their fleet, and putting the companies which sought to escape, to the sword.

It was twice taken by the Romanes, and by *Cestius* the Lieutenant vtterly burnt and ruined. But in the yeere of Christ, 1250. *Lodewick* the French King gaue it new Walls, and Towers. It is now the Turkes, and called Iaffa. There are certaine Rockes in that Port, whereunto it is reported, that *Andromeda* was fastned with chaines: & from thence deliuered from the Sea-monster by *Perseus*. This Fable (for so I take it) is confirmed by *Iosephus*, *Solinus*, and *Plinie*. *Marcus Scaurus* during his office of Ædileship, shewed the bones of this Monster to the people of Rome. S. *Hierome* vpon *Ionas* speakes of it indifferently.

L.3.c.15. de bel Iud. Solin. c. 47. Plin. l.5.c.9.

2 Mac. 12. De Bell. sacr.

The next vnto Ioppe was Iamnia, where *Iudas Macchabeus* burnt the rest of the Syrian fleet: the fire and flame whereof was seene at Hierusalem 240. furlongs off. It had sometime a Bishops seate, saith *Will.* of Tyre; But there is no signe of it at this time, that such a place there was.

After Iamnia is the Citie of Geth or Gath, sometime Anthedon, saith *Volatteran*. And so *Montanus* seemes to vnderstand it. For he sets it next to Egypt, of all the Philistim Cities, and in the place of Anthedon. But *Volatteran* giues neither reason nor authority for his opinion; for *Ptolomie* sets Anthedon farre to the South of Ioppe: And Geth was the first and not the last (beginning from the North) of all the great Cities of the Philistims: and about sixteene miles from Ioppe; where S. *Hierome* in his time found a great Village of the same name. It was sometime the Habitation and Seminarie of the Anakims: strong and Giant-like-men, whom *Iosua* could not expell, nor the Danites after him: nor any of the Israelites, till *Dauids* time: who slew *Goliath*, as his Captaines did diuers others, not much inferiour in strength and stature vnto *Goliath*.

F.244.

Hieron. in Michean.

Roboam the sonne of *Salomon* rebuilt Geth: *Ozias* the sonne of *Amazia* destroyed it againe. It was also laid waste by *Azael* King of Syria. *Fulke* the fourth King of Hierusalem, built a Castle in the same place out of the old ruines. Whether this Geth was the same that *Will.* of Tyre in the holy Warre calls Ibijlin, I much doubt: the error growing by taking Geth for Anthedon.

L. 21.c.18.

Not farre from Geth or Gath standeth Bethsemes, or the house of the Sunne. In the fields adioyning to this City (as is thought) was the Arke of God brought by a yoke of two Kine, turned loose by the Philistims: and the Bethsemites presuming to looke therein, there were slain of the Elders 70. and of the people 50000. by the ordinance of God. After which slaughter & the great lamentation of the people: it was called the great * *Abel*, saith S. *Hierome*: *Benedictus Theologus* findes three other Cities of this name; one in [a] *Nephtalim*: another in *Iuda*: and another in *Isachar*. *Hierom* findes a fifth in *Beniamin*.

Sa.1.c.6.v.18.

* Or rather not the Citie itselfe but the great stone in the field, vpon which stone the Philistims set the Arke, the change being easie from Eben or Aben, which signifieth a stone, to *Abel*, which signifieth mourning.

a See in Neptl. C.7.§.4.†.6.

Keeping the Sea-Coast, the strong Citie of Accaron offereth it selfe, sometime one of the fiue Satrapies, or Gouernments of the Philistims. S. *Hierome* makes it the same with Cæsaria Palæstinæ. *Plinie* confounds it with *Apollonia*: It was one of those that defended it selfe against the Danites & Idumæans. It worshipped *Beel-zebub* the god of Hornets or Flies. To which Idoll it was that *Ahaziah* King of Israel, sent to enquire of his health: whose messengers *Eliah* meeting by the way, caused them to returne, with a sorrowfull answer to their Master. This City is remembred in many places of Scripture.

2 King.1.

but was besieged by *Psammetichus*, the Father of *Pharao Neco* for 29. yeeres together, whence *Ier.25.v.20.* speakes of the residue of *Asdod*, to wit, the greatest part hauing perished in this siege.

c 1 Sam.5.4.

d 1 Mac.c.10. 1 Mac.c.10. Ios.19.41. Iud.13.25, &c. 18.v.2.

Christianus Schrot placeth Azotus next to Geth, and then Accaron or Ekron. This Azotus or Asdod was also an habitation of the Anakims, whom *Iosua* [b] failed to destroy, though he once possest their Citie. Herein stood a sumptuous Temple, dedicated to the * Idoll *Dagon*: the same Idoll which fell twice to the ground of it selfe, after the *Arke* of God was by the Philistims carried into their Temple: and in the second fall, it was vtterly broken and defaced. Neere it was that famous [d] *Iudas Macchabæus* slaine by *Bacchides* and *Alcimus*, the Lieutenants of *Demetrius*. Afterward it was taken by *Ionathas*: and the rest of the Citizens being put to the sword, all that fled into the Temple of *Dagon*, were with their Idoll therein consumed with fire: neere which also hee ouerthrew *Apollonius*.

Gabinius the Romane re-built it. It had a Bishops seate while Christianity flourished in those parts. But in *S. Hieromes* time it was yet a faire Village. And this was the last of the Sea-Townes within the Tribe of *Dan*.

The Cities which are within the Land Eastward from *Azotus*, and beyond the Fountaine of Æthiopia, wherein *Philip* the Apostle baptized the Eunuch, are *Tsorah*, or Sarxa, and Esthaol, and between them Castra Danis neere Hebron: though this place where *Sampson* was borne, may seeme by the words, *Iud.* 18.12. to bee in the Tribe of *Iudah*,

Iudah, as the other also were bordering Townes betweene *Dan* and *Iuda*.

After these within the bounds of *Iuda*, but belonging to the *Danites*, they finde *Gedor*, or as it is 1. *Mac.*15. *Cedron*, which *Cendebæus* the Lieutenant of *Antiochus* fortified against the *Iewes*, and neere which himselfe was by the *Macchabees* ouerthrowne.

1 Mac.15.16.

Then *Modin* the Natiue Citie of the *Macchabees*: and wherein they were buried, on whose Sepulchre the seuen Marble Pillars, which were erected of that heighth, as they serued for a marke to the Sea-men, remained many hundreds of yeeres after their first setting vp, as *Brochard* and *Breidenbach* witnesse.

There are besides these the Citie of *Cariathiarim*, that is, the Citie of the woods: seated in the border of *Iuda*, *Beniamin*, and *Dan*, wherein the Arke of God remained twenty yeeres in the house of *Aminadab*: till such time as *Dauid* carried it thence to *Hierusalem*. Of this place (as they say) was *Zacharias* the sonne of *Barachias*, or *Iehoida*, who was slaine betweene the Temple and the Altar: also *Vrias* whom *Ioachim* King of *Hierusalem* slaughtered as we finde in *Ieremie*. Many other places which they place in this Tribe, rather as I take it vpon presumption than warrant, I omit: as that of *Caspin* taken with great slaughter by *Iudas Machabeus*: and *Lechis*, whose King was slaine by *Iosua*, in which also *Amaziah* was slaine: The same with *Senacherib* tooke, *Ezekias* raigning in *Iuda*.

Alias Cariathbaal & Baal, or Baalpharosim, 1 Sam.7.1. & 2 Sam.6.2. 2 Chron.24.22. Mat.23.33. Ier 26.20. 2 Mac.12.13. Ios.12.11. 2 Reg.14.19.

Of other Cities belonging to this Tribe, see in *Iosua C.19.* from the *Verse* 41. where also it is added that the *Danites* portion was too little for their number of Families: and therefore that they inuaded *Leshem*, and inhabited it: which City after amplified by *Philip* the brother of *Herod Antipas*, was called *Cæsarea Philippi*, as before, and made the *Metropolis* of *Iturea*, and *Trachonitis*: of which coasts this *Philip* was *Tatrach*: but of this Citie see more in *Nephtalim*. In this Tribe there are no Mountaines of fame.

It hath two Riuers or Torrents: the Norther-most riseth out of the Mountaines of *Iuda*: and passing by *Modin*, falleth into the Sea by *Sachrona*. The other hath the name of *Sorek* or *Sored*, whose bankes are plentifull of Vines which haue no seeds or stones: The wine they yeeld is red, of excellent colour, taste, and sauour, &c. In this Valley of *Sorek*, so called from the Riuer, inhabited *Dalila* whom *Sampson* loued.

Hieron in Esai. & Micheam 1. Broch. Ereid. Iud.16.4.

§. II.

THE TRIBE OF SIMEON.

THe Tribe of *Simeon* takes vp the rest of the Sea-coast of *Canaan*, to the border of *Egypt*: who being the second sonne of *Iacob* by *Lea*, there were increased of that Familie while they abode in *Egypt*, as they were numbred at Mount *Sinai*, 59300. able men, all which ending their liues in the *Desarts*, there entred the Land of Promise of their issues 22200. bearing armes, who were * in part mixed with *Iuda*, and in part seuered, inhabiting a small Territorie on the Sea-coast, belonging to *Edumæa*, of which the first Citie adioyning to *Dan*, was *Ascalon*.

* And therefore no maruel that diuers places named, *Ios.* 15. in the large portiõ of *Iuda* be reckoned in this Tribe: see *Ios.*19.v.1.& 9. where thus much is expressly noted.

The *Reguli* or pettie Kings thereof were called *Ascalonitæ*: of which *Volaterran* out of *Xanthus*, in the Historie of the *Lydians*, reports, that *Tantalus* and *Ascalus* were the sons of *Hymenæus*: and that *Ascalus* being imployed by *Aciamus* King of the *Lydians*, with an Armie in *Syria*, falling in loue with a young Woman of that Countrie, built this Citie, and called it after his owne name: The same hath *Nicolaus* in his Historie, saith *Volaterran*.

Volat. Geog. l. 11. fol. 244.

Diodorus Siculus in his third booke remembreth a Lake neere *Ascalon*, wherein there hath beene a Temple dedicated to *Derceto*, the Goddesse of the *Syrians*; hauing the face of a Woman, and the body of a Fish: who, as I haue said before, in the story of *Ninus*, was the Mother of *Semiramis*, fained to be cast into this Lake, and fedde and releeued by Doues. And therefore was the Doue worshipped both in *Babylonia* and *Syria*, of which *Tibullus* the Poet:

Alba Palæstino sancta Columba Syro.

The white Doue is for holy held, in *Syria Palæstine*.

It was one of the chiefest and strongest Cities of the Philistims. It bred many learned men

men (saith *Volaterran*) as *Antiochus, Sosus, Cygnus, Dorotheus* the Historian, and *Artemidorus*, who wrote the storie of *Bithynia*.

Vol. vt supra.

In *Ascalon*, as some say, was that wicked *Herod* borne, that seeking after our Sauiour, caused all the Male-children of two yeares old and vnder to bee slaine. In the Christian times it had a Bishop, and after that, when it was by the *Saladine* defaced, *Richard* King of England, while he made Warre in the Holy Land, gaue it a new wall and many buildings. *Eius muros cum* Saladinus *diruisset*, Richardus *Anglorum Rex instaurauit*, saith *Adrichomeus*.

Adrich. in Trib. Simeon.

In *Dauids* time it was one of the most renowned Cities of the Philistims: for hee nameth *Gath* and *Ascalon* onely, when he lamenteth the death of *Saul* and *Ionathan*: not speaking of the other three. *Tell it not in Gath, nor publish it not in the streetes of Ascalon*: It is now called *Scalone*. *Gabinius* restored it as he did *Azotus* and *Gaza*.

2 Sam. 1.

Next to *Ascalon* stood *Gaza* or *Gazera*, which the *Hebrewes* call *Hazza*, the *Syrians Azan*: of *Azonus* (as they say) the sonne of *Hercules*. Other prophane writers affirme, that it was built by *Iupiter*. *Pomp. Mela* giues the building thereof to *Cambyses* the Persian; because belike hee rebuilt it, and *Gaza* in the Persian tongue is as much to say as Treasure. This *Gaza* was the first of the fiue *Satrapies* of the Philistims: and the South bound of the Land of *Canaan* towards *Egypt*. But this Citie was farre more ancient than *Cambyses*, as it is prooued by many Scriptures. It was once taken by *Caleb*: but the strength of the *Anakims* put him from it. At such time as *Alexander Macedon* inuaded the Empire of *Persia*, it receiued a Garrison for *Darius*: in despight whereof it was by the *Macedonians* after a long siege demolished, and was called *Gaza* of the *Desart*.

Vol. l. 11.

Steph. de Vrb. Iud. 1. 6. 16. 1 King. 6. & alib.

Alexander Ianneus King of the Iewes surprized it: and slew fiue hundred Senators in the Temple of *Apollo*, which fled thither for Sanctuarie: but this *Gaza* was not set vp in the same place againe, to wit, on the foundations which *Alexander Macedon* had ouerturned, but somewhat neerer the Sea side: though the other was but two mile off. It was a Towne of great account in the time of the *Macchabees*, and gaue many wounds to the Iewes till it was forst by *Simon*: of which hee made so great account, as that hee purposed to reside therein himselfe, and in his absence left *Iohn* his sonne and Successor to bee Gouernour. In *Brochard* his time it was still a goodly Citie, and knowne by the name of *Gazara*.

Ioseph. 13. ant. 19.

Macc. 1. 15. Broch. Itin. 7.

At the very out-let of the Riuer of *Besor*, standeth *Maioma* the Port of *Gaza*: to which the priuiledge of a Citie was giuen by the great *Constantine*, and the place called *Constance* after the name of the Emperours Sonne. But *Iulian* the *Apostata* soone after fauouring the *Gazeans*, made it subiect vnto them, and commanded it to bee called *Gaza maritima*.

Hist. trip. l. 6. c. 4. Niceph. 10. hist. cap. 4.

On the other side of *Besor*, standeth *Anthedon*, defaced by *Alexander Ianneus*, restored by *Herod*, and called *Agrippias*, after the name of *Agrippa*, the fauourite of *Augustus*.

Ioseph. 13. ant. 19.

Then *Raphia*, where *Philopater* ouerthrew the great *Antiochus*: and beyond it *Rhinocura*, whose Torrent is knowne in the Scriptures by the name of * *the Torpent of Egypt*, till the *Septuagint* conuerted it *Rinocura*: to difference it, *Es.* 27.12. giuing the name of the Citie to the Torrent that watereth it. *Plinie* calls it *Rhinocolura*; and *Iosephus*, *Rhinocorura*: [a] *Epiphanius* reports it as a Tradition, that at this place the world was diuided by lot, betweene the three Sonnes of *Noah*.

Ioseph. 13. ant. 19. 21. 14, &c.

* *Iunius* cals it *Vallis Egypti*, the name of the streame seems to be *Sihor*. See in *Asser*, Chap. 7. §. 3. 4. 8.

in the margent a *Epiph. tom. 2. in refut. Manich. & in Anc orato. Gen. 10. 19.*

Within the Land and vpon the Riuer of *Besor* they place *Gerar*: which the Scripture placeth between *Kadesh* & *Shur*, *Gen.* 20. 1. That it was neere to the Wildernesse of *Beersheba*, it appeares *Gen.* 20. 31. and therefore no maruell that as elsewhere *Beer-sheba*, so sometime *Gerar*, bee made the South bound of *Cannaan*. It was of old a distinct Kingdome from the *Philistim Satrapies*, the Kings by one common name were called *Abimelechs*; S. *Hierome* saith that afterward it was called *Regio salutaris, the healthy Country*: so that it was no maruell that *Abraham* and *Isaac* liued much in those parts. Of King *Asa's* conquest of the Cities about Gerar, see 2. *Chron.* 14. 14.

More within the Land was *Siceleg* or *Tsiglak*, which was burnt by the *Amalekites*, when *Dauid* in his flying from *Saul* to the Philistims had left his carriages there, but *Dauid* followed them ouer the Riuer of *Besor*, and put them to the slaughter, and recouered the prey.

1 Sam. 30.

Iosf. 10. 11. 12.

Next *Dabir* sometime *Cariath-Sepher*, the Citie of Letters, the Vniuersitie, as they say; or *Academie* of old *Palestine*. In Saint *Hieromes* time it seemes it had the name of *Daema*:

Daema: *Iosua* 15. 49. it is called *Vrbs Sannæ*: from the name, as it seemes, of some of the *Anakims*, as *Hebron* was called *Vrbs Arbahi*. For euen hence also were these Giants expelled. It was taken chiefly by *Othoniel*, incouraged by *Calebs* promise of his Daughter in marriage: but that *Iosua* and the Hoast of *Israel* were at the surprise, it appeares *Ios.* 10. 39. This Citie *Ios.* 21. 15. is named among those which out of *Simeon* and *Iuda* were giuen to the *Leuites*. And hence it seemes they attribute it to this Tribe.

Ios. 11. v. 21.

Besides these, there are many others in the Tribe of *Simeon*, but of lesse fame, as *Haÿn*, of which *Ios.* 19. 7. which also *Ios.* 21. 16. is reckoned for one of the Cities of the *Leuites*, giuen out of the portion of *Iuda* and *Simeon* (for which *Iunius* thinkes *Hasham* is named 1 *Chron.* 6. 59. though * in the place of *Iosua* these two are distinguished) also *Tholad* so named 1 *Chron.* 4. 29. for which *Iosua* 19. 4 wee haue *Eltholad*. *Chatzar-Susa* so named *Iosua* 19. 5. for which *Iosua* 15. wee haue *Chatzar-Gadda*, both names agreeing in signification: for *Gadda* is *Turma*, and *Susa Equitatus*.

* And also 1 Chron. 4. 32.

In the same places of *Iosua* and of the *Chronicles Chorma* is named, which they thinke to be the same with that of which *Num.* 14. 45. to which the *Amalekites* and *Canaanites* pursued the *Israelites*: But that *Chorma* cannot be in *Simeon*, nor within the Mountaines of *Edumæa*. For *Israel* fled not that way: but backe againe to the Campe, which lay to the South of *Edumæa*, in the *Desart*.

Deut. 1.

The same places also name *Beersheba* in this Tribe: so called of the Oath betweene *Abraham* and *Abimelec*: neere vnto which *Hagar* wandred with her sonne *Ismael*. It was also called the Citie of *Isaac*, because hee dwelt long there. While the *Christians* held the Holy Land, they laboured much to strengthen this place, standing on the border of the *Arabian Desart*, and in the South bound of *Canaan*. It hath now the name of *Gibelin*. The other Cities of *Simeon* which are named in the places of *Iosua*, and of the *Chronicles* aboue noted, because they helpe vs nothing in storie, I omit them. In the time of *Ezekia* King of *Iuda*, certaine of this Tribe being strengthened in their owne Territories, passed to * *Gedor*, as it is, 1 *Chron.* 4. 39. (the same place which *Ios.* 15. 36. is called *Gedera* and *Gederothaima*) which at that time was inhabited by the issue of *Cham*: where they seated themselues: as also fiue hundred others of this Tribe, destroyed the Reliques of *Amalec* in the Mountaines of *Edom*, and dwelt in their places.

Gen. 21. 31.

* As it seemes in the Land of *Iuda*. See in the first *Paragraph* of this Chapter in the Cities of *Dan*.

The Mountaines within this Tribe are few, and that of *Sampson* the chiefest: vnto which he carried the Gate-post of *Gaza*. The Riuers are *Besor*, and the *Torrent* of *Egypt* called *Shichar*, as is noted in *Asser*.

Iud. 16. 3.

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§. III.

THE TRIBE OF IVDA.

OF *Iuda* the fourth sonne of *Iacob* by *Lea*, there were multiplied in *Egypt* 74600. all which (*Caleb* excepted) perished in the *Desarts*. And of their sonnes there entred the Land of *Canaan* 76500. bearing armes: Agreeable to the greatnesse of this number was the greatest Territorie giuen, called afterward *Iudæa*: within the bounds whereof were the portions allotted to *Dan* and *Simeon* included. And many Cities named in those Tribes, did first, as they say, belong vnto the Children of *Iuda*: who had a kinde of Soueraignetie ouer them: as *Succoth*, *Cariathiarim*, *Lachis*, *Bethsemes*, *Tsiglag*, *Beersheba*, and others. The multitude of people within this small Prouince (if it be meated by that ground giuen to this Tribe onely) were incredible, if the witnesse of the Scriptures had not warranted the report. For when *Dauid* numbred the people, they were found fiue hundred thousand fighting men.

The Cities of *Iuda* were many. But I will remember the chiefest of them: beginning with *Arad*, or *Horma*, which standeth in the entrance of *Iudæa* from *Idumæa*: whose King first surprized the *Israelites* as they passed by the border of *Canaan* towards *Moab*, and tooke from them some spoyles, and many prisoners: who being afterward ouerthrowne by the *Israelites*, the sonnes of *Keni*, the Kinsmen of *Moses*, obtained a possession in that Territorie: who before the comming of the Israelites, dwelt betweene *Madian* and *Amalek*.

Num. 21. v. 3. Ios. 12. v. 14. Iud. 1. v. 16.

Following this Frontier towards *Idumæa* and the South, *Ascensus Scorpionis*, or *Acrabbim* is placed: the next to *Arad*: so called because of Scorpions, which are said to bee in that

Num. 34. 4. Deut. 8. 15.

that place: from which name of *Acrabbim*, *Hierome* thinkes that the name of the *Toparchie* called *Acrabathena* was denominated: of which we haue spoken in *Manasses*. On the South side also of *Iudæa* they place the Cities of *Iagur*, *Dimona*, *Adada*, *Cedes*, *Asna*, *Iethnam*, and *Asor* or *Chatsor*, most of them Frontier Townes.

And then *Ziph*: of which there are two places so called: one besides this in the body of *Iuda*, of which the *Desart* and Forrest adioyning tooke name: where *Dauid* hid himselfe from *Saul*. After these are the Cities of *Esron*, *Adar*, *Karkah*, and *Ascemona*, or *Hatsmon*, of no great fame.

Turning now from *Idumæa* towards the North, wee finde the Cities of *Danna*, *Shemah*, *Amam*, the other *Asor*, or *Chatsor*, *Behaloth*, and the two *Sochoes*: of all which see *Ios.*15. also *Carioth* by *Iosua*, *c.*15.*v.*25. called *Keriath*: whence *Iudas* the Traitor was called *Is-carioth*, as it were a man of *Carioth*. Then *Hetham* the abode of *Sampson* which *Rehoboam* reedified. Beyond these towards the North border, and towards *Eleutheropolis*, is the Citie of *Iethar*, or *Iathir*, belonging to the Leuites. In Saint *Hieromes* time it was called *Iethira*: and inhabited altogether with Christians: neere vnto this Citie was that remarkable battaile fought betweene *Asa* King of *Iuda*, and *Zara* King of the Arabians, who brought into the field a Million of fighting men: and was notwithstanding beaten and put to flight: *Asa* following the victory as farre as *Gerar*, which at the same time he recouered.

Iudg. 15.8. 1 Chron. 11.6. *Iun.* out of the 1 Chron. 4.31. notes; that this *Hetha* though it were within the bounds of *Iuda* belonged to *Simeon*. *Ios.* 15.48. *Hieron. in loc. Hebr.*

Not farre from *Iether*, standeth *Iarmuth*, whose King was slaine by *Iosua*, and the City ouerturned. Next vnto it is *Maresa* the natiue City of the Prophet *Michæa*: Betweene it and *Odolla*, *Iudas Macchabæus* ouerthrew *Gorgias*, and sent thence ten thousand *Dragmas* of siluer to be offered for Sacrifice.

2 Macc. 12.35.

Odolla or *Hadullam* it selfe was an ancient and magnificent Citie, taken by *Iosua*, and the King thereof slaine. *Ionathas Macchabæus* beautified it greatly. Then *Ceila* or *Keila* afterward *Echela*, where *Dauid* sometime hid himselfe: and which afterward hee deliuered from the assaults of the Philistims: neere which the Prophet *Abacuc* was buried: whose monument remained, and was seene by S. *Hierome*.

Gen. 38.v.1. Ios. 12.15. 1 Sam. 23.1.

Neere it is *Hebron*, sometime called *the Citie of Arbah*, for which the *Vulgar* hath *Cariatharbe*: the reason of this name they giue, as if it signified the Citie of foure: because the foure Patriarchs, *Adam*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Iacob*, were therein buried, but of *Adam* it is but supposed: and it is plaine by the places, *Iosua* 14.14. and 15.13. and 20.11. that *Arbah* here doth not signifie foure, but that it was the name of the Father of the *Giants* called *Anakim*, whose sonne as it seemes *Anak* was: and *Achiman*, *Sheshai*, and *Talmai* (whom *Caleb* expelled, *Ios.*15.) were the sonnes of *Anak*, *Num.* 13.23. The name of *Anak* signifieth *Torquem*, a chaine worne for ornament; and it seemes that this *Anak* inriched by the spoyles which himselfe and his Father got, wore a chaine of gold, and so got this name: and leauing the custome to his posteritie, left also the name: so that in *Latine* the name of *Anakim* may not amisse be expounded by *Torquati*.

The Citie *Hebron* was one of the ancientest Cities of *Canaan*, built seuen yeeres before *Tsoan* or *Tanis* in *Egypt*: and it was the head and chiefe Citie of the *Anakims*, whom *Caleb* expelled: to whom it was in part giuen, to wit, the Villages adioyning, and the rest to the Leuites. It had a Bishop in the Christian times, and a magnificent Temple builte by *Helen* the Mother of *Constantine*.

Not farre hence they finde *Eleutheropolis*, or the free Citie, remembred often by Saint *Hierome*. Then *Eglon* whose King *Dabir* associated with the other foure Kings of the Amorites, to wit, of *Hierusalem*, *Hebron*, *Iarmuth*, and *Lachis*, besieging the Gibeonites, were by *Iosua* vtterly ouerthrowne. From hence the next City of fame was *Emaus*, afterward *Nicopolis*, one of the Cities of Gouernment or *Præsidencies* of *Iudæa*. In sight of this Citie *Iudas Macchabæus* (after hee had formerly beaten both *Apollonius* and *Seron*) gaue a third ouerthrow to *Gorgias* Lieutenant to *Antiochus*.

Ios. 10.v.11. Macc. 1.3. *Euseb. in Chron. Broch Itin.* 6. * Also 1 *Chron.* 4.39. as is aboue remembred in the Tribe of *Simeon*. a *Iunius* for in *Valle Terebinthi* hath *in valle quercetum*. *Patablus* keeps the *Hebrew* reading *in valle Elah*.

In the yeere 1301. it was ouerturned by an earth-quake, saith *Eusebius*. In the Christian times it had a Bishops seate of the Diocesse of *Cæsaria* of *Palæstine*.

From *Emaus* toward the West Sea there are the Cities of *Nahama*, *Bethdagon*, and *Gader* or *Gedera*, or *Gederothaima*, of which and of *Gederoth*, * *Ios.*15.*v.*36. and 41. Then *Azecha*, to which *Iosua* followed the slaughter of the fiue Kings before named, a Citie of great strength in the Valley of * *Terebinth*, or *Turpentine*, as the *Vulgar* readeth, 1 *Sam.* 17.2. whence (as it seemes) they seate it neere vnto *Soco*, and vnto *Lebna* of the Leuites.

Leuites. It reuolted from the subiection of the Iewes, while *Ioram* the sonne of *Iosaphat* ruled in Hierusalem: And next vnto this standeth *Maceda*, which *Iosua* vtterly dispeopled.

On the other side of Emaus towards the East standeth Bethsur, otherwise Bethsora, and Bethsor: one of the strongest and most sought for places in all Iuda. It is seated on a high Hill; and therefore called Bethsur (*the house on the Rocke*, or *of strength*.) It was fortified by *Roboam*, and afterward by *Iudas Macchabæus*. *Lysias* forc't it, and *Antiochus Eutapor* by famine: *Ionathas* regained it: and it was by *Simon* exceedingly fortified against the Syrian Kings.

Iose. 13. *ant.* 9 Macc. 1.6.

10 Bethleem is the next vnto it within sixe miles of Hierusalem, otherwise Lehem: sometime Ephrata, which name, they say, it had of *Calebs* wife, when as it is so called by *Moses* before *Caleb* was famous in those parts, *Gen.*38.16. Of this Citie was *Abessan*, or *Ibzan*, *Iudge of Israel*, after *Iephtah*, famous for the thirty sonnes and thirty daughters begotten by him. *Elimelec* was also a Bethlemite, who with his wife *Naomi* sojourned in Moab during the famine of Iuda in the time of the Iudges, with whom *Ruth* the daughter in law of *Naomi* returned to Bethleem: and married *Booz*, of whom *Obed*, of whom *Ishai*, of whom *Dauid*. It had also the honour to bee the natiue City of our Sauiour *Iesus Christ*; and therefore shall the memorie thereof neuer end.

Gen. 53.48. Ruth. 1.

In *Zabulon* of Galilee there was also a City of the same name: and therefore was this 20 of our Sauiour called Bethleem Iuda.

Hieron in com. super. Mat. c. 2. Math. 2.1.

From Bethleem some foure or fiue mile standeth Thecua, the City of *Amos* the Prophet: and to this place adioyning is the City of Bethzacaria, in the way betweene Bethsura and Hierusalem: on whose Hils adioyning, the glorious guilt shields of *Antiochus* shined like lamps of fire in the eyes of the Iewes. The City of * *Bezek* was also neere vnto Bethleem, which *Adoni-Bezec* commanded; who had during his raigne tortur'd 70 Kings, by cutting off the ioynts of their Fingers and Toes; and made them gather bread vnder his Table: but at length the same end befell himselfe by the sonnes of *Iuda*, after they had taken him prisoner.

Amos 1. v. 1. 1 Mac. 6. 32. *Ioseph. ant.* 12. *c.* 14. 1 Mac. 6. v. 36. * See in *Manass.* C. 7. §. 7. †. 1. Iud. 1. v. 6. & 7.

The rest of the Cities in this part (most of them of no great estimation) we may passe 30 by vntill wee come to the magnificent Castle of Herodium, which *Herod* erected on a Hill, mounting thereunto with 200 Marble steps, exceeding beautifull and strong. And towards the Dead Sea, and adioyning to the Desart of Iaruel, betweene it and Tekoa, is that *cliuius floridus*, where, in the time of *Iehosaphat*, the Iewes stood and lookt on the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites, massacring one another, when they had purposed to ioyne against Iuda: neere which place is the Valley of blessing, where the Iewes the fourth day after, solemnly came and blessed God for so strange a deliuerance.

Iose. 14. *ant.* 22. 2 Chron. 20. v. 16. & 26.

Now the Cities of Iuda which border the Dead Sea, are these; Aduran beautified by *Roboam*: and Tsohar, which the Vulgar calleth * Segor: so called because *Lot* in his prayer for it vrged that it was but a little one: whence it was called Tsohar, which signifieth a 40 little one: when as the old name was Belah, as it is *Gen.*14.2. In the Romanes times it had a Garrison, and was called (as they say) Pannier: in *Hieromes* time Balexona. Then Engaddi or Hen-gaddi, first Asasonthamar: neere vnto which are the Gardens of Balsamum, the best that the world had called Opobalsamum: the most part of all which Trees *Cleopatra* Queene of Egypt sent for out of Iudæa, and *Herod* who either feared or loued *Anthony* her husband, caused them to be rooted vp and presented vnto her: which shee replanted neere Heliopolis in Egypt. This City was first taken by *Chedorlaomer*, and the Amorites thence expelled. It was one of the most remarkable Cities of Iudæa; and one of the Presidencies thereof.

2 Chron. 11. * Some call it *Bal-salisa* and *Vitula consternans*. See in *Gad. c.* 10. §. 5. *post principium in Haroher.* *Gen.* 19.20. *Hieron. in Ose.* *Hebr. Chatsatson-thamar.* 2 Chron. 20.2. Gen. 14.7.

The rest of the Cities are many in the In-land, and among them Iesrael: not that which 50 was the Citie of *Naboth*, of which already; but another of the same name, the Citie of *Achinoan*, the wife of *Dauid*, the mother of that *Ammon*, whom *Absalom* slew: also as some thinke the Citie of *Amasa*, *Absaloms* Lieutenant, and the commander of his Armie. But this seemeth to be an error grounded vpon the neerenesse of the words, Israel and Iesrael: and because the 2 *Sam.* 17.25. *Amasaes* father is called a Israelite, who first of the *Chron.* 2.17. is called an Ismaelite: indeed the Hebrew Orthographie sheweth that *Amasaes* Father is not said to be of the Citie Iesrael, but an Israelite in Religion, though otherwise an Ismaelite.

1 Reg. 21. 2 Sam. 17.25.

In this Tribe there were many high Hills and Mountaines, as those of Engaddi vpon the

the Dead Sea: and the Mountaines of Iuda, which begin to rise by *Emaus*, and end neere Taphna, and these part Iuda from Dan and Simeon. Of others which stand single, there is that of Hebron, at the foot whereof was that Oake of Mambre, where the three Angels appeared to *Abraham*; which S. *Hierome* calleth a Fir-tree, and saith, that it stood till the time of *Constantine* the younger. There is also that Mountaine called Collis Achillæ; on the South of Ziph: on the top whereof the great Herod, inclosing the old Castle, erected by *Ionathas Maccabæus*, and called Massada, garnished it with 27. high and strong Towers: and therein left Armour and furniture for an hundred thousand men; being as it seemeth a place vnaccessible, and of incomparable strength.

Hieron. in loc. Heb. & quæst. Hebr. Iosep. 14. Ant. c. 20.

In the Valley afterward called the Dead Sea, or the lake Asphaltitis, this Countrie had foure Cities, Adama, Sodom, Seboim, and Gomorra, destroyed with fire from Heauen for their vnnaturall sinnes.

§. IIII.

THE TRIBE OF REVBEN and his Borderers.

†. I.

The seates and bounds of Midian, Moab, and Ammon, part whereof the Reubenites wanne from Sehon *King of Hesbon.*

ON the other side of the Dead Sea, *Reuben* the eldest of *Iacobs* sonnes inhabited: of whose children there were numbred at Mount *Sinai* 46000. who dying with the rest in the Desarts, there remained to possesse the Land promised 43700. bearing armes. But before we speake of these or the rest that inhabited the East side of Iordan, something of their borderers: to wit, Midian, Moab, and Ammon, whose land in our writers are confusedly described, and not easily distinguished. And first wee are to remember, that out of *Abrahams* kindred came mighty Families: as by *Isaac* and *Iacob* the Nation called Israel, and afterward Iewes: by *Esau* or *Edom* the Idumæans: by *Ismael* the eldest sonne of *Abraham*, the Ismaelites: and by *Keturah* his last wife the Midianites. And againe by *Lot*, *Abrahams* brothers sonne, those two valiant Nations of the Moabites and Ammonites: all which being but strangers in the Land of Canaan (formerly possest by the Canaanites; and by the Families of them descended) these issues and alliance of *Abraham*, all but *Iacob*, whose children were bred in Egypt, inhabited the frontier places adioyning.

Esau and his sonnes held Idumæa, which bounded Canaan on the South, *Ismael* tooke from the South-east part of the Dead Sea; stretching his possession ouer all Arabia Petræa, and a part of Arabia the Desart, as farre as the Riuer of Tigris, from Sur to Hauilah.

Moab tooke the rest of the coast of the dead Sea, leauing a part to Midian, and passing ouer Arnon, inhabited the plaines betweene Iordan and the Hills of Abarim or Arnon, as farre North as Essebon, or Chesbon.

Ammon sate downe on the North-east side of Arnon, and possest the Tract from Rabba afterward Philadelphia, both within the Mountains of Gilhead, and without them as far forth as Aroer, though in *Moses* time he had nothing left him in all that Valley: for the Amorites had thrust him ouer the Riuer of Iaboc, as they had done *Moab* ouer Arnon. As these Nations compassed sundry parts of Canaan, so the border betweene the Riuer of Iaboc and Damascus was held by the Amorites themselues, with other mixt Nations: all which Territorie on the East side of Iordan, and on the East side of the Dead Sea, was granted by *Moses* to the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and halfe *Manasse*; whereof that part which *Moab* had, was first possest by the Emims a Nation of Giants weakened & broken by *Chedorlahomer*, after repulsed by the Moabites, as before remembred. That which the Ammonites held, was the Territorie and ancient possession of the Zamzummims or Zuræi, who were also beaten at the same time by *Chedorlahomer*, *Amraphel*, and the rest: and by them an easie way of conquest was prepared for the Ammonites.

Iosua 13. *Num. 21. v. 24.* *Gen. 14.*

Now where it is written that Arnon was the border of Moab, the same is to be vnderstood according to the time when *Moses* wrote. For then had *Sehon* or his Ancestor beaten

beaten the Moabites out of the plaine Countries, betweene *Abarim* and *Iordan*, and driuen them from *Hesbon* ouer *Arnon*; and this happened not long before *Moses* arriuall vpon that border, when *Vaheb* gouerned the Moabites. For hee that ruled *Moab* when *Moses* past *Arnon*, was not the sonne of *Vaheb*, but his name was *Balac* the sonne of *Zippor*. And it may be that those Kings were elective, as the Edumæans anciently were.

Now all that part of *Moab*, betweene *Arnon* and *Iordan*, as farre North as *Essebon*, was inhabited by *Reuben*. And when *Israel* arriued there out of *Egypt*, it was in the possession of *Sehon*, of the race of *Canaan* by *Amoreus*: and therefore did *Iephtah* the Iudge of *Israel* iustly defend the regaining of those Countries against the claime of the Ammonites: because (as he alleaged) *Moses* found them in the possession of the Amorites, and not in the hands of *Moab* or *Ammon*: who (saith *Iephtah*) had 300. yeares time to recouer them, and did not: whence he inferreth, that they ought not to claime them now.

Iudg. 11.

And lest any should maruell why the Ammonites in *Iephtahs* time should make claime to these Countries: whereas *Moses* in the place *Numb. 21. v. 26.* rather accounts them to haue beene the ancient possession of the Moabites, than of the Ammonites: it is to be noted that *Deut. 3. 11.* when it is said that the Iron bed of *Og* was to be seene at *Rabbath*, the chiefe Citie of the Ammonites, it is also signified, that much of the Land of *Og*, which the Israelites possessed, was by him or his Ancestors got from the Ammonites, as much of *Sehons* was from the *Moabites*.

And as the Canaanite Nations were seated so confusedly together, that it was hard to distinguish them: so also were the sonnes of *Moab* and *Ammon*, *Midian*, *Amalek*, and *Ismael*. Yet the reason seemeth plaine enough why *Ammon* commanded in chiefe, in *Iephtahs* time; for sometime the one Nation, sometime the other of all those borderers acquired the Soueraigntie: and againe, that one part of the Land which *Gad* held, namely within the mountaines of *Galaad*, or *Gilhead*, and as farre South as *Aroer*, belonged to the Ammonites. And therefore taking aduantage of the time, they then sought to recouer it againe. Yet at such time as *Moses* ouerthrew *Sehon* at *Iahaz*, the Ammonites had lost to the Amorites, all that part of their possession which lay about *Aroer*; and betweene it and *Iaboc*: *Sehon* and *Og*, two Kings of the Amorites having displanted both *Moab* & *Ammon* of all within the Mountaines. For it is written in the one and twentieth of *Numb. v. 24.* that *Israel* conquered the Land of *Sehon* from *Arnon* vnto *Iaboc*, *euen vnto the children of Ammon*; so as at this time the Riuer of *Iaboc* was the South bound of *Ammon*, within the Mountaines, when as anciently they had also possessions ouer *Iaboc*, which at length the Gadites possest, as in the 13. chapter of *Iosua. vers. 25.* it appeares.

Ios. 13. ver. 25. Iunius notes that the one halfe of the Land of Hammon, which in this place of Iosua is said to haue beene giuen to the Gadites, was taken first from the Ammonites by Sehon: but the place Deut. 3. 11. proues that as well Og, as Sehon, had gotten Lands out of the hands of the Ammonites.

†. II.

Of the memorable places of the Reubenites.

THe chiefe Cities belonging to *Reuben* were these, *Kedemoth*, for which the *Vulgar*, without any shew of warrant, readeth *Iethson*. The *Vulgar* or *Hierome* followed the *Septuagint*, those two *verses* 36. and 37. in *Ios. 22.* being wanting in the old Hebrew Copies, and the *Septuagint* reade *Kedson* for *Kedmoth*, which *Keuson* by writing slipt into *Iethson*.

Ios. 21. 37.

This City which they gaue to the Leuites, imparts her name to the *Desart* adioyning: from whence *Moses* sent his Embassage to *Sehon*. In the same place of *Iosua* where this *Kedemoth* is mentioned, the *Vulgar* for *Bet ser & villa eius*, reades *Bosor in solitudine Misor*, without any ground from the Hebrew: whence *Adrichomius* makes a Towne called *Misor*, in the border betweene *Reuben* and *Gad*. Farther from *Kedemoth* neere the *Dead Sea*, (for the Countrie betweene being Mountainous hath few Cities) they place two Townes of note, *Lasa* or *Leshash*, of which *Genesis* 10. *verse* 19. The Greekes call it *Callirhoe*: neere which there is a Hill, from whence there floweth Springs both of hot and cold, bitter and sweet water; all which soone after their rising, being ioyned in one streame, doe make a very wholesome Bath, especially for all contraction of sinewes: to which *Herod* the elder, when hee was desperate of all other helpe, repaired, but in vaine. Others say that these Springs arise out of the hills of *Macherus*, in this Tribe. The like fountaines are found in the *Pyrenyes*: and in *Peru*, called *the Baths of the Inga's* or *Kings*. The other towne is *Macherus*, the next betweene *Lasa* and *Iordan*: of all that part of the world the strongest In-land Citie and Castle, standing vpon a Mountaine euery

Deut. 2. 26. It was a marginall note out of Deut. 3. where the 70. kept the word Misor, signifying a plaine, which after crept into the Text.

Iosep. 17. ant. c. 9. & Hierom. in quæst. Heb. in Gen.

Acosta. l. 3.

Iosep. ant. 13. c. 24. & 14. ant. c. 10. & elibi.

Iosep. bell. Iud. l. 7. c. 25.

euery way vnaccessible. It was first fortified by *Alexander Iannæus*, who made it a frontier against the Arabians: but it was demolished by *Gabinius*, in the war with *Aristobulus*, saith *Iosephus*. It was thither (saith *Iosephus*) that *Herod* sent *Iohn Baptist*, and wherein he was slaine: his armie soone after being vtterly ouerthrowne by *Aretas* King of Arabia; and himselfe after this murther neuer prospering. Not farre from Machærus was Bosor or Bozra, a towne of refuge, and belonging to the Leuites, and neere it Liuias vpon Iordan, which *Herod* built in honour of *Liuia* the mother of *Tiberius Cæsar*.

Deut 4.43. Ios 20.8. Euseb in chron. Leuit an loc. heb.

To the North of Liuias is Setim, or Sittim: where the children of Israel embraced the daughters of Midian or Moab: and where *Phineas* pierced the body of *Zimri* and *Cosbi*, with his speare, bringing due vengeance vpon them, when they were in the midst of their sinne: and from hence *Iosua* sent the Discouerers to view Ierico, staying here vntill hee went ouer Iordan. As for the Torrent Setim, which in this place *Adrichomius* dreames of, reading *Ioel* 3.18. *irrigabit torrentem Setim*: The vulgar hath *torrentem spinarum*: and *Iunius*, *vallem Cedrorum*: expounding it not for any particular place in Canaan: but for the Church, in which the iust being placed, grow as the Cedars, *Psal.*92.13.

Num.25.1. Ios.3.1.

The plaine Countrie hereabout, by *Moses* called *The plaines of Moab*, where he expounded the Book of *Deuteronomie* to the people a little before his death, is in the beginning of the same book precisely bounded by *Moses*. On the South it had the great Desert of Paran, where they had long wandred. On the East it had Chatseroth, & Dizahab (of which two the former is that Gazorus, of which *Ptolomie* in Palestina; the later was a Tract belonging to the Nabathæi in Arabia Petræa, where was * Mezahab, of which, *Gen.*36.39.) by the Geographers called Medaua and Medaba. On the West it had Iordan, and on the North it had Laban (in *Iunius* Edition, by the fault of the Print, Lamban, *Deuteron.*1.1.) the same which the Geographers call Libias: and some confound it with Liuias, of which euen now we spake.

Deut.34.1.

* The same as it seems which *Num.*21.30. is called Medeba, whence we reade of the plaines of Medeba *Ios.*13.*v.*9.16. of which also wee reade in the wars of *David* against *Hanun* the Ammonite, 1 *Chron.*19.7. Also, 1 *Macc.* 9.36. *Esai.*16.2. See before *c.*5. §.7.

Also on the same North side towards the confines of Cœlesyria, it had Theophel: whereabout sometime Pella of Cœlesyria stood: which was in the region of Decapolis, and as *Stephanus* saith, was sometime called Butis. It is also noted in *Moses* to bee ouer against or neere vnto Suph, for which the Vulgar hath the Red Sea, as also *Num.*2.14. it translateth the word Suphah in like manner: whereas in this place of *Deuteronomie* there is no addition of any word in the Hebrew to signifie the Sea: and yet the Scripture, when this word is so to be taken, vseth the addition of *Mara*, thereby to distinguish it from the region of Suph or Suphah: which doubtlesse was about these plaines of Moab towards the dead Sea: where the Countrie being full of reedes, was therefore thus called: as also the red Sea was called *Mare Suph*, for like reason.

The place in these large plaines of Moab, where *Moses* made those diuine exhortations, some say was Bethabara where *Iohn* baptized, which in the Storie of *Gideon* is called Beth-bara. *Iosephus* sayes it was where after the Citie Abila stood, neere Iordan, in a place set with Palme trees: which sure was the same as Abel-sittim in the Plaines of Moab, *Numb.*33.49. (that some call Abel-sathaim and Bel-sathim) which is reckoned by *Moses* in that place of *Numbers* for the 42. and last place of the Israelites incamping in the time of *Moses*: This place is also called Sittim; which word if we should interpret, wee should rather bring it from Cedars, than from Thornes, with *Adrichomius* and others. It was the wood of which the Arke of the Tabernacle was made.

Iob.1.28. Iud. 7.24. Iosep. ant.4.7. Num.25.1. Exod.25.10.

Toward the East of these plaines of Moab, they place the Cities, Nebo, Baal-Meon, Sibma and Hesbon the chiefe City of Sehon, and Elhahel, & Kiriathaima the seate of the Giants *Emim*. Of the two first of these *Moses* seemes to giue a note that the names were to be changed: because they tasted of the Moabites * Idolatrie. For *Nebo* (in stead of which *Iunius*, *Es.*46.1. reades *Deus vaticinus*) was the name of their Idoll-Oracle, and *Baal-meon* is *the habitation of Baal*. Of the same Idoll was the Hill *Nebo* in these parts denominated: from whose top, which the common Translators call Phasgah, *Moses* before his death saw all the Land of Canaan beyond Iordan. In which storie *Iunius* doth not take Phasgah or Pisgah, for any proper name: but for an appellatiue, signifying a Hill: and so also *Vatablus* in some places; as *Num.*21.20. where hee noteth that some call Pisgah that top which looketh to Iericho, and Hair as it looketh to Moab, which opinion may be somewhat strengthened by the name of a Citie of *Reuben* mentioned *Ios.*13.20. called Ashdoth-Pisga, which is as much as *decursus Pisgæ*: to wit, where the waters did runne downe from Pisga. In the same place of *Iosua* there is also named Beth-peor, as belon-

Num.31.*v.*37. Gen.14.*v.*5. Num.32. * Exod. 23.13. *Nomen deorum alienorum ne recordamini, ne audiatur in ore tuo*, *Ps.*16.4. *non assumpturus sum nomina eorum in labijs meis*, *Hos.*2.17. *auferam enim nomina Baalim de ore eius.*

belonging to *Reuben*: so called from the Hill *Peor*: from whence also *Baal* the Idoll was called *Baal-Peor*, which they say was the same as *Priapus*: the chiefe place of whose worship seemes to haue beene *Bamoth-Baal*, of which also *Ios.*13. in the Cities of *Reuben*: for which *Num.*22.41. they reade, *the high places of Baal* (for so the word signifieth) to which place *Balaak* first brought *Balaam* to curse the Israelites.

What name they vsed for *Nebo* it doth not appeare: but *Baal-meon* it seemes they named sometime *Bayth*, as *Es.*15.2. and sometime *Beth-meon* 23., *Esai.*48.

†. III.

Of diuers places bordering Reuben belonging to Midian, Moab or Edom.

10 THere were besides these diuers places of note ouer *Arnon*, which adioyned to *Reuben*: amongst which they place *Gallim*, the Citie of *Phalti*: to whom *Saul* gaue his Daughter *Michol* from *Dauid*: but *Iunius* thinkes this Towne to be in *Beniamin*: gathering so much out of *Esay* 10. *verse* 29. where it is named among the Cities of *Beniamin*. With better reason perhaps out of *Numb.*21.*v.*19. wee may say that *Mathana* and *Nahaliel* were in those confines of *Reuben*: through which places the Israelites past after they had left the Well called *Beer*: Then *Deblathaim* which the Prophet *Hieremie* threatneth with the rest of the Cities of *Moab*.

1 Sam.25.*v.*vlt. Hierem.48.

Madian also is found in these parts, the chiefe Citie of the Madianites in *Moab*: but not that *Midian* or *Madian* by the Red Sea; wherein *Iethro* inhabited. For of the Madianites
20 there were two Nations, of which these of *Moab* became Idolaters, and receiued an exceeding ouerthrow by a Regiment of twelue thousand Israelites, sent by *Moses* out of the plaines of *Moab*: at such time as *Israel* began to accompanie their Daughters: their fiue Kings with *Balaam* the Soothsayer were then slaine: and their Regall Citie with the rest destroyed. The other Madianites ouer whom *Iethro* was Prince, or Priest, forgat not the God of *Abraham* their Ancestor; but relieued & assisted the Israelites in their painfull trauailes through the Deserts; and were in all that passage their guides. In the South border of *Moab* adioyning to *Edom*, and sometime reckoned as the chiefe City of *Edom*, there is that *Petra* which in the Scriptures is called *Selah*, which is as much as *rupes* or *petra*. It was also called *Iocthheel*, as appeares by the place 2 *Reg.*14. It was built (saith *Iosephus*) by
30 *Recem*, one of those fiue Kings of the Madianites, slaine as before is said: after whom it was called *Recem*: Now they say it is called *Crae* and *Mozera*. The Soldans of *Egypt*, for the exceeding strength thereof, kept therein all their treasures of *Egypt* and *Arabia*: of which it is the first and strongest Citie: the same perhaps which *Plinie* and *Strabo* call *Nabathea*, whence also the Prouince adioyning tooke name: which name seemes to haue beene taken at first from *Nabaioth* the sonne of *Abraham* by *Kethura*. For *Nabathea* is no where vnderstood for all *Arabia Petræa*, (at least where it is not mis-understood) but it is that Prouince which neighboureth *Iudæa*. For *Pharan* inhabited by *Ismael*, whose people *Ptolomie* calleth Pharanites, in stead of Ismaelites, and all those Territories of the Cu-
40 sites, Madianites, Amalekites, Ismaelites, Edomites, or Idumæans, the Lands of *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Hus*, *Sin*, and of *Og*, King of *Basan*, were parts of *Arabia Petræa*: though it bee also true, that some part of *Arabia* the Desert belonged to the Amalekites, and Ismaelites: all which Nations the Scriptures in the first of *Chronicles* the fift calls Hagarens of *Hagar*.

Lib.4.*Ant.*7. 1 Reg.14.7. 1 Chron.5.*v.*19. & 20.

This Citie *Petra*, *Scaurus* besieged with the Roman Army, & finding the place in shew impregnable, he was content by the perswasion of *Antipater*, to take a composition of monie, and to quit it. Yet *Amasias* king of *Iuda* (after he had slaughtered 10000. of the Arabians in the valley called *Salinarum*) wan also this City. S. *Hierome* findes *Ruth* the Moabite to be naturall of this City. In the meane time when the Christians held the Kingdome of *Hierusalem*, it had a *Latine Bishop*, hauing before been vnder the *Greeke Church*. It is seated
50 not far from *Hor* where *Aaron* died, & on the other side towards the North is the riuer of *Zared* or *Zered*, by which *Moses* incamped in the 38. Station. *Adrichomius* describeth the waters of *Memrim*, or rather *Nemrim*, in his Map of *Reuben*, not far hence, and betweene *Zared* and *Arnon*: and so hee doth the Valley of *Saue*: but the waters of *Nimra*, or *Beth-Nimra* (for which it seemes *Adrichomius* writ *Nemrim*) refresh the plaines of *Moab*: and the confluence of those waters of *Nimra* are in the Tribe of *Gad*. *Saue* also cãnot be found in this place, that is, to the South of *Arnon*, and vnder *Midian*. For after *Abraham* returned from the pursuit of the Assyrian and Persian Princes, the King of *Sodom* met him in the Valley of *Saue*, or *Saueh*, which is the Kings Dale, where *Absalom* set vp his Monument, as it seemes, not farre from *Hierusalem*. And at the same time *Melchizedec* King of *Salem*, also

Guil.Tyr.20. bell.sacr. Numb. 21. Deut.2.13. Num.32.3. Ios.13.27. Esa. 15.8.

also incountred him. But *Abraham* comming from the North, and *Melchizedec* inhabiting, either neere *Bethsan* otherwise *Scythopolis* in the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, or in *Hierusalem* (both places lying to the West of *Iordan*) could not incounter each other in *Arabia*: and therefore *Saue*, which was also called *the Kings Dale*, could not be in these parts.

†. IIII.
Of the Dead Sea.

NOw because the Sea of *Sodom* or the Dead Sea, called also the Lake of *Asphaltitis*, and the salt Sea (in distinction from the Sea of *Tyberias* which was fresh water) also the Sea of the Wildernesse, or rather the Sea * of the plaines, is often remembred in the Scriptures, and in this storie also, therefore I thinke it not impertinent, to speake somewhat thereof. For it is like vnto the *Caspian* Sea, which hath no out-let or disburthening. The length of this Lake *Iosephus* makes 180. furlongs (which make 22. miles and a halfe of ours) and about 150. in breadth, which makes 18. of our miles and somewhat more. *Plinie* makes it a great deale lesse. But those that haue of late yeares seene this Sea, did account it (saith [a] *Weissenburg*) eight Dutch miles (which is two and thirtie of ours) in length: and two and a halfe of theirs (which is ten of ours) in breadth. Of this Lake or Sea, *Tacitus* maketh this report: *Lacus est in immenso ambitu, specie maris, sapore corruptior, grauitate odoris accolis pestifer: neq; vento impellitur, neq; pisces aut suitas aquis volucres patitur, incertum vnde superiecta vt solido feruntur, periti imperitiq; nandi perinde attollunturᵉ&c. That it is very great, and (as it were) a Sea of a corrupt taste: of smell infectious, and pestilent to the borderers: it is neither moued nor raised by the winde, nor indureth fish to liue in it, or fowle to swimme in it. Those things that are cast into it, and the vnskilfull of swimming, as well as the skilfull, are borne vp by this water.* At one time of the yeare it casteth vp *Bitumen*: the Art of gathering which, Experience (the finder of other things) hath also taught. It is vsed in the trimming of ships, and the like businesses.

And then of the Land, he speaketh in this sort: "The fields not farre from this Lake "which were sometime fruitfull and adorned with great Cities, were burnt with light-"ning; of which the ruines remaine, the ground looking with a sad face, as hauing lost "her fruitfulnesse; for whatsoeuer doth either grow or is set thereon, be it fruits or flow-"ers, when they come to ripenesse, haue nothing within them, but moulder into ashes: Thus farre *Tacitus*. And it is found by experience, that those Pomegranates and other Apples or Oranges, which doe still grow on the bankes of this cursed Lake, doe looke faire, and are of good colour on the out-side, but being cut haue nothing but dust within. Of the *Bitumen* which this Lake casteth vp, it was by the *Greekes* called *Asphalitis*. *Vespasian* desirous to be satisfied of these reports, went of purpose to see this Lake, and caused certaine Captiues to be cast into it, who were not onely vnskilfull in swimming, but had their hands also bound behinde them, yet notwithstanding they were carried on the face of the waters, and could not sinke.

* So *Iunius* reades for the *Hebrew Harabboth* euery where, and so also the editiō of *Vatablus*, *Deutr.* 3. 17. though *Deutr.* 4. 44. it hath *mare solitudinis*, as also 2 *Reg.* 14. 25. the reason of this name seemes to be, because it ioynes to the plaines of *Moab* which are called *Harboth Moab*, *Deutr.* 34. 1. as also we haue *Cesuloth* in *Harbath*, that is in the plaines, to wit, of *Zabulon*, 1 *Macch.* 9. 2. whence *Adrichomius* imagines a City in *Zabulon* called *Araba*. 2 *Deser. terr. Sancta*.

†. V.
Of the Kings of Moab, much of whose Countrie within Arnon Reuben *possest.*

OF the Kings of *Moab*, whose Countrie (within *Arnon*) *Reuben* possest (though not taken from *Moab* but from *Sehon* the *Amorite*) few are known. *Iunius* in the 21. of *Numbers*, vers. 14. nameth *Vaheb*, which seemes to be the Ancestor or Predecessor of *Balac*, the sonne of *Zippor*: which *Balac* sent for *Balaam* to curse *Israel*. For fearing to contend with *Moses* by armes by the examples of *Sehon* and *Og*, hee hoped by the helpe of *Balaams* cursings or inchantments, to take from them all strength and courage, and to cast on them some pestilent diseases. And though *Balaam* at the first, moued by the spirit of God, blest *Israel* contrary to the hope and desire of *Moab*: yet being desirous in some sort to satisfie him, and to doe him seruice, he aduised *Moab* to send *Madianitish* Women among the *Israelites*: hoping by them, as by fit instruments of mischiefe, to draw them to the Idolatrie of the Heathen: but in the end hee receiued the reward of his falling from God, and of his euill counsaile, and was slaine among the rest of the Princes of *Midian*.

Num. 22. 22. 23. 24. *Ios.* 24.

After these times the Kings of the Moabites are not named: sauing that wee finde in the first of *Chronicles* the fourth, that *Iokim*, and the men of *Chozeba*, and *Ioash*, and *Sareph*,

Sareph, all being of the issue of *Iuda*, sometime had the Dominion in Moab: but as it is written in the same Verse, *These also are ancient things*: to wit, as some expound it, the particulars of these mens Gouernments are no where extant or remaining: or as others, *hæc prius fuere*, these Families of *Iuda* were once thus famous: but now their posteritie choose rather to abide in Babylon, and be Clay-workers to the King there. *V.* 22.

Then we finde *Eglon* King of Moab, who with the helpe of *Ammon*, and *Amalec* mastered Israel, and commanded them eighteene yeares: which *Eglon*, *Ehud* slew in his owne house, and afterward 1000. of his Nation. What name the King of Moab had vnto whom *Dauid* fled fearing *Saul*, it doth not appeare: or whether it were the same against whom *Saul* made Warre, it is not manifest, for neither are named. But in respect that this Moabite was an enemy to *Saul*, he receiued *Dauid*, and relieued him; knowing that *Saul* sought his life. *Iudg.* 3. 1 *Sam.* 22. 1 *Sam.* 14.

After this, *Dauid* himselfe entred the Region of Moab, but not likely in the same Kings time: for hee slaughtered two parts of the people; and made the third part tributarie: whereupon it was said of *Dauid*, *Moab is my wash-pot, ouer Edom will I cast my shoe*: meaning that hee would reduce them to such an abiection, and appoint them for base seruices: And that he would tread downe the Idumæans. 2 *Sam.* 8. 1 *Chron.* 18. *Psal.* 60. *v.* 10.

The next King after *Dauids* time, of the Moabites, whose name liueth, was *Mesha*: who falling from Iuda, (perhaps in remembrance of the seueritie of *Dauid*) fastened himselfe to the Kings of Israel, and paid tribute to *Ahab* 100000. Lambes, and 200000. Rams, with the wooll: who reuolting againe from Israel after the death of *Ahab*, was inuaded by *Iehoram*: with whom ioyned the Kings of Iuda and Idumæa: and being by these three kings prest and broken, hee fled to Kir-hareseth, as is else-where shewed. There is also mention made of the Moabites without the Kings name: when that Nation, assisted by the Ammonites and Idumæans, inuaded *Iehoshaphat*: and by reason of some priuate quarrels among themselues, the Moabites and Ammonites set vpon the Idumæans, and slaughtered them: and then one against another; so as *Iehoshaphat* had a notorious victorie ouer them all, without either bloud or wound. Also in the time of *Hieremie* the Prophet, there was a King of Moab which is not named, which was after *Mesha* of Moab many descents: for *Mesha* liued with *Iehoram*, and this Moabite in *Zedikias* time, foureteene Kings of Iuda comming betweene, who wasted three hundred and odde yeares. 2 *Reg.* 3. 2 *Chron.* 20. *Hierem.* 27.

§. V.
Of the memorable places of the Gadites, and the bordering places of Ammon.

THe Territory adioyning to *Reuben*, is that of *Gad*: whereof all that part which ioyned to the Mountaines, was sometime in the possession of the Ammonites, as farre to the South as *Aroer*. Of the children of *Gad* the seuenth son of *Iacob* by *Zelpha*, the hand-maid of *Lea*, there parted out of *Egypt*, and died in the *Desarts*, 45550. and of their sonnes there entred the Land promised, 45000. bearing armes: from the halfe Tribe of *Manasse* the Riuer of *Iaboc* diuided them: from *Reuben* the Cities of *Hesbon*, *Elhele*, and *Aphec*. *Gen.* 30. *Num.* 1. 32. *Ios.* 13.

The chiefe Citie of *Gad* was *Aroer*: which they make to be the same with *Ar*, or *Rabbath Moab*, the great or commanding *Moab*. But the learned *Iunius* attending diligentlie to those words of *Moses*, *Deut.* 2. 36. *Ab haraheroᵉquæ est in ripa fluminis Arnon, & Ciuitate ipsa quæ est in flumine*; *where the Citie in the Riuer is distinguished from the Citie vpon the banke of the Riuer*, (as also in like manner *Ios. c.* 12. *v.* 2. and *c.* 13. *v.* 9.) thinketh that *Haroher* which doubtlesse belonged to the Gadites (as *Numb.* 32. 34. it is said that they built it) was indeed seated neere *Har* of the Moabites, but diuers from it. For that *Har* was neuer possest by *Moses*, it is plaine *Deuteronomie* 2. 9. where God forbidding *Moses* to touch it, saith, hee hath giuen *Har* for an inheritance to the sonnes of *Lot*. Now that this Citie, which in diuers places is said to be within and in the middle of the Riuer of *Arnon* (and so distinguished from *Haroher*, which is said in the same places to bee on the banke of *Arnon*) is *Har* of the Moabites, the same *Iunius* prooueth out of *Numb.* 21. 15. where *Arnon* is said to bee diuided into diuers streames, where or among which *Har* is seated: And the same is confirmed by the place of *Ios.* 13. 25. where *Haroher* is said to bee seated before *Rabbah*: which *Rabbah* as it seemes, cannot bee the *Esai.* 15. *Deut.* 2.

Rabbah of the *Ammonites* (for they seate not *Haroher* neere it; nor in sight of it) and therefore by *Rabbath* here wee must vnderstand *Rabbah* of *Moab*, which they make to be *Ar* or *Har*: and so wee must needs distinguish it from *Haroher*. And as for * *Har* (which also gaue the name to the coast adioyning) it seemes it continued in the possession of the Moabites after they had once expelled the Giant-like people called *Emims*, first weakened by *Chedorlaomer* and his Associates: but *Haroher* by the interchange of times suffered many ancient changes, as being wonne from the Moabites by *Sehon*, and from him by the Israelites, and from them, as it seemes in the story of *Iephtha*, by the Ammonites: and from the Ammonites againe by the Israelites vnder the conduct of *Iephtha*. In S. *Hieromes* time the greatest part of this Citie perished by an earthquake, as also *Zoar*, in which *Lot* saued himselfe, in the destruction of *Sodom*, seated not farre hence: which they say was therefore called *Vitula Consternans*, because as a wanton tumbling Heifer, she was thrice ouerthrowne with earth-quakes: for which cause also *Hierome* seemes to thinke that this *Zoar* was called *Salissa*, or *Bal-salissa*, as if *Baal* had beene a remainder of the old name *Balah*, or *Belah*, (of which *Gen.* 14.2.) and *Salisha*, which hath a signification of the *ternarie number*, had alluded to the three earth-quakes.

* *Deut.* 2.9. Out of which place the words, *Num.* 21.28. are to be expounded not that the citie of *Hor*, but the coast adioyning was wasted by *Sehon*. *Gen.* 14.5. *Iudg.* 11.35. *Hier. in epitap. Paul. & in quæst. & loc. Hebr.* see *Iunius* his annotations vpon 1 *Sam.* 9.2. where hee makes *Shalisha* a plaine Countrie in *Beniamin*, and the same with *Baal-shalisha*, 2. *Reg.* 4.42. where he expounds *Bal* or *Baha*l to be as much as *planities*. *Esa.* 15. *Hier.* 48. *Esa.* 15.21. *Iudg.* 8.11.

Brochard takes *Haroher* to be *Petra*, but erroneously, as before it is noted; seeing that *Petra* was in the South border of *Moab*, adioyning to *Edom*, whereas *Haroher* is in the North-East border. Betweene *Haroher* and *Iordan* they seate *Dibon*, which is attributed to the Gadites, because they are said to haue built it, *Numbers* 32.34. though *Iosua* 13. *verse* 17. it is said that *Moses* gaue it to the Reubenites. Of this Citie among the rest of *Moab*, both *Esay* and *Hieremy* prophecied, that it should perish, and the Lakes about it runne with the bloud of the Inhabitants. It was a great Village neere *Arnon* in Saint *Hieromes* time.

Keeping the bankes of *Arnon*, one of the next Cities of fame to *Aroer*, was *Bethnimrah*, of which *Esay* prophecieth, *That the waters thereof should be dried vp: and all the vale of Moab withered.* Not farre from *Bethnimrah* in this Tribe *Adrichomius* placeth *Iogbeha*, and *Nobach* or *Nobe*: of both which wee reade in the storie of *Gideon*: and that *Iogbeha* was in *Gad*, built by the Gadites, it appeares, *Numb.* 32.35. and therefore *Nobach* also must needs be in these parts; but whether in *Gad* or *Manasse* it is not certaine: only that it was anciently called *Kenath*, *Moses* witnesseth. *Nobach* also (saith hee) *went and tooke Kenath with her Townes, and called it Nobach of his owne name*, where because the verses precedent speake of the Manassites, and because it is not likely that *Moses* would haue seuered this seate of the Gadites from the rest, of which he spake before, *v.* 34.35.36. therefore it may seeme that this * *Nobach* was in that part of *Manasse*, which was in the East of *Iordan*: though *Adrichomius* place it in *Gad*. For whereas he supposeth it to bee the same with *Nob*, which *Saul* destroyed, of this we shall speake [a] in the Tribe of *Beniamin*. And as for that *Karkor* where *Zebach* and *Salmũnah* rested themselues in their flight from *Gideon*, to which place *Gideon* marched through this *Nobach* and *Iogbeha*, though some place in it *Gad*, and make it the same with *Kir-chares*, of which *Esay* 15, and 2 *Reg.* 3.25. yet there can be no certainty that it was in *Gad*: and if it be the same with *Kir-chares*, it is certaine that it was a principall Citie held still by the Moabites, and not in the Tribe of *Gad*.

Num. 32.35.

* *Num.* 21.30. It is called *Nophach*, and placed in the border of the kingdome of *Sehon*, towards *Basan*, and therefore it is not altogether vnprobable that it was in *Gad*.

a Chap. 12. §. 1. *Iudg.* 8.10. *Num.* 32.34. 35.

In the body of this Tribe of *Gad* they place *Hataroth*: of which name the Scripture witnesseth that two Cities were builded by the Gadites; the former simply called *Hataroth*, the later *Hatroth-Sophan*: for which later the *Vulgar* makes two Cities, *Roth* and *Shophan*: the name *Hataroth*, is as much as *Coronæ*.

In the Valley of the Kingdome of *Sehon*, together with *Bethnimrah*, of which we haue spoken, *Iosua cap.* 13. *v.* 27. nameth *Beth-haram* and *Succoth*: the former, *Numb.* 32.36. (where it is called *Beth-haram*) together with *Bethnimra*, is said to haue been built by the Gadites, which (perhaps the rather, because in *Iosua* it is called *Beth-Haram*,) some take to be *Betaramptha*, (of which [b] *Iosephus*) after by *Herod* called *Iulias*. But whether this *Betaramptha* were corrupted from *Beth-Haram*, or from *Beth-Aramatha* (of which *Aramatha* there is mention in [c] *Iosephus*) or from *Beth-Remphan* (of which *Remphan*, an Idoll of those Countries, wee reade, *Acts* 7.43. and to which *Iunius* referres the name of the Citie *Rephan*, 1 *Macchab.* 37.) of this question it were hard to resolue. But touching *Iulius* (according to *Iosephus* sometime *Bataramptha*) the same *Iosephus* placeth in the Region of *Perea*, beyond *Iordan*, which *Regio Perea*, as the Greeke word signifieth, is no

b *Ios.* 1. *ant.* 18. *cap.* 3.

c L. 7, *Ant. c.* 7. *Vbi Græcus Codex legit* Aegyada, *Latinus* Rabatha *Metropolis Hammonitarum*

no more than *Regio vlterior*, *the Countrie beyond the Riuer*; and therefore they which labour to set downe the bounds of this *Perea*, take more paines than needs. Foureteene Villages this *Iulias* had belonging vnto it, according to *Iosephus*. Hee makes it to haue beene built by *Herod Antipas*, and named *Iulias*, in honour of the adoption of *Liuia Augustus* his Wife, into the Iulian family: by which adoption she was called *Iulia*. Another *Iulias*, hee saith was built by *Philip* the brother of *Herod*, in the lower Gaulanitis, which, he saith, is the same as *Bethsaida*. *Ant.* 20. 11. *Iosep. Ant.* 18.3. & *Bel. Iudg.* 2.8.

Vpon the Sea of *Galilee* neere to *Iulias* in *Perea*, (that is, in the Region ouer *Iordan*) they finde *Vetezobra*, as it is called in *Iosephus*, for *Beth-ezob*, which is as much as *domus hissopi*. Of a noble woman of this Citie, which for safegard in the time of Warre with the Romanes, came with many others into *Hierusalem*, and was there besieged. *Iosephus* in the place noted, reports a lamentable History; how for hunger shee ate her owne childe, with other tragicall accidents hereupon ensuing. *Iosep. de Bell. Iudg.* 1.7.8.

Of *Succoth* (which we said *Ios.* 13. is placed with *Bẽ-haran*, in the Valley of the Kingdome of *Sehon*) it is plaine by the story of *Gidion* that it is neere vnto *Iordan*: where it is said, that as he was past *Iordan* with his three hundreth, wearie in the pursuite of *Zebah* and *Salmunnah*, hee requested reliefe of the men of *Succoth*: who denying him, and that with contempt, in *Gidions* returne were by him tortured, as it seemes vnder a threshing Carre of *Tribulum*, betweene which and their flesh he put Thornes to teare their flesh as they were prest and trod vnder the *Tribulum*, and after which sort also *Dauid* vsed some of the Ammonites, though not with Thornes, but with Iron teeth of the *Tribulum*. As for the name of *Succoth*, which signifieth such Tabernacles as were made in haste, either for Men or Cattell, *Moses*, *Gen.* 33.17. witnesseth that the originall of the name was from such harbours, which *Iacob* in his returne from *Mesopotamia* built in that place: as also the place beyond the Red Sea, where the children of *Israel*, as they came from *Rameses* in *Egypt*, had their first Station, was vpon like reason called *Succoth*: because there they set vp their first Tabernacles or Tents: which they vsed after for forty yeares in the Wildernesse. In remembrance whereof, the Feast of *Succoth*, or Tabernacles was instituted. *Iudg.* 8.5. 2 *Sam.* 12.31. *Exod.* 12.37. *Leuit.* 23.43.

Other foure Cities of *Gad* are named, *Ios.* 21.38. *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, *Machanaym*, *Chesbon*, and *Iahzer*, all of them by the Gadites giuen to the Leuites, of which *Iahzer*, as *Chesbon* or *Hesbon* was a chiefe City of *Sehon*, whence *Num.* 32.1. his Countrie is called the Land of *Iahzer*. It was taken by *Moses*, hauing first sent spies to view it. In the first of the *Chronicles* it is made part of *Gilead*. In later times (as it may bee gathered by the prophecie of *Esay*, touching *Moab*) it was possessed by the Moabites: to which place of *Esay*, also *Hieremie* in a like prophecie alludes. It was at length regained (but as it seemes from the Ammonites) by *Iudas Macchabæus*: as it is 1 *Macc.* 5.8. where *Iunius* out of *Iosephus*, reades *Iahzer*, though the Greeke hath *Gazer*. For *Gazer* or *Gezer* (as he gathereth out of *Iosua* 16.3. & 8. and *Iudg.* 1,29.) was farre from these Countries of *Sehon*, seated in the West border of *Ephraim*, not possessed by the Israelites, vntill *Salomons* time, for whom the King of *Egypt* wanne it from the Canaanite, and gaue it him as a Dowrie with his Daughter. *Num.* 22.32. 1 *Chro.* 27.31. *Esay* 6.8. *Hierom.* 48.32.

Of *Chesbon* it may be maruelled that in the place of *Iosua*, and 1 *Chron.* 6.81. it should be said to haue beene giuen to the Leuites by the Gadites, seeing *Iosua* 13. *v.* 17. it is reckoned for a principall Citie of the Reubenites: *Adrichomius* and such as little trouble themselues with such scruples, finding *Casbon*, 1 *Macc.* 5.36. among the Cities of *Gilead*, taken by *Iudas Maccabæus*, makes two Cities of one: as if this *Casbon* had beene the *Chesbon* of *Gad*, and that of *Reuben* distinct from it: but the better reconciliation is, that it being a bordering Citie, betweene *Gad* and *Reuben*, was common to both, and that the Gadites gaue their part to the Leuites, for so also it seemes that in like reason *Dibon* is said in one place built by the Gadites, and in another giuen to *Reuben*, as before is noted. Of *Machanaym*, which word signifieth a double Armie, wee reade *Gen.* 32.2. that it was therefore so called, because the Angels of God in that place met *Iacob* in manner of another Host or company, to ioyne with his for his defence: as also *Luke* 2.13. wee reade of a multitude of the Host of Heauen, which appeared to the sheepeheards, at the time of our Sauiours birth: and so vnto the godly King *Oswald* of *Northumberland*, when hee was soone after to ioyne battaile with the *Pagan Penda* of middle-*England*, *Beda* reports, that the like comfort appeared: whence the field where the Battaile

Battaile was fought in the North-parts of *England*, is called *Heauen-field*. In this Citie of *Machanaym Dauid* abode during the rebellion of *Absalom*: and the same for the strength thereof *Abner* chose for the seate of *Ishboseth*, during the warre betweene *Dauid* and the house of *Saul*.

Of the fourth Towne which was *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, wee reade often in the Scripture, for the recouering of which King *Achab* lost his life. *Iunius* thinkes that *Ramatha Mitspa*, of which *Iosua* 13.26. was this *Ramoth* in *Gilead*. Concerning the place where *Laban* and *Iacob* sware one to the another, as it was called *Gilead*, which is as much as a witnessing heape, because of the heape of Stones which *Laban* and his sonnes left for a monument; so also that it was called *Mitspah*, which signifieth ouer-looking (because there they called God to ouer-see and be witnesse to their couenant) it is plaine by the place, *Gen.* 31.49. that in these parts there was not onely a Towne, but likewise a Region called *Mitspa*, it appeares, *Ios.* 11.3. where we reade of the *Chiuuites* vnder *Hermon*, in the Countrie of *Mitspa*, * the Towne of *Mitspa*, as it seemes both by this place, and in the eight verse following, being not in the Hill Countrie, but in the Valley. But seeing that *Iephta* the Iudge of *Israel*, who after he came home from *Tob*, (whither his brethren had driuen him) dwelt in this Towne of *Mitspa*, who doubtlesse was of the Tribe of *Manasse*, and thence at first expelled by his brethren, it may seeme that they doe not well which place this Towne of *Mitspa* rather in *Gad*, than in *Manasse*. By *Iudas Maccabæus* this Towne of *Mitspa*, (whether in *Gad* or in *Manasse*) was vtterly spoiled and burnt, and the males of it slaine: for it was then possest of the Ammonites.

* Of other townes of this name, see in the Tribe of *Beniamin*.

Ind. 11.36.

1 *Macc.* 5.35.

Betweene *Succoth* (of which wee haue spoken) and the Riuer *Iaboc* was that *Peniel* or *Pennel*, which name signifieth *Locum faciei Dei*; *A place where the face of God was seene*: so called for memory of the *Angels* appearing to *Iacob*, and wrestling with him there: the churlishnesse of which Citie, in refusing to relieue *Gideon*, was the cause that in his returne he ouerthrew their Towre, and slew the chiefe Aldermen thereof. To these places of the Gadites, then adde *Rogelim*, the Citie of that great and faithfull subiect *Barzillai*, as it seemes, not farre from *Mahanaima*, where hee sustained King *Dauid*, during *Absaloms* rebellion. To these they adde the Towne of *Gaddi*, *Arnon*, and *Alimis*, of which *Gaddi*, being in Hebrew no more than *Gaddita*, is ignorantly made a name of a place. *Arnon* also no where appeares to be the name of a Towne, but still of a Riuer. *Alimis Adrichomius* frames of ἐν Αλέμοις, 1 *Mac.* 5.26. so that the name should rather bee *Alema*; but *Iunius* out of *Iosephus* reades *Mallæ*, for this in *Alimis*: and vnderstanding *Mallæ* to bee put for *Millo*, and to bee as much as *Munitio*, (as wee haue shewed touching the *Millo* of the Sechemites) hee takes this *Mallæ*, to bee *Mitspa Moabitarum*, of which 1 *Sam.* 22.3. As for that *Mageth* which *Adrichomius* findes in this Tribe of *Gad*, it is that *Mahacath*, which *Moses* notes to be as farre as the furthest of *Manasses*, out of the bounds of this Tribe. So also *Dathema*, of which 1 *Mac.* 5.10. (which *Iunius* takes to be [a] *Rithma*, of which *Num.* 33.18. a place of strength in the Territory of the Ammonites) and in like manner *Minnith*, and *Abel vincarum*, though by some they bee attributed to the Gadites, or to their borders, yet they are found farther off. For of the two last wee reade in *Iephta's* pursuit of the Ammonites: seated as it seemes by that place of the booke of *Iudges*, the former of them in the South border, and the other of them in the East border, both farre remoued from the Gadites. But the chiefe City of the Ammonites was neerer, and not farre from the borders of *Gad*. It is called in the Scriptures sometime *Rabbath*, as *Deut.* 3.11. but more often *Rabba*. It is supposed to bee that * *Philadelphia* which *Ptolomie* findes in *Cœlosyria*. *Hierome* and *Calistus* in *Arabia*. It was conquered by *Og* from the Ammonites: but as it seemes neuer possest by the Israelites, after the ouerthrow of *Og*, but left to the Ammonites: whereupon at length it became the Regall seate of the Ammonites, but of old it was the possession of the Zamzummims: which is as much to say, as men for all manner of craft and wickednesse infamous. The same were also called *Raphaim*, of whom was *Og*, which recouered much of that which the Ammonites had got from his Ancestors: who hauing beene first beaten by the Assyrians, and their assistants (as the Emims in *Moab*, and the Horims in *Seir* had beene) were afterward the easier conquered by the Ammonites, as the Emims were by *Moab*, and the Horims by the Idumæans. Yet did the races of *Emoreus*, of whom these Giants were descended, contend with the Conquerours for their ancient inheritance: and as *Sehon* of *Hesbon* had dispossest *Moab*, so had *Og* of *Basan* the Ammonites, and betweene them recouered the best part

Gen. 32.36.

Iudg. 8.17.

2 *Sam.* 19.33.

Deut. 3.14.
Ios. 12.5.

[a] The letters D. & R. in the *Hebrew* are very like, so that one is oft mistaken for another, and sometime without mistaking one is put for another: as for *Rodanim*, 1 *Chr.* 7. we haue *Dodanim. Gen.* 10. 4.

* Other names of this Citie according to *Stephanus* were *Ammana* and *Astarte*: but in this latter perhaps he mistooke, which might seeme to be the same *Astaroth* one of the chiefe Cities of *Og*, of which in that which remaineth to be spoken of *Manasses*. *Adrichomius* sayes, it was also called *Vrbs aquarum*, because of the

part of all the Valley, betweene the Mountaines and *Iordan*. For this *Og* was also master of *Rabba* or *Philadelphia*: And in the possession of the one or of the other of these two, *Moses* and *Israel* found all those Cities and Countries which were giuen to *Reuben*, *Gad*, and the halfe Tribe of *Manasse*. So that though it were 450. yeares since that these *Zamzummims* or *Raphaims* were expelled, yet they did not forget their ancient inheritance: but hauing these two Kings of one kinred, and both valiant and vndertaking men, to wit, *Og* and *Sehon*, both Amorites, they recouered againe much of their lost possessions, and thrust the sonnes of *Lot* ouer the Mountaines, and into the Desarts. And as the Kings or Captaines of *Persia* and *Assyria*, (remembred in the 14. of *Genesis*) made way for *Ammon*, *Moab*, and *Edom*, so by that great conquest which *Moses* had ouer those two Amorites, *Og* and *Sehon*, did the Moabites and Ammonites take opportunitie to looke backe againe into those plaines; and when the Reubenites, Gadites, and Manassites forsooke the worship of the liuing God, and became sloathfull and licentious, they taking the aduantage inuaded them, and cast them out of their possessions: and were sometime their masters, sometime their tributaries, as they pleased or displeased God: and according to the wisedome and vertue of their Commanders.

riuer *Iaboc* winding about it, but in the place 2 *Sam.* v. 27. whence he gathers this opinion, *Iunius* reades *intercepi ab vrbe aquam*, if wee must reade with others, *cepi vt vrbem aquarum*, yet it cannot be taken of *Rabba* it selfe, but of some Fort adioyning. *Gen.* 14.

In this Citie of *Rabba*, was the Iron bed of *Og* found, nine cubites of length, and foure of breadth. The Citie was taken in *Dauids* time, and the Inhabitants slaine with great seuerity, and by diuers torments. At the first assault thereof *Vrias* was shot to death, hauing beene by direction from *Dauid* appointed to be imployed in the leading of an assault, where he could not escape: wherein also many of the best of the Armie perished: and wherein *Dauid* so displeased God, as his affaires had ill successe afterward, euen to his dying day. From hence had *Dauid* the weighty and rich crowne of Gold, which the Kings of *Ammon* ware: or which, as some expound it, was vsed to be put on the head of their Idoll, waighing a talent, which is 60. pound waight after the common talent. In the time of *Christians* it had a *Metropolitan* Bishop, and vnder him twelue others.

Deut. 3.

2 *Sam.* 12.
Will. Tyr. Bell. Sacr. 13. *ca.* 12.
Pto.

The Mountaines which are described within this Tribe, and that of *Manasse*, with a part of *Reuben*, are those that *Ptolomie* calleth *the hils of Hippus*, a City of *Cœlosyria*: and *Strabo* * *Trachones*: the same which continue from neere *Damascus* vnto the *Desarts* of *Moab*: and receiue diuers names, as commonly mountaines doe, which neighbour and bound diuers Countries: for from the South part, as farre Northwards as *Asteroth*, the chiefe City of *Og*, they are called *Galaad* or *Gilead*; from thence Northward they are knowne by the name of *Hermon*, for so *Moses* calleth them: The Sidonians name them *Shirion*, but the Amorites *Shenir*, others *Seir*: of which name all those Hills also were called, which part *Iudæa* and *Idumæa*: and lastly, they are called *Libanus*, for so the Prophet *Hieremie* makes them all one, calling the high mountaines of *Galaad*, the head of *Libanus*. These Mountaines are very fruitfull, and full of good pastures, and haue many trees which yeeld *Balsamum*, and many other medicinable drugs. The Riuers of this Tribe are the waters of *Nimrah*, and *Dibon*, and the Riuer *Iaboc*: Others doe also fancie another Riuer, which rising out of the Rockes of *Arnon*, falleth into *Iordan*.

Strab. l. 6.
* τραχὼν is, *locus asper & salebrosus*: whence it appeares that *Trachonitis regio*, in these parts was properly the hill countrie,
Deut. 3. *v.* 9.
Hierem. 22.
Hier. 8. & 9.

§. VI.

Of the Ammonites, part of whose Territories the Gadites wanne from Og *the King of Basan.*

THis Tribe of *Gad* possest halfe the Countrie of the Ammonites, who together with the Moabites, held that part of *Arabia Petræa* called *Nabathea*, as well within as without the Mountaines of *Gilead*: though at this time when the Gadites wanne it, it was in the possession of *Sehon* and *Og*, Amorites: and therefore *Moses* did not expell the Ammonites, but the Amorites, who had thrust the issues of *Lot* ouer the mountaines *Trachones* or *Gilead*, as before. After the death of *Othoniel* the first Iudge of *Israel*, the Ammonites ioyned with the Moabites against the Hebrewes, and so continued long. *Iephta* Iudge of *Israel* had a great conquest ouer one of the Kings of *Ammon*, but his name is omitted. In the time of *Samuel* they were at peace with them againe.

Iud. 10.

Afterward wee finde that cruell King of the Ammonites, called *Nahas*: who besieging *Iabes Gilead*, gaue them no other conditions but the pulling out of their right eyes. The reason why he tendred so hard a composition, was (besides this desire to bring shame

1 *Sam.* 11.

shame vpon *Israel*) because those Gileadites vsing to carry a Target on their left armes, which could not but shadow their left eyes, should by losing their right, be vtterly disabled to defend themselues: but *Saul* came to their rescue, and deliuered them from that danger. This *Nahas*, as it may seem, became the confederate of *Dauid*, hauing friended him in *Sauls* time, though *Iosephus* thinkes that this *Nahas* was slaine in the battaile, when *Saul* raised the siege of *Iabes*, who affirmeth that there were three Kings of the Moabites of that name.

Iosep. l.6. Ant. c.5.&c.
2 Sam. 10.4.18.

Hanun succeeded *Nahas*: to whom when *Dauid* sent to congratulate his establishment, and to confirme the former friendship which he had with his Father, hee most contemptuously and proudly cut off the Ambassadours garments to the knees, and shaued the halfe of their beards. But afterward notwithstanding the aydes receiued from the Arabians, all those Arabians, together with the Ammonites, were ouer-turned: their chiefe Citie of *Rabba*, after *Philadelphia*, was taken; the Crowne which weighed a talent of gold was set on *Dauids* head; all such as were prisoners, *Dauid* executed with strange seuerity; for with Sawes and Harrowes he tare them in pieces, and cast the rest into Lime-kils.

Istob, that is, the men of *Thob*: *Thob* is a small Territorie vnder *Armon* hils. *Rehob* is another betweene *Hazor* & *Sidon*, in the North bound of *Canaan*, *Num.13.22.* of which see in the Tribe of *Asser*.
Hier.40.& 41.
2 Chron.20.
2 Chron.36.
2 Chron.26.
2 Chron.v.27.

Iosaphat gouerning *Iuda*, they assisted the Moabites their neighbours against him, and perished together. *Osias* made them Tributaries, and they were againe by *Iotham* inforc't to continue that Tribute, and to increase it, to wit, a hundreth talents of siluer, ten thousand measures of Wheat, and ten thousand of Barley: which the Ammonites continued two yeares.

The fift King of the Ammonites, of whose name we reade, was *Baalis*, the confederate of *Zedechia*: after whose taking by *Nabuchodonosor*, *Baalis* sent *Ismael* of the bloud of the Kings of *Iuda*, to slay *Gedaliah*, who serued *Nabuchodonosor*.

§. VII.
Of the other halfe of Manasse.

THe rest of the Land of *Gilead*, and of the Kingdome of *Og* in *Basan*, with the Land of *Hus*, and *Argob*, or *Trachonitis* (wherein also were part of the small Territories of * *Batania*, *Gaulonitis*, *Gessuri*, *Machati*, and *Auranitis*) was giuen to the halfe Tribe of *Manasse* ouer *Iordan*, of which those three later Prouinces defended themselues against them, for many ages. But *Batania Ptolomie* setteth farther off, and to the North-East, as a skirt of *Arabia* the *Desart*: and all those other Prouinces before named with *Petræa*, and *Ituræa*, he nameth but as part of *Cœlosyria*; as farre South as *Rabba* or *Philadelphia*: likewise all the rest which belonged to *Gad*, and *Reuben*, sauing the Land neere the Dead Sea, he makes a part of *Arabia Petræa*: for many of these small Kingdomes take not much more ground than the Countie of *Kent*.

* Another territory adioyning to *Manasse*, whose limits were confounded with some of these, was that *Thisbbitis*, the Country of *Elias*, as it is *1 Kin.16.1.&* of *Tobias*, *Tob.1.2.* It lay on the East to the Tribe of *Neph.* on the right hand of it, as in *Tob.1.2.* and was possest by Colonies of the *Israelites* in the time of *Saul* after his victory ouer the *Amalekites* & *Ismaelites* in those parts, as it is gathered out of *1 Chron.5.10.* whence it appeares, that it was part of *Ituræa*, of which chap.7.§.4.†.5. and.6.

Basan, or after the *Septuagint*, *Basanitis*, stretcheth it selfe from the Riuer of *Iaboc* to the [a] *Machati* and *Gessuri*: and from the Mountaines to *Iordan*, a Region exceeding fertile; by reason whereof it abounded in all sorts of Cattell. It had also the goodliest Woods of all that part of the world: especially of Oakes, which beare mast (of which the Prophet *Zacharias*; *Howle, O yee Oakes of Bashan*) and by reason hereof they bred so many Swine, as [b] 2000. in one Herd were carried headlong into the Sea, by the vncleane spirits which *Christ* had cast out of one of the Gadarens. It had in it threescore Cities walled and defenced: all which, after *Og* and his sonnes were slaine, *Iair*, descended of *Manasse*, conquered, and called the Countrie after his owne name, *Auoth Iair*, or the Cities of *Iair*.

The principall Cities of this halfe Tribe (for I will omit the rest) are these; *Pella* sometimes [c] *Butis*, otherwise *Berenice*; by *Seleucus* King of *Syria*, it is said to haue beene called *Pella*, after the name of that *Pella* in *Macedon*: in which both *Philip* the Father, and his Sonne *Alexander* the Great were borne. It was taken, and in part demolished by *Alexander Iannæus* King of the Iewes: because it refused to obey the Iewes lawes: but it was repaired by *Pompey*, and annexed to the Gouernment of *Syria*. It is now but a Village, saith *Niger*. *Carnaim* by the Riuer of *Iaboc*, taken by [d] *Iudas Maccabæus*: where hee

a So they call them of *Mahacath*, of which *Mahacath* somewhat hath beene spoken toward the end of the fift *Paragraph* of this Chapter, see the 1 *Mac.5.36.* and *Deut.3.14.* and *Ios.12.5.* b *Mat.5.13.* c Anciently as it seemes it was called *Tophel*: see aboue in the bounds of *Moab* in this chapter, §.4.†.2. d *1 Macc.5.*

set on fire the [e] Temple of their Idols: together with all those that fled thereunto for Sanctuary; and neere it they place the Castle of Carnion, of which *2 Macc.12.22.* Then the strong Citie of [f] Ephron neere Iordan: which refusing to yeeld passage to [g] *Iudas Maccabæus*, was forced by him by assault, and taken and burnt with great slaughter.

e *Iosepb.12. ant.12.*
f *1 Mac.5.*
g *2 Mac.12.27.*

Iabes Gilead, or Iabesus, was another of the Cities of this halfe Tribe, which being besieged by *Nahas* [h] King of the Ammonites, was deliuered by *Saul*, as is [i] elsewhere mentioned. In memory whereof these Citizens [k] recouered, embalmed, and buried the bodies of *Saul* and his sonnes: which hung despightfully ouer the walls of Bethsan or Scythopolis. [l] Gaddara or Gadara, is next to be named, seated by *Plinie* on a Hill neere the Riuer Hieromiace, which Riuer *Ortelius* seemes to thinke to be Iaboc. At the foote of the Hill there spring forth also hot baths, as at Machærus. *Alexander Iannæus* after ten moneths siege wan it, and subuerted it. *Pompey* restored it: and *Gabinius* [m] made it one of the fiue Courts of Iustice in Palestine. Hierusalem being the first, Gadara the second, Emath or Amathus the third, Hierico, and Sephora in Galilee, the fourth and fift. The Citizens impatiently bearing the tyranny of *Herod*, surnamed *Ascalonita*, accused him to *Iulius Cæsar* of many crimes: but perceiuing that they could not preuaile, and that *Herod* was highly fauoured of *Cæsar*, fearing the terrible [n] reuenge of *Herod*, they slew themselues: some by strangling, others by leaping ouer high Towers, others by drowning themselues,

h *1 Sam.11.*
i *Ios.6.ant.5.*
k *1 Sam.31.*
l *1 Chron.10.*
m *Iosepb.14. Ant.13.*
n *Iosepb.15. Ant.13.*

To the East of Gadara they place Sebei, [o] in which, *Iosephus ant.5.13.* saith, *Iephtha* was buried: whence others reading with the *Vulgar*, *Iud.12.7.* *Sepultus est in Ciuitate sua Gilehad*, (for *in vna Ciuitatum Gilehad*) imagine Gilehad to be the name of a Citie, and to be the same with Sebei. In like manner following the Vulgar, *1 Macc.5.26.* where it readeth Casphor for Chesbon; the same *Adrichomius* imagineth it to be *ampla & firma Gilehaditarum Ciuitas*: so of one City Hesbon or Chesbon, which they call Essebon, the chiefe Citie of *Sehon*, in the Tribe of *Reuben*, hee imagineth two more: this Casphor in *Manasses*, and a Citie in *Gad* which he calleth Casbon, of which we haue admonished the Reader heretofore. Of Gamala (so called, because the Hill on which it stood, was in fashion like the back of a Cammell) which *Iosephus* placeth not farre from Gadara, in the lower Gaulanitis ouer against Tarichea, which is on the West side of the Sea or Lake of Tiberias, see this *Iosephus* in the fourth booke of the Iewish warre: where hee describes the place by nature to be almost inuincible: and in the storie of the siege, shewes how *Vespasian* with much danger of his owne person, entring it, was at first repulsed, with other very memorable accidents: and how at length after the cõming of *Titus* when it was taken, many leaping downe the rockes with their wiues and children, to the number of fiue thousand, thus perished: besides foure thousand slaine by the Romans: so that none escaped, saue onely two women that hid themselues.

o Of Mitspa in Gilehad, see Citie of Iephtha, see in the Tribe of *Gad*.
cap.1.& 3.

About foure miles West from Gadara, and as much East from Tiberias (which is on the other side of the Lake) *Iosephus* placeth Hippus or Hippene, whence *Ptolomie* giues the names to the hils that compasse the plaines in which it standeth: so that it may seeme to haue beene of no small note. It is seated farre from the hill Countrie: on the East of the Lake, as also *Plinie* noteth *lib.5. cap.15.* It was restored by *Pompey*: after by *Augustus* added to *Herods* Tetrarchie: It was wasted by the Iewes, in the beginning of their rebellion: when by many massacres of their Nation, they were inraged against their borderers.

In vita sua.
Iosep.Bell.Iud. l.2.c.19.

The next Citie of note, but of more ancient fame, is Edrehi or Edrai, wherein *Og* King of Basan chiefly abode, when *Moses* and Israel inuaded him: and neere vnto this his Regall Citie, it was that he lost the battaile and his life. It stood in S. *Hieromes* time: and had the name of Adar or Adara. Not farre from these townes neere Iordan, in this valley, stood Gerassa or Gergessa, inhabited by the Gergesites, descended of the fift son of *Canaan*. Of these Gergesites we reade *Mat.8.28.* that Christ comming from the other side of the Lake of Tiberias, landed in their coasts: where casting the Diuels out of the possessed, hee permitted them to enter into the heard of Hogges: in which storie, for Gergesites or Gergesins, *S. Luke* and *S. Marke* haue Gadarens: not as if these were all one (for Geryessa or Gerassa is a distinct Towne in these parts from Gadera) but the bounds being confounded, and the Cities neighbours, either might well be named in this story. This Citie receiued many changes and calamities: of which *Iosephus* hath often mention,

Of another Edrehi in Nepht. see *Ios.19.37. Deut.3.1.& 10. Item. Ios.13.31.*
Mat.8.28.
Mar.5.
Luke 8.

tion. For besides other aduentures, it was taken by *L. Annius* Lieutenant to *Vespasian*: and 1000. of the ablest young men put to the sword, and the Citie burnt. In the yeare 1120. it was rebuilt by *Baldwine* King of *Damascus*: and in the same yeare recouered by *Baldwine de Burgo* King of *Hierusalem*: and by him vtterly razed. Neere vnto *Gerasa* is the village of *Magedan*, or after the Syriake *Magedu*, or after the Greeke *Magdala*, where the *Pharisees* and *Sadducees* desired of our Sauiour a signe from heauen: the same place or some adioyning to it, which *S. Marke* calleth *Dalmanutha*. By the circumstances of which storie it appeares that this coast lay betweene the Lake of *Tiberias* and the Countrie of *Decapolis*. *Brochard* makes both these places to be one; and findes it to bee *Phiale*, the fountaine of *Iordan* according to *Iosephus*: but this *Phiale* is too farre from the Sea of *Galilee*, and from *Bethsaida*, to bee either *Magdala* or *Dalmanutha*. For as it appeares by the storie, not farre hence towards the North was the *Desart* of *Bethsaida*, where *Christ* filled 5000. people with the fiue Barley loaues and two Fishes.

Matt. 15.

Marke 8. Broch. Itin. 2. Of this Phiale see in Nepth. C. 7. §. 4. †. 3: Matt. 14. Marke 6. Luke 9. Iohn 6.

On the North of this *Bethsaida* they place *Iulias*, not that which was built by *Herod*, but the other by *Philip*, which boundeth the Region *Trachonitis* towards the South. It was sometime a Village, and not long after the birth of *Christ* it was compassed with a wall by *Philip* the *Tetrarch* of *Ituræa* and *Trachonitis*: and after the name of *Iulia*, the wife of *Tiberius*, called *Iulias*, as hath beene further spoken in the Tribe of *Gad*: where it was noted that *Iosephus* makes this *Iulias*, to be the same as *Bethsaida*. Vpon the East side of the same Lake of *Tiberias* stands *Corozaim*, or *Corazim*, of which *Christ* in *Matthew*; *Woe be vnto thee Corazim*.

Iosep. 18. ant. 3. & alibi.

But the principall Citie of all these in ancient time was *Asteroth*: sometime peopled with the Giants *Raphaim*: and therefore the Countrie adioyning called the Land of Giants, of whose race was *Og*, King of *Basan*. In *Genesis* this Citie is called *Asteroth* of *Carnaim*, whence 1 *Mac.* 5.26. it is called simply *Carnaim*, as *Ios.* 13.21. it is called *Asteroth* without the addition of *Carnaim*. The word *Carnaim* signifieth a paire of Hornes, which agree well with the name of their Idoll *Asteroth*, which was the Image of a sheepe, as it is elsewhere noted, that *Astaroth* in *Deuteronomie* signifieth sheepe. Others from the ambiguitie of the Hebrew take *Karnaim*, to haue beene the name of the people which inhabited this Citie: and expound it *heroes* * *radiantes*. For of old the *Raphæi* which inhabited this Citie (*Gen.* 14.5.) were Giant-like men, as appeares by comparing the words *Deut.* 3.11. *Og ex residuo gigantum*, with the words, *Ios.* 13.12, *Og ex reliquijs Raphaeorum*: but if the *Karnaim* (or *Carnaym*) were these *Raphæi*, the word would not haue beene in the duall number: neither would *Moses* in the place of *Genesis* haue said the *Raphæi* in *Asteroth* of the *Karnaim*, but either the *Raphæi* in *Asteroth* of the *Raphæi*, or some other way fittest for perspicuitie: for this naming of both thus in the same clause, distinguisheth one from the other.

Gen. 14. 5.

See chap. 7. §. 3. †. 2.

* Because Horne when it is polished shineth: hence it is that the Verbe of this Nown is sometime *Lucere*: as it were *cornuum esse*: whereupon the *Vulgar*, *Exod.* 34.19. reading *cornutam corneam*, or *lucidam faciem*, gaue occasion to the fabulous painters to paint *Moses* with Hornes. *Iudith* 1.8. 1 *Cant.* 5.

Not farre from *Asteroth Adrichomius* out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbachius* placeth *Cedar*, in the way out of *Syria* into *Galilee*, foure miles from *Corazin*. This Citie (saith he) is remembred in the *Canticles*, and in the booke of *Iudith*, and there are that of this Citie vnderstand *Dauid* in his 120. *Psalme*: and here the Sepulchre of *Iob* is yet to bee seene, saith *Breidenbach*.

Now concerning the Texts which he citeth, it is so that the Greeke hath *Galaad* in stead of the word *Cedar*, which the *Vulgar* doth vse in that place of *Iudith*, and ioyneth *Carmel* and *Galilee*. The *Canticles* and the 120. *Psalme* doe rather proue that *Cedar* was not hereabout, than any way helpe *Adrichomius*. For that they speake of *Scenitæ Cedareni*, it is apparant, and as euident by the place in the *Canticles* that they were *decolores*, much more than any vnder the Climates of the Land of *Canaan*: whence *Iunius* out of *Lampridius* and *Plinie* placeth them in *Arabia Petræa*, farre from these parts. Touching the Sepulchre of *Iob*, it is certaine that the Arabians and Saracens (holding those places) fain many things to abuse the Christians, and to get money. Further, it may well be affirmed, that many (if not all) the historicall circumstances of *Iob* are so obscure, that we should rather by finding his Countrie seeke to get some knowledge of him, than by any presumptions founded vpon him, inferre what his Countrie was, and build vnto him a Citie by coniecture.

Rup. Lyran. Oleast. in Gen. Bel. in Cont. l. 1. de vr. Dei. S. Amb. sup. Ep. ad Rom. Aug. de ciui Dei, l. 18. c. 4. Chrys. Hom. 2. De patientia Iob. Greg. com. in Iob.

Of *Iob* himselfe, whether he was the same *Iobab* remembred in the 36, of *Genesis*, descended from *Esau*, and King also of *Idumæa*, though *Rupertus*, *Lyranus*, *Oleaster*, and *Bellarmine* are of another opinion, yet Saint *Ambrose*, *Augustine*, *Chrysostome*, and *Gregorie*, with

with *Athanasius*, *Hippolitus*, *Iræneus*, *Eusebius Emissenus*, *Apollinaris*, *Eustachius*, and other, cited by S. *Hierome* in his 126. Epist. to *Euagrius*, take him for the same.

The Land of *Huts* or *Hus* wherein *Iob* dwelt is from the *Greeke* Οὖς, which the *Septuagint* vse for the word *Huts*, translated by the Vulgar sometime *Hus*, as *Iob* 1. *v.* 1. sometime *Austitis*, as *Hierem.* 25.20. This Land is placed by *Iunius* between *Palæstina* and *Cœlosyria*, besides *Chamatha* (or *Hamath*) vnder *Palmyrene* in the Countrie called by *Ptolomie Trachonitis* or *Bathanæa*, the bounds of which Countries are confounded with *Basan* in this halfe Tribe of *Manasses*. And that this Land of *Hus* was thus seated, it may in part be gathered out of the place of *Ieremie* the 25.20. where hee reckons the *Hushites* among the promiscuous borderers of the *Israelites*, whom hee therefore calleth promiscuous or *miscellaneam turbam*, because their bounds were not onely ioyned but confounded, and their *Seigniories* mingled one with the other, but of this place the words of *Hieremy*, *Lamentations* 4.21. speaking of the same Prophecie, of which he speaketh in the fiue and twentieth Chapter, must needs bee expounded: as *Iunius* reades them, distinguishing the Land of *Hus* from *Edom*: *O filia Edomi, ô quæ habitas in terra Hutzi, O Daughter of Edom, O thou which dwellest in the Land of Hus.* Now because the Vulgar doth not so distinguish, but readeth, *Filia Edom quæ habitas in terra Hus*; *Daughter of Edom which dwellest in the Land of Hus*: Hence, as it seemes, some of the learned haue thought that *Iob* was an *Edomite*, as wee haue said, and King of *Edom*, which if they vnderstand by it *Idumæa* or *Edom*, so called in *Moses* time, they are greatly mistaken, making this Land of *Hus* to be in *Idumæa*. For it is very probable that *Esau* when hee first parted from *Iacob*, did not seate himselfe in *Edom* or *Seir*, which lyeth on the South border of *Iudæa*, but inhabited *Seir* farre to the East of *Iordan*, and held a part of those Mountaines, otherwise called *Galaad*, and *Hermon*, which by corruption the *Sidonians* call *Shirion*, and the *Amorites Shenir*, for *Seir*; and from this his habitation did *Esau* incounter *Iacob* when he returned out of *Mesopotamia*, who passed by the very border of *Esau* his abiding. It is true that at such time as *Moses* wandered in the *Desarts*, that the posterity of *Esau* inhabited *Seir* to the South of *Iudæa*: for it is like that the *Amorites* who had beaten both *Ammon* and *Moab*, did also driue the *Edomites* out of those parts, who thence-forward seated themselues to the South of *Iudæa*, bordering the *Desart Paran*, and stretched their habitations ouer the *Desarts* as farre as *Hor* where *Aaron* died.

For *ou* and *au* are often changed one into the other: whence they vsed *Austitis* for *Oustitis*, &c. Hence also by *Iunius* and others it is called *Ausanitis*, and so as it seemes they read it in the *Septuagint*. *Iun. in Gen.* 10. 23.

Deut. 3. 9.

Now for this *Hus* which gaue the name to a part of the Land of *Trachonitis*, whether it were *Hus* the sonne of *Aram*, as *Iunius* thinkes in his note vpon *Gen.* 10.23. or rather *Hus* the sonne of *Nachor*, *Abrahams* brother, the question is doubtfull. For my part I rather incline to thinke, that it was *Hus* the sonne of *Nachor*: partly because these Families of *Aram* seeme long before to haue beene lost: and partly because in *Iob* 6.32.2. *Elihu* the fourth of *Iobs* friends, which seemes to be of *Iobs* owne Country, is called a *Buzite*, of *Buz* the brother of *Hus*, the son of *Nachor*: as also *Hieremie* 25. in the same continuation (though some other Nations named betweene) where *Hus* is spoken of, there *Buz* is also named. Neither doth it hinder our coniecture, that in the place of *Iob* 32. *Elihu* the *Buzite* is said to be of the Family of *Ram*: (which *Iunius* expounds to be as much as of the Familie of *Aram*) for that by this *Aram* we are not to vnderstand *Aram* the sonne of *Sem*, *Iunius* himselfe maketh it plaine, both in his annotation vpon the beginning of his booke, where he saith that one of *Iobs* friends (which must needs be this *Elihu*) was of the posterity of *Nachor* (as also in this place hee confesseth so much expresly,) and in as much as hee readeth not *è familiâ Aram*, or *Ram*, but *è familia Syriæ*; like as elsewhere *Laban* who sprung of *Nachor* is called a *Syrian*.

Whence the Septuagint call him *ex regione Auskide*.

As for the other three of *Iobs* friends (of whom by this note of *Elihu* his being of the *Syrian* Family, or of the Family of *Nachor*) it is implyed that they were of other kindreds; as also by the *Septuagints* addition, that this *Elihu* was of the Land of *Hus*, or *Austitis*, it is implyed that they thought onely *Elihu* to haue beene of *Iobs* owne Countrie.

See Sixtus Senensis.

Franciscus Brochard the *Monke*, in his description of the holy Land in the iourney from *Acon* Eastward, findeth *Suetha*, and *Theman* on the East of the Sea of *Galilee*: both very neere to the Land of *Hus*: whereof the one may seeme to haue denominated *Bildad* the *Shuchite*; the other *Eliphaz* the *Themanite*: two of the three friends of *Iob*, of the which *Iob* 2.11. But *Iunius* thinks that the *Shuchites* were inhabitants of *Arabia* the *Desart*, descended of *Shuach* the sonne of *Abraham* and *Ketura*: of whom *Gen.* 25.2. perhaps, saith he, the same whom *Plinie* calls *Saccæi*. So also he thinketh the *Themanites* of whom

Eliphaz was, to haue beene of *Arabia* the *Desart*: and *Eliphaz* himselfe to haue beene of the posteritie of *Theman* the sonne of *Eliphaz*, which was the sonne of *Esau*. And so also *Nahamah*, whence *Tsophar* the third of *Iobs* friends (which in this place of *Iob c.2. v.11.* are mentioned) is by the same learned expositor, thought either to be named of *Thimnah* by transposition of letters (which *Thimnah, Gen. 36.40.* is named among the sonnes of *Esau* that gaue denomination to the places where they were seated) or else to be the same *Nahamah*, which *Ios.15.41.* is reckoned for a Citie of *Iuda* in the border, as hee thinkes of *Edom*. And yet I deny not but that neere the Land of *Hus*, in *Basan*, as it seemes, in the Tribe of *Manasses*, there is a Region which (at least) in later times was called *Suitis*, or of some like name. For this is euident by the Historie of *Willielmus Tyrius*, which reports of a Fort in this Region of *Suita* or *Suites* (as he calls it diuersly) of exceeding great strength and vse for the retaining of the whole Countrie: which, in the time of *Baldwine* the second King of *Hierusalem*, was with great digging through rockes recouered by the *Christians*; hauing not long before beene lost to the great disaduantage of the Countrie, while it was in the hands of the *Saracens*. The situation of this Fort is by *Tyrius* described to be sixteene miles from the Citie *Tiberias*, on the East of *Iordan*: by *Adrichomius* foure miles North-ward from the place where *Iordan* enters the Lake *Tiberias* at *Corazin*.

De Bell. Sacr. l. 22. c. 15. & 21.

Other Cities of this part of *Manasses* named in the Scripture are these: *Golan*, *Behesthera*, *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, and *Kenath*, which after the comming of the Israelites was called *Nobach*. Of *Nobach* or *Kenath*, and *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, we haue spoken by occasion among the Cities of *Gad*: The two other were giuen to the *Leuites*, and *Golan* made one of the Cities of refuge: from which *Golan* we haue both *Gaulanitis superior* and *inferior*, oft in *Iosephus*. *Behesthera* is accounted the chiefe Citie of *Basan* by some, but the writers corrupting the name into *Bozra*, it is confounded with *Betser* or *Bozra* of *Reuben*, and with *Bozra* of *Edom*. *Argob* is oft named for a Region in this Tract, and hence *Hierome* hath *Arga*, a name of a Citie placed by some about the waters of *Merom* (as they are called by *Iosua*) which make the Lake *Samachonitis*, as *Iosephus* calls it. This lake being as it were in the midst betweene *Cæsaria Philippi* and *Tiberias*, through which as through the Lake of *Tiberias*, *Iordan* runneth, boundeth part of this halfe Tribe on the West. When the snow of *Libanus* melteth, it is very large, saith *Brochard*: otherwise more contract, leauing the marish ground on both sides, for Lyons and other wilde beasts, which harbour in the shrubs that plentifully grow there.

Ios. 21.27. Deut. 4.43.

Adioyning to this Lake in this Countrey of *Manasses*, *Iosephus* names two places of strength, fortified by himselfe in the beginning of the *Iews* rebellion: *Seleucia* the one and *Sogane* the other. In the North side of this halfe Tribe of *Manasse*, and in the North-east, the Scripture nameth diuers bordering places toward *Damascus*, as *Tsedad*, *Chauran*, and *Chatsar-Henan*, lying in a line drawne from the West; of which three Cities we reade *Ezek.47.15.* with which also agrees the place *Numb.34.8.* where for *Chauram*, betweene *Tsedad*, and *Chatsar-Henan*, *Ziphron* is named. From this *Chauram* is the name of *Auranitis Regio*, in *Iosephus* and *Tyrius*, whose bounds (as also the bounds of *Gessur* and *Mahachath* or *Macati*, which were likewise borderers to *Manasses* toward the North-east) are vnknowne: onely that *Gessur* was of might, it appeares in that *Dauid* married *Maheca* the Daughter of *Thalmay* King of *Gessur*: by whom he had the most beautifull, but wicked, and vnforunate *Absalon*.

1 Chron. 3.2.

CHAP. XI.

The Historie of the Syrians, the chiefe borderers of the Israelites that dwelt on the East of Iordan.

§. I.

Of the Citie of Damascus, and the diuers fortunes thereof.

DAmascus of all other in this border, and of that part of the world, was the most famous, excelling in Beautie, Antiquitie, and Riches, and was therefore called the Citie of ioy or gladnesse; and the House of pleasure; and is not onely remembred in many places of Scripture, but by the best Historians and Cosmographers. The Hebrewes, saith *Iosephus*, thinke it to haue beene built by *Hus* the sonne of *Aram*: of which opinion S. *Hie-*

Ioseph. l. 1. c. 4.

Saint *Hierome* vpon *Esay* seemeth to bee: though in his Hebrew questions hee affirmeth that it was founded by Damascus, the sonne of *Eliezer Abrahams* Steward; a thing very vnlikely, seeing the Citie was formerly knowne by that name, as appeares by *Abrahams* calling this his Steward *Eliezer* of Damasco. *Dauid* was the first that subiected it to the Kingdome of Iuda, after the ouerthrow of *Adadezer* their King, but in *Salomons* time, *Rezon* recouered it againe, though hee adde no title at all or right to that principalitie: but *Dauid* hauing ouerthrowne *Hadadezer* king of *Sophena* (otherwise Syria Soba or Zobah) *Razon* or *Rezon* with the remainder of that broken Armie, inuaded Damascena, and possest Damascus it selfe, and became an enemie to *Salomon* all his life.

in Esai. 17. Gen. 15.2. 1 Reg. 11. v. 40.

The next King of Damascus was *Adad* the Edomite, who flying into Egypt from *Dauid* and *Ioab*, when they slew all the males in Edom, was there entertained, and married *Taphnes* the King of Egypts Wiues sister: of whom *Taphnes* in Egypt was so called. This *Adad* returning againe, became an enemie to *Salomon* all his life, and (as some writers affirme) inuaded Damascus, and thrust *Rezon* thence-out. In the line of *Adad* that Kingdome continued nine descents (as hereafter may be shewed in the catalogue of those Kings of Syria) to whom the Assyrians and then the Græcians succeeded. This Citie was exceeding strong, compassed with waters from the riuers of Abanah, and Parphar: whereof one of them prophane writers call Chrysorrhoas, the golden riuer. *Iunius* takes it for Adonis. The countrey adioyning is very fruitfull of excellent Wines and Wheats, and all manner of excellent fruits. It had in it a very strong Castle, built as it seems by the Florentines, after it became Christian: the Lillies being found cut in many Marbles in that Citadell. Against this Citie the Prophets, *Amos*, *Esay*, *Hieremie* and *Zacharias*, prophecied that it should be taken, burnt, demolished, and made a heape of stones. In the time of the last *Rezon*, and tenth King of the Damascens, *Teglatphalassar* inuited by *Achaz* King of Iuda, carried away the naturals of Damascus into the East: leauing of his owne Nation to inhabit it. After that it was vtterly ruined by the Babylonians, saith *Hierome* vpon *Esai*: which thing was performed by *Salmanaser*, according to *Iunius* in his note vpon that place, fiue yeares after the Prophecie. In time it was restored by the Macedonians, and the Ptolomies; but long after, when Syria fell into the hands of the Romans, it was taken by *Metellus* and *Lollius*. In the time of the Christians it had an Archbishop: Saint *Hierome* liuing, as hee affirmeth vpon the *Acts*, it was the Metropolis of the Sarazens: being taken by *Haomar* their King from the Romans, in the yeare of our redemption 636. And in the yeare 1147. *Conrad* the third, Emperour of Rome, *Lewis* King of France, *Baldwine* the third King of Hierusalem, *Henry* Duke of Austria, brother to *Conrad*, *Frederick Barbarossa* afterward Emperour, *Theodorick* Earle of Flaunders, and other Princes assembled at Ptolomais Acon, on the sea coast, determined to recouer Damascus: but being betrayed by the Syrians, they failed of the enterprize.

1 Reg. 11. 2 Reg. 5. Herold. 6. Bell. Sacr. 1. 3. 8. 10. & 17. 49. & 9. 2 Reg. 16. Esai. 17. Ioseph. ant. 4. Onuphrius in Chron. Petri. c. 46. Wil. Tyr. Bell. Sac. l. 17. c. 1. 23. 4. 5.

In the yeare 1262. *Halon* the Tartar incompast it, and hauing formerly taken the King, brought him vnder the walls, and threatned extreame torture vnto him, except the Citizens rendred the place: but they refusing it, the King was torne asunder before them, and in fine the Citie taken, *Agab* the sonne of *Halon* was by his father made King thereof.

Herold. Bell. Sac. 4. c. 14.

In the yeare 1400. *Tamberlaine* Emperour of the Parthians, inuaded that region, and besieged the Citie with an Armie of 1200000. (if the number be not mistaken.) He entred it, and put all to the sword, filling the ditch with his prisoners; those that retired into the Castle, which seemed a place impregnable, hee ouertopped with another Castle adioyning: hee forbare the demolishing of the Citie in respect of the beauty of the Church, garnished with 40. gates or sumptuous porches. It had within it 9000. Lanternes of gold and siluer: but while he inuaded Egypt, they againe surprized Damascus. Lastly, in his return after three moneths siege, he forc't it: the Mahometans prostrating themselues with their Priests, desired mercie: But *Tamberlaine* commanding them to enter the Church, hee burnt them and it, to the number of 30000. and did so demolish it, as those that came afterwards to see their houses, knew them not by the foundations. And as a Trophey of his victorie, hee raised three Towers with great Art, builded with the heads of those whom hee had slaughtered. After this, it was restored and repossest by the Soldane of Egypt, with a garrison of Mammalukes: And in the yeare 1517. *Selimus* Emperour of the Turkes wrested it out of the hands of the Egyptians;

Herold. l. 6. c. 4.

in whose possession it now remaineth inhabited with Mahometans and Christians of all neighbouring nations.

§. II.

Of the first Kings of Damascus, and of the growing vp of their power.

NOw be it that Damascus were founded by *Hus* the sonne of *Aram*, or by *Damascus* the sonne of *Eliezer Abrahams* steward; we finde no relation of their Kings, or Common-wealth till *Daiids* time. For it stood without the bounds of Canaan: and therefore neglected by *Moses*, *Iosua*, and the *Iudges*, as impertinent to that Storie: But were it so that it had some *regnli*, or petty Kings ouer it, as all the Cities of those parts had, yet none of them became famous for ought that is left to writing, till such time as *Dauid* ouerthrew *Adadezer* Prince of Sophena or Syria Zoba: the same Nation which *Plinie* calleth Nubæi, inhabiting betweene Batania and Euphrates. Now the better to vnderstand the storie of those Syrian Princes, whom soone after the Kings of Damascus made their vassals, the reader may informe himselfe, That on the North-east parts of the holy Land, there were three chiefe principalities, whereof the Kings or Commanders greatly vexed or disturbed the State or Common-wealth of Israel, namely Damascus or Aram, Sophena or Syria Zoba, and Chamath, or Chamath-Zoba, of which these were the Princes in *Dauids* and *Salomons* times: *Razon* or *Rezon* of Damascus, *Adadezer* of Syria Zoba, and *Tohu* of Chamath. But it seemeth that Damascus was one of the Cities subiect to *Adadezer* when *Dauid* inuaded him, though when *Saul* made warre against Zoba, Damascus was not named. And as *Iosephus* affirmeth, the leader of those succours, which were leuied and sent to *Hadad-Hezer* from Damascus, had the name of *Adad*: who was in that battaile slaine with 22000. Aramites of Damascus: whereof, as of the ouerthrow of *Adadezer*, *Rezon*, the Commander of his Armie, taking aduantage, made himselfe King of Damascus: *Adadezer* and *Adad* of Damascus being both slaine. About the same time *Tohu* King of Chamath or *Iturea*, hearing that his neighbour and enemy *Adadezer* was vtterly ouerthrowne, sendeth for peace to *Dauid*, and presenteth him with rich gifts, but *in dolo*, saith *S. Hierome*; it was craftily done of him. Now to the North of the Holy Land, and to the West of Damascus, the Tyrians and Zidonians inhabited: but they for the most part were in league and peace with the Iudæans and Israelites. But to returne to the Kings of Syria, I meane of Syria, as it is taken in the Scriptures, containing Damascena, Soba or Zoba, and Chamath, or Iturea, to which I may adde Geshur, because it is so accounted in the second of *Sam.* 15. as ioyning in the Territorie to Damascus (for Syria at large is farre greater, of which Palestina it selfe is but a Prouince, as I haue noted in the beginning of this Tract:) It is not agreed among the Historians of former times, nor of our later writers, who was the first of those *Adads* of Syria Zoba, and Damascus.

Some account *Rezon*, others *Adad* of Idumæa: of whom it is written in the first of Kings, that *Dauid* hauing inuaded that Region, and left *Ioab* there to destroy all the male children thereof: *Adad* of the Kings seed, fled into Egypt; and was there married to *Taphnes* the Queenes sister, as before; who hearing of *Dauids* death, and of the death of his Captaine *Ioab* (whom indeed all the bordering Nations feared) he turned againe, and as *Bunting* thinketh, this *Adad* did expell *Rezon* out of Damascus; and was the first of the Syrian Kings. To mee it seemeth otherwise. For as I take it, *Adadezer* the sonne of *Rehob*, whom *Saul* inuaded, was the founder of that Principalitie: and the first of *Adads*, who forsaking his Fathers name, as hee grew powerfull, tooke vpon him the style of *Adad*, the great god of the Assyrians, saith *Macrobius*, which signified Onenesse or Vnitie, I also finde a Citie called Adada in the same part of Syria: of which, whether these Princes tooke the name, or gaue it, I am ignorant. For *Adad-ezer*, *Ben-adad*, *Eli-adad* were the same in name, with the differences of *Ezer*, *Ben*, and *Eli*, adioyned. And that *Adadezer* was of greatest power, it appeareth first, because it is against him, that *Dauid* vndertooke the warre: secondly, because hee leuied 22000. Aramites out of the Territory of Damascus: as out of his proper Dominions: for had the Damascens had a King apart, it is probable that the Scriptures would haue giuen vs his name; thirdly, because *Syria Zoba*, of the most of which *Adadezer* was King, was an exceeding large Territory, and contained of *Arabia* the *Desart* as far as to *Euphrates*, according to *Plinie*: and

Plin.l.6.c.28.
1 Sam.14.47.
3082.
2 Sam.8.
1 Reg.11.
2 Sam.8.3. and 12.
1 Sam.14.47.
Plin.l.6.c.18.

and the greatest part of Arabia Petræa, according to *Niger*. Whosoeuer was the first, whether *Adadezer*, or *Adad* of Idumæa, *Rezon* was the second: *who was an enemie to Israel all the dayes of* Salomon. Besides the euill that *Adad* did, the euill that *Hadad* did, seemeth to be referred to *Hadad* of Idumæa, lately returned out of Egypt: to wit, 23. yeares after he was carried thither. 1 Reg.11.

The third king of Damascus, and of Zobah both, was *Hezion*; to *Hezion* succeeded *Tabrimmum*, or *Tabremmum*; to him *Benhadad*, as is proued in the first of Kings: For *Asa* King of Iuda the son of *Abiam*, the son of *Roboam*, the son of *Salomon*, being vexed & inuaded by *Baasha*, the successour of *Nadab*, the son of *Ieroboam*, sent to *Benhadad* the son of *Tabrimmon*, the son of *Hezion*, King of Aram, that dwelt at Damascus, to inuade Israel (while *Baasha* sought to fortifie Rama against *Asa*: thereby to block him vp, that he should not enter into any of the Territories of Israel) who according to the desire of *Asa*, hauing receiued his presents, willingly inuaded the Countrie of Nepthalim, and took diuers Cities, and spoyles thence: *Asa* in the meane while carrying away all the Materials, which *Baasha* had brought to fortifie Rama withall, and conuerted them to his owne vse. 1 King.15.18. 1 Reg.15.v.18.

This *Benhadads* Father *Tabremmon* was in league with *Asa*: and so was his Father *Hezion*: for *Asa* requireth the continuance of that friendship from *Benhadad*, his sonne: though it seemeth that the gold and siluer sent him out of the Temple, was the most forcible argument. And that this *Tabremmon* inuaded Israel, before the enterprize of his sonne *Benhadad*, it is coniectured. For *Benhadad* when he was prisoner with *Achab*, spake as followeth: *The Cities which my Father tooke from thy Father, I will restore: and thou shalt make streetes or keepers of the borders, for thee in Damascus: as my father did in Samaria.* And herein there ariseth a great doubt (if the argument it selfe were of much importance) because *Tabremmon* was Father indeed to *Benhadad* which inuaded *Baasha*, at the request of *Asa*; But this *Benhadad* that twice entred vpon *Achab*, and was the second time taken prisoner, was rather the sonne of *Benhadad*, the first of that name, the confederate of *Asa* and *Abiam*, as before, than the sonne of *Tabremmon*. For betweene the inuasion of *Benhadad* the first, in *Baasha's* time, and the siege of Samaria, and the ouerthrow of *Benhadad* by *Achab*, there past 49. yeares, as may be gathered out of the raignes of the Kings of Israel. So that if we allow 30. yeares of age to *Benhadad*, when he inuaded *Baasha*, and after that 49. yeares ere he was taken by *Achab*, which make eighty lacking one, it is vnlikely that *Benhadad* at such an age should make warre. Besides all this, the first *Benhadad* came with no such pompe; but the second *Benhadad* vaunteth, that hee was followed with 32. Kings: and therefore I resolue, that *Benhadad* the sonne of *Tabremmon* inuaded *Baasha* and *Omri*; and *Benhadad* the second inuaded *Achab*, at whose hands this *Benhadad* receiued two notorious ouerthrowes: the first at Samaria, by a sally of 700. Israelites: the second at Aphec, where, with the like number in effect the Israelites slaughtered 100000. of the Aramites; besides 27000. which were crusht by the fall of the wall of Aphec. And this *Benhadad*, *Achab* againe setteth at liberty: to whom he rendreth those townes that his father had taken from the Predecessour of *Achab*, but being returned, he refused to render Ramoth Gilead, a frontier Towne, and of great importance. Now three yeares after (for so long the league lasted) Ramoth not being deliuered, *Achab* inuaded Gilead, and besieged the City, being assisted by *Iosaphat*. The Aramites came to succour and fight; in which *Achab* is wounded, and dyeth that night. After this, *Benhadad* sendeth the commander of his forces called *Naaman*, to *Ioram* the son of *Achab* to be healed of the leprosie, and though *Elizeus* had healed him, yet hee picketh quarrell against *Ioram*: and when *Ioram* by *Elizeus* his intelligence, had escaped his plot; he sent men, and Chariots to take the Prophet, as is aforesaid. After, *Benhadad* besieged Samaria again, and being terrified thence from heauen, he departeth home, and sickneth, and sendeth *Azael* with great gifts to *Elizeus*, to know his estate if he might liue. *Azael* returning, smothereth him. *Zonaras* and *Cedrenus* call this *Benhadad Adar*, and the sonne of *Adar*: *Amos* and *Hieremie* mention the towres of *Benhadad*. *Iosephus* writeth that *Benhadad* and his successour *Azael* were worshipped for gods by the Syrians to his time, for the sumptuous Temples which they built in Damascus. The Syrians also boasted much of their antiquity, ignorant, saith he, that scarce yet 1100. yeares are compleate since their warres with the Israelites.

1 Reg.11.
1 King.15.18.
1 Reg.15.v.18.
1 Reg.20.v.34.
1 Reg.15.
1 Reg.20.
1 Reg.22.
3227.
3232.
2 Reg.5.
2 Reg.6.
2 Reg.6.
2 Reg.7.
3234.
Amo. 1. Hier. 49.
Ant.l.8.c.8.

Hazael or *Azael*, the first King of the race of the *Adads* of Damascus, was annointed by *Elisha*, or *Elizeus*, when he was sent by *Benhadad* to the Prophet, to know whether *Benhadad*

hadad should recouer his present sicknesse: He waged warre with *Ioram*; who receiued diuers wounds at the encounter at Ramoth in Gilead: from whence returning to be cured at Iesreel, he and the King of Iuda, *Ahaziah* or *Ochozias*, are slaine by *Iehu*, as before is said. After the death of *Ioram*, *Azael* continued the warre against *Iehu*, and wasted Gilead, and all those portions of *Gad*, *Reuben*, and *Manasse* ouer Iordan. He then inuaded Iuda, and tooke Gath; but by gifts from *Ioas* he was auerted from attempting Hierusalem: for he presented him all the *hallowed things which* Iehosaphat, Iehoram, *and* Ahaziah *his fathers, Kings of Iuda had dedicated; and which hee himselfe had dedicated, and all the gold which was found in the treasuries of the Lord, and in the Kings house.* This was the second time that the Temple was spoyled to please the *Adads* of Damascus. For *Asa* did to present *Benhadad* with those treasures, when hee inuited him to warre vpon *Baasha* King of Israel. And notwithstanding this composition betweene *Ioas* and *Azael*, yet a part of his Army spoyled the other Prouinces of Iudæa, and slaughtered many principall persons. Lastly, *Azael* vexed *Ioahas* the sonne of *Iehu*, and brought him to that extremitie, as he left him but fifty horsemen, ten Chariots, & ten thousand fooot-men of all his people.

2 Reg. 12. 17.
2 Reg. 12.
1 Reg. 15.
2 Reg. 13. v. 7.

§. III.

Of the later Kings, and decay and ouerthrow of their power.

AFter *Hazael*, *Benhadad* the second, or rather the third of that name, the son of *Hazael*, reigned in Damascus: who fought against Israel, with ill successe: for *Ioas* King of *Israel*, the sonne of the vnhappy *Ioachaz*, as he was foretold by *Elisha* the Prophet, beat *Benhadad* in three seuerall battels: and hee lost all those Cities to *Israel*, which his Father *Hazael* had taken violently from *Ioachaz*.

2 Reg. 13.
Ioseph. Ant. l. 9. c. 6.

After this *Benhadad* the sonne of *Hazael*, there succeeded three others by the same name, of whom the Stories are lost, onely *Nicholaus Damascenus* cited by *Iosephus*, makes mention of them: and in one of these Kings times it was that *Ieroboam* the second, the sonne of *Ioas* recouered Damascus it selfe, to Iudah, saith the Geneua, but better in *Iunius, vtque recuperabat Damascum, & Chamatham Iehudæ pro Israele*; that is, *And how hee recouered for Israel, Damascus and Chamatha of Iudea*; for these Cities sometimes conquered by *Dauid*, did of right belong to the Tribe of *Iuda*.

Ioseph. Ant. l. 7. c. 6.
1 Reg. 14. 28.

And it is likely that this conquest vpon the Adads was performed: the first of these three *Adads* then liuing, of whom there is no Story. For when as *Iehoas* the King of the ten Tribes had thrice ouercome the Syrians in the time of *Benhadad* the sonne of *Hazael*, and had recouered the Cities which *Hazael* had won from Israel; and so left his Kingdome to his sonne *Ieroboam* the second, it seemeth that this *Ieroboam* without delay, and hauing nothing else left for him to enterprize, instantly followed his fathers good fortune, and inuaded Damascus.

Razin, or *Rezin*, after *Iosephus Rases*, after *Zonaras Raason*, the 10. *Adad*, making league with *Pekah*, or *Phacus* King of Israel, against *Achaz* King of Iuda; both carry away a great number of prisoners. After this they both besiege *Achaz* in Hierusalem: but in vain. Then *Adad* alone inuadeth *Elath*, and bearing out the Iewes, maketh it a Colonie of Syrians. Wherefore *Achab* brought *Teglatphalassar* against *Raizin*, who tooke him, and beheaded him, and won Damascus: with whom ended the line of the *Adads* and the Kingdome of Damascus: the Assyrians becomming masters both of that and Israel. These *Adads* as they raigned in order are thus reckoned.

2 King. 16. 5. 5.
Esay 7.
Ioseph. Ant. l. 9. c. 11.

1 *Adadezer* the sonne of *Rehob*.
2 *Rezin* the sonne of *Eliadad*, or *Razin*.
3 *Hezion*.
4 *Tabremmon*.
5 *Benhadad*, who inuaded *Baasha*.
6 *Benhadad* the second, taken prisoner by *Achab*.
7 *Hazael*, whom *Elisha* foretold, with teares, of his aduancement; the same who ouerthrew *Ioram* King of Israel at *Ramoth Gilead*. And that there was a second *Hazael* which preceded *Benhadad* the third, it is not improbable, because that *Hazael* which tooke Geth, and compounded the warre with *Ioas*, made the Expedition thirty yeeres, and perchance more,

more, after the first *Hazael* which stifled his master *Benhadad*, and had slaine *Ioram* the sonne of *Achab* King of Israel. For *Ioas* began to raigne in the 7. yeare of *Iehu* King of Israel; and after he had raigned 23. yeares, the Temple was not yet repaired, after which (and how long we know not) it is said that *Hazael* took Geth, and turned his face towards Ierusalem. It is also some proofe that *Hazael* that tooke Geth, was not the same with *Hazael* that murthered *Benhadad*, because he could not at that time bee of good yeares, being as it seemeth, the second person in the kingdome, and Commander of *Benhadads* men of warre. To this *Hazael* (be he the first or second) succeeded

8. *Benhadad* the third, whom *Ioash* King of Israel thrice ouerthrew.

9. *Resin* or *Rezin* the last, who ioyned with *Pekah* King of Israel, against Iuda, at which time *Achaz* King of Iuda waged for his defence *Teglatphalassar*.

Now between *Benhadad* the third, and *Rezin* the last, *Nicolaus Damascenus* findes three other Kings of the Adads, which make twelue in all.

For the rest of the Princes of Syria, which were but *reguli*, as those of Emath, and Gessur, we finde that *Tohu* was King of Emath or Camath in *Dauids* time, to whom hee sent his sonne *Ioram* with presents, after *Dauids* victory against *Adadezer*. Also *Senacherib* speaketh of a King of Emath, but names him not.

2 Sam. 8. 9.
Esai. 37.

§. IIII.

Of other lesser Kingdomes of the Syrians, which being brought vnder the Assyrians, neuer recouered themselues againe.

OF *Gessur* we finde two Kings named; to wit, *Talmai*, and his Father *Ammihur*, to *Talmai*, whose daughter *Dauid* married, it was that *Absalon* fled, who was his maternall grandfather. Of the Kings of Sephena or Syria, Soba or Cœlosyria there are two named, *Rehob* or *Rechob* the Father of *Adadezer*, and *Adadezer* himselfe, and it is plaine that after his death the seat of the Kings of Soba was transferred to Damascus, a Citie better fitting their greatnesse. After *Rezin* became Lord of both Principalities. And the race of these Kings of Syria, (which became so potent, and ioyned Soba, Damascus, Emath, and the Desart of Arabia with other Prouinces into one, vnder *Rezin* the second of the *Adads*) as it began with *Dauid*, so it ended at once with the Kingdome of Israel. For *Ahaz* King of Iuda waged the Assyrian *Teglatphalassar* against *Pekah* King of Israel, and against *Rezin* the last King of *Damascus*: which *Teglath* first inuaded Damascena, and the region of Soba, and tooke Damascus it selfe, and did put to death *Rezin* the last, carrying the Inhabitants captiue. This was the second time that the Assyrians attempted Israel. For first, *Phul Belochus* entred the borders thereof (*Menahem* gouerning Israel) who stopt the enterprise of *Phul* with a thousand talents of siluer: for this *Phul Belochus*, whose pedigree wee will examine hereafter, being scarce warme as yet in his seate at *Babylon*, which hee, with the helpe of his companion *Arbaces*, had wrested from *Sardanapalus*: hauing besides this King of Syria in his way, who seemed to bee a great and strong Prince, was content to take the composition of a thousand talents of the King of Israel for that present time. But his sonne *Teglath* following the purpose of his father *Belochus*, and finding so excellent an occasion, as the warre begun betweene Israel and Iudah, *Pekah* commanding in the one, and *Achaz* in the other, his neighbour *Rezin* being also wrapt in that warre, and wasted in strength thereby, did willingly accept the offer of *Achaz* King of Iuda, his impreſt and entertainment. So, first attempting Damascus, which lay in his path towards Israel, hee carried it (as is before remembred) and then with great ease possest himselfe of the Cities of Nephthalim; leading with him a great part of the people captiue. And his sonne *Salmanasser*, whom *Ptolomie* calleth *Nabonasser*, after the reuolt of *Hosea*, forced Samaria, and rent that Kingdome asunder. So as the line and race of *Ninus* in Sardanapalus, whom *Belochus* supplanted; the race and Monarchie of the Syrian *Adads* in Rezin, whom *Teglath* slaughtered; the Kingdome of Israel in *Hosea*, whom *Salmanasser* ouerturned; happened neere about a time: that of *Ninus* in the dayes of *Belochus*, and the other two in the dayes of *Teglatphalassar*, and *Salmanasser* his son. For *Sardanapalus* perished, *Osia* ruling Iuda; and the other two Kingdomes were dissolued, *Achaz* yet liuing.

Lastly the Kingdome of Iuda it selfe, being attempted by *Sennacherib*, the sonne of *Salmanasser* in vaine, and preserued for the time by God miraculously, was at length vtterly

vtterly ouerturned. *Hierusalem* and the Temple burnt 132. yeares after the captiuitieof *Israel* and *Samaria* : the destruction of *Israel* being in the ninth yeare of *Hosea*: that of *Iuda* in the eleuenth of *Zedechia*. Now the Emperours of *Assyria* and *Babylon* held also the Kingdome of *Syria*, from the eight yeare of *Salmanassar*, to the last of *Baltassar*, whom
3603. *Herodotus* calleth *Labynitus*: in all about 200. yeares. After these the Persians from *Cy-*
3811. *ras* to *Darius* their last King, held *Syria* about 200. yeares.

Then *Alexander Macedon* tooke this among other Prouinces of the Persian Empire, and his successors the *Seleucidæ* raigned therein, till it became subiect vnto the power of the Romanes, from whom it was wrested long after by the Saracens, and remaineth now in possession of the Turke, as shall bee shewed in due place. Thus much of the Nations bordering vpon the Israelites, with whom they had most to doe both in warre and peace, being the onely people, whose History in those ancient times carried an assured face of truth.

CHAP. XII.

OF THE TRIBE OF BENIAMIN, and of Hierusalem.

§. I.

Of diuers memorable places in the Tribe of Beniamin, whereof Hiericho, Gilgal, Mitspa, Bethel, Rama, Gobah and Gibha.

OF the Tribe of *Beniamin*, the twelfeth and youngest sonne of *Iacob*, whom hee had by *Rachel*, there were mustered at Mount Sinai 35000. able bodyes: all which perishing in the Desarts, there entred the Holy Land of their issues. 45600. fit to beare Armes: and these had their Territorie on this side Iordan, betweene Iuda and Ephraim : The Cities within this Tribe neerest Iordan, are Lod, Haded, and Ono : of which, Lod and Ono were built by *Shemed* a Beniamite : they were all three re-inhabited with Beniamites, after the returne out of Captiuity, as is mentioned, *Nehem.* 11.35. and *Esd.* 2. 35. where *Adrichomius* reading Lod, Hadid, Ono, makes besides Hadid in Nehemia, a Citie called Lodhadid : This Hadid or Chadid was rebuilt by *Simon Machabæus*.

1 *Chron.* 8.12.

Macc. 12.38.

Samarim or Tsemaraim, named of *Tsemary*, one of the sons of *Canaan*, was another of their Cities: and further into the Land standeth Iericho, one of the Toparchies and the last of Iuda, seated in a most fruitfull valley, adorned with many palme trees: and therefore elsewhere called the City of Palmes. From the time of *Iosua*, who vtterly destroyed it, it lay waste vntill the time of *Achad*: in whose dayes *Ghiel* of Bethel laid the new foundation of it, in the losse of *Abiram* his eldest sonne, and built the gates of it in the losse of his youngest sonne *Segub*: according to the curse of *Iosua*: in which and other respects, *Hos.* 12.14. calleth *Iosua* a Prophet. In after-times it was destroyed by *Vespasian*, and rebuilt by *Adrian*.

1 *Reg.* 17.36. *Ios.* 6.29.

To the Southeast of Iericho stood * *Halmon* of the Leuites, of which *Ios.* 21.18. To the South Betharaba, of which *Ios.* c.15. and c.18. Then that Gilgal of which there is so much mention in the Scripture, where *Iosua* first ate of the fruites of the land, circumcised all those borne in the Desarts, and celebrated the Passeouer.

* 1 *Chron.* 6.60. This *Halmon* is called *Halemeth*, whence they make a new Citie *Almath*, as if this Tribe had giuen fiue Cities to the *Leuites*.

The reason of the name, or rather a memorable application of the Etymologie of this name (for it seemes by the place, *Deut*, 11. 30. that the name was knowne before the comming of the Israelites into *Canaan*) is noted *Ios.* 5.9. *Ob deuolutionem probri Ægyptiaci*, because their fore-skinnes (the people being there circumcised) were tumbled downe the Hill: which from thence was called *Collis præputiorum*. This Gilgal was also called Geliloth, as appeares by comparing the places, *Ios.* 15.7. and 18.17. for it was in the borders of Iordan, of which *Ios.* 22.13. and *Geliloth* signifieth borders. It stood (though in some distance) directly Eastward, ouer against the two * Hils *Garazim* and *Hebal*: vpon the one of

Deut. 11.30.

of which the blessings, and on the other the cursings were to be read to the people, both being the mountaines of *Ephraim*. Further, for the situation of this *Gilgal*, it is to be noted, that both it, and *Mitspa* of *Beniamin* (of which also wee reade oft in the Scripture) were seated about the midst of the length of the Land of *Canaan*: for which reason [a] *Samuel* chose these two places, to either of which he came yearely to giue iudgement to the Israelites; of which two, *Gilgal*, (as is said) was neere *Iordan* on the East side of this Tribe; and *Mitspa* neere the West Sea, towards the land of the Philistims.

[a] 1 *Sam.* 7.15.

The third place, which is named with these two, whither also *Samuel* vsed yearely to come, is [b] *Bethel*: which also was seated in this Tribe of *Beniamin*. But to returne to *Gilgal* which was the first place where the *Arke* resided, after they past ouer *Iordan* (from whence it was carried to *Silo*, and thence to *Kiriath-iehärim*, and at length to *Hierusalem*) here in *Gilgal* it was that *Iosua* pitched vp the twelue stones, which were taken out of the channell of *Iordan*, when it was drie, that the Israelites might passe ouer it : by which Storie, as it is set downe *Ios.* 4. it appeares, that the same day that they passed ouer *Iordan*, they lodged at *Gilgal*. At the same *Gilgal*, to omit many other memorable things, it was that *Samuel* hewed *Agag* the King of the Amalekites in peeces. And as for *Mitspa*, whither *Samuel* came yearely to giue iudgement, there also were often the greatest meetings held: as that for the reuenge of the Leuites wife against *Gibha*, and the Beniamites, *Iud.* 20. 1. and another against the Philistims, 1 *Sam.* 7.12. Thither also *Iudas Maccabæus* gathered the Iewes, (when *Hierusalem* was possest by the Heathen) as it is 1 *Macc.* 3.47. in which place this reason of their meeting is added; *Quia locus Orationi fuerat Mitspa ante Israeli*. Touching this *Mitspa*, to auoide confusion, it is to be remembred, that the Scriptures mention foure places of this name: *Mitspa* of *Iuda*, of which *Ios.* 15.38. [c] *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, of which we haue spoken already in the Tribe of *Gad*. *Mitspa* of the Moabites, where *Dauid* for a while held himselfe, commending his Parents to the King of *Moab*, 1 *Sam.* 22.3. and lastly, this chiefe *Mitspa* of the Beniamites. And as in this place the chiefe meetings were held both before *Hierusalem* was recouered from the Iebusites, and also in the time of the Macchabees (as we haue said) when *Hierusalem* was held by the wicked vnder *Antiochus*, so also in the time of *Hieremie*, after the destruction of the Temple by the Chaldees, *Gedaliah* whom *Nabuchodonosor* left in *Iewrie*, as Gouernour ouer those that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place: vntill (to the great hurt of the Iewes) hee was slaine by the treason of *Ismael*, one of the royall bloud of *Iuda*, as it is *Hierem.* 41.

[b] *Iunius* in this place, for *Bethel* reades *Domum Dei fortis*, and interprets it, *Kireath-iehärim*, where the Ark abode. For (saith he) by the Law, *Exo.* 23.17. the greatest meetings in their annuall feasts were to bee, where the *Arke* was, but this place doth not speake of festiuall, but of iudiciall meetings: and besides the Priests did vse to bring the *Arke* to their great meetings wheresoeuer they were, as appears 1 *Sam.* 12.v.11. & c. 14.v.18. neither is it easie to expound *Bethel* otherwise than for the Citie *Bethel*: though *Iunius* also take it for the place where the *Arke* was, 1 *Sam.* 10.3.

[c] It was no other than this *Mitspa* of *Gilead*, of which *Ios.* 11.8. as appeares by that which is added *Versus orientē*, for *Iosua* notes the three quarters, North, West, and East, to which hee followed the *Canaanites*, though *Adrichomius* and others out of this place imagine a *Mitspa*, or *Maspha* (as they write it) in the Tribe of *Asser*.

Neere vnto this *Mitspa*, the Scripture mentioneth *Beth-car*, after called *Aben-Hezer*, that is, the Stone of helpe: where *Samuel* pitched vp the Pillar or Stone, for a Trophy against the Philistims.

Touching *Bethel* which (as it seemes) was the third place where *Samuel* held his chiefe meetings for the ministring of Iustice, that it was anciently called *Luz*, and how it was taken by the issue of *Ioseph* (though it belonged to the portion of *Beniamin*, as it is *Nehem.* 11.31. and *Ios.* 18.22.) and how another Citie called *Luz* [d] neere adioyning to it, was built by the man of the Citie which shewed the entrance to the Spies, as it is *Iudg.* 1. and of the occasion of the name from *Iacobs* vision : and how *Ieroboam*, by erecting one of his calues here, of *Bethel* (which signifieth the house of God) made it [e] *Beth-auen*, that is, the house of Vanitie, *Hos.* 4.15. and 10. 5. as also other memorable things of this place, they are so well knowne, out of the Histories of the Scripture, that wee may well passe them ouer.

d 1 *Sam.* 7.11.

e Borrowing the name of a neighbour to one in the confines of the Kingdomes of *Iuda* and *Israel* betweene *Hai* and *Bethel*, *Ios.* 7.2. and *Ios.* 16.1. 18.12.

The Territorie of *Bethel*, which at the first belonged to the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes, from the time of the great victorie of *Abia* against *Ieroboam* (of which 2 *Chron.* 13.) was taken from them, and adioyned to the Kingdome of *Iuda*: and so it continued, as appeares by the Storie of *Iosias*: which performed the Prophecies against the altar of *Bethel*, 2 *Reg.* 23. whence those coasts 1 *Macc.* 11.34. are called *Apherema*, which Greeke word signifieth as much as, *a thing taken away*, to wit, from the tenne Tribes. It was one of the three *Seignlories* or *Præfectures* which *Demetrius* in his Epistle mentioneth, as added by him to the *Dition* of the Iewes, out of the *Samaritan Countrey*. A part of it, as appeares 2 *Chron.* 13.19. was *Hephraim*, which *Ios.* 18.23. is called *Hophram*, belonging to this Tribe of *Beniamin*.

in

in the Scriptures, *Rama*, *Gidha*, and *Gebah*. Of the name *Rama*, [b] it is noted already, in the description of *Ephraim*, that there were many townes so called, because of their high situation. But whereas they finde out *Rama* in the Tribe of *Iuda* (as it seemes because *Mat*.2. it appeares that it bordered *Bethlehem*) and also out of *Brochard* and *Breidenbach* make *Silo* to haue beene called *Rama*, and finde yet another *Rama* in *Zabulon*; these three haue no warrant in the Scripture. Of *Rama* in the Tribe of *Asser*, as it seemes, wee haue testimonie, *Ios*. 19.29. and of another in *Nephthalim*, *Ios*.19.36. of a third *Rama*, where *Samuel* dwelt in Mount *Ephraim*, 1 *Sam*. 25.1. which more often is called [c] *Ramatha*, and 1 *Sam*. 1.1. *Ramathaim Tsophim*: for which the *Septuagint* haue *Aramathaim-sophim*, taking the Article affixed in the beginning, for a part of the word, whence they thinke *Ioseph* of *Arimathæa*, *Mat*.27.57. was denominated.

Of a fourth *Rama* we reade 2 *Reg*. 8.29. which is *Ramoth* in *Gilead*. The first, which is most often mentioned, is *Rama* of *Beniamin*, seated as wee said, neere *Bethel* the vtter-most South-border of the Kingdome of the tenne Tribes: for which cause *Baasha* in the time of *Asa* King of *Iuda*, fortified it, to hinder those that did flie from him to *Asa*. Of this *Rama* or *Ramatha*, I should rather thinke *Ioseph* was, that buried *Christ*: because it was neerer to *Hierusalem*, and after the captiuity belonged to *Iudæa*, as it appeares, *Esd*.2.26. where in that it is ioyned with *Gebah*, it is plaine that hee speaketh of that *Rama* with whose stones (after *Baasha* had ceased to build it) *Asa* (as it is 1 *Reg*. 25.22.) built *Gebah* adioyning to it: both being in *Beniamin*. And as *Rama* was the South-border of the ten Tribes, so was *Gebah* the North-border of the Kingdome of *Iuda*: whence 2 *Reg*.23.8. wee reade that *Iosiah* through all his Kingdome, euen from *Gebah*, which was the North-border, to *Beer-sheba* which was the South-border, destroyed the places of Idolatry.

The third Citie *Gibha*, which was the Citie of *Saul* (the wickednesse of which Citie in the time of the *Iudges* had almost vtterly rooted out this Tribe) *Adrichomius* confounds with *Gebah*, making one of two (as they are euidently distinguished, *Esai*, 10.27.) of which word [d] *Gibha*, in another forme *Gibbath*, hee imagineth *Gibbaath* another Citie in this Tribe, making two of one. The vicinitie of this Citie also to *Rama* of *Beniamin*, appeares *Iud*. 19.13. where the *Leuite* with his wife, not able to reach to *Rama*, took vp his lodging at *Gibha*. By that place of 1 *Sam*. 22.6. it seemes that there was in this *Gibha* some Tower or *Citadell* called *Rama*: where *Iunius* reades *in excelso*, for *in Rama*: but it may be that the name of the Kings Palace in this City, was *Rama*: as it seemes that in *Rama* of *Samuel*, the name of the chiefe place where *Samuel* with the *Colledge* of *Prophets* abode, was *Naioth*. The great Citie of *Hai* ouerthrowne by *Ios*. which *Ios*. 7.2. is placed neere *Beth-auen* vpon the East of *Bethel*, was in this Tribe, as is proued *Nehe*.7.10. 30. though it be not named by *Iosua* c. 18. for it was burned by him and laid desolate, as it is *Ios*. 8. 28. *In solitudinem in tumulum perpetuum*. Another City of chiefe note is reckoned *Ios*. 18.25. In this Tribe was *Gibbon*, the chiefe Citie of the *Heuites*: whose cunning to binde the *Israelites* by oath to saue their liues, is set downe *Ios*.9. whence they were reckoned among the * *Nethinæi* or *Proselites*, and were bound to certaine publique seruices in the house of God: which oath of sauing these *Gibeonites*, broken in part after by *Saul*, was by God punished by a famine, 2 *Sam*.21.1. This *Gibeon* or *Gibbon* with *Almon* and *Iebah* (of both which wee haue spoken) and with *Hanothoth* the natall place of *Hieremie* the Prophet, were said *Ios*.21.28. to be giuen to the *Leuites* by the *Beniamites*. Neere to this *Hanothoth* was *Nob*, as appeares 1 *Reg*.2.26. where *Abiathar* the Priest, which was of *Nob* before it was destroyed by *Saul*, is sent to his grounds at *Hanothoth*: It is reckoned in the Tribe of *Beniamin*, *Nehem*.9.31. and though in the time of *Saul* the residing place of the *Arke* was at *Kiriath-iearim*: yet by the lamentable tragidie of bloudshed, which *Saul* raised in this place (as it is set downe 1 *Sam*.21. and 22.) in the iudgement of *Iunius*, it is proued that the Tabernacle was there for a time.

Micmas also in this Tribe *Nehem*.9.31. was a place of fame, of which *Esai*.10.28. where also he nameth *Gallim*, and *Migrom* in this Tribe. In *Micmas Saul* had his Campe, 1 *Sam*.13.2. (when he left *Gibha* to *Ionathan*) and there also was *Ionathan Maccabæus* his aboad, 1 *Macc*.9.73. Of *Giscala* in *Galilee Iosephus* makes often mention, but of any here in *Beniamin*, which they make the natall place of S. *Paul*, whence (they say) when it was taken by the *Romans*, he sailed with his parents to *Tharsis*, of this I finde no good warrant. Other places of lesse importance I omit, and come to the Citie of *Hierusalem*, and the Princes

b See n.9.§.1.

c Of this *Ramatha* I vnderstand the place 1 *Macc*.11.34. where it is named for one of the 3. *Præfectures* which *Demetrius* yeelds to the Iews out of the country of *Samaria*: this lying toward the East to *Iericho*, and *Lydda* toward the West, and *Apherema* (of which euen now we spake) lying in the middest betweene the two other. A fixt *Rama* it seemes there was in the Tribe of *Simeon* toward the South, which *Ios*.19.8. is called *Rama* of the South, and otherwise *Baalath-beer*.

d *Gibha* in cõstruction, that is, Gouerning a genetiue cale is *Gibbath*: whence the *Vulgar* out of the *Septuagint* reade *Ios*.24.33. *Gabbath Phinees*: for which *Iunius* hath *Collis Phincasi* (for this word is oft times an Appellatiue signifying a Hil) but *Adrichomius* taking notice of this, builds his City *Gabaath* vpon this Text, and placeth it in *Beniamin*, when as the words adioyned, note that this Hil was in the mountains of *Ephraim*.

* The word *Nethinim*, or *Nethinæi*, is as much as *dati* (as it were à *Deo dati*) or as *Iunius* expounds it, *deditity*: it is vsed, 1 *Chr*.9.2. and in *Esdras* and *Nehemias* often.

Princes and Gouernours of this City: A great part whereof was in the Tribe of *Beniamin* whence *Ios*.18.28. it is named among the Cities of *Beniamin*.

§. II.

Of diuers memorable things concerning Hierusalem.

AT what time Hierusalem was built (which afterward became the Princesse of all Cities) it doth not appeare. Some there are who imagine that *Melchisedec* was the founder thereof in *Abrahams* time. But * according to others, that Citie out of which *Melchisedec* incountred *Abraham* (in his returne from the ouerthrow of the Assyrian and Persian Kings or Captaines, when *Lot* was made prisoner) standeth by the riuer of Iordan, in the halfe Tribe of *Manasse* bordering *Zabulon*, which was also called Salem, and by the Greekes Solima.

Hierusalem (whensoeuer or by whomsoeuer built) was a principall Citie in *Iosua* his time: yet not so renowned as Hazor the Metropolis (in those dayes and before) of all the Canaanites. *Adonizedek* (whom *Iosua* slew) was then King of Hierusalem. That it was belonging to the Iebusites it is manifest: for how long soeuer they held it before *Moses* time, they were Masters and Lords thereof almost 400. yeares after him: euen till *Dauid* wanne it: and therefore in all likelihood, it was by the *Iebusæi* (the children of *Iebusæus* the sonne of *Canaan*) built; after whom it was called Iebus. And so much did that Nation relye on the strength of the place, as when *Dauid* attempted it, they bragged that their lame, and blinde, and impotent people should defend it.

Dauid, after he had by Gods assistance possest it, and turned out the Iebusites, gaue it an exceeding great increase of circuit: strengthened it with a Citadell or Castle: and beautified it with many Palaces, and other buildings: changing the name from Iebussalem, the City of the Iebusites, to Hierusalem, which the Greekes call *Hierosolyma*. After *Dauids* time *Salomon* amplified, beautified, and strengthened it exceedingly. For besides the worke of the Temple, which was no lesse admirable than renowned among all Nations, the Palaces, gates, and walls, could not any where in the world be exampled: and besides, that it had 150000. Inhabitants, the women and children not accounted. The ditch had 60. foot depth, cut out of the very rocke: and 250. foot of breadth: whereof the like hath seldome beene heard of, either since or before.

After the death of *Salomon*, and that the Kingdome of the Iewes was cut asunder, *Shishac* King of Egypt, and his predecessor, hauing bred vp for that purpose, *Adad* the Idumæan, and *Ieroboam*, *Salomons* seruant; and both married to Egyptians: the State by the one disturbed, by the other broken: *Shishac* first inuaded the Territory of *Iuda*, entred Hierusalem, and sackt it, and became Master not onely of the riches of *Salomon*, but of all those spoyles which *Dauid* had gotten from *Adadezer*, *Tohu*, the Ammonites, and other Nations. It was againe sackt, and a part of the wall throwne downe by *Ioas* King of Israel; while *Amasia* the twelfth King thereof gouerned Iuda.

Not long after, *Achaz* the fifteenth King of Iuda impouerished the Temple, and presented *Teglatphalassar* with the treasures thereof. And *Manasses* the sonne of *Ezekiah*, the sonne of *Achaz*, by the vaunts made by *Ezekiah*, to the Embassadors of *Merodach*, lost the remaine, and the very bottome of their treasures. It was againe spoyled by the Babylonians, *Ioakim* then raigning. But this vngratefull, Idolatrous, and rebellious Nation, taking no warning by these Gods gentle corrections and afflictions, but persisting in all kinde of impietie, filling the City euen to the mouth with innocent bloud, God raised vp that great Babylonian King *Nabuchodonosor*, as his scourge and reuenger, who making this glorious Citie and Temple with all the Palaces therein, and the Walls and Towers which imbraced them, euen and leuell with the dust, carried away the spoyles with the Princes and people, and crusht them with the heauie yoake of bondage and seruitude full seuenty yeares, insomuch as Sion was not onely become as a torne and plowed-vp field, Hierusalem an heape of stones, and rubble, the mountaine of the Temple as a groue, or wood of thornes and briers, but (as *Hierome* speaketh) euen the birds of the ayre scorned to flie ouer it, or the beasts to tread on that defiled soyle.

Then 70. yeares being expired, according to the prophecie of *Daniel*, and the Iewes by the grace of *Cyrus* returned: the Temple was againe built, though with interruption and difficultie

* See in the hither halfe of *Manasse*.

2 *Sam*.5.v.6.

Ios. cont. Ap. l. 1. *Strab. geog. L.16.*

2 *Chron*.12.

2 *Kings* 14.

2 *Kings* 16.

1 *Chron*.5.26.

2 *Kings* 25.

2 *Kings* 19.

2 *Par*.18.

Mich.3. *Hi*. 25.26.29.

Hier. tom.3. *trad. Heb.*

difficultie enough: and the Citie meanely inhabited, and without walls or other defences, for some 60. and odde yeares, till *Nehemia* by the fauour of *Artaxerxes* rebuilt them. Then againe was the Temple and Citie spoyled by *Bagoses*, or *Vagoses*, the Lieutenant of *Artaxerxes*: after by * *Ptolomæus* the first; then by *Antiochus Epiphanes*: and againe by *Apollonius* his Lieutenant. By *Pompey* it was taken long after, but not destroyed, nor robbed, though *Crassus* in his *Parthian* expedition tooke as much as hee could of that which *Pompey* spared.

Nehem.12. 34. &c.

* The first of the *Egyptian* Kings after *Alexander Macedon*, who dissembling his Religion came vp to *Hierusalem* to offer Sacrifice. *Ios. 12. ant. 1.*

But the damages which it sustained by the violence of sacrilegious Tyrants, were commonly recompenced by the industrie or bountie of good Princes, the voluntarie contribution of the people; and the liberalitie of strangers. Before the captiuity, the people of the land through the exhortation of godly Kings, made many and large offerings to repaire the Temple of *Salomon*. The wrong done by *Ptolomæus Lagi* to the second Temple, was requited by the bountie of his sonne *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*. The mischiefe wrought by *Antiochus Epiphanes* and his followers, was amended partly by the great offerings which were sent to *Hierusalem* out of other Nations. Finally all the losses, which either the Citie or Temple had endured, might well seeme forgotten in the raigne of *Herod* that vsurping and wicked, but magnificent King, who amplified the Citie, new built the Temple, and with many sumptuous workes did so adorne them, that hee left them farre more stately and glorious than they had beene in the dayes of *Salomon*.

M.T.C. pro Scylla.

§. III.

Of the destruction of Ierusalem by the Romans.

IN this flourishing estate, it was at the comming of our *Sauiour Christ Iesus*: and after his death and ascension, it so continued about 40. yeares. But then did *Titus* the *Roman*, being stirred vp by God, to be the reuenger of *Christ* his death, and to punish the *Iewes* sinfull ingratitude, incompasse it with a *Roman* armie, and became Lord thereof. He began the siege at such time as the *Iewes*, from all parts, were come vp to the celebration of the *Passeouer*: so as the Citie was then filled with many hundreds of thousands of all sorts; and no manner of prouision or store for any such multitudes. An extreame famine, with the ciuill dissension, oppreſt them within the walls; a forcible enemie assailed them without. The *Idumæans* also, who lay in waite for the destruction of the *Iewes* Kingdome, thrust themselues into the Citie, of purpose to betray it: who also burnt the Temple, when *Nabuchodonosor* tooke it. And to bee short, there perished of all sorts, from the first besieging to the consummation of the victory, eleuen hundred thousand soules: and the City was so beaten downe and demolished, as those which came afterward to see the desolation thereof, could hardly beleeue that there had beene any such place or habitation. Onely the three *Herodian* towers (workes most magnificent, and ouer-topping the rest) were spared, as well for lodgings for the *Romane* garrisons, as that thereby their victorie might bee the more notorious and famous: for by those buildings of strength and State remaining, after-ages might iudge what the rest were; and their honour bee the greater and more shining, that there-ouer became victorious.

Esd.1.c.4.v.45.

After this, such *Iewes* as were scattered here and there in *Iudæa*, and other Prouinces, began againe to inhabite some part of the Citie; and by degrees to rebuild it, and strengthen it as they could, being then at peace, and tributaries to the *Roman* State: but after 65. yeares, when they againe offered to reuolt, and rebell, *Ælius Adrianus the Emperour* slaughtered many thousands of them, and ouerturned those three *Herodian* Towers, with all the rest, making it good which *Christ* himselfe had foretold; *That there should not stand one stone vpon another*, of that vngratefull Citie. Afterward, when his furie was appeased, and the Prophecie accomplished, he tooke one part without the wall, wherein stood *Mount Caluarie, and the Sepulchre of Christ*; and excluding of the rest the greatest portion, he againe made it a Citie of great capacitie, and called it after his owne name, *Aelia Capitolina*. In the gate toward *Bethel*, hee caused a Sow to bee cut in Marble, and set in the front thereof, which hee did in despight of the *Iewes* Nation: making an *Edict*, that they should not from thence-forth euer enter into the City, neither should they dare so much as to behold it from any other high place ouertopping it.

But

But the Christian Religion flourishing in Palæstina, it was inhabited at length, by all Nations, and especially by Christians; and so it continued 500. yeeres. *Guil.Tir.Bel. Sa.l.14.c.12.*

It was afterward in the 636. yeare after Christ, taken by the Egyptian Saracens, who held it 400. and odde yeares. *Onuphrius Chro.*

In the yeare 1099. it was regained by *Godfrey* of Buillon, by assault, with an exceeding slaughter of the Saracens; which *Godfrey*, when he was elected King thereof, refused to be crowned with a Crowne of gold, because Christ, for whom hee fought, was therein crowned with thornes. After this recouery, it remained vnder the successors of *Godfrey* foureſcore and eight yeares: till in the yeare 1197. it was regained by *Saladine* of Egypt: and lastly, in the yeare 1517. in the time of *Selim*, the Turkes cast out the Egyptians, who now hold it, and call it *Cuzumbaree*, or the Holy Citie. Neither was it Ierusalem alone that hath so oftentimes beene beaten downe and made desolate, but all the great Cities of the World haue with their Inhabitants, in seuerall times and ages, suffered the same shipwracke. And it hath beene Gods iust will, to the end others might take warning, if they would, not onely to punish the impiety of men, by famine, by the sword, by fire, and by slauerie; but hee hath reuenged himselfe of the very places they possest; of the walls and buildings, yea, of the soyle and the beasts that fedde thereon. *G.Tir.l.8.c.5. 18.19.&c.*

For, euen that land, sometime called holy, hath in effect lost all her fertilitie, and fruitfulnesse; witnesse the many hundreds of thousands which it fed in the dayes of the Kings of Iuda and Israel; it being at this time all ouer, in effect, exceeding stony and barraine. It also pleased God, not onely to consume with fire from heauen, the Cities of the Sodomites; but the very soile it selfe hath felt, and doth feele the hand of God to this day. God would not spare the beasts that belonged to *Amalek*, no not any small number of them to be sacrificed to himselfe: neither was it enough that *Achan* himselfe was stoned, but that his moueables were also consumed and brought to ashes.

§. IIII.

Of the vaine and malicious reports of Heathen writers, touching the ancient Iewes.

OF the originall of the Iewes, prophane writers haue conceiued diuersly and iniuriously. *Quintilian* speakes infamously of them, and of their Leader; who (saith he) gathered together a pernicious Nation. *Diodore* and *Strabo* make them Egyptians. Others affirme that while *Isis* gouerned Egypt, the people were so increased, as *Ierosolymus* and *Iudas* led thence a great multitude of that Nation, with whom they planted the neighbour Regions: which might be meant by *Moses* and *Aaron*: for the name of *Moses* was accidentall, because he was taken vp and saued out of the waters. But *Iustine* of all other most malicious, doth deriue the Iewes from the Syrian Kings; of whom, *Damascus*, saith he, was the first: and to him succeeded *Abraham*, *Moses*, and *Israel*. He againe supposeth (somewhat contrary to himselfe) that *Israel* had ten sonnes, among whom hee diuided the land of Iuda; so called of *Iudas* his eldest; who had the greatest portion. The youngest of the sonnes of *Israel* he calleth *Ioseph*: who being brought vp in Egypt, became learned in magicall Arts, and in the interpretations of Dreames, and signes prodigious; and this *Ioseph* (saith he) was father to *Moses*: who with the rest, by reason of their foule diseases, and lest they should infect others, were banished Egypt. Further, he telleth how these men thus banished, when in the Desarts they suffered extreame thirst and famine, and therein found reliefe the seuenth day, for this cause euer after obserued the seuenth day, and kept it Holy; making it a Law among themselues, which afterward became a branch of their Religion. Hee addeth also, that they might not marrie out of their owne Tribes, lest discouering their vncleanenesse, they might also be expelled by other Nations, as they were by the Egyptians. These and the like fables hath *Iustine*. *Iustin.l.36.*

Cornelius Tacitus doth as grosly belie them, in affirming, that in the inmost Oratorie of their Temple, they had the golden head of an Asse, which they adored. But herein *Tacitus* forgetteth himselfe, hauing in the fift booke of his owne Historie truely confessed of the Iewes, that they worshipped one only God: and thought it most prophane to repre-

sent

sent the *Deitie* by any materiall figure, by the shape of a man, or any other creature: and they had therefore in their Temples, no Image or representation, no not so much as in any Citie by them inhabited. Somewhat like this hath *Alexander Polyhistor*, in *Stephanus*; who also makes *Iudas* with *Idumæa*, the first parents of the *Iewes*.

Cited by *Stephanus* in *Iudæa*.

Claudius Iolaus drawes them from *Iudæus*, whose parents were *Sparton* and *Thebii*; whence it came that the *Spartans* or *Lacedæmonians* challenged kindred of the *Hebrewes*: but they did it as descended of *Abraham*, saith *Iosephus*. Some of these reports seeme to haue beene gathered out of diuine letters; though wrested and peruerted, according to the custome of the Heathen. For so haue they obscured and altered the Storie of the Creation, of *Paradise*, of the Floud; and giuen new names to the children of *Adam* in the first age: to *Noah* and his sonnes, in the second: and so to *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Iacob*, *Moses*, and the rest of the Fathers, and leaders of the *Hebrewes*: all which fainings, as touching the *Iewes* and their originalls, *Iosephus* against *Appion*, and *Tertullian* haue sufficiently answered. For that the *Hebrewes* were the children of *Arphaxad* and *Heber*, no man doubteth: and so *Chaldæans* originally, taking name either of *Heber*, the sonne of *Sale*, or else (saith *Montanus*) of wandring, as is before remembred. And therefore doth *Stephanus*, the Greeke *Grammarian*, deriue the *Hebrewes* or *Iewes*, from *Arabon*; hauing mistaken the name of *Abraham*; who was the sonne of *Heber*, in the sixth descent. Their ancient names were first changed by the two grand-children of *Abram*: for after *Iacob*, otherwise *Israel*, the chiefe part were called *Israel*, another part after *Esau* or *Edom*, *Edomites*; at length the remnant of *Iacob*, being most of the Tribe of *Iuda*, honoured the name of *Iudas*, the sonne of *Iacob*, and became *Iudæans* or *Iewes*: as also for a time in the name of *Ephraim* the sonne of *Ioseph*, the chiefe of the *Patriarches* of the ten Tribes, the rest of the ten Tribes were comprehended: but were first rooted out when the Kingdome of *Israel* fell. The *Iudæans* continued their names, though they suffered the same seruitude not long after, vnder *Nabuchodonosor*.

Tert. in Apol.

Caleb. f. 63.

The gouernement which this Nation vnder-went, was first paternall: which continued till they serued the Egpptians. They were secondly ruled by their Captaines and Leaders, *Moses* and *Iosua*, by a policie Diuine. Thirdly, they subiected themselues to Iudges. Fourthly, they desired a King, and had *Saul* for the first: Of whom and his successours, before we intreat, we are first to speake of their Gouernment vnder Iudges, after the death of *Iosua*: with somewhat of the things of Fame in other Nations about these times.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the memorable things that happened in the World, from the death of Iosua *to the Warre of Troy: which was about the time of* Iephtha.

§. I.

Of the inter-regnum *after* Iosua's *death: and of* Othoniel.

WHen *Iosua* was now dead, who with the aduice of the 70. Elders, and the high Priest, held authoritie ouer the people, and ordered that Common-weale: it pleased God to direct the Tribe of *Iuda* (in whom the Kingdome was afterward established) to vndertake the Warre against the *Canaanites*, ouer whom (with Gods fauour, and the assistance of *Simeon*) they became victorious.

In the first attempt which they made, they not only slew tenne thousand, but made *Adonibezek* prisoner: the greatest and cruellest Commander, both of the *Canaanites* and *Perizites*. This tyrants crueltie, as elsewhere hath beene signified, they returned in the same kinde vpon his owne head: and so by the torments which hee now felt in his owne person (before no otherwise knowne vnto him but by his malicious imagination) made him confesse and acknowledge Gods iudgements against himselfe.

The tribes of *Iuda* and *Simeon* did also master and possesse during this *inter-regnum* (or as some thinke, before the death of *Iosua*) the Cities of *Azotus*, *Askalon*, *Ekron* and *Hierusalem*, which they burnt, and the *Iebusites* after reedified. They tooke also the Cities of *Hebron*, *Debir*, or *Kiriathsepher*, and *Zephath*, afterwards *Horma*. And although it be not set downe in expresse words that any one person commanded in chiefe ouer the people, as *Moses* and *Iosua* did: yet it seemeth that *Caleb* was of greatest authority among them: and that he, with the aduice of *Phinees*, directed and ordered their warres. For if any think that they proceeded without a Chiefe, the good successe which followed their vndertakings, witnesseth the contrary. And it was *Caleb* euen while *Iosua* gouerned, as appeares, *Ios.* 10. 39. that propounded the attempt of *Debir*, to the rest of the Captaines: for the performance of which enterprise, hee promised his Daughter *Achsah*: which he performed to *Othoniel* his younger brother after the conquest: whose behauiour in that seruice was such, as (next vnto the ordinance of God) it gaue him the greatest reputation among them, and may bee esteemed the second cause of his preferment and election for their first Iudge soone after. But while those of *Iuda* made warre with their borderers, from whom they onely recouered the mountainous Countries (for they could not driue out the Inhabitants of the Valleyes, *because they had Chariots of Iron.*) The rest of the Tribes sought also to enlarge and establish their owne Territories. In which warre they laboured with variable successe: for as the house of *Ioseph* recouered *Bethel*, or *Luz*, from the *Hittites*, so did the *Amorites* recouer from *Dan* all the plaine Countries, and forc't them to saue themselues in the Mountaines. And now the *Israelites* vnmindfull of Gods benefits, and how often hee had miraculously a-fore-time defended them, and made them victorious ouer their enemies (the Elders being also consumed, who better aduised them in the *Inter-regnum*) did not onely ioyne themselues in marriage with the Heathen Nations: but (that which was more detestable) they serued the Idols of *Baal*, and *Asteroth*, with other the dead gods of the *Canaanites* and *Amorites*. And therefore did the *Lord God* whom they had prouoked with their *Idolatrie*, deliuer them into the hands of the *Aramites* of *Mesopotamia*: whom *Chushan Rishathaim* at that time commanded. But after they had felt the smart of Gods displeasure against them eight yeares, it pleased him to haue compassion on his people; and to raise vp *Othoniel* to bee their Iudge and Leader: who by God assisted, deliuered his brethren from oppression: and inforced the *Aramites* to returne into their owne *Desarts*, and into *Mesopotamia* adioyning; after which the *Israelites* had peace fourtie yeares, during all the time of *Othoniels* gouernment. This *Othoniel* is thought by *Tostatus* to haue beene the younger brother of *Caleb*, for as much as in the booke of *Iudges* hee is twice called *Othoniel* the sonne of *Cenaz*, *Calebs* younger brother. Others doe rather interpret those words [*Calebs* younger brother] as if they signified the meanest of his kindred. Indeed it is not likely, that *Calebs* Daughter should marrie with her owne Vncle; yet it followes not therefore that *Othoniel* should haue beene the meanest of the kindred. Wherefore wee may better thinke that hee was the Nephew of *Caleb*, (as some learned men expound it) and as the very words of Scripture seeme to enforce. For *Caleb* was the sonne of *Iephunneth*, and *Othoniel* the sonne of *Cenaz*, *Calebs* younger brother; that is, he was not brother to *Caleb*, but his younger brothers sonne; to whom it was not onely lawfull, but commendable to marry with his Cousin German *Calebs* daughter.

Iudg. 1. 19.

Iudg. 1. 25.

Iudg. 1. 30.

Iudg. 3. 10.

2608.

2648.

How long it was from the death of *Iosua* to the gouernment of *Othoniel*, it cannot be found: but it seemes to haue beene no short time. For many Warres were made in that space against the people of the Land. *Laish* was then taken (as is thought) by the *Danites*; and the best Writers are of opinion, that betweene the times of *Iosua* and *Othoniel* that ciuill Warre brake out betweene the *Beniamites* and the rest of *Israel*, for the forcing to death of the *Leuites* Wife. For it is written, that in those dayes there was no King in *Israel*, but euery man did that which was good in his owne eyes. And as *Iuda* led the people against the *Canaanites* during the *Inter-regnum*, so was hee commanded to doe against *Beniamin*, euen by the Lord God, whose direction they craued, as wanting a Iudge to appoint what should bee done; which sheweth it to haue beene when *Iosua* was dead, & before the gouernment of *Othoniel*, especially considering, that all other

Iudg. 17. & 18. & 19.

other times wherein they wanted Gouernors, were spent vnder such oppression of strangers, as would haue giuen them no leaue to haue attempted such a ciuill Warre, if their power had beene as great, as it was in the managing of this action; wherein they so weakened the body of their estate, by effusion of bloud, that in many ages they could not bring into the field such numbers as formerly they had mustered against their bordering enemies.

§. II.

Of the memorable things of this age in other Nations: and of the difficultie in the computation of times.

THere liued in this Age of *Othoniel*, *Pandon* or *Pandareus*, according to *Homer*, the fift King of *Athens*; who began to rule in the twentieth yeare of *Othoniel*, and gouerned fortie yeares. He was Father to *Erictheus*: his Daughters were *Progne* and *Philomela*, so greatly mentioned in fables.

Cadmus also about this time obtained *Thebes*: of whose Daughter *Semele* was borne *Dionysius*, or *Liber Pater*: vnder whom *Linus* the *Musician* liued. In his time also the Cities of *Melus*, *Paphus*, and *Tharsus* were built.

Ida and *Dactylus* flourished in this age, who are said to haue found out the vse of Iron: but *Genesis* hath taught vs the contrary, and that *Tubalcain* long before wrought cunningly both in Iron and Brasse. Not long after this time, *Amphion* & *Zethus* gouerned *Thebes*: whom diuers *Chronologers* finde in *Ehuds* time. But S. *Augustine* making a repetition of those fables, which were deuised among the Grecians and other Nations, during the gouernment of the Iudges, begins with *Triptolemus*, of whose parentage there is as little agreement. *Viues* vpon the thirteenth Chapter of S. *Augustine de Ciuitate Dei*, and the eighteenth booke, hath gathered all the opinions of this mans progenie, where hee that desires his pedigree may finde it. *Lactantius* and *Eusebius* make him natiue of *Attica*: and the sonne of *Eleusius* King of *Eleusina*: which *Eleusius* by carefull industrie had fed the people of that Territorie in the time of a great famine. This, when vpon the like occasion *Triptolemus* could not performe, fearing the furie of the people, he fled thence by Sea in a kinde of Galley or long Boat, which carried in her Prow a grauen or carued Serpent; who because hee made exceeding great speed to returne and to relieue his people with Corne, from some neighbour Nation: it was fained by the Poets, that his Coach was carried by Serpents through the ayre.

Gen. 4. 12. Whence came the name of *Vulcan* by *Aphæresis* of the two first letters.

Aug. de Ciuit. Dei, l. 18. c. 13.

Whether the times of these Kings which liued together with *Othoniel*, and after him with the rest of the Iudges and Kings of *Israel* and *Iuda*, be precisely set downe, I cannot auow; for the *Chronologers*, both of the former and latter times, differ in many particulars, to examine all which would require the whole time of a long life: and therefore I desire to be excused, if in these comparisons I erre with others of better iudgement. For whether *Eusebius* and all that follow him, or his opposites (who make themselues so conuersant with these ancient Kings, and with the very yeare when they began to rule) haue hit the marke of time, of all other the farthest off and most defaced, I cannot but greatly doubt. First, because the Authors themselues, from whom the ancientest *Chronologers* haue borrowed light, had nothing for the warrant of their owne workes, but coniecture: Secondly, because their owne disagreement and contention in those elder dayes, with that of our owne age among the labourers in times, is such, as no man among them hath yet so edified any mans vnderstanding, saue his owne; but that he is greatly distracted, after what patterne to erect his buildings.

This disagreement is found not onely in the raignes of Heathen Kings & Princes; but euen in the computation of those times which the indisputable authority of holy Scripture hath summed vp, as in that of *Abrahams* birth; and after in the times of the *Iudges* and the oppressions of *Israel*, in the times from the egression to the building of *Salomons* Temple, in the Persian Empire, the seuentie Weekes, and in what not? Wheresoeuer the account of times may suffer examination, the arguments are opposite, and contentions are such, as for ought that I see, men haue sought by so many waies to vncouer the Sunne, that the dayes thereby are made more darke, and the clouds more condensed than before: I can therefore giue no other warrant, than other men haue done in these computations: and therefore that such and such Kings and Kingdomes tooke beginning in this or

or that yeere, I auow it no otherwise than as a borrowed knowledge, or at least as a priuate opinion: which I submit to better iudgements. *Nam in priscis rebus veritas non ad vnguem queranda; In ancient things wee are not to require an exact narration of the truth*, sayes *Diodore*.

§. III.

Of Ehuds *time, and of* Proserpina, Orrithya, Tereus, Tantalus, Tityus, Admetus, *and others that liued about those times.*

AFter the death of *Othoniel*, when *Israel* fell backe to their former Idolatrie, God incouraged *Moab* to inuade and suppresse them: to performe which he ioyned the forces of *Ammon*, and *Amalec* vnto his owne, and so (as all kinde of miserie readily findeth out those whom God hath abandoned, or for a time with-drawne his helpe from, thereby to make them feele the difference betweene his grace and his displeasure) these Heathen neighbouring Nations had an easie conquest ouer *Israel*: whom God himselfe exposed to those perills: within which they were so speedilie folded vp. In this miserable estate they continued full eighteene yeeres vnder *Eglon* King of the Moabites, and his confederates. Yet, as the mercies of God are infinite, hee turned not his eares from their crying repentance: but raised vp *Ehud* the sonne of *Gera* to deliuer them: by which weake man, though maimed in his right hand, yet confident in the iustnesse of his quarrell, and fearing that the Israelites were too few in numbers to contend with the Head of those valiant Nations, hee resolued to attempt vpon the person of *Eglon*, whom if he could but extinguish, hee assured himselfe of the following victory: especially giuing his Nation no time to reestablish their gouernment, or to choose a King to command and direct them in the Warres. According to which resolution, *Ehud* went on as an Embassadour to *Eglon*, loaden with presents from the Israelites, as to appease him, and obtaining priuate accesse vpon the pretence of some secret to be reuealed, he pierc'd this body with a Poniard, made of purpose with a double edge: and shutting the doores of his closet vpon him, escaped.

It may seeme that being confident of his good successe, hee had prepared the strength of *Israel* in readinesse. For suddenly after his returne, he did repasse *Iordan*, and inuading the Territory of *Moab*, ouerthrew their Army consisting of 10000. able and strong men: whereof not any one escaped. After which victorie, and that *Samgar* his Successour had miraculously slaine 600. Philistims with an Oxe goade: the Land and People of *Israel* liued in peace vnto the end of fourescore yeeres from the death of *Othoniel*, which terme expired in the Worlds yeere 2691.

In the dayes of *Ehud*, *Naomi* with *Elimelech* her husband, and with her two sonnes, trauailed into *Moab*, and so the storie of *Ruth* is to bee referred to this time. About the beginning of the fourescore yeeres which are giuen to *Ehud*, it was that *Orcus* King of the *Molossions*, otherwise *Pluto*, stole *Proserpina*, as shee walked to gather flowers in the fields of *Hipponium* in *Sicilia*: or (according to *Pausanias*) by the Riuer *Cephisus*, which elsewhere he calleth *Chemer*, if hee meane not two distinct Riuers. This stealth being made knowne to *Pyrithous*, with whom *Hercules* and *Theseus* ioyned themselues, they agreed together to recouer her: but *Pluto* or *Orcus* (whom others call *Aidonius*) had (as they say) a very huge Dogge, which fastened on *Pyrithous*, and tare him in peeces, and had also worried *Theseus*, but that *Hercules* speedily rescued him: and by strength tooke and mastered the Dogge *Cerberus*: whereof grew the fable of *Hercules* his deliuering *Theseus* out of Hell. But *Zezes*, as I take it, hath written this story somewhat more according to the truth. For *Theseus* and *Pyrithous*, saith hee, attempted to steale *Proserpina* Daughter to *Aidonius*, King of the Molossians, who had *Ceres* to Wife, the mother of *Proserpina*: *Proserpina* being a generall name also for all faire women. This purpose of theirs being knowne to *Aidonius*, *Theseus* and *Pyrithous* were both taken; and because *Pyrithous* was the principall in this conspiracie, and *Theseus* drawne on by a kinde of affection or inforcement, the one was giuen for food to *Aidonius* his great Dogge *Cerberus*, the other held prisoner, till *Hercules* by the instigation of *Euristheus* deliuered him by strong hand. The *Molossi* which *Stephanus* writes with a single (*S*) were a people of *Epirus*, inhabiting neere the Mountaines of *Pindus*: of which Mountaines

Pauf. in Att.

Oeta is one of the most famous, where *Hercules* burnt himselfe. The Riuer of *Acheron* (which the Poets describe to bee in Hell) riseth out of the same Hills. There is another Nation of the *Molossi* in *Thessali*: but these are neighbours to the *Cassiopæi*, saith *Plutarch* in his Greeke questions.

The rape of *Orithya* the Daughter of *Erictheus*, King of *Athens*, taken away by *Boreas* of *Thrace*, is referred to the time of *Ehud*. The Poets ascribe this rape to the Northwinde, because *Thrace* is situate North from *Athens*. In his time also *Tereus* rauished *Philomela*, of which the fable was deuised of her conuersion into a Nightingale. For *Tereus* hauing married her sister *Progne*, conducting *Philomela* from *Athens* to see her sister, forced her in her passage, and withall cut out her tongue, that shee might not complaine; perswading *Progne* his Wife, that *Philomela* died in the mid-way: all which her brother in lawes mercilesse behauiour towards her, *Philomela* expressed by her needle vpon cloth, and sent it to *Progne*. In reuenge whereof *Progne* caused her onely sonne *Itys* to bee cut in peeces, and set before *Tereus* her husband, so drest as it appeared to bee some other ordinary food: of which when hee had eaten his fill, shee caused his head, hands and feet, to bee presented vnto him: and then fled away with such speed towards *Athens* where her Father *Pandion* yet liued, as the Poets fained, that shee was turned into a Swallow. The place where it was performed, *Strabo* findes to bee *Daulis* in *Phocis*: and the Tombe of *Tereus*, *Pausanias* hath built neere the Rockes *Mergi*, in the Territorie of *Athens*. By which, as also by the name *Daulis*, where these things are supposed to haue beene done (whence also *Philomela* is called *Daulias ales*) it appeares that it is true, which *Thucydides* notes by way of digression in his *Peloponnesian* Warre, That this *Tereus* was not King in that which is now called *Thracia*, or in *Odrysæ*, (as the Poets call him *Odrysius*) but that *Phocis* a Countrie in *Greece* not farre from *Attica*, a Citie whereof is called *Daulia*, was in *Pandions* time inhabited by *Thracians*: of which this *Tereus* was King: whence *Pandion*, to haue amitie with his neighbours, made him his sonne in law: as it is good to beleeue, saith *Thucydides*, that *Pandion* King of *Athens* made that alliance with a neighbour King, from whom hee might haue succour, rather than with any *Tereus*, that should haue held the Kingdome of *Odrysæ*, which was greatly distant from thence. The occasion that the Poets chose a Swallow for *Progne* to be turned into, may seeme to haue beene partly because, as *Pausanias* sayes; *Daulide nec nidificant, nec habitant in tota circum regione Hirundines*; as if a Swallow, remembring the wrong that was there done to her, and her sister, did for euer after hate that place.

L. 9. Pau. in Att.

Thuc. l. 2.

Neere this time *Melampus* (who is said to haue vnderstood the voyces of Birds and Beasts) flourished, being also esteemed for an excellent Physician. Hee restored to their former health the Daughters of *Prætus* King of the *Argiues*, who (as the Poets please) were made mad by *Iuno*: and thinking themselues to be Kine, fled into the Woods, fearing to bee constrained to the Plough: for in those Countries where the ground was light, they did vse often to plough with Kine.

Pauf. l. 1. Homer. Odiss. 11.

Pauf.

In the seuen and fortieth yeare of *Ehud*, *Tros* began to raigne in *Dardania*, and gaue it his owne name; about which time *Phemone* the chiefe Priest of *Apollo* in *Delpos*, deuised the *Heroicall* Verse.

Of the same date was *Tantalus*, King of *Lydia*: whom *Eusebius* makes King of *Phrygia*: and also of that part of which the people were anciently *Mæones*. Of *Tantalus* was deuised the fable that some Poets haue applied to the passion of loue: and some to the couetous that dare not inioy his riches. *Eusebius* calls this *Tantalus* the sonne of *Iupiter*, by the *Nymph Pleta*: *Diaconus* and *Didymus* in *Zezes*, giue him another Mother. He was said to be the son of *Iupiter*: as some will haue it; because hee had that Planet in his ascendent, betokening wisedome and riches. It is said that when he made a feast to the *Gods*, hauing nothing more precious: he caused his owne sonne to be slaine and drest to the banquet: of whom *Ceres* ate part of one of the shoulders: whereby was signified that those men which seek after Diuine knowledge, preferre nothing on earth before it: no not the care of their owne children, of all else the most dearest. And where it was deuised, that hee had alwayes Water and Fruit offered to his lips, and yet suffered the torment of hunger and thirst, it was meant thereby, that though he abounded (by reason of his riches) in all delicacie of the world, yet his minde being otherwise and to higher desires transported, he enioyed no pleasure at all by the rest. Of whom *Ouid*:

Euseb. præp. Euan. l. 2. Zezer hist. 10. Chil. 5.

Quærit

Quærit aquas in aquis, & poma fugacia captat
Tantalus, *hoc illi garrula lingua dedit.*
Here *Tantalus* in water seekes for water, and doth misse
The fleeting fruit he catcheth at: His long tongue brought him this.

This punishment, they say, was inflicted vpon him, for that he discouered the secrets of the gods: that is, because he taught wisedome and vertue to mortall men: which storie *Cornelius Gallus* hath elegantly exprest in Verse. Others expound this fable otherwise, and say, That *Tantalus*, though hee excelled in riches, yet being thirstie of more abundance, was neuer satisfied. Of whom *Horace* against couetousnesse:

Tantalus *à labijs sitiens fugientia captat*
Flumina; quid rides? mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur.

The thirsting *Tantalus* doth catch at streames that from him flee.
Why laugheſt thou? the name but chang'd, the tale is told of thee.

Others conceiue where it is fained of *Tantalus*, that he gaue the *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* of the gods to vaine and vnworthy men, that hee was therefore by them in that sort punished. Of which *Natalis* out of *Pindarus*:

Immortalitatem quòd furatus,
Cœtaneis conuiuis
Nectar Ambrosiamque dedit.

Because that stealing immortalitie,
He did both *Nectar* and *Ambrosia* giue
To guests of his owne age, to make them liue.

Whereby it was meant, that the secrets of Diuinitie ought not to be imparted to the vnpure Vulgar. For as the cleanest meates in a foule stomacke, are therein corrupted, so the most high and reserued mysteries are often peruerted by an vncleane and defiled minde.

To you it is giuen (saith *Christ in* Marke) *to know the mysterie of the Kingdome of God, but vnto them that are without, all things bee done in parables.* So is it said of him, that *hee expounded all things to his Disciples apart.* And therefore doth *Gregorie Nazianzene* inferre vpon a place of *S. Paul*: *Quod si* Paulo *licuisset effari ea, quorum ipsi cognitionem cœlum tertium & vsq; ad illud progressio suppeditauit, fortasse de Deo, nobis aliquid amplius constaret*; *If* Paul *might haue vttered the things, the knowledge whereof the third heauens, and his going thither did bring vnto him, peraduenture wee might know somewhat more of God.*

Marke 4. 11.

Marke 4. 34.

Greg. in Orat. de recta ratione disp. de Deo.

2 Cor. 12.

Pythagoras, saith *Reuelin*, thought it not the part of a wise man, *Asino lyram exponere, aut mysteria, quæ ita reciperet, vt Sus tubam, & fidem graculus, & vnguenta Scarabæus: quare silentium indixit discipulis, ne vulgo diuinorum arcana patefacerent, quæ meditando facilius, quàm loquendo apprehendantur*; *To set an Asse to a harpe, or to learne mysteries: which hee would handle as a Swine doth a Trumpet, or a Iay a viall, or Scarabies and vncleane flies soueraigne oyntment. wherefore hee commanded silence to his disciples, that they should not disclose diuine mysteries to the common sort, which are easier learnt by meditation than by babbling.* And therefore did the Egyptians communicate their mysteries among their Priests in certaine *Hieroglyphick* letters, to the end that their secrets might bee hidden from the Vulgar: and that they might bestow the more time in the contemplation of their couered meanings.

But to proceed with the contemporaries of *Aod*, or *Ehud*, with him it is also said, that *Tityus* liued whom *Apollo* slew, because hee sought to force his Mother *Latona*. *Euphorion* hath it thus, that *Tityus* was the sonne of *Elara*, the Daughter of *Orchomenus*; which *Elara* being beloued of *Iupiter*, to auoid *Iuno's* reuenge, he hid *Elara* in the earth, where she was deliuered of *Tityus*: whose Mother dying, and himselfe therein nourished, he was therefore called the sonne of the earth. *Pausanius* speaking of the graue of this Gyant, affirmes that his body occupied the third part of a furlong. But *Tibullus* hath a louder lie of his stature out of *Homer*:

Por-

Hom. Od. 11. *Porrectusque nouem* Tityus *per iugera terræ,*
Assiduas atro viscere pascit aues.

Nine furlongs stretcht lyes *Tityus*, who for his wicked deeds,
The hungry birds with his renewing liuer daily feeds.

This *Strabo* doth thus expound; that *Apollo* killing this cruell and wicked Tyrant of *Panopea*, a Citie in *Phocis*, it was fained by the Poets to the terrour of others, that he was still eaten in Hell by birds, and yet still liued, and had his flesh renewed.

Admetus King of *Thessalie* liued also in this Age, whom it is said that *Apollo* first serued as a Herd-man, and afterward for his excellent wit was by him aduanced; but hauing slaine *Hyacinthus*, he crost the *Hellespont*, and fled into *Phrygia*: where together with *Neptune*, he was entertained by *Laomedon*, and got his bread by working in bricke, for building of the walls of *Troy*, not by making the bricks leape into their places by playing on his Harpe: according to him in *Ouid*, which saith:

Ilion aspicies, firmataque turribus altis.
Mœnia, Apollineæ *structa canore lyræ.*

Strong Ilion thou shalt see with walls and towers high,
Built with the harpe of wise *Apollo's* Harmonie.

Thus the Poets: but others, that hee laboured with his hands, as hired in this worke. And that he also laboured at the building of the *Labyrinth* in *Greece*, all the *Megariens* witnesse, saith *Pausanias*. (Paus. in Att.)

In these daies also of *Ehud*, or (as some finde it) in the dayes of *Deborah*, liued *Perseus*, the sonne of *Iupiter* and *Danae*, by whose Souldiers (as they sailed out of *Peloponnesus*, to seeke their aduenture on *Africa* side) *Medusa*, the Daughter and Successor of *Phorcus*, being weakely accompanied as she hunted, neere the Lake *Triton*, was surprised and slaine: whose beauty, when *Perseus* beheld, he caused her head to be imbalmed, and carried into *Greece*: the beauty whereof was such and so much admired, and the beholders so astonished which beheld it, as thereof grew the fiction, that all that looked on *Medusa's* head, were turned into stones.

Triton a Lake of *Africa*, which *Plinie* calleth *Pallantias*. *Didym. in pereg. Hist.*

Cecrops, the second of that name, and 7. King of *Athens*, and *Acrisius* the 13. or after *Eusebius*, the 14. King of the *Argiues*, began also their raignes, as it is said, in the time of this Iudge: of which the first ruled 40. yeares, and the second 31. yeares. Also *Bellerophon* liued in this age, being the sonne of *Glaucus*, the sonne of *Sisyphus*: who inticed by *Antea* or *Sthenobia*, the wife of *Prætus* of the *Argiues*, to accompany her, but refusing it, she accused him to her husband that he offered to force her: whereupon *Prætus* sent *Bellerophon* into *Lycia*, about some affaires of weight, betweene him and his sonne in law *Iobates*: giuing secret order to *Iobates* to dispatch him: but *Iobates* thinking it dishonourable to lay violent hands on him, imployed him against *Chimæra*, a Monster, vomiting or breathing fire. Now the gods (as the report is) pittying his innocency, sent him the winged Horse *Pegasus*, sprung vp of the bloud of *Medusa*, formerly slaine by the souldiers of *Perseus* in *Africa*, to transport him; a horse that none other could master or bridle but *Minerua*: vpon which beast *Bellerophon* ouer-came *Chimæra*: and performed the other seruices giuen him in charge: which done, as hee returned toward *Lycia*, the *Lycians* lay in ambush to haue slaine him: but being victorious also ouer all those, he arriued to *Iobates* in safetie: whom *Iobates* for his eminent vertues honoured, first with one of his Daughters: and afterward with his Kingdome: after which hee grew so insolent, as hee attempted to flye vp to heauen vpon his *Pegasus*: whose pride *Iupiter* disdaining, caused one of his stinging flyes so to vexe *Pegasus*, as he cast off *Bellerophon* from his backe, into the Valley of *Cilicia*, where he died blinde; of which burthen *Pegasus* being discharged (as the fable goeth) flew backe to heauen: and being fed in *Iupiters* owne stable, *Aurora* beg'd him of *Iupiter* to ride on before the *Sunne*. This tale is diuersly expounded, as first by some, That it pleaseth God to relieue men in their innocent and vndeserued aduersitie, and to cast downe those which are too high minded: according to that which is said of *Bellerophon*: that when he was exposed to extreame hazzard, or rather certaine death, hee found both deliuerance and honour: but waxing ouer-proud (Euseb. in Chro.)

proud and presumptuous in his glorious fortunes, hee was againe throwne downe into the extremitie of sorrow, and euer during miserie. Secondly by others, That vnder the name of *Chimæra*, was meant a cruell Pyrat of the Lycians, whose ship had in her prow, a Lyon, a Goate in the mid-ship, and a Dragon in the stearne, of which three beasts this Monster *Chimæra* was said to be compounded, whom *Bellerophon* pursued with a kinde of Galley, of such swiftnesse, that it was called the flying Horse: to whom the inuention of sayles (the wings of a ship) are also attributed. Many other expositions are made of this tale by other Authors: but it is not vnlikely, that *Chimæra* was the name of a ship, for so *Virgil* calleth one of the greatest ships of *Æneas*. (Plutar. in claris mulier. L. 5. Æneid.)

Ion also, from whom the Athenians (being ignorant of the antiquitie of their parent *Iauan*) deriue their name of *Iones*, is said to haue beene about *Ehuds* time: *Homer* calls them *Iaones*, which hath a neere resemblance to the word *Iauan*. Perhaps it might bee so that *Ion* himselfe tooke name from *Iauan*: it being a custome obseruable in the Histories of all times, to reuiue the ancient name of a fore-father, in some the principall of his issue. (Homer in hym. ad Apoll.)

The inuasion of *India* by *Liber-Pater*, is by some reported as done in this age: but S. *Augustine* makes him farre more ancient: placing him betweene the comming out of Egypt, and the death of *Iosua*. (Lib. 18. c. 12. de ci. dei, l. 18. c. 15.)

About the end of the 80. yeares, ascribed to *Ehud*, and *Samgar*, *Pelops* flourished: who gaue name to *Peloponnesus* in Greece, now called *Morea*.

§. IIII.
Of Debora *and her Contemporaries.*

AFter *Israel* had liued in peace and plenty to the end of these 80. yeares, they againe began to forget the giuer of all goodnesse, and many of those being worne out, which were witnesses of the former miserie, and of Gods deliuerance by *Ehud*; and after him by *Samgar*; the rest began to returne to their former neglect of Gods commandements. For as Plentie and Peace are the parents of idle securitie; so is security as fruitfull in begetting and bringing forth both danger and subuersion: of which all estates in the world haue tasted by interchange of times. Therefore when their sinnes were againe ripe for punishment, *Iabin* King of *Hazor*, after the death of *Ehud*, inuaded the Territorie of *Israel*; and hauing in his seruice 900. iron Chariots, besides the rest of his forces, he held them in subiection twenty yeares, till it pleased God to raise vp *Deborah*, the Prophetesse, who incouraged *Barac* to leuie a force out of *Nepthalim*, and *Zabulon*, to incounter the Canaanites. That the men of *Nepthalim* were more forward than the rest in this action, it may seeme to haue proceeded partly from the authoritie that *Barac* had among them, being of the same Tribe; and partly from their feeling of the common grieuance, which in them was more sensible, than in others, because *Hazor* and *Haroseth* the chiefe holds of *Iabin*, were in *Nepthalim*. So in the dayes of *Iepthe* the Gileadites tooke the greatest care, because the Ammonites with whom the Warre was, pressed most vpon them, as being their borderers. Now as it pleased God by the left hand of *Ehud* to deliuer *Israel* from the Moabites: and by the counsaile and courage of a woman, to free them from the yoke of *Canaan*, and to kill the valiant *Sisera* by *Iael* the Kenites wife: so was it his will at other times, to worke the like great things by the weakest meanes. For the mighty Assyrian *Nabuchodonosor*, who was a King of Kings, and resistlesse, he ouerthrew by his owne imaginations, the causers of his bruitish melancholy: and changed his matchlesse pride into the base humility of a Beast. And to approue that hee is the Lord of all power, hee sometime punisheth by inuisible strength, as when he slaughtered the Armie of *Senacherib* by his Angell, or as hee did the Egyptians in *Moses* time: sometime by dead bodies; as when he drowned *Pharao* by the waues of the Sea; and the Canaanites by haile-stones in the time of *Iosua*: sometimes by the ministerie of men, as when he ouerthrew the foure Kings of the East, *Chedorlaomer*, and his companions, by the houshold seruants of *Abraham*. He caused the Moabites and Ammonites to set vpon their owne confederate the Army of the Edomites; and hauing slaine them to kill one another in the sight of *Iehosaphat*: and of the like to these a volume of (2 Chron. 20.) examples may be gathered. And to this effect did *Deborah* the Prophetesse speake vnto *Barac* in these words: *But this iourney that thou takest, shall not bee for thine honour, for* (Iudg. 4. 9.) the

the Lord shall sell Sisera *into the hands of a Woman.* In which victorie all the strength of the Canaanite *Iabin* fell to the ground, euen to the last man: in the end of which Warre it seemeth that *Iabin* himselfe also perished, as appeareth by the last Verse of the fourth of *Iudges*.

After all which, *Deborah* giueth thankes to God, and after the acknowledgement of all his powerfulnesse, and great mercies, she sheweth the weake estate whereinto *Israel* was brought for their Idolatrie by the Canaanites, and other bordering Nations, in these
Iud. 5. v. 18. words: *Was there a shield or speare seene among forty thousand of Israel?* She also sheweth how the Israelites were seuered and amased, some of them confined ouer *Iordan*, and
Verse 17. durst not ioyne themselues to the rest; as those of *Reuben* in *Gilead*: that the Asherites kept the Sea-coast, and forsooke their habitations towards the Land; and the children of *Dan* who neighboured the Sea, crept into their ships for safetie, shewing thereby that all were dispersed, and all in effect lost. Shee then curseth the Inhabitants of *Meroz*, who dwelling neere the place of the battaile (belike fearing the successe) came not out to assist *Israel*, and then blesseth *Iael* the wife of *Heber* the Kenite, who nailed *Sisera* in her Tent: shewing the ancient affection of that race to the Israelites. For though the Familie of *Heber* were inforced in that miserable time of subiection, to hold correspondencie with *Iabin* the Canaanite, yet when occasion offered them meanes, they witnessed their loue and faith to their ancient friends. Lastly, shee derideth the Mother of *Sisera* who promised her sonne the victorie in her owne hopes: and fancied to her selfe, and described the spoiles both of Garments and Maidens by him gotten. For conclusion, shee directeth her praise and thankes to God onely victorious.

From the beginning of *Iabins* oppression to the end of that peace, which *Deborah* and *Barac* purchased vnto *Israel*, there passed 40. yeares. In which time the Kingdome of *Argos*, which had continued 544. yeares, was translated to *Mycenæ*: The translation of this Kingdome *Viues* out of *Pausanias* writeth to this effect: After *Danaus*, *Lynceus* succeeded in *Argos*, after whom the children of *Abas* the sonne of *Lynceus* diuided the Kingdome: of which *Acrisius* being eldest, held *Argos* it selfe: *Prætus* his brother possest *Ephyra* or *Corinth*, and *Tirynthos*, and other Cities, with all the Territorie to-
Pan. in Corinthiacis. wards the Sea, there being many monuments in *Tirynthos*, which witnesse *Prætus* possession, saith *Pausanias*.

Now *Acrisius* was fore-told by an Oracle, that hee should bee slaine by the sonne of his Daughter *Danae*: whereupon hee caused her to bee inclosed in a Tower, to the end that no man might accompanie her. But the Lady being exceeding faire, it is fained that *Iupiter* turned himselfe into a golden shower: which falling into her lap, begat her with childe: the meaning whereof was, that some Kings sonne, or other worthy man, corrupted her Keepers with gold, and enioyed her, of whom *Perseus* was borne; who when hee grew to mans estate, either by chance (saith *Ctesias*) or in shewing his grand-father the inuention of the *discus*, or leaden ball, slew him vnwillingly. After this *Perseus*, to auoide the infamie of *Patricide* in *Argos*, changed Kingdomes with his Vncle *Prætus*: and built *Mycænæ*. This imprisonment of *Danae*, *Sophocles* reporteth otherwise: and that shee was inclosed in a brazen vault, vnder the Kings Hall with her Nurse and Keepers. Vpon this close custodie *Horace* hath this witty obseruation:

Inclusam Danaen, *turris ahenea,*
Robustæq; fores, & vigilum canum
Tristes excubiæ, munierant satis
Nocturnis ab adulteris:
Si non Acrisium *Virginis abditæ*
Custodem pauidum, Iupiter *&* Venus
Risissent; fore enim tutum iter & patens,
Conuerso in pretium Deo.
Auro per medios ire satellites,
Et per rumpere amat saxa, potentius
Ictu fulmineo.

The brazen Tower with doores close bar'd,
And watchfull bandogs frightfull guard,
Kept safe the maidenhead
Of *Danae* from secret loue:
Till smiling *Venus*, and wise *Ioue*
Beguil'd her Fathers dread.
For chang'd into a golden showre,
The god into her lap did poure
Himselfe, and tooke his pleasure.
Through guardes, and stonie walls to breake,
The thunder-bolt is farre more weake,
Then is a golden treasure.

The first Kings of the Argiues *were these.*

Inachus the first King, who began to raigne in the first yeare of *Iacob*, and the 61. of *Isaac*: from which time to the end of *Sthenelus*, *Castor* misreckoneth 400. yeares. This Kingdome before the translation, *Eusebius* accounteth to haue stood 544. yeares, others but at 417. *Io* was the Daughter of this *Inachus*: whom the Egyptians called *Isis*.

Phoroneus,
Apis,
Argus,
Pirasus,
Phorbas,
Triopas,
Crotopus,
Sthenelus,
Danaus,
Lynceus,
Abas,
Acrisius,
Pelops.

After the translation to *Mycenæ*, *Mar. Scotus* findes these Kings:

Perseus,
Sthenelus,
Eurystheus,

Atreus and *Thyestes* — The sonnes of *Pelops* by *Hippodamia*: *Atreus* by *Europe* had *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*.

Agamemnon,
Ægysthus,
Orestes,
Tisamenus,
Penthilus and
Cometes.

Of these Kings *Mercator* and *Bunting* leaue out the two first, and the last: beginning with *Eurystheus*: and ending with *Penthilus*. In *Tisamenus* time the *Heraclidæ* returned into *Peloponensus*: of which hereafter.

The Contemporaries of *Barac* and *Debora*, were *Midas* who raigned in *Phrygia*: and *Ilus* who built *Ilium*: with others mentioned in our *Chronological* table, as contemporaries with *Debora*.

§. V.

Of Gidion, *and of* Dædalus, Sphinx, Minos, *and others that liued in this age.*

DEbora and *Barac* being dead: the Midianites assisted by the Amalekites infested Israel. For when, vnder a Iudge who had held them in the feare of the Lord, they had enioyed any quiet or prosperity: the Iudge was no sooner dead, than they turned to their former impious idolatrie. Therefore now the neighbouring Nations

did

did so master them in a short time (the hand of God being with-held from their defence) as to saue themselues, they crept into caues of the mountaines, and other the like places
Iud.6. of hardest accesse: their enemies possessing all the plaines and fruitfull vallies: and in haruest time by themselues, and the multitude of their cattell, destroying all that grew vp: couering the fields as thicke as grasse-hoppers: which seruitude lasted seuen yeares.

Iud.6.v.5. Then the Lord by his Angell stirred vp *Gideon* the sonne of *Ioash*, afterward called *Ierubbaal*: whose feare and vnwillingnesse, and how it pleased God to hearten him in
Iud.c.6.&.7. his enterprize, it is both largely and precisely set downe in the holy Scriptures: as also how it pleased God by a few select persons; namely 300. out of 32000. men, to make them know that he onely was the Lord of Hosts; Each of these 300. by *Gidions* appointment carried a trumpet, and light in a pitcher, instruments of more terrour than force, with which hee gaue the great Armie of their enemies an alarum: who hearing so loud a noyse, and seeing (at the cracke of so many pitchers broken) so many lights about them, esteeming the Armie of *Israel* to be infinite, and strucken with a sodaine feare, they all fled without a stroke stricken: and were slaughtered in great numbers: two of their Princes being made prisoners and slaine. In his returne the Ephramites began to quarrell with *Gidion*, because he made warre without their assistance, being then greedy of glory, the victory being gotten: who (if *Gidion* had failed and fallen in the enterprise) would no doubt haue held themselues happy by being neglected. But *Gideon* appeasing them with a milde answer, followed after the enemie, in which pursuite being tyred with trauaile, and weary euen with the slaughtering of his enemies, hee desired reliefe from the inhabitants of *Succoth*, to the end, that (his men being refreshed) hee might ouer-take the other two Kings of the Midianites: which had saued themselues by flight. For they were foure Princes of the Nations, which had inuaded and wasted *Israel*: to wit, *Oreb* and *Seeb*, which were taken already, and *Zebah* and *Salmunna* which fled.

Gideon being denied by them of *Succoth*, sought the like reliefe from the Inhabitants of *Penuel*, who in like sort refused to succour him. To both of these places he threatned therefore the reuenge, which in his returne from the prosequution of the other two Princes, he performed: to wit, that he would teare the flesh of those of *Succoth* with Thornes and Briars, and destroy the Inhabitants and Cittie of *Penuel*: Now why the people of these two Cities should refuse reliefe to their brethren the Israelites, especially after so great a victorie: if I may presume to make coniecture, it seemes likely, first that those Cities set ouer *Iordan*, and in the way of all inuasions, to be made by the Moabites, Ammonites and Midianites, into *Israel*, had either made their owne peace with those nations, and were not spoiled by them: or else they knowing that *Zeba* and *Salmunna* were escaped with a great part of their army, might feare their reuenge in the future. Secondly, it may be laid to the condition and dispositions of these men: as it is not rare to finde of the like humour in all ages. For there are multitudes of men, especially of those which follow the warre, that both enuie and maligne others, if they performe any praise-worthy actions, for the honour and safely of their owne Countrey, though themselues may bee assured to beare a part of the smart of contrary successe. And such malicious hearts can rather be contented that their Prince and Countrey should suffer hazzard and want, than that such men as they mislike, should bee the authors or actors of any glory or good to either.

A place in *Basan*, as it is thought. *Iud.8.10.* Now *Gideon*, how or where soeuer it were that hee refreshed himselfe and his weary and hungry Souldiers, yet hee followed the opportunity, and pursued his former victory to the vttermost: and finding *Zebah* and *Salmunna* in *Karkor* (suspecting no farther attempt vpon them) he againe surprised them, and slaughtered those 15000. remaining: hauing put to the sword in the former attempt 120000. and withall hee tooke *Zebah* and *Salmunna* prisoners: whom because themselues had exequuted *Gideons* brethren before at *Tabor*, he caused them both to be slaine: or (as it is written) at their owne request slew them with his owne hands: his Sonne whom he first commanded to doe it, refusing it; and in his returne from the consummation of this merueilous victory, he tooke reuenge of the Elders of *Succoth*, and of the Citizens of *Penuel*: forgiuing no offence committed against him: either by strangers or by his brethren the Israelites. But such mercy as he shewed to others, his owne children found soone after his death, according to

to that which hath beene said before. The debts of crueltie and mercy are neuer left vnsatisfied: for as he slew the 70. Elders of *Scoth*, with great and vnusuall torments, so were his owne 70. sonnes all, but one, murthered by his owne bastard *Abimelec*. The like *Analogie* is obserued by the *Rabbins* in the greatest of the plagues which God brought vpon the Egyptians, who hauin caused the male children of the Hebrewes to bee slaine, others of them to be cast into e Riuer and drowned: God rewarded them euen with the like measure, destroying thr owne first borne by his *Angell*, and drowning *Pharaoh* and his Army in the read sea. Ad hereof a world of examples might bee giuen both out of the Scriptures and other Histories.

10 In the end so much did the people reerence *Gideon* in the present for this victorie, and their owne deliuerance, as hey offered him the Soueraigntie ouer them, Iudg.8.23.
and to establish him in the Gouernment; which hee refused, answering; *I will not raigne ouer you, neither shall my childe raigne ouer you, but the Lord shall, &c.* But hee desired the people that they would bestow o mim the golden eare-rings, which euery man had gotten. For the Ismaelites, neighbours, and mixt with the Midianites, vsed to weare them: the waight of all which was a nousand and seuen hundred Shekles of gold, which makes of ours 2380. li. if wee follow the account of the Shekle vulgar. And because he Exod.28.
conuerted that gold into an *Ephod*, a garment of gold, blew silke, purple, scarlet and Iudg.8.28.
fine linnen, belonging to the High Priest onely, and set up the same in his owne Citie of
20 *Ophra* or *Ephra*, which drew *Israel* to Idolatrie, the same was the destruction of *Gideon* and his house.

There was another kinde of *Ephod* besides this of the High Priests, which the Leuites vsed, and so did *Dauid* when he danced before the *Arke*: and *Samuel*, while hee was yet young, which was made of linnen onely.

Now if any man demand how it was possible for *Gideon* with 300. men to destroy 120000. of their enemies, and afterward 15000. which remained; wee may remember, that although *Gideon* with 300. gaue the first alarme, and put the Midianites in rout and disorder: yet all the rest of the Armie came into the slaughter, and pursuite: for it is written; *That the men of Israel being gathered together out of Nepthalie, and out of Asher,* Iudg.6.7.v.23.
30 *and out of Manasse, pursued after the Midianites*: for this armie *Gideon* left in tents behinde him; when he went downe to view the armie of his enemies, who with the noyse of his 300. trumpets came after him to the execution.

There liued with *Gideon* *Ægeus*, the sonne of *Pandion*, who raigned in *Athens*: *Eurestheus* King of *Mycenæ*: *Atreus* and *Thyestes* the sonnes of *Pelops*, who bare dominion ouer a great part of *Peloponnesus*, and after the death of *Euristheus*, the Kingdome of *Mycenæ* fell into the hand of *Atreus*. This is that *Atreus*, who holding his brother in iealousie, as an attempter, both of his wife and Crowne, slew the children of *Thyestes*, and causing their flesh to be drest, did therewith feast their father. But this cruelty was not vnreuenged. For both *Atreus* and his sonne *Agamemnon* were slaine by a base sonne
40 of *Thyestes*, yea the grand children, and all the linage of *Atreus* died by the same sword.

In *Gideons* time also those things were supposed to haue beene done, which are written of *Dædalus* and *Icarus*. *Dædalus*, they say, hauing slaine his *Nephew Attalus*, fled to *Minos*, King of *Crete*, for succour; where for his excellent workemanship he was greatly esteemed, hauing made for *Minos* a *Labyrinth*, like vnto that of *Egypt*. Afterward he was said to haue framed an artificiall Cowe for *Pasiphae* the Queene, that shee, being in loue with a faire Bull, might by putting her selfe into the Cowe, satisfie her lust; a thing no lesse vnnaturall than incredible, had not that shamelesse Emperour *Domitian* exhibited the like beastly spectacle, openly before the people of *Rome*, in his *Amphitheater*;
50 of purpose, as may seeme, to verifie the old fable. For so it appeares by those verses of *Martial*, wherein the flattering Poet magnifieth the abominable shew, as a goodly Pageant, in those vicious times.

Iunctam Pasiphaen Dictæo credite Tauro
Vidimus, accepit fabula prisca fidem.
Nec se miratur Cæsar, longæua vetustas
Quicquid fama canit, donat arena tibi.

But concerning that which is reported of *Pasiphae*, *Seruius* makes a lesse vnhonest

 con-

construction of it, thinking that *Dædalus* was her counsaile, and her Pandar for the enticing of a Secretarie of *Minos* called *Taurus* which signifieth a Bull, who begat her with childe; and that she being deliuered of two sonnes, the one resembling *Taurus*, the other her husband *Minos*, it was fained that she wasteliuered of the Monster *Minotaur*, halfe a Man and halfe a Bull. But this practice being scouered, and *Dædalus* appointed to bee slaine, he fled out of *Crete* to *Cocalus* King of *Sicil*: in which passage he made such expedition, as it was fained that he fashioned wings for himselfe and his sonne to transport them. For whereas *Minos* pursued him with barres which had oares onely, *Dædalus* framed sailes both for his owne boate, and for his sonnes, by which hee outwent those that had him in chase. Vpon which new inuention, *Icarus* bearing himselfe ouerbold, was ouerborne and drowned.

It is also written of *Dædalus*, that he made Images that could moue themselues, and goe, because he carued them with legs, armes, and hands; whereas those that preceded him, could onely present the body & head of those men, whom they cared to counterfait, and yet the workmanship was esteemed very rare. But *Iutarch*, who had seene some of those that were called the Images of *Dædalus*, found them exceeding rude.

Herind. Plat. Paus. lib. 9. With *Gideon* also flourished *Linus* the Theban, the son of *Apollo*, and *Terpsichore*, who instructed *Thamaris*, *Orpheus*, and *Hercules*. He wroe of the Creation, of the Sunne and Moones course, and of the generation of liuing Creatures, but in the end he was slaine by *Hercules* his scholler with his owne harpe.

Strab. l. 9. Againe, in this age those things spoken of *Sphinx* and *Oedipus*, are thought to haue beene performed. This *Sphinx* being a great robber by sea and land, was by the Corinthians Armie, led by *Oedipus*, ouercome. But that which was written of her propounding of riddles, to those whom shee mastered, was meant by the rockie and vnaccessible mountaine neere *Thebes*, which she defended; and by *Oedipus* disoluing her probleme, his victorie ouer her. She was painted with wings, because exceeding swift, and with the body of a Lyon for her cruelty. But that which *Palæphatus* reports of *Sphinx*, were more probable, did not the time disproue it, for he calls her an Amazonite, and the wife of *Cadmus*: who when by her helpe he had cast *Draco* out of *Thebes* (neglecting her) hee married the sister of *Draco*, which *Sphinx* taking in despightfull part, with her owne troope she held the mountaine by *Thebes*, from whence she continued a sharpe warre vpon the Thebans, till by *Oedipus* ouerthrowne. About this time did *Minos* thrust his brother out of *Crete*, and held sharpe warre with the Megarians, and Athenians, because his sonne *Androgeus* was slaine by them. Hee possest himself of *Megara*, by the treason of *Scylla*, Daughter of *Nisus* the King. Hee was long Master of the sea, and brought the Athenians to the tribute of deliuering him every yeare seuen of their sonnes: which tribute *Theseus* released, as shall be shewed, when I come to the time of the next Iudge *Ibola*. In the end he was slaine at *Camerinus* or *Canicus* in *Sicilia*, by *Cocalus* the King, while he pursued *Dædalus*: and was esteemed by some to be the first law-giuer to those Ilands. Arist. pol. l. 1.

To this time are referred many deeds of *Hercules*, as the killing of *Antæus* the Gyant, who was said to haue 60. and odde cubits of length, which though *Plutarch* doth confirme, reporting that there was such a body found by *Sertorius* the *Roman*, in *Lybia*, where *Hercules* slew *Antæus*: yet for my selfe I thinke it but a lowd lye. That *Antæus* was of great strength, and a cunning wrestler, *Eusebius* affirmeth: and because hee cast so many men to the ground, he was fained to be the sonne of the earth. *Plinie* saith, that he inhabited neere the gardens *Hesperides* in *Mauritania*. *S. Augustine* affirmes, that this *Hercules* was not of *Greece*, but of *Lybia*: and the *Hydra* also which he ouercame, *Plato* expounded to be a subtle Sophister. Euseb. in Chr. Aug. de ci. dei. l. 18. c. 12. Euseb. in Coron.

†. VI.

Of the expedition of the Argonautes.

ABout the eleuenth yeare of *Gideon*, was the famous expedition of the *Argonautes*: of which many fabulous discourses haue beene written, the summe of which is this.

Pelias the sonne of *Neptune*, brother by the mothers side to *Iason*, who was *Iasons* father, raigning in *Iolcus*, a towne of *Thessalie*, was warned by the *Oracle of Apollo* to take heed of

of him that wore but one shoe. This *Pelias* afterward sacrificing to *Neptune*, inuited *Iason* to him, who comming hastily, lost one shoe in passing ouer a brooke: whereupon *Pelias* demanded of him what course hee would take (supposing hee were able) against one, of whom an *Oracle* should aduise him to take heed? to which question when *Iason* had briefly answered, that he would send him to *Cholcos*, to fetch the golden Fleece, *Pelias* immediately commanded him to vndertake that seruice. Therefore *Iason* prepared for the voyage, hauing a ship built by *Argus*, the sonne of *Phryxus*, by the counsell of *Pallas*: wherein he procured all the brauest men of *Greece* to saile with him: as *Typhis* the Master of the ship, *Orpheus* the famous Poet, *Castor* and *Pollux* the sonnes of *Tyndarus*, *Telamon* and *Peleus*, sonnes of *Aeacus*, and fathers of *Aiax* and *Achilles*, *Hercules*, *Theseus*, *Zetes* and *Calais* the two winged sonnes of *Boreas*, *Amphiaraus* the great Soothsayer, *Meleager* of *Calidon* that slew the great wilde Boare: *Ascalaphus* and *Ialmenus* or *Almenus* the sonnes of *Mars*, who were afterwards at the last warre of *Troy*, *Laërtes* the father of *Vlysses*, *Atalanta* a warlike virgin, *Idas* and *Lynceus* the sonnes of *Aphareus*, who afterwards in fight with *Castor* and *Pollux* slew *Castor*, and wounded *Pollux*, but were slaine themselues: *Lynceus* by *Pollux*, *Idas* by *Iupiter* with lightning.

These and many other went with *Iason* in the ship *Argo*: in whose prowe was a table of the Beech of *Dodona*, which could speake. They arriued first at *Lemnos*; the women of which *Iland*, hauing slaine all the males, purposing to lead an Amazonian life, were neuertheless contented to take their pleasure of the Argonautes. Hence they came to the Countrie about *Cyzicus*: where dwelt a people called *Doliones*: ouer whom then raigned one *Cyzicus*: who entertained them friendly: but it so fell out, that loosing thence by night they were driuen by contrary windes backe into his port, neither knowing that it was the same Hauen, nor being knowne by the *Doliones*, to bee the same men: but rather taken for some of their bordering enemies: by which meanes they fell to blowes, insomuch that the Argonautes slew the most part of the Doliones, together with their King *Cyzicus*: which when by day-light they perceiued, with many teares they solemnized his funerall. Then departed they againe and arriued shortly in *Mysia*, where they left *Hercules* and *Polyphemus* the sonne of *Elates*, who went to seeke *Hylas* the darling of *Hercules*, that was rauished by the *Nymphes*.

Polyphemus built a towne in *Mysia*, called *Cios*, wherein hee raigned. *Hercules* returned to *Argos*. From *Mysia* the Argonautes sailed into *Bythinia*, which then was peopled by the Bebryces, the ancient Inhabitants of the Countrie, ouer whom *Amycus* the sonne of *Neptune* was then King. Hee being a strong man, compelled all strangers to fight with him, at whorlebats, in which kinde of fight he had slaine many, and was now himselfe slaine by *Pollux*. The Bebryces in reuenge of his death slew all vpon *Pollux*, but his companions rescued him, with great slaughter of the people. They sayled from hence to *Salmydessus*, a towne in *Thrace* (somewhat out of their way) wherein *Phineus* a Soothsayer dwelt, who was blinde and vexed with the *Harpyes*. The *Harpyes* were said to bee a kinde of birds, which had the faces of women and foule long clawes, very filthy creatures, which when the table was furnished for *Phineus*, came flying in, and deuouring or carrying away the greater part of the victuals, did so defile the rest, that they could not be endured. When therefore the Argonautes craued his aduise, and direction for their voyage: You shall doe well (quoth he) first of all to deliuer me from the *Harpyes*, and then afterwards to aske my counsaile. Whereupon they caused the table to be couered, and meat set on; which was no sooner set downe, than that presently in came the *Harpyes*, and played their accustomed prancks: when *Zetes* and *Calais* the winged young men saw this, they drew their swords, and pursued them through the ayre; some say that both the *Harpyes* and the young men died of wearinesse in the fight, & pursuit. But *Apollonius* saith that the *Harpyes* did couenant with the youths, to doe no more harme to *Phineus*, and were thereupon dismissed. For this good turn *Phineus* gaue them informations of the way, and aduertised them withall of the dangerous rockes, called *Symplegades*, which by force of winds running together, did shut vp the passage: wherefore he willed them to put a Pigeon before them in the passage: & if that passed safe, then to aduenture after her: if not, then by no means to hazard themselues in vain. They did so, & perceiuing that the Pigeon had onely lost a piece of her taile, they obserued the next opening of the rocks, and then rowing with all their might, passed through safe, onely the end of their poope was bruised.

From

From thence forward, (as the tale goeth) the *Symplegades* haue stood still: for the gods, say they, had decreed that after the passage of a ship, they should be fixed. Thence the *Argonautes* came to the *Marianayni*, a people inhabiting about the mouth of the riuer *Parthenius*, where *Lycus* the King entertained them courteously. Here *Idmon* a Soothsayer of their company was slaine by a wilde Boate; also here *Typhis* died: and *Anceus* vndertooke to steare the ship. So they passed by the riuer *Thermodon*, and mount *Caucasus*, and came to the riuer *Phasis*, which runs through the land of *Colchos*. When they were entred the hauen, *Iason* went to *Æetes* the King of *Colchos*, and told him the Commandement of *Pelias*, and cause of his comming, desiring him to deliuer the golden Fleece, which *Æetes*, as the Fable goeth, promised to doe, if hee alone would yoake together two brazen hoofs Bulls, and plowing the ground with them, sowe Dragons teeth, which *Minerua* had giuen to him, being part of those which *Cadmus* did sowe at *Thebes*. These Bulls were great and fierce, and breathed out fire: *Vulcan* had giuen them to *Æetes*.

Whilest *Iason* was in a great perplexitie about this taske, *Medæa* the daughter of *Æetes* fell into a most vehement loue of him, so farre forth, that being excellent in *Magique*, she came priuily to him, promising her helpe, if he would assure her of his marriage. To this *Iason* agreed, and confirmed his promise by oath. Then gaue she to him a medicine wherewith she bad him to annoint both his body and his armour, which would preserue him from their violence: further shee told him, that armed men would rise out of the ground, from the teeth which he should sowe, and set vpon him. To remedy which inconuenience, she bad him throwe stones amongst them as soone as they came vp thicke, whereupon they would fall together to blowes, in such wise that hee might easily slay them. *Iason* followed her counsaile; whereto when the euent had answered, hee againe demanded the Fleece. But *Æetes* was so farre from approuing such his desire, that hee deuised how to destroy the *Argonautes*, and burne their ship; which *Medæa* perceiuing, went to *Iason*, and brought him by night to the Fleece, which hung on an Oake in the groue of *Mars*, where, they say, it was kept by a Dragon, that neuer slept. This Dragon was by the *Magique* of *Medæa* cast into a sleepe: so taking away the golden Feece, shee went with *Iason* into the ship *Argo*; hauing with her, her brother *Absyrtus*.

Æetes vnderstanding the practises of *Medæa*, prouided to pursue the ship, whom when *Medæa* perceiued to be at hand, she slew her brother, and cutting him in pieces, shee scattered his limbs in diuers places; of which *Æetes* finding some, was faine to seeke out the rest, and suffer his daughter to passe: the parts of his son he buried in a place, which thereupon he called *Tomi*; the *Greeke* word signifieth *Diuision*. Afterwards he sent many of his subiects to seeke the ship *Argo*, threatning that if they brought not backe *Medæa*, they should suffer in her stead. In the meane while the *Argonautes* were driuen about the Seas, and were come to the Riuer *Eridanus*, which is *Po* in *Italie*.

Iupiter, offended with the slaughter of *Absyrtus*, vexed them with a great tempest, and carried them they knew not whither; when they came to the Ilands *Absyrtides*, there the ship *Argo* (that there might want no incredible thing in this Fable) spake to them and said, that the anger of *Iupiter* should not cease, till they came to *Ausonia*, and were cleansed by *Circe*, from the murther of *Absyrtus*. Now they thereupon sayling betweene the coasts of *Lybia* and *Gallia*, and passing through the Sea of *Sardinia* and alongst the coast of *Hetruria*, came to the Ile of *Æea*, wherein *Circe* dwelt, who cleansed them. Thence they sayled by the coast of the *Syrens*, who sang to allure them into danger: but *Orpheus* on the other side sang so well that he stayed them. Onely *Butes* swamme out vnto them, whom *Venus* rauished, and carryed to *Lylibæum* in *Sicilie* to dwell.

Hauing past the *Syrens*, they came betweene *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, and the stragling rocks which seemed to cast out great store of flames and smoake. But *Thetis* and the *Nereides*, conueyed them safe through at the appointment of *Iuno*. So they coasted *Sicilie* where the beeues of the Sunne were, and touched at *Corcyra*, the Iland of the *Phæaces*, where King *Alcinous* raigned. Meane while, the men of *Colchos*, that had beene sent by *Æetes* in quest of the ship of *Argo*, hearing no newes of it, and fearing his anger, if they fulfilled not his will, betooke themselues to new habitations: some of them dwelt in the mountaines of *Corcyre*, others in the Ilands *Absyrtides*, and some comming to

to the *Phæaces*, there found the ship *Argo*, and demanded *Medæa* of *Alcinous*: whereto *Alcinous* made answer, that if shee were not *Iasons* wife, they should haue her; but if shee were already married, he would not take her from her husband. *Arete*, the wife of *Alcinous*, hearing this, married them: wherefore they of *Colchos* not daring to returne home, stayed with the *Phæaces*; so the *Argonautes* departed thence, and after a while came to *Crete*. In this Iland, *Minos* raigned, who had a man of brasse giuen to him (as some of the Fablers say) by *Vulcan*. This man had one veine in his body reaching from the necke to the heele, the end whereof was closed vp with a brazen naile, his name was *Talus*: his custome was to runne thrice a day about the Iland for the defence of it. When hee saw the ship *Argo* passe by, hee threw stones at it, but *Medæa* with her Magique destroyed him. Some say that she slew him by potions, which made him mad; others, that promising to make him immortall, shee drew out the naile that stopt his veine, by which meanes all his blood ranne out, and he died; others there are that say he was slaine by *Pæan*, who wounded him with an arrow in the heele. From hence the *Argonautes* sailed to *Aegina*, where they were faine to fight for fresh water. And lastly, from *Aegina* they sailed by *Eubœa* and *Locris* home to *Iolcos*, where they arriued, hauing spent foure whole moneths in the expedition.

Some there are that by this iourney of *Iason*, vnderstand the mysterie of the Philosophers stone, called the golden Fleece, to which also, other super-fine *Chymists* drawe the twelue labours of *Hercules*. *Suidas* thinkes that by the golden Fleece was meant a golden booke of Parchment, which is of sheepe-skin, and therefore called golden, because it was taught therein how other mettals might be transmuted. Others would signifie by *Iason*, wisedome, and moderation, which ouercommeth all perils: but that which is most probable, is the opinion of *Dercilus*, that the story of such a passage was true, and that *Iason* with the rest went indeed to rob *Colchos*, to which they might arriue by boate. For not farre from *Caucasus* there are certaine steepe falling torrents which wash downe many graines of gold, as in many other parts of the world; and the people there inhabiting vse to set many fleeces of wooll in those descents of waters, in which the graines of gold remaine, and the water passeth thorow, which *Strabo* witnesseth to bee true. The many rockes, straits, sands, and currents, in the passage betweene *Greece* and the bottome of *Pontus*, are Poetically conuerted into those fiery bulls, the armed men rising out of the ground, the Dragon cast asleepe, and the like. The man of brasse, the *Syrens*, *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, were other hazards and aduentures which they fell into in the *Mediterran* sea, disguised, as the rest, by *Orpheus*, vnder Poeticall morals: all which *Homer* afterward vsed (the man of brasse excepted) in the description of *Vlysses* his trauailes, on the same Inland-seas.

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§. VII.

Of Abimelech, Tholan, *and* Iair, *and of the Lapythæ, and of* Theseus, Hyppolytus, *&c.*

AFter the death of *Gideon*, *Abimelech* his base sonne begotten on a Concubine of the *Sechemites*, remembring what offers had beene made to his father by the people, who desired to make him and his their perpetuall Princes; and as it seemeth, supposing (notwithstanding his fathers religious modesty) that some of his brethren might take on them the Soueraigntie, practised with the Inhabitants of *Sechem* (of which his mother was natiue) to make election of himselfe; who being easily moued with the glory, to haue a King of their owne, readily condescended: and the better to enable *Abimelech*, they borrowed 70. pieces of siluer of their Idoll *Baalberith*, with which treasure he hyred a company of loose and desperate vagabonds, to assist his first detestable enterprise, to wit, the slaughter of his 70. brethren, the sonnes of *Gideon*, begotten on his wiues, of which he had many; of all which none escaped but *Iotham* the youngest, who hid himselfe from his present furie: all which he executed on one stone, a cruelty exceeding all that hath beene written of in any age. Such is humane ambition, a monster that neither feareth God (though all-powerfull, and whose reuenges are without date and for euerlasting) neither hath it respect to nature, which laboureth the preseruation of euery being: but it rageth also against her, though garnished with beautie which neuer dieth, and with loue that hath no end. All other

Iudg. 9. 41.

Verse 5.

passions and affections, by which the soules of men are tormented, are by their contraries often-times resisted or qualified. But ambition, which begetteth euery vice, and is it selfe the childe and darling of *Satan*, looketh onely towards the ends by it selfe set downe, forgetting nothing (how fearefull and inhumane soeuer) which may seruе it: remembring nothing, what soeuer iustice, pietie, right or religion can offer and alledge on the contrary. It ascribeth the lamentable effects of like attempts, to the errour or weakenesse of the vndertakers, and rather praiseth the aduenture than feareth the like successe. It was the first sinne that the world had, and began in *Angels*: for which they were cast into hell, without hope of redemption. It was more ancient than man, and therefore no part of his naturall corruption. The punishment also preceded his creation, yet hath the Diuell which felt the smart thereof, taught him to forget the one as out of date, and to practise the other, as befitting euery age, and mans condition.

Iotham, the youngest of *Gidions* sonnes, hauing escaped the present perill, sought by his best perswasions to alienate the *Sechemites*, from the assisting of this mercilesse tyrant, letting them know, that those which were vertuous, and whom reason and religion had taught the safe and happy estate of moderate subiection, had refused to receiue as vnlawfull, what others had no power to giue, without direction from the King of Kings: who from the beginning (as to his owne peculiar people) had appointed them by whom and how to bee gouerned. This hee taught them by the Oliue, which contented it selfe with its fatnesse, the Figge-tree with its sweetnesse, and the Vine with the good iuyce it had: the Bramble onely, who was most base, cut downe all the rest, and accepted the Soueraigntie. Hee also foretold them by a Propheticall spirit, what should befall them in the end, and how a fire should come out of the Bramble, and consume the Cedars of *Libanon*.

Now (as it is an easie matter to call those men backe whom rage without right led on) *Gaal* the sonne of *Ebed* withdrew the Citizens of *Sechem*, from the seruice of *Abimelech*: who therefore after some assaults entred the place, and mastered it; and in conclusion fired the towne, wherein their Idoll *Baalberith* was worshipped, and put all the people of all sorts to the slaughter. Lastly, in the assault of the Castle or Tower of *Teber*, himselfe was wounded in the head with a stone throwne ouer the wall by a woman; and finding himselfe mortally bruised, he commanded his owne Page to pierce his body, thereby to auoid the dishonour of being slaine by so feeble a hand.

While *Abimelech* vsurped the Gouernment, the *Lapithæ* and *Centaures* made warre against the *Thebanes*. These Nations were descended of *Apollo*, and were the first in those parts that deuised to manage horses, to bridle and to sit them: insomuch as when they first came downe from the mountaines of *Pindus*, into the plaines, those which had neuer seene horsemen before, thought them creatures compounded of men and horses; so did the *Mexicans* when *Ferdinando Cortes* the Spaniard first inuaded that Empire.

Palæphatus, l. 1. de incredib.

After the death of *Abimelech*, *Tholo* of *Issachar* gouerned *Israel* 23. yeares, and after him *Iair* the *Gileadite* 22. yeares, who seemes to be descended of *Iair* the sonne of *Manasse*, who in *Moses* time conquered a great part of *Gilead*, and called the same after his owne name, *Hauoth Iair*. For to this *Iair* there remained thirtie of those Cities, which his ancester had recouered from the *Amorites*. Of these Iudges, because there is nothing else written, it is an argument that during all their times, *Israel* liued without disturbance and in peace.

Deut. 3.14. Num. 12.41.

Iudg. 10.

When *Iair* iudged *Israel*, *Priamus* began to raigne in *Troy*, who at such time as *Hercules* sacked *Ilium*, was carried away captiue with his sister *Hesione* into *Greece*, and being afterward redeemed for ransome, he rebuilt and greatly strengthened, and adorned *Troy*, and so farre inlarged his Dominions, as hee became the supreame Lord in effect of all *Asia* the lesse. He married *Hecuba* the daughter of *Cisseus* King of *Thrace*, and had in all (saith *Cicero*) fiftie sonnes, whereof seuenteene by *Hecuba*, of whom *Paris* was one; who attempting to recouer his aunt *Hesione*, tooke *Helena* the wife of *Menelaus*, the cause of the warre which followed.

2901.

In Tusc.

Theseus the tenth King of *Athens* began likewise to raigne in the beginning of *Iair*: some writers call him the sonne of *Neptune* and *Æthra*: but *Plutark* in the Storie of his life, finds him begotten by *Aegeus*, of whom the *Grecian* sea betweene it and *Asia* the lesse tooke name. For when *Minos* had mastered the *Athenians*, so far as he forc'd them to pay him

him seuen of their sonnes euery yeare for tribute, whom he inclosed within a *Labyrinth*, to be deuoured by the monster *Minotaur*: because belike the sonnes of *Taurus*, which he begat on *Pasiphae* the Queene, had the charge of them: among these seuen *Theseus* thrust himselfe, not doubting by his valour to deliuer the rest, and to free the Countrie of that slauerie occasioned for the death of *Androgeus*, *Minos* his sonne.

And hauing possest himselfe of *Ariadnes* affection, who was *Minos* daughter, he receiued from her a bottome of thred, by which he conducted himselfe through all the crooked and inextricable turnings of the *Labyrinth*, made in all like that of the Citie of *Crocodiles* in *Egypt*; by meane whereof hauing slaine *Minotaur*, he found a ready way to returne. But whereas his father *Aegeus* had giuen order, that if hee came backe with victorie and in safetie, he should vse a white saile in signe thereof, and not that mournefull blacke saile, vnder which they left the port of *Athens*. This instruction being either forgotten or neglected, *Aegeus* descrying the Shippe of *Theseus* with a blacke sayle, did cast himselfe ouer the rockes downe into the Sea, afterward called of his name *Aegeum*.

One of the first famous acts of *Theseus*, was the killing of *Scyron*, who kept a passage betweene *Megara* and the *Peloponnesian Isthmos*, and threw all whom hee mastered into the Sea, from the high rockes. Afterward he did the like to *Cercyon*, by wrestling, who vsed by that Art to kill others. Hee also ridde the Countrie of *Procrustes*, who vsed to bend downe the strong limbes of two trees, and fastened by cordes such as hee tooke, part of them to one, and part to the other bough, and by the springing vp tare them asunder. So did he root out *Periphetes* and other mischieuous theeues and murtherers. Hee ouerthrew the Armie of the *Amazons*, who after many victories and vastations, entred the Territorie of *Athens*. *Theseus* hauing taken their Queene *Hippolita* prisoner, begat on her *Hippolytus*; with whom afterward his mother in law *Phædra*, falling in loue, and hee refusing to abuse his fathers bed, *Phædra* perswaded *Theseus* that his sonne offred to force her: after which it is fained, that *Theseus* besought *Neptune* to reuenge this wrong of his sonnes, by some violent death. *Neptune* taking a time of aduantage, sent out his Sea-Calues, as *Hippolytus* passed by the sea shore, and so affrighted his horses, as casting the Coach ouer, hee was (by being intangled therein) torne in pieces. Which miserable and vndeserued destinie, when *Phædra* had heard of, she strangled her selfe. After which it is fained, that *Diana* entreated *Aesculapius* to set *Hippolitus* his pieces together, and to restore him to life: which done, because he was chaste, she led him with her into *Italie*, to accompany her in her hunting, and field sports.

It is probable that *Hippolytus*, when his Father sought his life, thinking to escape by Sea, was affronted thereat, and did receiue many wounds in forcing his passage and escape, which wounds *Aesculapius*, to wit, some skilfull Physitian, or Chirurgion healed againe; after which hee passed into *Italie*, where he liued with *Diana*, that is, the life of a hunter, in which hee most delighted. But of those ancient prophane Stories, *Plutarch* saith well, that as *Cosmographers* in their descriptions of the world, where they finde many vast places whereof they know nothing, fill the same with strange Beasts, Birds, and Fishes, and with *Mathematicall* lines; so doe the Græcian Historians and Poets imbroder and intermixe the tales of ancient times, with a world of fictions and fabulous discourses. True it is, that *Theseus* did many great things in imitation of *Hercules*, whom hee made his patterne, and was the first that gathered the *Athenians*, from being dispersed in thinne and ragged Villages: in recompence whereof, and for deuising them Lawes to liue vnder, and in order, hee was by the beggerly, mutable, and vngratefull multitude, in the end banished. Some say, *per Ostracismum*, by the Law of Lottes, or names written on shells, which was a deuice of his owne.

He stole *Helen* (as they say) when she was fiftie yeares old, from *Aphidna*, which City *Castor* and *Pollux* ouerturned, when they followed after *Theseus* to recouer their sister. *Erasistratus* and *Pausanias* write that *Theseus* begot her with childe at *Argos*, where shee erected a Temple to *Lucina*: but her age makes that tale vnlikely to bee true, and so doth *Ouid*, *Non tamen ex facto fructum tulit ille petitum, &c.* The rape *Eusebius* findes in the first of *Iair*, who gouerned *Israel* 22. yeares, to whom succeeded *Iephta* or *Iepte* sixe yeares, to whom *Ibzan* who ruled seuen yeares, and then *Habdon* eight yeares: in whose time was the fall of *Troy*. So, as if *Theseus* had a childe by her in the first of *Iair*, (at which

Strab. lib. 9.

Paus. in Con.

In Epist. Helen.

Iudg. 10.3.

which time wee must count her no lesse than fifteene yeares old; for the women did not commonly begin so young as they doe now) shee was then at least two and fiftie yeares old at the destruction of *Troy*: and when shee was stollen by *Paris*, eight and thirtie: but herein the *Chronologers* doe not agree. Yet *Eusebius* and *Bunting* with *Halicarnasseus* doe in effect consent, that the City was entred, and burnt in the first yeare of *Demophoon* King of *Athens*, the successor of *Mnesthens*, the successor of *Theseus*, seuenteene dayes before the *Summer Tropique*; and that about the eleuenth of *September* following, the *Troians* crost the *Hellespont* into *Thrace*, and wintered there, and in the next spring that they nauigated into *Sicilia*, where wintering the second yeare, the next summer they arriued at *Laurentum*, and builded *Lauinium*. But Saint *Augustine* hath otherwise, That when *Polyphides* gouerned *Sicyon*, *Mnestheus*, *Athens*; *Tautanes*, *Assyria*; *Habdon*, *Israel*; then *Aeneas* arriued in *Italie*, transporting with him in twentie ships the remainder of the *Troians*: but the difference is not great: and hereof more at large in the storie of *Troy* at hand.

Bunt. Chron. Euseb. Coron. Hal. l. 1.

Aug. de Ciu: Dei. l. 18. c. 19.

In *Sicyonia Phestus* the two and twentieth King, raigned eight yeares, beginning by the common account in the time of *Thola*. His successours, *Adrastus*, who raigned foure yeares, and *Polyphides* who raigned thirteene, are accounted to the time of *Iair*, so is also *Mnesteus* King of *Athens*, and *Atreus*, who held a great part of *Poloponnesus*. In *Assyra*, during the gouernment of these two peaceable Iudges, *Mitreus*, and after him *Tautanes*, raigned. In *Egypt Amenophus*, the sonne of *Ramses*, and afterwards *Annemones*.

§. VII.

Of the warre of Thebes which was in this age.

IN this age was the warre of *Thebes*, the most ancient that euer Greeke Poet or Historian wrote of: Wherefore the Roman Poet *Lucretius*, affirming (as the *Epicures* in this point held truely against the *Peripatetickes*) that the world had a beginning, vrgeth them with this obiection.

Si nulla fuit genitalis origo
Rerumq; & mundi, semperque æterna fuere,
Cur supra bellum Thebanum, & funera Troiæ,
Non alias alij quoque res cecinere poetæ?

If all this world had no originall,
But things haue euer beene as now they are:
Before the siege of *Thebes* or *Troyes* last fall,
Why did no Poet sing some elder warre?

It is true that in these times *Greece* was very saluage, the inhabitants being often chaced from place to place, by the Captains of greater Tribes: and no man thinking the ground whereon hee dwelt his owne longer than he could hold it by strong hand. Wherefore merchandize and other intercourse they vsed little, neither did they plant many trees, or sowe more corne than was necessary for their sustenance. Money they had little or none, for it is thought that the name of money was not heard in *Greece*, when *Homer* did write who measures the valew of gold and brasse by the worth in cattell; saying that the golden armour of *Glaucus* was worth an hundred Beeues, and the copper armour of *Diomedes* worth nine.

Robberies by land and sea were common and without shame, and to steale horses or kine was the vsuall exercise of their great men. Their townes were not many, whereof those that were walled were very few, and not great. For *Mycena* the principall Citie in *Peloponnesus* was a very little thing, and it may well be thought that the rest were proportionable: briefly, *Greece* was then in her infancie, and though in some small townes of that halfe Ile of *Peloponnesus*, the Inhabitants might haue enioyed quietnesse within their narrow bounds; as likewise did the *Athenians* because their Countrie was so barren, that none did care to take it from them: yet that the land in generall was very rude, it will easily appeare to such as consider, what *Thucidydes* the greatest of their Historians hath written to this effect, in the Preface to his Historie. Wherefore, as in these later times

times, idle *Chroniclers* vse when they want good matter, to fill whole books with reports of great frosts, or dry summers, and other such things which no man cares to reade; so did they who spake of *Greece* in her beginnings, remember onely the great floods which were in the times of *Ogyges*, and *Deucalion*: or else rehearse fables of men changed into birds, of strange monsters, of adulterie committed by their gods, and the mighty men which they begat, without writing ought that sauoured of humanitie before the time of the warre of *Thebes*: the briefe whereof is this.

Oedipus the sonne of *Laius* King of *Thebes*, hauing beene cast forth when he was an infant, because an *Oracle* foretold what euill should come to passe by him, did afterwards in a narrow passage contending for the way, slay his owne father, not knowing either then or long after, who he was. Afterward hee became King of *Thebes*, by marriage of the Queene *Iocasta*, called by *Homer Epicaste*: on whom, not knowing her to bee his mother, hee begat two sonnes, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*. But when in processe of time, finding out by good circumstances, who were his parents, hee vnderstood the grieuous murther and incest hee had committed, hee tore out his owne eyes for griefe, and left the Citie. His wife and mother did hang themselues. Some say that *Oedipus* hauing his eyes pulled out, was expelled *Thebes*, bitterly cursing his sonnes, because they suffered their father to bee cast out of the Towne, and ayded him not. Howsoeuer it were, his two Sonnes made this agreement, that the one of them should raigne one yeare, and the other another yeare; and so by course rule interchangeably. But this appointment was ill obserued. For when *Polynices* had after a yeares gouernment resigned the Kingdome to his brother: or (according to others) when *Eteocles* had raigned the first yeare, hee refused to giue ouer the rule to *Polynices*. Hereupon *Polynices* fledde vnto *Argos*, where *Adrastus* the sonne of *Talaas* then raigned, vnto whose palace comming by night, he was driuen to seeke lodging in an out-house, on the backeside.

Hom. Odyss. l. 11.

There he met with *Tydeus* the sonne of *Oeneus*, who was fled from *Calydon*: with whom striuing about their lodging, hee fell to blowes. *Adrastus* hearing the noyse, came forth and tooke vp the quarrell. At which time perceiuing in the shield of *Tydeus* a Bore, in that of *Polynices* a Lyon, hee remembred an olde Oracle, by which hee was aduised to giue his two daughters in marriage, to a Lyon and a Bore: and accordingly hee did bestow his daughter *Argia* vpon *Tydeus*, and *Deipyle* vpon *Polynices*, promising to restore them both to their Countries. To this purpose leuying an Armie, and assembling as many valiant Captaines as hee could draw to follow him, he was desirous among others to carrie *Amphiaraus* the sonne of *Oicleus* a great Soothsayer, and a valiant man, along with him. But *Amphiaraus*, who is said to haue foreseene all things, knowing well that none of the Captaines should escape, saue onely *Adrastus*, did both vtterly refuse to bee one in that expedition, and perswaded others to stay at home. *Polynices* therefore dealt with *Eriphyle* the Wife of *Amphiaraus*, offering vnto her a very faire bracelet, vpon condition that shee should cause her Husband to assist him. The Soothsayer knowing what should worke his destinie, forbad his Wife to take any gift of *Polynices*. But the bracelet was in her eye so precious a Iewell, that shee could not refuse it. Therefore whereas a great controuersie, betweene *Aamphiaraus* and *Adrastus*, was by way of compromise put vnto the decision of *Eriphyle*, either of them being bound by solemne oath to stand to her appointment: shee ordered the matter so, as a Woman should that did loue a bracelet better than her Husband. Hee now finding that it was farre more easie to foresee than auoide destinie, sought for such comfort as reuenge might afford him, giuing in charge vnto his sonnes, that when they came to full age, they should kill their mother, and make strong warre vpon the Thebanes.

Now had *Adrastus* assembled all his forces, of which, the seuen chiefe leaders were, himselfe, *Amphiaraus*, *Capaneus*, and *Hippomedon* (in stead of whom some name *Mecisteus*) all Argiues, with *Polynices* the Theban, *Tydeus* the Ætolian, and *Parthenopeus* the Arcadian, sonne of *Meleager* and *Atalanta*. When the Armie came to the Nemæan Wood, they met a woman whom they desired to helpe them to some water; shee hauing a childe in her armes, laid it downe, and led the Argiues to a spring: but ere shee returned, a Serpent had slaine the childe. This woman was *Hypsipyle* the daughter of *Thoas* the *Lemnian*, whom shee would haue saued when the women of the Ile slew all the

the males by conspiracie, intending to lead an Amazonian life. For such her pietie, the Lemnian wiues did sell her to Pyrates, and the Pyrates to *Lycurgus* Lord of the Countrie about *Nemæa*, whose young sonne *Opheltes* or *Archemorus*, she did nurse, and lost, as is shewed before. When vpon the childes death shee hid her selfe for feare of her master, *Amphiaraus* told her sonnes where they should finde her: and the Argiues did both kill the Serpent which had slaine the childe, and in memorie of the chance, did institute solemne funerall games called *Nemæan*, wherein *Adrastus* wanne the prize with his swift horse *Arion*, *Tydeus* with the worlebats, *Amphiaraus* at running and quoiting, *Polynices* at wrestling, *Parthenopæus* at shooting, and one *Laodocus* in darting. This was the first institution of the *Nemæan* games, which continued after famous in *Greece* for very many ages. 10 There are, who thinke that they were ordained in honour of one *Opheltus* a Lacedemonian. Some say by *Hercules*, when he had slaine the Nemæan Lyon: but the common opinion agrees with that which is here set downe.

From *Nemæa* the Argiues marching onwards, arriued at *Citheron*, whence *Tydeus* was by them sent Embassadour to *Thebes*, to require of *Eteocles* the performance of Couenants betweene him and *Polynices*. This message was nothing agreeable to *Eteocles*, who was throughly resolued to hold what he had, as long as he could: which *Tydeus* perceiuing, and intending partly to get honour, partly to trie what mettle was in the Thebans, he made many challenges, and obtained victorie in all of them; not without much enuie and malice of the people, who laid fiftie men in ambush to intercept him at his returne 20 to the Armie; of which fiftie he slew all but one, whom hee sent backe to the Citie as a reporter and witnesse of his valour. When the Argiues vnderstood how resolued *Eteocles* was, they presented themselues before the Citie, and incamped round about it. *Thebes* is said to haue had at that time seuen gates, which belike stood not far asunder, seeing that the Argiues (who afterward when they were very farre stronger, could scarce muster vp more thousands than *Thebes* had gates) did compasse the Towne, *Adrastus* quartered before the gate *Homoloides*, *Capaneus* before the *Ogygian*, *Tydeus* before *Crenis*, *Amphiaraus* at *Proëtis*, *Hippomedon* at *Anchais*, *Parthenopæus* at *Electa*, and *Polynices* at *Hypsista*. In the meane season, *Eteocles* hauing armed his men, and appointed Commanders vnto them, took aduise of *Tiresias* the Soothsayer, who promised victory to the Thebans, 30 if *Menæcius* the sonne of *Creon* a principall man of the Citie, would vow himselfe to be slaine in honour of *Mars* the god of warre. So full of malice and pride is the Diuell, and so enuious at his Creators glory, that hee not onely challengeth honour due to God alone, as oblations and sacrifice with all Diuine worship, but commandeth vs to offer our selues, and our children vnto him, when hee hath sufficiently clowded mens vnderstanding, and bewitched their wils with ignorance and blinde deuotion. And such abominable sacrifice of men, maides, and children hath he exacted of the Syrians, Carthaginians, Galles, Germans, Cyprians, Egyptians, and of many other, if not of all Nations, when through ignorance or feare they were most filled with superstition. But as they grew more wise, so did he waxe lesse impudent in cunning, though not lesse malicious in desiring the continuance of such barbarous inhumanitie. For King *Diphilus* in *Cyprus* without aduise of any *Oracle*, made the Idoll of that Countrie rest contented with an Oxe in stead of a man. *Tiberius* forbad humane sacrifices in *Africke*, and crucified the Priests in the groues where they had practised them. *Hercules* taught the Italians to drowne men of hay in stead of the liuing: yet among the saluages in the West *Indies* these cruell offerings haue beene practised of late ages: which as it is a sufficient argument that *Satans* malice is onely couered and hidden by this subtiltie among ciuill people: so may it serue as a probable Coniecture of the barbarismes then raigning in *Greece*. For *Menæcius*, as soone as he vnderstood that his death might purchase victorie to his people, bestowed himselfe (as hee thought) vpon *Mars*, killing himselfe before the gates of the Citie. Then 50 was a battaile fought, wherein the Argiues preuailed so farre at the first, that *Capaneus* aduancing ladders to the walls, got vp vpon the rampart: whence, when he fell or was cast downe, or (as Writers haue it) was stricken down by *Iupiter* with a thunder-bolt, the Argiues fled. Many on each part were slaine in this battaile, which caused both sides to desire that *Eteocles* and *Polynices* might trie out the quarrell in single fight: whereto the two brethren according, slew each other.

Another battell was fought after their death, wherein the sonnes of *Astacus* behaued themselues very valiantly: *Ismarus* one of the sonnes slew *Hippomedon*, which was one of

of the seuen Princes: *Parthenopæus* being another of the seuen (who was said to haue been so faire, that none would hurt him when his face was bare) was slaine by *Amphidicus*, or as some say, by *Periclymenus* the sonne of *Neptune*: and the valiant *Tydeus* by *Menalippus*: yet ere *Tydeus* died, the head of *Menalippus* was brought vnto him by *Amphiaraus*, which he cruelly tore open, and swallowed vp the braines. Vpon which fact, it is said, that *Pallas*, who had brought from *Iupiter* such remedie for his wounds, as should haue made him immortall, refused to bestow it vpon him: whereby perhaps was meant that his honour which might haue continued immortall, did perish through the beastly rage that he shewed at his death.

10 The hoast of the Argiues being wholly discomfited, *Adrastus* and *Amphiaraus* fled. of whom *Amphiaraus* is said to haue beene swallowed quicke into the earth, neere to the riuer *Ismenus*, together with his Chariot, and so lost out of mens sight, being peraduenture ouerwhelmed with dead carkasses, or drowned in the riuer: and his body neuer found, nor greatly sought for. *Adrastus* escaped on his good horse *Arion*, and came to *Athens*; where sitting at an Altar, called the Altar of Mercie, hee made supplication for their aide to recouer their bodies. For *Creon* hauing obtained the Gouernment of *Thebes* after the death of *Eteocles*, would not suffer the bodies of the Argiues to bee buried: but caused *Antigone*, the onely daughter then liuing of *Oedipus*, to bee buried quicke, because shee had sought out and buried the body of her brother *Polynices*, con-
20 trary to *Creons* Edict. The Athenians condescending to the request of *Adrastus*, did send foorth an Armie vnder the conduct of *Theseus*, which tooke *Thebes*, and restored the bodies of the Argiues to Sepulture: at which time *Euadne* the Wife of *Capaneus*, threw her selfe into the funerall fire, and was burnt willingly with her Husband. But it little contented the sonnes of those Captaines which were slaine at *Thebes*, that any lesse reuenge should be taken of their fathers death, than the ruine of the Citie: wherefore tenne yeare after hauing leuied forces, *Aegialeus* the sonne of *Adrastus*, *Diomedes* of *Tydeus*, *Promachus* of *Parthenopæus*, *Sthenelus* of *Capaneus*, *Thersander* of *Polynices*, and *Euryplus* of *Mecisteus*, marched thither vnder the conduct of *Alcmæon*, the son of *Amphiaraus*: with whom also went his brother *Amphiloctus*. *Apollo* promised victorie if *Alcmæon*
30 were their Captaine, whom afterward by another *Oracle* hee commanded to kill his owne mother.

When they came to the Citie, they were incountred by *Laodamas* the son of *Eteocles*, then King of the Thebanes, (for *Creon* was onely Tutor to *Laodamas*) who though he did valiantly in the battaile, and slue *Aegialius*, yet was hee put to the worst, and driuen to flie, or (according to *Apollodorus*) slain by *Alcmaon*. After this disaster the citizens began to desire composition; but in the meane time they conuayed themselues with their wiues & children away from thence by night, and so began to wander vp and downe, till at length they built the Town called *Essiua*. The Argiues, when they perceiued that their enemies had quitted the Town, entring into it, sacked it, threw downe the walls, and layd it waste;
40 howbeit it is reported by some, that the Towne was saued by *Thirsander*, the sonne of *Polynices*, who causing the Citizens to returne, did there raigne ouer them. That hee saued the City from vtter destruction, it is very likely, for he raigned there, and led the *Thebanes* to the Warre of *Troy*, which very shortly after ensued.

§. VIII.

Of Iephta, and how the three hundred yeares which he speaketh of, Iud.11.v.28. *are to be reconciled with the places,* Act.13.20. 1.Reg.6.1. *together with some other things touching Chronologie about these times.*

50 AFter the death of *Iair* (neere about whose times these things hapned in *Greece*, and during whose gouernment, & that of *Thola*, *Israel* liued in peace and in order) they reuolted again from the law & seruice of God, and became more wicked and idolatrous than euer. For whereas in the former times they worshipped *Baal* & *Asteroth*, they now became followers of all the Heathen nations adioyning, and imbraced the idolls of the *Aramites*, of the *Zidonians*, *Moabites* & *Ammonites*: with those of the *Philistims*. And as before it pleased God to correct them by the *Aramites*, by the *Amalekites*, and *Midianites*: so now he scourged them by the * *Ammonites*, and afterward by the *Philistims*.

Now among the *Israelites*, those of *Gilead* being most oppreſt, because they bordered

Iud.10.
* The persecutiõ of the *Ammonites* lasted 18.yeares, and ended in the yeare of the World 2820. in which yeare Iephtà began, Iud.11.

vpon

vpon the Amonites, they were inforc't to seeke *Iephta*, whom they had formerly despised and cast from them, because he was base borne; but he (notwithstanding those former iniuries) participating more of godly compassion, than of diuellish hatred and reuenge, was content to lead the Gileadites to the Warre, vpon condition that they should establish him their Gouernour after victory. And when hee had disputed with *Ammon* for the Land, disproued *Ammons* right, and fortified the title of *Israel* by many arguments, the same preuailing nothing, he began the warre; and being strengthened by God, ouerthrew them: and did not onely beate them out of the plaines, but forc't them ouer the
Iud.11.33. mountaines of *Arabia*, euen to *Minnith*, and *Abel* of the vineyards, Cities expreſt heretofore in the description of the holy Land. After which victory it is said, that he perfor-10 med the vaine vow which he made, to sacrifice the first liuing creature hee encountred, comming out of his house to meet him; which happened to be his owne daughter, and onely childe, who with all patience submitted her selfe, and onely desired two moneths time to bewaile her Virginitie on the mountaines of *Gilead*; because in her the issues of her Father ended: but the other opinion, that shee was not offered, is more probable,
Bor.in Iud. which *Borhaus* and others proue sufficiently.

After these things the children of *Israel*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, either enuious of *Iephta's* victorie, or otherwise making way to their future calamitie, and to the most grieuous slauery that euer *Israel* suffered, quarrelled with *Iephta*, that they were not called to the Warre, as before time they had contested with *Gideon*. *Iephta* hereupon inforced to 20 defend himselfe against their fury, in the incounter slew of them two and forty thousand,
Iudg.12. which so weakened the body of the Land, as the Philistims had an easie conquest of them all not long after. *Iephta*, after he had iudged *Israel* sixe yeares, died: to whom succee-
2925. ded *Ibzan*, who ruled seuen yeares: after him *Elon* was their Iudge tenne yeares: in all
2942. which time *Israel* had peace. *Eusebius* findes not *Elon*, whom hee calleth *Adon*, for in the *Septuagint*, approued in his time, this Iudge was omitted.

Now before I goe on with the rest, it shall be necessary vpon the occasion of *Iephta's* account of the times, *Iud.*11.28. (where he sayes that *Israel* had then possest the East side of *Iordan* 300. yeares) to speake somewhat of the times of the Iudges, and of the differing opinions among the Diuines & Chronologers: there being found three places of Scrip-30
Iud.11.28. Act.13.20. 1 Kings 6.1. tures touching this point, seeming repugnant, or disagreeing: the first is in this dispute betweene *Iephta* and *Ammon*, for the right and possession of *Gilead*: the second is that of Saint *Paul*, *Acts* 13. the third is that which is in the first of *Kings*. *Iephta* here challengeth the possession of *Gilead* for 300. yeares: Saint *Paul* giueth to the *Iudges*, as it seemes, from the end of *Iosua*, to the last of *Heli*, 450. yeares. In the first of *Kings* it is taught, that from the departing of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, to the foundation of *Salomons* Temple, there were consumed 480. yeares. To the first *Beroaldus* findeth *Iephta's* 300. yeares to be but 266. yeares, to wit, 18. of *Iosua*, 40. of *Othoniel*, 80. of *Aod* and *Samgar*, 40. of *Debora*,
Id facit, numero certo pro incerto, proposito. 40. of *Gideon*, 3. of *Abimelech*, 23. of *Thola*, and 22. of *Iair*: But *Iephta* (saith *Beroaldus*) putteth or proposeth a certaine number, for an vncertaine: *Sic vt dicat annum agi prope* 40 *trecentesimum, ex quo nullus litem ea de re mouerit Israeli*; *So hee speaketh* (saith he) *as meaning, that then it was about or wel-nigh the three hundreth yeare, since Israel possessed those Countries, no man making question of their right.* *Codoman* on the contrary findes more yeares than *Iephta* named by 65. to wit, 365. whereof 71. were spent in *Israels* captiuity, at seuerall times, of which (as *Codoman* thinketh) *Iephta* forbare to repeate the whole summe or any great part, lest the Ammonite should haue iustly obiected, that 71. of those yeares, the Israelites were in captiuity and vassals to their neighbour Princes, and therefore knowing that to name three hundred yeares, it was enough for prescription, hee omitted the rest.

To iustifie this account of 365. yeares, besides the 71. yeares of captiuity or affli-50 ction, to bee added to *Beroaldus* his 266. hee addeth also 28. yeares more, and so maketh vp the summe of 365. These 28. yeares hee findeth out thus: twenty yeares hee giues to the *Seniors* betweene *Iosua* and *Othoniel*: and where *Beroaldus* alloweth eighteene yeares to *Iosua* his gouernment, *Codoman* accounts that his rule lasted 26. according to *Iosephus*; whereas Saint *Augustine* and *Eusebius* giue him 27. *Melanchton* 32. The trueth is, that this addition of 28. yeares is farre more doubtfull than the other of 71. But though wee admit not of this addition, yet by accounting of some part of the yeares of affliction (to wit, 34. yeares of the 71.) if wee adde them to the 266. yeares of

of *Beroaldus*, which reckoneth none of these, we haue the iust number of 300. yeares. Neither is it strange that *Iephta* should leaue out more than halfe of these yeers of affliction: seeing, as it is already said, the Ammonites might except against these 71. yeares, & say, that during these yeares, or at least a good part of them, the Israelites had no quiet possession of the countries in question. *Martin Luther* is the author of a third opinion, making those 300. yeares remembred by *Iephta*, to be 306. which odde yeares, saith he, *Iephta* omitteth. But because the yeares of euerie Iudge as they reigned, cannot make vp the number of 306, but do only compound 266. therefore doth *Luther* adde to this number the whole time which *Moses* spent in the Desarts of A-10 rabia Petræa; which forty yeares of *Moses* added to the number which *Beroaldus* findeth of 266. make indeed 306.

But I see nothing in the Text to warrant *Luthers* iudgement herein: for in the dispute between *Iephta* & *Ammon* for the land of Gilead, it is written in the person of *Ammon*, in these words: *Because Israel tooke my Land, when they came vp from Egypt, from Arnon vnto Iaboc &c. now therefore restore those lands quietly*, or in peace. So by this place it is plaine, that the time is not to be accounted from *Moses* departure out of *Egypt*: but from the time that the land was possest. For it is said, *Quia cepit Israel terram meam, Behold Israel tooke my land*: and therfore the beginning of this account is to be referred to the time of the taking: which *Iephta's* answer also confirmeth in these 20 words: *When Israel dwelt in Heshbon, and in her Townes, and in Aroer, and in her Townes,* Iud.11.28. *and in all the Cities that are by the coast of Arnon* 300 *yeeres: why did ye not then recouer them in that space?* so as this place speakes it directly, that *Israel* had inhabited and dwelt in the Cities of Gilead 300. yeeres: and therefore to account the times from the hopes or intents, that Israel had to possesse it, it seemeth somewhat strained to me; for we do not vse to reckon the time of our conquests in France, from our Princes intents or purposes, but from their victories and possessions.

Iunius neuertheless likes the opinion of *Luther*, & sayes, that this time of 300. yeers hath reference, and is to take beginning from the first of *Iephta's* narration: when he makes a briefe repetition of *Moses* whole iourney: to wit, at the sixteenth Verse of the 30 eleuenth Chapter of *Iudges*, in our translation in these words: *But when Israel came vp* Iunius in the 11. of Iudg. annot. *from Egypt, &c.* and therefore *Moses* his 40. yeeres (as he thinkes) are to be accounted, which make the number of 305. yeeres: and not only the time in which Israel possest Gilead, according to the Text & *Iephta's* own words: of which I leaue the iudgement to others; to whom also I leaue to iudge, whether we may not begin the 480. yeeres, from the deliuerance out of *Egypt* to the Temple, euen from the first departure out of *Egypt*, and yet finde a more probable reconciliation of Saint *Pauls* and *Iephta's* account with this reckoning, than any of those that as yet haue beene signified. For first, touching *Iephta's* three hundred yeeres of possession of the East side of *Iordan*, it 40 is to be remembred, that for a good while before the Israelites possessed it, *Sehon* and *Og* had dispossessed *Moab* and *Ammon* thereof: so that when the Israelites had conquered *Sehon* and *Og*, the right of possession which they had, passed to Israel; and so *Iephta* might say that they had possessed those Countries 300. yeeres, reckoning 266. yeeres of their own possession, and the rest of the possession of the two Kings *Sehon* and *Og*, whose right the Israelites had by the law of conquest.

The second place disputed is this of S. *Paul*, *Act.*13. that from the end of *Iosua* to Reade the 24. of Iosua, and the 2 Iud.7. the beginning of *Samuel*, there past 450. yeeres. And this place *Luther* vnderstandeth also besides the letter (as I find his opinion cited by *Functius Krentzhemius*, and *Beza*) Funct. Chron. for I haue not read his Commentaries. For he accounteth from the death of *Moses*, fol.4. Beza in his Annotations vpon the to the last yeere of *Heli*, but 357. yeeres: and this he doth the better to approue the 50 times from the egression out of *Egypt* to the building of the Temple, which in the 13. of the Act. v.20. first of *Kings* 6. is said to be 480. yeeres.

Now forasmuch as S. *Paul* (as it seemes) finds 450. yeers from the death of *Iosua*, to the last of *Heli*, & leaues but thirty yeeres for *Saul* and *Samuel*, who gouerned 40. for *Dauid* who ruled 40. and for *Salomon* who wore the Crowne three whole yeeres ere the foundation of the Temple was laid; therefore *Luther* takes it, that there was errour in the Scribe, who wrote out this piece of Scripture of S. *Paul*: to wit, *Then afterward hee gaue vnto them Iudges about* 450. *yeeres, vnto the time of* Samuel *the Prophet*: the words *then afterward*, being cleerely referred to the death or after the death Act.13.20.

of

of *Iosua*,as shall be hereafter proued.But where Saint *Luke* rehearsing the words of Saint *Paul*,wrote 350.yeers(saith *Luther*)the Scribe in the transcription being deceiued by the affinitie of those two Greeke words,wherof the one signifieth 300.&the other 400.wrote *Tetracosiois*,for *Triacosiois*;400.yeeres,for 300. yeeres; and 450.for 350.This he seeketh to strengthen by many arguments:to which opinion *Beza* in his great annotations adhereth. A contrary iudgement to this hath *Codoman*: where *Luther* and *Beza* begin at *Moses* death,he takes his account from the death of *Iosua*, and from thence to the beginning of *Samuel* he makes 430.yeers:to wit of the *Iudges*(not reckoning *Sampsons* yeers)319.and of yeeres of seruitude and affliction vnder strangers,111.The reason why he doth not reckon *Sampsons* twenty yeeres, is because he thinkes that they were part of the 40.yeeres,in which the *Philistims* are said to haue oppressed Israel. For it is plaine,that during all *Sampsons* time they were Lords ouer Israel.So then of the Iudges, besides the 111.yeeres of seruitude,*Codoman* reckoneth (as I haue said) 319.yeeres,which two summes put together make 430.yeeres.And whereas Saint *Paul* nameth 450.yeeres, he findes 20. yeeres to make vp Saint *Pauls* number, to haue beene spent after the death of *Iosua* by the *Seniors*, before the Captiuitie of *Cushan*,or the election of *Othoniel*:which 20.yeers added to 430.make 450. according to Saint *Paul*.To approoue this time of the Elders,he citeth two places of Scriptures, namely the 24.of *Iosua*, and the second of *Iudges*, in each of which places it is written, that *Israel serued the Lord all the dayes of* Ioshua, *and all the daies of the Elders that ouer-liued* Ioshua:so as to these times of the Elders, *Codoman* giueth 20. yeeres,which make as before 450.according to S.*Paul*. Neither would it breed any great difficultie in this opinion,if heere also the 20.yeers of the *Seniors* between *Iosua* and *Othoniel*,should be denied. For they which denie these yeeres, and make *Othoniels* 40.to begin presently vpon the death of *Iosua*,as in the beginning of this reckoning,they haue 20.yeeres lesse than *Codoman*,so toward the end of it(when they reckon the yeeres of affliction apart from the yeeres of the *Iudges*) in the number of *Sampsons* yeeres, and of the 40.yeeres of the *Philistims* oppressing the *Israelites*,they haue 20.yeeres more than *Codoman*.For they reckon these 40. yeeres of oppression all of them a-part from *Sampsons* 20.but *Codoman*, as is said,makes *Sampsons* 20.to be the one halfe of the 40.of the *Philistims* oppressions;so that if the 20.yeers of the *Seniors*,be not allowed to *Codoman*,then he may reckon(as the letter of the Text seemes to inforce)that the *Philistims* in any *Inter-regnum*,before *Sampson* iudged Israel,vexed the Israelites 40.yeers besides the 20.while *Sampson* was their *Iudge*; & so the reckoning will come to 450.yeers between the end of *Iosua*, and the beginning of *Samuel*, though we admit not of an *Inter-regnum* of the *Seniors* betweene *Iosua* and *Othoniel*: For, if the times of their affliction be summed,they make 111.yeeres,to which if we adde the yeeres of the *Iudges*,which are 339.wee haue the iust summe of 450. And this computation either one way or other, may seeme to be much more probable, than theirs that correct the Text,although we should admit of their correction thereof,& read with them 350. for 450.For whereas they conceiue that this time of 350.yeers,is to begin immediately,or soone after the death of *Moses*: certainly the place of S.*Paul* doth euidently teach the contrary,though it be receiued for true that there was *vitium scriptoris* in the rest. For these be Saint *Pauls* words: *And about the time of fortie yeeres,God suffered their manners in the wildernesse: And he destroyed seuen Nations in the Land of Canaan, and diuided their Land to them by lot. Then afterward hee gaue vnto them Iudges about* 450.*yeeres, vnto the time of* Samuel *the Prophet*.So as first in the eighteenth verse he speaketh of *Moses* and of his yeeres spent in the wildernesse,then in the nineteenth verse he commeth vnto the acts of *Iosua*; which were, that he destroyed seuen Nations in the land of *Canaan*, and diuided their Land to them by lot.In the twentieth verse it followeth, *then afterward hee gaue them Iudges about* 450.*yeeres,&c*. and therefore to reckon from the death of *Moses*,is wide of S. *Pauls* meaning,so farre as my weake vnderstanding can pierce it.The onely inconuenience of any waight in opinion of *Codoman* touching this place in the *Acts*,is,that it seemes irreconcileable with the account, 1.*Reg*.6.11. For if indeed there were spent 450.yeers between the end of *Iosua* and the beginning of *Samuel*,certainly there must needs be much more than 480.yeeres between the beginning of the Israelites iourneying from Egypt,& the foundation of the Temple by *Salomon*. To this difficultie

Iud.13.

Iud.15.11.

Iosi.14.1.

Codoman

Codoman answereth, that these 480.yeeres, 1 *Reg*.6.1. must begin to be reckoned,not in the beginning, but in the ending of their iourneying from Egypt,which he makes to be 25.yeeres after the beginning of *Othoniels* gouernment; from whence if wee cast the yeeres of the Iudges, with the yeeres of seruitude (which summes according to his account, of which we haue already spoken,make 397.yeeres)and so to these yeeres adde the 40.of *Samuel*, and *Saul*, and the 40.of *Dauid*, and the 3.of *Salomon*, wee shall haue the iust summe of 480. yeeres. Neither is it hard (saith hee) that the *annus egressionis*, 1 *Reg*.6.1. should be vnderstood *egressionis non incipientis sed finitæ*, the yeere of their comming out of Egypt (for so it is in the originall) or the yeere after they came out of Egypt, may well be vnderstood for the yeere after they were come out thence, that is, after they had ended their wandring from thence. For so wee finde that things which were done 40.yeeres after they had set foot out of Egypt,are said to haue been done in their going out of Egypt, as *Psal*.114. *When Israel came out of Egypt, Iordan was driuen backe*, & *Deut*.4.45.*These are the testimonies which* Moses *spake when they came out of Egypt*. And thus farre it seemes wee may very well agree with *Codoman*, for the interpretation of the *ab exitu*, to be as much as *quum exiuissent*, or *ab exitu finito*: for if *Iunius*, *Deut*.4.45.doe well reade *quum exiuissent*, for *in exitu*, as it seemes that herein hee doth well, why may not wee also, to auoid contradiction in the Scripture, expound *ab exitu* to be, *postquàm exiuissent*?

The next point to be cleered, is how their iourneying should be said not to haue had end vntill the 25.yeere after the victory of *Othoniel*. To this *Codoman* answereth, that then it had no end til when all the Tribes had obtained their portions,which happened not vntill this time:at which time the Danites at length seated themselues,as it is declared, *Iud*.18. For doubtlesse to this time the expedition may most conueniently be referred. And thus without any great inconuenience to him appearing,doth *Codoman* reconcile the account of *Iephta*,and S.*Paul*,with that in the first of *Kings*,*c*.6.Now whereas it is said that the expedition of the Danites was when there was no King in Israel:to this *Codoman* answereth,that it is not necessary that wee should suppose that *Othoniel* liued all those 40. yeeres of rest, of which *Iud*.3.11. so that by the 25.yeere after his victory,either hee might haue beene dead,or at least,as *Gideon* did, he might haue refused all soueraignty,and so either way it might truly be said that at this time (to wit,the 25. yeere after *Othoniels* victorie)there was no King in Israel.This opinion of *Codoman*, if it were as consonant to other Chronologers grounding their opinions on the plaine Text,where it is indisputable,as it is in it selfe round enough and coherent,might perhaps be receiued as good: especially considering,that the speeches of S.*Paul* haue not otherwise found any interpretation,maintaining them as absolutely true, in such manner as they sound,and are set downe. But seeing that he wanteth all helpe of authority, we may iustly suspect the supposition wherupon his opinion is grounded; it being such as the consent of many Authors would hardly suffice to make very probable. For who hath told *Codoman*, that the conquest of *Laish*, by the Tribe of *Dan*, was performed in the fiue and twentieth yeere of *Othoniel*? Or what other probabilitie hath hee than his owne coniecture, to shew that *Othoniel* did so renounce the office of a Iudge after fiue and twenty yeeres,that it might then be truely said there was no King in Israel,but euery man did that which was good in his owne eyes?

Iud.18.1.

Now concerning the rehearsall of the Law by *Moses*, and the stopping of *Iordan*, they might indeed be properly said to haue beene, when Israel came out of Egypt; like as we say that King *Edward* the first was crowned when hee came out of the holy Land, for so all iournies with their accidents commonly take name from the place either whence or whither they tend. But I thinke that hee can finde no such phrase of speech in Scripture as limitteth a iournie by an accident,or saith by conuerting the proposition,when Iordan was turning back,Israel came out of Egypt.Indeed most vnproper it were to giue date vnto actions cõmenced long after, from an expedition finished long before,namely to say,that King *Edward* at his arriuall out of Palæstina,did winne Scotland,or died at Carlile. How may we then beleeue that enterprize performed so many yeeres after the diuision of the Land (which followed the conquest at the iourneys end)should be said to haue been at the time of the departure out of Egypt? Or who will not think it most strange,that the most notable account of time,seruing as the onely guide for certaine ages in sacred Chronologie,should not take name and beginning

from

from that illustrious deliuerance out of Egypt, rehearsed often by God himself among the principall of his benefits to Israel, wherof the very day and moneth are recorded in Scripture (as likewise are the yeere and moneth wherein it expired) & the forme of the yeere vpon that occasion changed; but should haue reference to the surprizing of a Town by sixe hundred men, that robbed a Chappell by the way, and stole from thence Idols to be their guides, as not going to worke in Gods name? For this accident wherupon *Codoman* buildeth, hath either no time giuen to it, or a time far different from that which he supposeth, and is indeed rather by him placed in such a yeere, because it best stood with his interpretation so to haue it, than for any certainety or likelihood of the thing it selfe.

Wherefore we may best agree with such as affirme that the Apostle S. *Paul* did not herein labour to set downe the course of time exactly (a thing no way concerning his purpose) but onely to shew that God, who had chosen Israel to be his people, deliuered them out of bondage, and ruled them by *Iudges* and *Prophets*, vnto the time of *Saul*, did raise vp out *Lord Iesus Christ* out of the seede of *Dauid* the King, in whose succession the Crowne was established, and promise made of a Kingdome that should haue no end. Now in rehearsing briefly thus much which tended as a Preface to the declaration following (wherin hee sheweth Christ to haue bin the true *Messias*) the Apostle was so farre from labouring to make an exact calculation of times (the History being so well knowne & beleeued of the Iewes to whom he preached) that he spake as it were at large of the 40. yeeres consumed in the wildernesse, whereof no man doubted, saying, that God suffered their manners in the wildernesse about 40. yeeres. In like manner he proceeded, saying, that from the diuision of the Land vnto the daies of *Samuel* the Prophet, in whose time they required to haue a King, there passed about 450. yeeres. Neither did he stand to tell them, that an hundred and eleuen yeeres of bondage mentioned in this middle while, were by exact computation to be included within the 339. yeeres of the *Iudges*: for this had beene an impertinent digression from the argument which hee had in hand. Wherefore it is not a worke so needfull as laborious, to search out of this place that which the Apostle did not heere intend to teach, when the summe of 480. yeeres is so expresly and purposely set downe.

Now that the words of S. *Paul* (if there be no fault in the Copie through errour of some Scribe) are not so curiously to be examined in matter of *Chronologie*, but must be taken, as hauing reference to the memory & apprehension of the vulgar, it is euident by his ascribing in the same place 40. yeers to the reigne of *Saul*: wheras it is manifest that Act. 13. those yeeres were diuided between *Saul* and *Samuel*, yea, that farre the greater part of them were spent vnder the gouernment of the Prophet, howsoeuer they are here included in the raigne of the King. As for those that with so much cunning forsake the generall opinion, when it fauoureth not such exposition as they bring out of a good minde, to helpe where the need is not ouer-great; I had rather commend their diligence, than follow their example. The words of S. *Paul* were sufficiently iustified by *Beroaldus*, as hauing reference to a common opinion among the Scribes in those dayes, that the 111. yeers of seruitude were to be reckoned apart from the 339. yeers ascribed to the *Iudges*; which account the Apostle would not in this place stand to contradict, but rather chose to speake as the vulgar, qualifying it with a *quasi*, where he saith, *quasi quadringentis & quinquaginta annis*; *As it were foure hundred and fifty yeeres*. But *Codoman* being not thus contented, would needs haue it be so indeed, and therfore dis-ioynes the members 1 King. 6 to make the account euen. In so doing he dasheth himselfe against a notable Text, whereupon all Authors haue builded (as well they might and ought) that purposely and precisely doth cast vp the yeeres from the departure out of Egypt, vnto the building of *Salomons* Temple, not omitting the very Moneth it selfe.

Now (as commonly the first apprehensions are strongest) hauing already giuen faith to his owne interpretation of Saint *Paul*, he thinketh it more needfull to find some new exposition for that which is of it selfe most plaine, and to examine his owne coniecture vpon a place that is full of controuersie. Thus by expounding, after a strange methode, that which is manifest by that which is obscure, he loseth himself in those waies wherin before him neuer man walked. Surely if one should vrge him to giue reason of these new opinions, he must needs answer, That *Othoniel* could not gouerne aboue 25. yeers, because then was the taking of *Laish*, *at which time there was no King in Israel*; That the *Danites*

Danites must needs haue taken *Laish* at that time, because else we could not reckon backwards from the foundation of the Temple to any action that might bee termed the comming of Israel out of Egypt, without excluding the yeeres of seruitude; And that the yeeres of seruitude must needs be included, for that otherwise hee himselfe should haue spent his time vainely, in seeking to pleasure S. *Paul* with an exposition. Whether this ground be strong enough to vphold a Paradoxe, I leaue it to the decision of the iudicious Reader.

And now to proceed in our storie. To the time of *Iephta* are referred the death of *Hercules*, the rape of *Helen* by Paris, and the prouisions which her husband *Menelaus*, reigning then in Sparta, and his brother *Agamemnon* King of Mycenæ, made for her recouerie. Others refer this rape of *Helen* to the fourth yeere of *Ibzan*: from which time, if the warre of Troy (as they suppose) did not begin till the third of *Ailon* or *Elon*, yet the Greeks had sixe yeeres to prepare themselues: the rule holding not true in this War, *longa præparatio belli celerem affert victoriam*; *That a long preparation begets a speedy victorie*: for the Greekes consumed tenne yeeres in the attempt: and Troy, as it seemes, was entred, sackt and burnt in the third yeere of *Habdon*.

Three yeeres after Troy taken, which was in the sixt yeere of *Habdon*, *Æneas* arriued in Italie. *Habdon* in the eighth yeere of his rule, died, after hee had beene the Father of 40. sonnes and 30. grand-children. And whereas it is supposed, that the 40. yeeres of Israels oppression by the Philistims (of which *Iud.* 13. *v.* 1.) tooke beginning from the ninth yeere of *Iair*, and ended with the last of *Habdon*: I see no reason for that opinion. For *Ephraim* had had little cause of quarrell against *Iephta*, for not calling them to War ouer Iordan, if the Philistims had held them in seruitude in their own Territories: and if *Ephraim* could haue brought 42000. armed men into the field, it is not likely that they were then oppreſt: and had it beene true that they were, who will doubt but that they would rather haue fought against the Philistims with so powerfull an Armie for their owne deliuerance, than against their owne brethren the Israelites? But *Ammon* being ouerthrowne, it seemed at that time, that they feared no other enemie. And therefore these 40. yeeres must either bee supplied elsewhere, as in the time of *Sampson*, and afterward: or else they must be referred to the *inter-regnum* betweene the death of *Habdon*, and the deliuerance of Israel by *Sampson*, such as it was.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of the Warre of Troy.

§. I.

Of the Genealogie of the Kings of Troy, with a note touching the ancient Poets how they haue obserued Historicall truth.

THE Warre at Troy with other stories hereupon depending (because the ruine of this Citie, by most *Chronologers* is found in the time of *Habdon*, *Iudge of Israel*, whom in the last place I haue mentioned) I rather choose here to intreat of in one entire narration, beginning with the lineall descent of their Princes, than to break the story into pieces by rehearsing a-part in diuers yeeres, the diuersity of occurrents.

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Creta Iouis *magni medio iacet insula Ponto:*
Mons Idæus vbi, & gentis cunabula nostræ.

 Centum

Centum Vrbes habitant magnas, vberrima regna:
Maximus vnde Pater (si rite audita recordor)
Teucrus *Rhœteas primùm est aduectus ad oras:*
Optauitque locum regno. Nondum Ilium & arces
Pergameæ steterant: habitabant vallibus imis.
Hinc Mater cultrix Cybele, Corybantiaque æra,
Idæumque nemus.

In the maine Sea the Ile of Creete doth lie:
Whence *Ioue* was borne, thence is our progenie.
There is mount Ida: there in fruitfull Land
An hundreth great and goodly Cities stand.
Thence (if I follow not mistaken fame)
Teucer the eldest of our grand-sires came
To the Rhœtean shores: and reigned there
Ere yet faire Ilion was built, and ere
The Towers of Troy: their dwelling place they sought
In lowest vales. Hence *Cybels* rites were bought:
Hence *Corybantian Cymbals* did remoue:
And hence the name of our *Idæan* groue.

Thus it seemeth by *Virgil*, who followed surely good authority, that *Teucer* first gaue name to that Countrey, wherein he reigned ere Troy was built by *Dardanus*: of which *Dardanus* in the same booke he speakes thus:

Est locus, Hesperiam Græii cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis atque vbere glebæ,
OEnotrii coluere viri; nunc fama minores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine gentem.
Hæ nobis propriæ sedes: hinc Dardanus *ortus:*
Iasiusque Pater, genus à quo principe nostrum.

Hesperia the *Græcians* call the place:
An ancient fruitfull Land, a warlike race,
OEnotrians held it; now the later progenie
Giues it their Captaines name, and calls it *Italie*;
This seate belongs to vs, hence *Dardanus*,
Hence came the Author of our stock, *Iasius*.

Also *Aeneid.l.7*

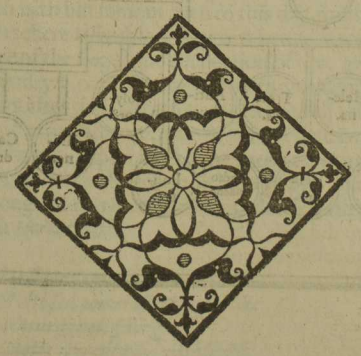
Atque equidem memini (fama est obscurior annis)
Auruncos ita ferre senes, hic ortus vt agris
Dardanus *Idæas Phrygiæ penetrauit ad vrbes,*
Threiciamque Samum, quæ nunc Samothracia fertur.
Hinc illum Coryti Tyrrhena ab sede profectum,
Aurea nunc solio stellantis regia cœli
Accipit, &c.

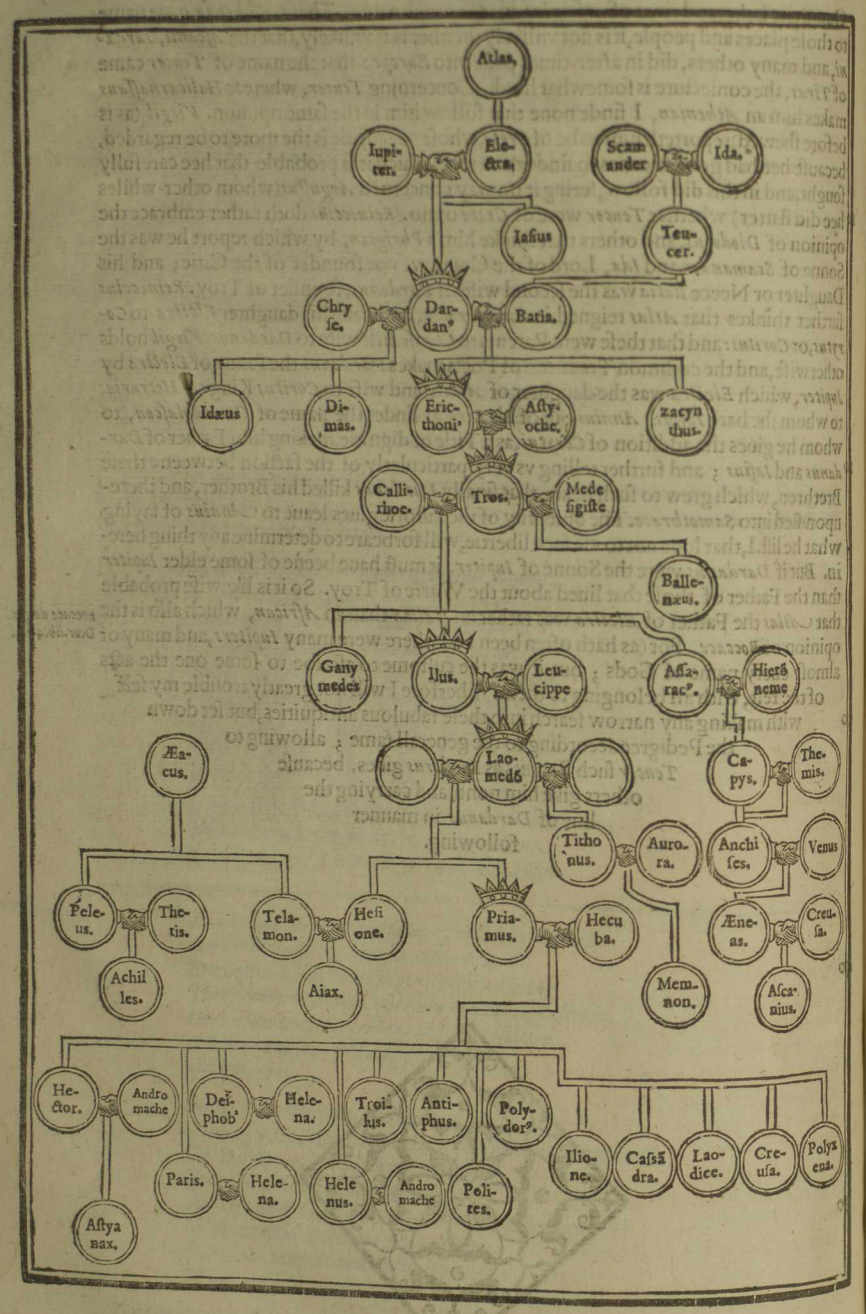
Some old *Aruncans*, I remember well,
(Though time haue made the fame obscure) would tell
Of *Dardanus*, how borne in *Italie*:
From hence he into *Phrygia* did flie.
And leauing *Tuscaine* (where he earst had place)
With *Corytus* did saile to *Samothrace*;
But now inthronized he sits on high,
In golden Palace of the starrie skie.

But contrary to this, and so many Authors, approuing and confirming it, *Reineccius* thinkes that these names, *Troes*, *Teucri*, and *Thraces*, are deriued from *Tiras* or *Thiras* the son of *Iaphet*: and that the *Dardanians*, *Mysians*, & *Ascanians*, mixt with the *Troians*, were

were *Germane* Nations, descended from *Ashkenaz*, the sonne of *Gomer*: of whom the Countrie, Lake, and riuer of *Ascanius* in *Asia* tooke name. That *Ashkenaz* gaue name to those places and people, it is not vnlikely: neither is it vnlikely, that the *Ascanii*, *Dardani*, and many others, did in after-times passe into *Europe*: that the name of *Teucer* came of *Tiras*, the coniecture is somewhat hard. Concerning *Teucer*, whereas *Halicarnassæus* makes him an *Athenian*, I finde none that follow him in the same opinion. *Virgil* (as is before shewed) reporteth him to be of *Crete*, whose authoritie is the more to be regarded, because hee had good meanes to finde the truth, which it is probable that hee carefully sought, and in this did follow, seeing it no way concerned *Augustus* (whom other-whiles hee did flatter) whether *Teucer* were of *Crete* or no. *Reineccius* doth rather embrace the opinion of *Diodorus*, and others that thinke him a *Phrigian*, by which report he was the Sonne of *Scamander* and *Ida*, Lord of the Country, not founder of the Citie; and his Daughter or Neece *Batia* was the second wife of *Dardanus*, founder of Troy. *Reineccius* further thinkes that *Atlas* reigned in *Samothracia*, and gaue his daughter *Electra* to *Corytus*, or *Coritus*: and that these were Parents to *Chryse*, first wife to *Dardanus*. *Virgil* holds otherwise, and the common Tradition of Poets makes *Dardanus* the sonne of *Electra* by *Iupiter*, which *Electra* was the daughter of *Atlas*, and wife to *Coritus* King of *Hetruria*; to whom she bare *Iasius*. *Annius* out of his *Berosus* findes the name of *Camboblascon*, to whom he giues the addition of *Corytus*, as a Title of dignitie, making him Father of *Dardanus* and *Iasius*; and further telling vs very particularly of the faction betweene these Brethren, which grew to such heate, that finally *Dardanus* killed his Brother, and thereupon fled into *Samothrace*. The obscurity of the historie giues leaue to *Annius* of saying what he list. I, that loue not to vse such libertie, will forbeare to determine any thing herein. But if *Dardanus* were the Sonne of *Iupiter*, it must haue beene of some elder *Iupiter* than the Father of those that liued about the Warre of Troy. So it is likewise probable that *Atlas* the Father of *Electra* was rather an *Italian* than an *African*, which also is the opinion of *Boccace*. For (as hath often been said) there were many *Iupiters*, and many of almost euery name of Gods; but it was the custome to ascribe to some one the acts of the rest, with all belonging to them. Therfore I will not greatly trouble my self with making any narrow search into these fabulous antiquities, but set down the Pedigree according to the generall fame; allowing to *Teucer* such Parents as *Diodorus* giues, because others giue him none, and carrying the line of *Dardanus* in manner following.

Boccace de gen. Deor. lib. 4. c. 3.





Concerning the beginning and continuance, the Troian Kingdome, with the length of euery Kings reigne, I haue chosen good Authors to be my guides, that in a Historie, whereon depends the most ancient computation of times among the Greekes, I might not follow incertainties; ill cohering with the consent of Writers, and generall passage of things elsewhere done. And first for the destruction of Troy, which was of greater note than any accident befalling that Citie whilest it stood, it is reckoned by *Diodorus* to be 780. yeeres more ancient than the beginning of the nintie fourth *Olympiad*. Whereas therefore 372. did passe between the beginning of the *Olympiads* and the first yeere of the 94. it is manifest that the remainder of 780. yeeres, that is, 408. yeeres went betweene the destruction of Troy, and the first institution of those games by *Iphitus*, if the authoritie of *Diodorus* be good proofe, who elsewhere tels vs; that the returne of the *Heraclidæ*, which was 80. yeeres after the fall of Troy, was 328. yeeres before the first *Olympiad*. *Diod.l.14.* *Diod.in Pref.*

Hereunto agrees the authoritie of *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*, who placing the foundation of *Rome* in the first of the seuenth *Olympiad*, that is, foure and twentie yeeres after the beginning of those games, accounts it 432. later than the fall of Troy. *Solinus* in expresse words, makes the institution of the *Olympiads* by *Iphitus*, whom he calleth *Iphiclus*, 480. yeeres later than the destruction of Troy. The summe is easily collected by necessarie inference out of diuers other places in the same booke. Hereunto doth *Eusebius* reckoning exclusiuely agree: and *Eratosthenes*, (as he is cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*) makes vp out of many particulars, the same totall summe, wanting but one yeere, as reckoning likewise exclusiuely. *Dionys.Halic. Antiq.l.2.* *Solin.Polihist. c.2.* *Euseb.de rap. Euang.l.10.c.3.* *Cle.Alex.Strom. lib.1.*

The other collections of diuers Writers that are cited by *Clemens* in the same place, doe neither cohere any way, not depend vpon any collaterall Historie, by which they may be verified.

The destruction of Troy being in the yeere before the *Olympiads* foure hundred and eight: we must seeke the continuance of that from the beginning to the end, out of *Eusebius*, who leades vs from *Derdanus* on-wards through the reignes of foure Kings, by the space of two hundred and fiue and twenty yeers, and after of *Priamus*, with whom also at length it ended. As for the time which passed vnder *Laomedon*, we are faine to doe, as others haue done before vs, and take it vpon trust from *Annius* his Authors; beleeuing *Manetho* so much the rather, for that in his accompt of the former kings reignes & of *Priamus*, he is found to agree with *Eusebius*, which may giue vs leaue to thinke that *Annius* hath not herein corrupted him. But in this point we neede not to be very scrupulous: for seeing that no Historie or accompt of time depends vpon the reigne of the former Kings, but onely vpon the ruine of the Citie vnder *Priamus*, it may suffice that we are carefull to place that memorable accident in the due yeere.

True it is, that some obiections appearing waightie, may be alleaged in maintenance of different computations, which with the answeres I purposely omit, as not willing to dispute of those yeeres, wherein the Greekes knew no good forme of a yeere; but rather to make narration of the actions which were memorable, and acknowledged by all Writers, whereof this destruction of Troy was one of the most renowned.

The first enterprise that was vndertaken by generall consent of all Greece, was the last warre of Troy, which hath bin famous euen to this day, for the numbers of Princes, and valiant Commanders there assembled: the great battailes fought with variable successe: the long indurance of the siege; the destruction of that great Citie; and the many *Colonies* planted in sundry Countries, as well by the remainder of the Troians, as by the victorious Greekes after their vnfortunate returne. All which things with innumerable circumstances of especiall note, haue beene deliuered vnto posteritie, by the excellent wits of many writers, especially by the *Poems* of that great *Homer*, whose verses haue giuen immortalitie to the action, which might else perhaps haue beene buried in obliuion, among other worthy deedes, done both before and since that time. For it is true which *Horace* saith;

Vixêre fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi sed omnes illachrimabiles
Vrgentur, ignotiq, longa
Nocte: carent quia vate sacro.

Many

Many by valour haue deseru'd renowne
Ere *Agamemnon*: yet lie all oppreſt
Vnder long night, vnwept for, and vnknowne:
For with no ſacred Poet were they bleſt.

Yet ſo it is, that whileſt theſe writetrs haue with ſtrange fables, or (to ſpeake the beſt of them) with Allegories farre ſtrained, gone about to enlarge the commendations of thoſe noble vndertakers: they haue both drawne into ſuſpition that great vertue which they ſought to adorne, & filled after-ages with almoſt as much ignorance of the Hiſtorie, as admiration of the perſons. Wherefore it is expedient that we ſeeke for the know- 10 ledge of ſuch actions, in Hiſtories; learning their qualities who did manage them, of Poets, in whoſe workes are both profit and delight: yet ſmall profit to thoſe which are delighted otherwiſe; but ſuch as can interpret their fables, or ſeparate them from the naked truth, ſhall finde matter in *Poems*, not vnworthy to be regarded of Hiſtorians. For thoſe things excepted which are gathered out of *Homer*, there is very little, and not without much diſagreement of Authors, written of this great war. All writers conſent with *Homer*, that the rape of *Helen* by *Paris* the ſon of *Priamus*, was the cauſe of taking arms: but how he was hereunto emboldned, it is doubtfull.

§. II.

Of the Rape of Helen: *and ſtrength of both ſides for the warre.*

Herodotus fetcheth the cauſe of this rape from very farre; ſaying, That whereas the Phœnicians had rauiſhed *Io*, and carried her into Egypt, the Greekes to be reuenged on the Barbarians, did firſt rauiſh *Europa*, whom they brought out of *Phœnicia* into Creta, and afterward *Medæa*, whom they fetcht from *Colchos*, denying to reſtore her to her father, till ſuch time as they might be ſatisfied for the rape of *Io*. By theſe deedes of the Greekes, *Paris* (as the ſame *Herodotus* affirmes) was emboldened to doe the like; not fearing ſuch reuenge as enſued. But all this narration ſeemes friuolous. For what had the King of *Colchos* to doe with the iniurie of the Phœnicians? Or how could the Greekes, as in reuenge of *Io*, pleade any quarrell againſt him, that neuer had heard the name of Phœnicians? *Thucydides* a writer of vnqueſtionable ſinceritie, maketh it plain, that the name of Barbarians was not vſed at all in *Homers* time, which was long after the warre of Troy; and that the Greeks themſelues were not then called all by one name, *Hellenes*, as afterwards. So that it were vnreaſonable to thinke, that they ſhould haue ſought reuenge vpon all Nations, as barbarous, for the iniurie receiued by one: or that all people elſe ſhould haue eſteemed of the Greeks, as of a people oppoſed to all the world; and that euen then when as the Greekes had not yet one common name among themſelues. Others with more probabilitie ſay, that the rape of *Helen* was to procure the redeliuery of *Heſione*, King *Priamus* his ſiſter, taken formerly by *Hercules*, and giuen to *Telamon*. This may haue beene true. For *Telamon* (as it ſeemes) was a cruell man, ſeeing his owne ſonne *Teucer* durſt not come in his ſight, after the warre of *Troy*, but fled into Cyprus, onely becauſe his brother *Aiax* (which *Teucer* could not remedie) had ſlaine himſelfe. Yet, were it ſo, that *Heſione* was ill intreated by *Telamon*, it was not therefore likely, that *Priamus* her brother would ſeeke to take her from her husband, with whom ſhe had liued about thirtie yeeres, and to whom ſhee had borne children which were to ſucceed in his Dominion. Whereupon I thinke that *Paris* had no regard either to the rape of *Europa*, *Medæa*, or *Heſione*: but was meerely incited by *Venus*, that is, by his luſt, to doe that which in thoſe dayes was very common. For not onely Greeks from Barbarians, and Barbarians from Greeksas, *Herodotus* diſcourſeth; but all people were accuſtomed to ſteale women and cattell, if they could by ſtrong hand or power get them; and hauing ſtollen them, either to ſell them away in ſome farre Countrie, or keepe them to their owne vſe. So did *Theſeus*, and *Pirythous* attempt *Proſerpina*; and ſo did *Theſeus* (long before *Paris*) rauiſh *Helen*. And theſe practices, as it appeares in *Thucydides*, were ſo common, that none durſt inhabite neere vnto the Sea, for feare of pyracie, which was accounted a trade of life no leſſe lawfull than merchandiſe: wherefore *Tyndareus* the father of *Helen*, conſidering the beauty of his daughter, and the rape which *Theſeus* had made, cauſed all her wooers, who were moſt of the principall men in

in Greece, to binde themſelues by ſolemne oath, that if ſhe were taken from her husband, they ſhould with all their might helpe to recouer her. This done, he gaue free choyce of a husband to his daughter, who choſe *Menelaus*, brother to *Agamemnon*. So the cauſe which drew the Greekes vnto Troy in reuenge of *Helens* rape, was partly the oath which ſo many Princes had made vnto her father *Tyndareus*. Hereunto the great power of *Agamemnon* was not a little helping; for *Agamemnon*, beſides his great Dominions in Peloponneſus, was Lord of many Ilands: he was alſo rich in money, and therefore the Arcadians were well contented to follow his pay, whom hee embarked for Troy in his owne ſhips, which were more than any other of the Greeke Princes brought to that expedition.

10 Thus did all Greece, either as bound by oath, or led by reputation and power of the two brethren, *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*; or deſirous to partake of the profit and honour in that great enterpriſe; take armes againſt the Troians. The Greekes Fleet was (by *Homers* account) 1200. ſayle, or thereabouts: but the veſſels were not great: for it was not then the manner to build ſhips with deckes; onely they vſed (as *Thucidides* ſaith) ſmall ſhips, meet for robbing on the Sea; the leaſt of which carried fiftie men, the greateſt 120. euery man (except the Captaines) being both a Marriner and a Souldier. By this proportion it appeares that the Grecian army conſiſted of 100000 men, or thereabout. This was the greateſt armie that euer was raiſed out of Greece: and the greatneſſe of this armie doth well declare the ſtrength and power of Troy, 20 which ten whole yeers did ſtand out againſt ſuch forces: yet were the Troians which inhabited the Citie, not the tenth part of this number, as *Agamemnon* ſaid in the ſecond of *Homers Ileads*; but their followers and aydes were very many and ſtrong. For all Phrygia, Lycia, Miſia, and the greateſt part of Aſia the leſſe, tooke part with the Troians. The Amazons alſo brought them ſuccour. And *Rheſus* out of Thrace, and *Memnon* out of Aſſyria (though ſome thinke, out of Æthiopia) came to their defence.

§. III.

Of the Grecians iourney, and Embaſſage to Troy, and of Helenaes *being detained in Egypt; and of the Sacrificing of Iphigenia.*

30 Wherefore the Greekes vnwilling to come to triall of armes, if things might be compounded by treaty, ſent *Menelaus* and *Vlyſſes* Embaſſadours to *Troy*; who demanded *Helen* & the goods were taken with her out of *Menelaus* his houſe. What anſwer the Troians made hereunto it is vncertaine. *Herodotus* from the report of the Egyptian Prieſts, makes it very probable, that *Helen* was taken from *Paris* before his returne to Troy. The ſumme of his diſcourſe is this.

Paris in his returne with *Helena*, being driuen by foule weather vnto the coaſt of Egypt, was accuſed for the rape of *Helen* by ſome bondmen of his, that had taken Sanctuary. *Proteus* then King of Egypt, finding the accuſation true by examination, de- 40 tained *Helen*, and the goods taken with her, till her husband ſhould require them: diſmiſsing *Paris* without further puniſhment, becauſe he was a ſtranger. When therfore the Greekes demanding *Helen* had anſwer, that ſhe was in Egypt, they thought themſelues deluded, and thereupon made the warre, which ended with the ruine of Troy. But when after the Citie taken, they perceiued indeed ſhe had not beene there, they returned home, ſending *Menelaus* to aske his wife of *Proteus*. *Homer* and the whole Nation of Poets (except *Euripides*) vary from this Hiſtorie, thinking it a matter more magnificent and more graceful to their Poems, for the retaining of a faire Lady, than that they endured all by force, becauſe it lay not in their power to redeliuer her. Yet in the fourth of his *Odyſſes*, *Homer* ſpeakes of *Menelaus* his being in Egypt, before he 50 returned home to *Sparta*; which voyage it were not eaſily beleeued, that he made for pleaſure: and if he were driuen thither by contrary windes, much more may wee thinke that *Paris* was likely to haue beene driuen thither by foule weather. For *Paris* immediately vpon the rape committed, was enforced to flye, taking ſuch windes as he could get, and rather enduring any ſtorme, than to commit himſelfe to any Hauen in the Greekes ſeas: whereas *Menelaus* might haue put into any Port in Greece, and there haue remained with good entertainement, vntill ſuch time as the winde had come about, and ſerued for his Nauigation.

One

One great argument *Herodotus* brings to confirme the saying of the *Egyptian* Priests, which is, that if *Helen* had beene at *Troy*, it had beene vtter madnesse for *Priamus* to see so many miseries befall him, during the warre, and so many of his sonnes slaine for the pleasure of one, who neither was heire to the Kingdome (for *Hector* was elder) nor equall in vertue to many of the rest. Besides, it may seeme that *Lucian* spake not more pleasantly than truely, when he said that *Helen*, at the war of *Troy*, was almost as old as Queene *Hecuba*, considering that she had been rauished by *Theseus* the companion of *Hercules*, who tooke *Troy* when *Priamus* was very young; and considering further, that she was sister to *Castor* and *Pollux* (she and *Pollux* being said by some to haue beene twins) who sailed with the *Argonautes*, hauing *Telamon* the father of *Aiax* in their company before the time that *Hesione* was taken; on whom *Telamon* begat *Aiax*, that was a principall Commander in the *Troian* warre. But whether it were so that the *Troians* could not, or would not restore *Helen*, so it was that the Embassadours returned ill contented, and not very well intreated; for there wanted not some that aduised to haue them slaine. The Greekes hereupon incensed, made all haste towards *Troy*: at which time *Calchas* (whom some say to haue bin a runnagate *Troian*, though no such thing be found in *Homer*) filled the Captaines & all the Hoaste with many troublesome answers & diuinations. For he would haue *Agamemnons* daughter sacrificed to appease *Diana*, whose anger, he said, withstood their passage. Whether the young Lady were sacrificed, or whether (as some write) the *goddesse* was contented with a Hinde, it is not needfull here to be disputed of. Sure it is, that the malice of the diuell, which awaits for all opportunities, is neuer more importunate, than where mens ignorance is most. *Calchas* also told the Greekes, that the taking of *Troy* was impossible, till some fatall impediments were remoued: and that till ten yeeres were past, the towne should hold out against them. All which notwithstanding, the Greeks proceeded in their enterprise, vnder the command of *Agamemnon*, who was accompanied with his brother *Menelaus*; *Achilles* the most valiant of all the Greekes, his friend *Patroclus*, and his Tutor *Phœnix*; *Aiax* and *Teucer*, the sons of *Telamon*; *Idomeneus*, and his companion *Meriones*; *Nestor*, and his sonnes *Antilochus*, and *Thrasymedes*; *Vlysses*; *Mnestheus* the sonne of *Petreus*, Captaine of the *Athenians*: *Diomedes* the son of *Tydeus*, a man of singular courage; the wise and learned *Palamedes*, *Ascalaphus*, and *Ialmenus*, the sons of *Mars*, who had sailed with the *Argonautes*; *Philoctetes* also the sonne of *Pæan*, who had the arrowes of *Hercules*, without which *Calchas* said, that the Citie could not be taken; *Aiax* the sonne of *Oileus*, *Peneleus*, *Thoas*, *Eumelus*, *Tysandrus*, *Euripilus*, *Athamas*, *Sthenelus*, *Tlepolemus* the son of *Hercules*; *Podalyrius*, and *Machon*, the sonnes of *Æsculapius*: *Epeus*, who is said to haue made the wooden horse, by which the towne was taken; and *Protesilaus*, who first leapt on shore, neglecting the *Oracle* that threatned death to him that landed first.

§. IV.

Of the Acts of the Græcians at the siege.

THese, and many other of lesse note, arriuing at *Troy*, found such sharpe entertainment, as might easily perswade them to thinke that the warre would be more than one yeeres worke. For in the first encounter, they lost *Protesilaus*, whom *Hector* slew, & many other, without any great harme done to the *Troians*: saue only that by their numbers of men, they won ground enough to incampe themselues in, as appeareth in *Thucydides*. The principall impediment which the Greekes found, was want of victuals, which grew vpon them by reason of their multitude, and the smalnesse of their vessels, wherin they could not carry necessaries for such an armie. Hereupon they were compelled to send some part of their men, to labour the ground in *Cherronesse*: others to rob vpon the Sea for the reliefe of the Campe. Thus was the war protracted nine whole yeeres, & either nothing done, or if any skirmishes were, yet could the towne receiue little losse by them, hauing equall numbers to maintaine the field against such Greekes as continued the siege, and a more safe retrait if the enemie got the better.

Wherfore *Ouid* saith, That from the first yeere, til the tenth, there was no fighting at all: & *Heraclide* commends as very credible, the report of *Herodicus*; That the Greeks did not lye before *Troy* the first nine yeeres: but onely did beare vp & down the seas exercis-

exercising their men, and inriching themselues; and so by wasting the enemies Countrie did blocke vp the towne, vnto which they returned not, vntill the fatall time drew neere when it should be subuerted.

This is confirmed by the enquirie which *Priamus* made; when the Greeke Princes came into the field, the tenth yeere, for he knew none of them; and therefore sitting vpon an high tower (as *Homer* tels) hee learned their names of *Helen*: which though it is like to be a fiction, yet could it not at all haue been supposed that hee should bee ignorant of them, if they had shewed themselues before the towne so many yeeres together. Betweene these relations of *Thucydides* and *Herodicus*, the difference is not much; the one saying, that a few of the Greeks remained in the Camp before *Troy*, whilest the rest made purueyance by land and by sea: the other, that the whole armie did spend the time in wasting the sea-coasts. Neither doe the Poets greatly disagree from these authors: for they make report of many townes and Ilands wasted, and the people carried into Captiuitie; in which actions *Achilles* was imployed, whom the armie could not well, not would haue spared, if any seruice of importance had beene to bee performed before the Citie. Howsoeuer it was, this is agreed by generall consent, that in the beginning of that Summer, in which Troy was taken, great booties were brought into the Campe, and a great pestilence arose among the Greeks: which *Homer* saith, that *Apollo* sent in reuenge of his Priests daughter, whom *Agamemnon* had refused to let goe, for any ransome: but *Heraclides* interpreting the place, saith, that by *Apollo* was meant the Sunne, who raysed pestilent Fogs, by which the armie was infected, beeing lodged in a moorish piece of ground. And it might well bee that the campe was ouer-pestered with those, who had been abroad, and now were lodged all close together: hauing also grounded their ships within the fortifications.

Hom. Iliad. 3.

About the same time arose much contention betweene *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* about the bootie, whereof *Agamemnon*, as Generall, hauing first chosen for his part a captiue woman, and *Achilles* in the second place chosen for himselfe another, then *Aiax*, *Vlysses*, and so the rest of the chiefe Captaines in order: When the Soothsayer *Calchas* had willed that *Agamemnons* woman should be restored to her father *Apollo's* Priest, that so the Pestilence might cease, then did *Agamemnon* greatly rage, and say, that hee alone would not lose his part of the spoyle, but would either take that which had beene giuen to *Achilles*, or that which had fallen to *Aiax*, or to *Vlysses*. Hereupon *Achilles* defied him, but was faine to suffer all patiently, as not able to hold his Concubine by strong hand, nor to reuenge her losse otherwise than by refusing to fight, or to send forth his Captaines. But the Greeks, incouraged by their Captaines, presented themselues before the Citie without him and his troupes.

The Troians were now relieued with great succours, all the neighbour Countries hauing sent them aide: partly drawne to that warre by their Commanders, who assisted *Priamus* for money, wherewith hee abounded when the warre began (as appeares by his words in *Homer*,) or for loue of himselfe and his sonnes, or hope of marriage with some of his many and faire daughters; partly also (as we may well ghesse) incited by the wrongs receiued of the Greekes, when they wasted the Countries adioyning vnto *Troy*. So that when *Hector* issued out of the towne, hee was little inferiour to his enemies in numbers of men, or qualitie of their Leaders. The principall Captaines in the Troian armie, were *Hector*, *Paris*, *Deiphobus*, *Helenus*, and the other sonnes of *Priamus*: *Æneas*, *Antenor*, and his sonnes, *Polydamas*, *Sarpedon*, *Glaucus*, *Asius*, and the sonnes of *Panthus*, besides *Rhesus*, who was slaine the first night of his arriuall; *Memnon*, Queene *Penthesilea*, and others who came towards the end of the warre. Betweene these and the Greeks were many battels fought: the greatest of which were, that at the tombe of King *Ilus* vpon the Plaine: and another at the very trenches of the Campe, wherein *Hector* brake through the fortifications of the Greeks, and began to fire their ships; at which time *Aiax*, the sonne of *Telamon* with his brother *Teucer*, were in a manner the onely men of note that remaining vnwounded, made head against *Hector*, when the state of the Greekes was almost desperate.

Another battell (for so antiquitie cals it) or rather the same renewed, was fought by *Patroclus*, who hauing obtained leaue, drew forth *Achilles* troopes, relieuing the weary Greekes with a fresh supply. *Agamemnon*, *Diomedes*, *Vlysses*, and the rest of the Princes, though sore wounded, yet were driuen to put on armour, and with helpe of *Patroclus*, repelled

repelled the Troians very hardly. For in that fight *Patroclus* was loſt, and his body, with much contention recouered by his friends, was brought backe into the Campe: the armour of *Achilles* which he had put on, being torne from him by *Hector*. It was the manner of thoſe warres, hauing ſlaine a man, to ſtrip him and hale away his body, not reſtoring it without ranſome, if hee were one of marke. Of the vulgar, little reckoning was made: for they fought all on foot, ſlightly armed, and commonly followed the ſucceſſe of their Captaines; who rode not vpon horſes, but in Chariots, drawne by two or three horſes, which were guided by ſome truſtie followers of theirs, which draue vp and downe the field, as they were directed by the Captaines, who by the ſwiftneſſe of their horſes preſenting themſelues where neede required, threw firſt their Iauelins, and then alighting, fought on foot, with ſwords and battel-axes, retiring into the rankes of footmen, or elſe returning to their Chariots when they found cauſe, and ſo began againe with a new dart as they could get it, if their old were loſt, or broken. Their armes defenſiue were helmets, breſt-plates, bootes of braſſe, or other metall, and ſhields commonly of leather plated ouer. The offenſiue were ſwords and battel-axes at hand; and ſtones, arrowes or darts when they fought at any diſtance. The vſe of their Chariots (beſides the ſwiftneſſe) was to keepe them from wearineſſe, whereto the leaders were much ſubiect, becauſe of their armour, which the ſtrongeſt and ſtouteſt ware heauieſt: alſo that from them they might throw their Iauelins downewards, with the more violence. Of which weapon I find not that any carried more than one or two into the field: wherefore they were often driuen to returne to their tents for a new one when the old was gone. Likewiſe of armours they had little change or none; euery man (ſpeaking of the chiefe) carried his owne compleat, of which if any piece were loſt or broken, he was driuen to repaire it with the like, if he had any fitting, taken from ſome Captaine whom he had ſlaine, and ſtripped: or elſe to borrow of them that had by ſuch meanes gotten ſome to ſpare. Whereas therefore *Achilles* had loſt his armour which *Hector* (as is ſaid before) had taken from the body of *Patroclus*, he was faine to await the making of new, ere hee could enter the fight: whereof he became very deſirous, that he might reuenge the death of *Patroclus* his deare friend.

At this time *Agamemnon* reconciled himſelfe vnto *Achilles*, not onely reſtoring his concubine *Briſeis*, but giuing him very great gifts, and excuſing former matters as well as he might. In the next battell *Achilles* did ſo behaue himſelfe, that hee did not onely put the Troians to the worſt, but alſo ſlew the valiant *Hector*, whom (if *Homer* may heerein be beleeued) he chaced three times about the wals of Troy. But great queſtion may bee made of *Homers* truth in this narration. For it is not likely that *Hector* would ſtay alone without the Citie (as *Homer* doth report of him) when all the Troians, were fled into it: nor that he could leape ouer the riuers of Xanthus and Simois, as hee muſt haue done in that flight: nor that the Troians perceiuing *Hector* in ſuch an extremitie, would haue forborne to open ſome of their gates and let him in. But this is reported onely to grace *Achilles*, who hauing (by what meanes ſoeuer) ſlaine the noble *Hector*, did not onely carrie away his dead body, as the cuſtome then was, but boring holes in his feet, and thruſting leatherne thongs into them, tyed him to his Chariot, and dragging him ſhamefully about the field, ſelling the dead body to his father *Priamus* for a very great ranſome. But his cruelty and couetouſneſſe were not long vnreuenged; for he was ſhortly after ſlaine with an arrow by *Paris*, as *Homer* ſayes, in the Scæan Gate; or as others, in the Temple of *Apollo*, whither he came to haue married *Polyxena* the daughter of *Priamus*, with whom he was too farre in loue, hauing ſlaine ſo many of her brethren; and his body was ranſomed (as *Lycophron* ſaith) at the ſelfe-ſame rate that *Hectors* was by him ſold for. Not long after this, *Pentheſilea* Queene of the Amazons arriued at Troy; who after ſome proofe giuen of her valour, was ſlaine by *Pyrrhus* the ſonne of *Achilles*.

§. V.

Of the taking of Troy, the woodden Horſe, the Booke of Dares *and* Dyctis, *the Colonies of the reliques of Troy.*

FInally, after the death of many worthy perſons on each ſide, the Citie was taken by night, as all Writers agree: but whether by the treaſon of *Æneas* and *Antenor*; or by a woodden Horſe, as the Poets, and common fame (which

(which followed the Poets) haue deliuered, it is vncertaine. Some write that vpon one of the gates of Troy, called Scæa, was the image of a horſe, and that the Greekes entring by that gate, gaue occaſion to the report, that the Citie was taken by an artificiall horſe. It may well be that with ſome woodden engine, which they called an Horſe, they either did batter the wals, as the Romanes in after-times vſed to do with the Ramme: or ſcaled the wals vpon the ſudden, and ſo tooke the Citie. As for the hiding of men in the hollow body of a woodden horſe, it had been a deſperate aduenture, and ſeruing to no purpoſe. For either the Troians might haue perceiued the deceit, and ſlaine all thoſe Princes of Greece, that were incloſed in it (which alſo by ſuch as maintaine this report they are ſaid to haue thought vpon:) or they might haue left it a few dayes without the Citie (for it was vnlikely, that they ſhould the very firſt day both conclude vpon the bringing it into the towne, and breake downe their wals vpon the ſudden to doe it:) by which meanes they who were ſhut into it, muſt haue periſhed for hunger, if they had not by iſſuing forth vnſeaſonably diſcouered the inuention. Whereas further it is ſaid, that this horſe was ſo high and great, that it could not bee brought into the towne through any of the gates, and that therefore the Troians were faine to pull downe a part of their wall to make way for it, through which breach the Greekes did afterwards enter: it is heereby manifeſt, that the incloſing of ſo many principall men was altogether needleſſe, conſidering that without their helpe there was way ſufficient for the armie, ſo that the ſurpriſing of any gate by them was now to no purpoſe.

Iohn Baptiſta Gramay in his Hiſtorie of *Aſia*, diſcourſing of this warre, ſaith that the Greekes did both batter the wals with a woodden engine, and were alſo let into the Citie by *Antenor*, at the Scæan gate: the rownesmen ſleeping and drinking without feare or care, becauſe the fleete of the Greekes had hoiſted ſaile, and was gone the day before to the Ile of Tenedos, thereby to bring the Troians into ſecurity. That the City was betrayed, the books of *Dares* & *Dictys* muſt proue, which whether we now haue the ſame that were by them written, it may be ſuſpected; for ſurely they who haue made mention of theſe writers in ancient times, would not, as they did, haue followed the reports of *Homer* and others quite contradictorie in moſt points to theſe two authors, without once taking notice of the oppoſition, which they hauing ſerued in that warre made againſt the common report: had it not beene that either thoſe bookes were euen in thoſe times thought friuolous; or elſe contained no ſuch repugnancie to the other authors as now is found in them.

Alſo concerning the number of men ſlaine in this warre, which *Dares* and *Dyctis* ſay to haue beene aboue 600000. on the Troian ſide, and more than 800000. of the Greeks, it is a report meerely fabulous; for as much as the whole Fleete of the Greekes was reckoned by *Homer*, who extolled their armie and deedes as much as hee could, to be ſomewhat leſſe than 1200. ſaile, and the armie therein tranſported ouer the Greeke ſeas, not much aboue 100000. men, according to the rate formerly mentioned. But it is the common faſhion of men to extoll the deeds of their Ancients: for which cauſe both *Homer* magnified the Captaines of the *Greekes* that ſerued in the warre, and *Virgil* with others were as diligent in commending and extolling the Troians and their Citie, from which the Romanes deſcended. Yea, the Athenians long after in the warre which *Xerxes* the Perſian King made againſt all Greece, did not forbeare to vaunt of the great cunning which *Mneſteus* the ſon of *Peteus* had ſhewed, in marſhalling the Grecian army before Troy: wherupon, as if it had bin a matter of much conſequence, they were ſo proud, that they refuſed to yeeld vnto *Gelon* King of almoſt all Sicily, the Admiraltie of their Seas, notwithſtanding that hee promiſed to bring 200. good fighting ſhips, and 30000. men for their defence.

The like vanitie poſſeſſed many other Cities of Greece, and many Nations in theſe parts of the world, which haue ſtriuen to bring their deſcent from ſome of the Princes, that warred at Troy: all difficulties or vnlikelihoods in ſuch their Pedigree notwithſtanding. But thoſe Nations which indeede, or in moſt probabilitie came of the Troians, were the Albanes in Italy; and from them the Romans, brought into that Countrey by *Æneas*: the Venetians firſt ſeated in Padua, and the Country adioyning by *Antenor*: the Chaonians planted in Epirus by *Helenus*, the ſonne of King *Priamus*. To which *Hellanicus* addeth, that the poſteritie of *Hector* did reſemble ſuch of the Troians as were left, and reigned ouer them about Troy.

§. VI.

Of the distresses and dispersions of the Greekes returning from Troy.

CONcerning the Greekes, they tasted as much miserie as they had brought vpon the Troians. For *Thucydides* notes, that by reason of their long abode at the siege, they found many alterations when they returned: so that many were driuen by their borderers from their ancient seats: many were expelled their Countries by faction: some were slaine anon after their arriuall: others were debarred from the Soueraigntie among the people, by such as had stayed at home. The cause of all which may seeme to haue beene the dispersion of the Armie, which, weakened much by the calamities of that long warre, was of little force to repell iniuries, being diuided into so many pieces vnder seuerall Commanders, not very well agreeing. For (besides other quarrels arising vpon the diuision of the bootie, and the like occasions) at the time when they should haue set saile, *Agamemnon* and his brother fell out, the one being desirous to depart immediately, the other to stay and performe some sacrifices to *Minerua*. Hereupon they fell to hot words; halfe the fleet remaining with *Agamemnon*, the rest of them sailed to the Ile of Tenedos; where when they arriued, they could not agree among themselues; but some returned backe to *Agamemnon*; others were dispersed, each holding his owne course. But the whole fleet was sore vexed with tempests: for *Pallas* (as *Homer* saith) would not be perswaded in haste.

They who returned safe were *Nestor* and *Pyrrhus*, whom *Orestes* afterwards slew: also *Idomeneus* and *Philocletes*, who neuertheless, as *Virgil* tells, were driuen soone after to seeke new seats: *Idomeneus* among the Salentines, and *Philocletes* at Petilia in Italie. *Agamemnon* likewise returned home, but was forthwith slaine by his wife, and by the adulterer *Ægysthus*, who for a while after vsurped his Kingdome. *Menelaus* wandring long vpon the Seas, came into Egypt, either with *Helen*, or (as may rather seeme) to fetch her. *Vlysses*, after ten yeares, hauing lost all his company, got home in poore estate, with much adoe recouering the mastership of his own house. All the rest either perished by the way, or were driuen into exile, and faine to seeke out new habitations.

Aiax the sonne of *Oileus* was drowned; *Teucer* fled into Cyprus; *Diomedes* to King *Daunus*, who was Lord of the Iapyges in Apulia; some of the Locrians were driuen into Africke, others into Italie, all the East part whereof was called *Magna Græcia*, by reason of so many Townes which the Greekes were driuen to erect vpon that coast. Finally, it appeares in *Homer*, that the Græcian Ladyes, whose husbands had beene at the warre of Troy, were wont to call it, The place where the Greekes suffered miserie, and the vnluckie Citie not to be mentioned. And thus much for Troy, and those that warred there: the ouerthrow of which Citie, as hath beene said, happened in the time of *Habdon* Iudge of Israel, whom *Samson* after a variance or *Inter regnum* for certaine yeares succeeded.

CHAP. XV.

Of Samson, Eli, *and* Samuel.

§. I.

Of Samson.

2970. THE birth and acts of *Samson* are written at large in the 13. 14. 15. and 16. of *Iudges*; and therefore I shall not need to make a repetition thereof. But these things I gather out of that Storie. First, that the *Angell of God* forbad the wife of *Manoah* the mother of *Samson*, to drinke Wine or strong drinke, or to eate any vncleane meate, after she was conceiued with childe; because those strong liquors hinder the strength, and as it were wither and shrinke the childe in the mothers wombe. Though this were euen the counsell of God himselfe, and deliuered by his Angell, yet it seemeth that many women of this age haue not read,

or at least will not beleeue this precept: the most part forbearing nor drinkes, nor meats, how strong or vncleane soeuer, filling themselues with all sorts of wines, and with artificiall drinkes farre more forcible: by reason whereof, so many wretched feeble bodyes are borne into the world, and the races of the able and strong men in effect decayed.

Secondly, it is to be noted, that the *Angel of God* refused the sacrifice which *Manoah* would haue offered him, commanding him to present it vnto the Lord: and therefore those that professe diuination by the helpe of Angels, to whom also they sacrifice, may assuredly know that they are Diuels who accept thereof, and not good Angels, who receiue no worship that is proper to God.

Thirdly, this *Samson* was twice betrayed by his wiues, to wit, by their importunitie and deceitfull teares: by the first he lost but a part of his goods: by the second his life. *Quem nulla vis superare potuit, voluptas euertit; whom no force could ouermaster, Voluptuousnesse ouerturned.*

Fourthly, we may note, that he did not in all deliuer Israel from the oppression of the Philistims; though in some sort he reuenged, and defended them: for notwithstanding that he had slaine 30. of them in his first attempt, burnt their Corne in haruest time, and giuen them a great ouerthrow instantly vpon it: yet so much did Israel feare the Philistims, as they assembled 3000. men out of Iuda, to besiege *Samson* in the rocke or mountaine of Etam, vsing these words: *Knowest not thou that the Philistims are Rulers ouer vs, &c.* After which they bound him, and deliuered him vnto the Philistims, for feare of their reuenge; though he was no sooner loosened, but hee gaue them another ouerthrow, and slew 1000. with the iawbone of an Asse.

Lastly, being made blinde, and a prisoner by the treason of his wife, hee was content to end his owne life, to bee auenged of his enemies, when hee pulled downe the pillars of the house at the feast whereto they sent for *Samson*, to deride him; till which time hee bare his affliction with patience: but it was truely said of *Seneca*; *Patientia sæpe læsa vertitur in furorem; Patience often wounded is conuerted into furie*: neither is it at any time so much wounded by paine and losse, as by derision and contumelie.

§. II.

Of Eli, *and of the Arke taken; and of* Dagons *fall, and the sending backe of the Arke.*

THe Storie of *Eli* the Priest, who succeeded *Samson*, is written in the beginning of *Samuel*; who foretold him of the destruction of his house, for the wickednesse of his sonnes, which he suppressed not, neither did he punish them according to their deserts: whose sins were horrible, both in abusing the Sacrifice, and prophaning and polluting the holy places: though *Leui Ben Gerson*, to extenuate this filthy offence of forcing the women by the sons of *Eli*, hath a contrary opinion. In this time therefore it pleased God to cast the Israelites vnder the swords of the Philistims; of whom there perished in the first incounter 4000. and in the second battell 30000. footmen; among whom the sonnes of *Eli* being slaine, their father (hearing the lamentable successe) by falling from his chaire, brake his necke. Hee was the first that obtained the High-Priesthood of the stocke of *Ithamar* the sonne of *Aaron*, before whose time it continued successiuely in the race of *Eleazar* the eldest brother of *Ithamar*: for *Aron* was the first, *Eleazer* the second, *Phinees* the sonne of *Eleazer* the third, *Abisue* the sonne of *Phinees* the fourth, his sonne *Bocci* the fift, *Ozi* the sonne of *Bocci* the sixt, and then *Eli*, as *Iosephus* and *Lyranus* out of diuers Hebrew authors haue conceiued. In the race of *Ithamar* the Priesthood continued after *Eli* to the time of *Salomon* who cast out *Abiathar*, and established *Sadock* and *Achimaas* and their successors. The *Arke of God* which Israel brought into the field, was in this battell taken by the Philistims. For as *Dauid* witnesseth, *God greatly abhorred Israel, so that hee forsooke the habitation of Shilo: euen the Tabernacle where hee dwelt among men, and deliuered his power into captiuitie, &c.*

1 Sam. 2. 22.

1 King. 2. 27. and 1 Chron. 6.

Psal. 78.

Now as it pleased God at this time, that the Arke whereby himselfe was represented, should fall into the hands of the Heathen, for the offences of the Priests and people: so did hee permit the Chaldæans to destroy the Temple built by *Salomon*; the Romans to ouerthrow the second Temple; and the Turkes to ouerthrow the Christian Churches in Asia and Europe. And had not the Israelites put more confidence in the sacrament,

sacrament, or representation which was the Arke, then in God himselfe, they would haue obserued his Lawes, and serued him onely: which whensoeuer they did, they were then victorious. For after the captiuitie they had no Arke at all, nor in the times of the Machabees: and yet for their pietie it pleased God to make that familie as victorious as any that guarded themselues by the signe in stead of the substance. And that the Arke was not made to the end to be carried into the field as an ensigne, *Dauid* witnessed when hee fled from *Absalon*. For when the Priests would haue carried the Arke with him; hee forbad it, and caused it to be turned into the Citie, vsing these words: *If I shall finde fauour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me againe: if not, let him doe to me as seemeth good in his eyes.*

1 Sam. 5. 5. 6.

2 Sam. 15.

The Troians beleeued that while their *Palladium*, or the image of *Minerua* was kept in Troy, the Citie should neuer be ouerturned: so did the Christians in the last fatall battell against *Saladine* carry into the field, as they were made beleeue, the very Crosse whereon Christ died; and yet they lost the battell, their bodyes and the wood. But *Chrysostome* vpon Saint *Matthew* (if that be his worke) giueth a good iudgement, speaking of those that wore a part of Saint *Iohns* Gospell about their neckes, for an amulet or preseruatiue: *Si tibi ea non prosunt in auribus, quomodò proderunt in Collo? If those words doe not profit men in their eares,* (to wit, the hearing of the Gospell preached) *how should it profit them by hanging it about their neckes?* For it was neither the wood of the Arke, nor the wood of the Crosse, but the reuerence of the Father, that gaue the one for a memorie of his Couenant; and the Faith in his Sonne, which shed his blood on the other for redemption, that could or can profit them and vs, either in this life or after it.

The Philistims returning with the greatest victorie and glory which euer they obtained, carried the *Arke of God* with them to *Azotus*, and set it vp in the house of *Dagon* their Idoll: but that night the Idoll fell out of his place, from aboue to the ground, and lay vnder the Arke. The morning following they tooke it vp, and set it vp, and set it againe in his place. And it fell the second time, and the head brake from the body, and the hands from the armes, shewing, that it had nor power nor vnderstanding in the presence of God; for the head fell off, which is the seat of reason and knowledge, and the hands (by which we execute strength) were sundred from the armes. For God and the diuell inhabite not in one house, nor in one heart. And if this Idoll could not endure the representation of the true God, it is not to be maruailed, that at such time as it pleased him to couer his onely begotten with flesh, and sent him into the world, that all the Oracles, wherein the Diuell derided and betrayed mortall men, lost power, speech, and operation at the instant. For when that true light which neuer had beginning of brightnesse, brake through the clouds of a Virgins body, shining vpon the earth which had bin long obscured by Idolatrie, all those foule and stinking vapours vanished. *Plutarch* rehearseth a memorable accident in that age concerning the death of the great god *Pan*, as he stileth him; where (as ignorant of the true cause) he searcheth his braines for many reasons of so great an alteration: yet findes he none out but friuolous. For not onely this old Diuell did then die as he supposed, but all the rest, as *Apollo*, *Iupiter*, *Diana*, and the whole rabble became speechlesse.

Now while the Philistims triumphed after this victory, God strooke them with the grieuous disease of the *Hæmorrhoides*, of which they perished in great numbers. For it is written, that *the Lord destroyed them*. It was therefore by generall consent ordered, that the Arke should be remoued from Azotus to Gath or Geth, another of the fiue great Cities of the Philistims; to proue, as it seemeth, whether this disease were fallen on them by accident, or by the hand of God immediatly: but when it was brought to Gath and receiued by them, the plague was yet more grieuous and mortall. *For the hand of the Lord was against this Citie with a very great destruction, and he smote the men of the Citie both small and great, &c.* And being not yet satisfied, they of Gath sent the Arke to Ekron or Accaron, a third Citie of the Philistims: but they also felt the same smart, and cryed out, that themselues and their people should be slaine thereby; *For there was a destruction and death throughout all the Citie.* In the end, by the aduice of their Priests, the Princes of the Philistims did not onely resolue to returne the Arke, but to offer gifts vnto the *God of Israel*, remembring the plague which had fallen on the Egyptians, when their hearts were hardened to hold the people of God from their inheritance, and from his seruice by strong hand. Wherefore confessing the power of the *God of Israel* to bee almightie, & that their owne Idols were subiect thereunto, they agreed to offer a sinne offering, vsing

1 Sam. 5. 9.

vsing these words; *So yee shall giue glory to the God of Israel, that he may take his hand from you, and from your gods, and from your land.* And what can be a more excellent witnessing, than where an enemie doth approue our cause? according to *Aristotle*; *Pulchrum est testimonium, quo nostra probantur ab hostibus.* So did *Pharao* confesse the liuing God, when he was plagued in Egypt: and *Nabuchodonosor*, and *Darius*, when they had seene his miracles by *Daniel*.

c. 6. v. 5.

This counsell therefore of the Priests being imbraced, and the golden Hæmorrhoides, and the golden Mice prepared, they caused two milch kine to be chosen, such as had not beene yoked, and a new Cart or carriage to be framed: but they durst not driue or direct it to any place certaine, thereby to make tryall whether it were indeed the hand of God that had strucken them. For if the Arke of God were carried towards Bethshemesh and into the territorie of Israel: then they should resolue that from God only came their late destruction. For the Philistims knew that the milch Kine which drew the Arke, could not be forced from their Calues, but that they would haue followed them wheresoeuer; much lesse when they were left to themselues would they trauell a contrary way. For in the darkest night in the world, if calues be remoued from their dammes, the kine will follow them through woods, and desarts by the foote, till they finde them. But the kine trauelled directly towards Bethshemesh: and when they came into the fieldes thereof, to wit, of one *Iosua* of the same Citie, they stood still there; which when the Princes of the Philistims perceiued, they returned to Ekron. After which, God spared not his owne people the Bethshemites, in that they presumed to looke into the Arke. And because they knew God and his commandements, and had beene taught accordingly: he strook them more grieuously than he did the Heathen, for there perished of them fiftie thousand and seuentie. From hence the Arke was carried to *Kiriath-iearim*, and placed in the house of *Abinadab*; where it is written that it remained twentie yeares in the charge of *Eleazar* his sonne; vntill *Dauid* brought it to *Hierusalem*.

Now whereas it is said, that in the meane while the Arke was in Nob, Mispah, and Galgala, it was the Tabernacle, which was at this time seuered from the Arke: or at least, it was for the [a] present occasion brought to these places, and anon returned to *Kiriath-iearim*.

2 Sam. c. 6. & 1 Chron. c. 12.

a See in this book, ch. 12. §. 1. in the margent.

§. III.

Of Samuel, *and of his Gouernment.*

THese Tragedies ouerpast and ended, *Samuel*, to whom God appeared while he was yet a childe, became now Iudge and Gouernour of Israel. He was descended of the familie of [b] *Chore* or *Korach*. For *Leui* had three sonnes; *Gerson*, *Cheath*, and *Merari*: *Cheath* had *Amram*, and *Izaar*; of *Amram* came *Moses* and *Aaron*; of *Izaar*, *Chore*: and of the familie of *Chore*, *Samuel*. His father *Elcana* a Leuite, was called an Ephratæan; not that the Leuites had any proper inheritance, but because he was of [c] Mount Ephraim, like as *Iesse*, *Dauids* father was called an Ephratæan, because borne at Ephrata, or Bethleem. *Hannah* his mother being long fruitlesse, obtained him of God by prayers and teares: it being an exceeding shame to the Iewish women, to be called barren, in respect of the blessing of God both to *Abraham* that his seed should multiply as the Starres of Heauen, and the Sands of the Sea; as in the beginning to *Adam*, *Increase and multiply, &c.* and in *Deuteronomie* the seuenth; *There shall be neither male nor female barren among you.*

b 1 Chron. 6. 22.

c Which region was called Ephrata, as appeareth, Iud. 12. 5. whence for distinction we read Ruth 1. 2. Ephrata è Bethleehemo Iehuda, the towne Ephratha which is Bethlehem in Iuda, Gen. 35. 19. from the region of Ephrata, which is in Mount Ephraim, whence Psalm. 132. v. 6. Ephrata is put for Silo, which was in the Tribe of Ephraim. Verse 14.

Samuel was no sooner borne, but that his mother, according to her former vow, dedicated him to God, and his seruice, to which she deliuered him euen from the dugge. For as the first borne of all that were called Nazarites, might be redeemed till they were fiue yeares old for fiue sheckles; and between fiue yeares and twentie for twentie sheckles: so was it not required by the Law that any of the race of the Leuites should bee called to seruе about the Tabernacle, till they were fiue and twentie yeares.

Saint *Peter* reckons in the *Acts* the Prophets from *Samuel*, who was the first of the writers of holy Scriptures, to whom vsually this name of a Prophet was giuen, & yet did *Moses* account himselfe such a one; as in the 18. of *Deuteronomie*, *The Lord thy God will raise vp vnto thee a Prophet like vnto mee, &c.* But hee is distinguished from those that preceded him, who were called *Seers*; as *beforetime in Israel, when a man went to seeke an answer*

1 Sam. 9.

answer of God, thus he spake; Come and let vs goe to the Seer: for hee that is now called a Prophet, was in old time called a Seer. And although it pleased God to appeare by his Angels to *Moses*, as before to *Abraham, Isaac*, and *Iacob*; yet in the time of *Eli*, there was no manifest vision; not that God had altogether with-drawne his grace from Israel: but as the Chaldæan Paraphrast hath it, those reuelations before *Samuels* time, were more clouded and obscure. The places wherin *Samuel* iudged were Matspa or Mitspa, seated on a hill in Beniamin neere Iuda: also Gilgal, and Bethel, of which wee haue spoken elsewhere.

1 *Sam.* 13. See in this booke, c. 12. §. 1.

The Philistims taking knowledge of the assembly and preparation of Warre at Mispa in the beginning of *Samuels* gouernment, gathered their Armie, and marched towards the Citie: at whose approach the Israelites strucken with feare, and with the memorie of their former slaughters and seruitude, besought *Samuel* to pray to God for them; who was * then performing his sacrifice when the Philistims were in view. But God being moued with *Samuels* prayers (as he was by those of *Moses*, when Israel fought against the Amalekites at their first entrance into Arabia:) it pleased him with thunder and tempest to disperse and beate downe the Armie of the Philistims, according to the prophecie of *Hanna, Samuels* Mother, *The Lords aduersaries shall be destroyed, and out of heauen shall he thunder vpon them, &c. Iosephus* affirmes, that a part of the Philistims were swallowed with an earthquake: and that *Samuel* himselfe led the Israelites in the prosequution of their victorie. After which, *Samuel* erected a Monument in memorie of this happy successe, obtained by the miraculous hand of God, which *Iosephus* called, *Lapidem fortem: Samuel, Ebenezer*, or the stone of assistance: and then following the opportunitie and aduantage of the victorie, the Israelites recouered diuers Cities of their owne formerly lost, and held long in possession of the Philistims, who for a long time after did not offer any inuasion or reuenge. And the better to attend their purposes, and to withstand any of their attempts, the Israelites made peace with the Amorites, or Canaanites, which lay on their backes, and to the North of them, that they might not bee assaulted from diuers parts at once; hauing the Philistims towards the West and Sea-coast, the Canaanite, toward the North and East, and the Idumite on the South. The estate being thus settled, *Samuel* for the ease of the people gaue audience and iudgement in diuers places by turnes, as hath beene elsewhere said.

* *Plutarch* reports of *Numa* the secód King of Rome, that when as hee was sacrificing it was told him that the enemies approched, he nothing dismaied, answered, *Ego autem sacrifico.* 1 *Sam.* 2. 10.

CHAP. XVI.

OF *SAVL*.

§. I.

Of the deliberation to change the gouernment into a Kingdome.

BVT when age now began to ouer-take *Samuel*, and that hee was not able to vnder-goe the burthen of so carefull a gouernment, hee put off from himselfe the weight of the affaires on his sonnes, *Ioel* and *Abijah*, who iudged the people at Beersheba, a Citie, the very vtmost towards the South of Iudæa. And as the place was inconuenient and farre away, so were themselues no lesse remoued from the iustice and vertue of their Father: For the thirst of couetousnesse, the more it swalloweth, the more it drieth, and desireth, finding taste in nothing but gaine; to recouer which, they set the Law at a price, and sold Iustice and Iudgement to the best Chapmen. Which when the Elders of Israel obserued, and saw that *Samuel* as a naturall man (though a Prophet) could not so well discerne the errours of his owne, they prayed him to consent to their change of gouernment, and to make them a King, by whom they might bee iudged as other Nations were; who might also leade them to the Warre and defend them against their enemies. For after the ill and lamentable successe which followed the rule of *Eli* his sonnes, when those of *Samuel* by their first blossomes promised to yeeld fruite no lesse bitter, they saw no way to put the gouernment from out his race, whom they so much reuerenced, but by the choyce of a King.

In

In a cause of so great consequence and alteration, *Samuel* sought counsaile from God: which surely hee did not for the establishing of his owne Sonnes; who being as they were, God would not haue approued his election. Now as it appeares by the Text, this speech or motion displeasing him, hee vsed his best arguments to dehort them: which when he perceiued to be ouer-feeble, he deliuered vnto them from Gods reuelation, the inconueniences and miseries which should befall them. And yet, all which hee foreshewed was not intolerable, but such as hath beene borne, and is so still by free consent of the Subiects towards their Princes. For first hee makes them know, that the King will vse their sonnes in his owne seruice to make them his Horse-men, Chariotters, and Foot-men; which is not onely not grieuous, but by the Vassals of all Kings, according to their birth and condition, desired: it being very agreeable to subiects of the best qualitie to command for the King in his Warres, and to till the ground no lesse proper and appertaining to those that are thereto bred and brought vp: so are likewise the offices of women-seruants to dresse meate, to bake breed, and the like. But whereas inmediately it is threatned, *He will take your Fields, and your Vineyards, and your best Oliue trees, and giue them to his seruants*; with other oppressions; this hath giuen, and giues daily occasion to such as would be ruled by their owne discretion, to affirme that *Samuel* describeth here vnto them the power of a King, gouerned by his owne affections, and not a King that feareth God. But others vpon further examination construe this Text farre otherwise, as teaching vs what Subiects ought with patience to beare at their Soueraigns hand.

The former opinion is grounded first vpon that place of *Deuteronomie*, where God foresheweth this change of gouernment from Iudges to Kings; and after hee had forbidden many things vnto the Kings, as many wiues, couetousnesse, and the like: hee commandeth that the Kings which were to raigne ouer *Israel*, should write the Law of *Deuteronomie*, or cause it to be written: and to shew how greatly the King should honour the Law, he addeth, *It shall be with him, and he shall reade therein all the dayes of his life: that he may learne to feare the Lord his God, and to keepe all the words of this Law, and these ordinances for to doe them: that hee may prolong his daies in his Kingdome, hee and his Sonnes.* But to take away any other mans field, say they, is contrary to the Lawes of God, in the same booke written. For it is said, *That which is iust and right shalt thou follow, that thou mayest liue.* Now if it be not permitted to carry away grapes more than thou canst eat out of another mans vineyard, but forbidden by God: it is much lesse lawfull to take the vineyard it selfe from the owner, and giue it to another. Neither are the words of the Text (say they) such as doe warrant the Kings of Israel, or make it proper vnto them, to take at will any thing from their vassals. For it is not said that it shall be lawfull for the King, or the King may doe this or that: but it is written, that the King will take your sonnes: and againe, This shall be the manner of the King that shall raigne ouer you. God thereby foreshewing what power, seuered from pietie (because it is accountable to God onely) will doe in the future. And hereof we finde the first example in *Achab*, who tooke from *Naboth* both his Vineyard and his life, contrary to the trust which God had put in him, of gouerning well his people. For God commanded, *That his people should bee iudged with righteous iudgement.* Wherefore, though the King had offered vnto *Naboth* composition, as a Vineyard of better value, or the worth in money, which he refused: yet because hee was falsly accused, and vniustly condemned (though by colour of law,) how grieuously *Achab* was punished by God, the Scriptures tell vs. Neither was it a plea sufficient for *Achab* against the all-righteous God, to say that it was done without his consent, and by the Elders of Israel. For God had not then left his people to the Elders, but to the King, who is called a liuing Law, euen as *Dauid* testifieth of himselfe: *Posuisti me in caput gentium*: For this of S. *Augustine* is very true: *Simulata innocentia, non est innocentia: simulata æquitas, non est æquitas: sed duplicatur peccatum in quo est iniquitas & simulatio; Fained innocence, and fained equitie, are neither the one nor the other: but the fault or offence is there doubled, in which there is both iniquitie and dissimulation.* Such in effect is their disputation, who thinke this place to containe the description of a Tyrant. But the arguments on the contrary side, as they are many and forcible, so are they well knowne to all; being excellently handled in that Princely discourse of *The true Law of free Monarchies*: which Treatise I may not presume to abridge, much lesse here to insert. Onely thus much I will say, that if practice doe shew the greatnesse of authoritie, euen the best Kings of Iudá and Israel were not so tied by any lawes, but that they did whatsoeuer they pleased in the

Deut. 1.

Deut. 6.

Deut. 23. v. 24.

Loyse.

Deut. 16.

the greatest things; and commanded some of their owne Princes, and of their own brethren to be slaine without any triall of law, being sometime by Prophets reprehended, sometime not. For though *Dauid* confessed his offence for the death of *Vriah*, yet *Salomon* killing his elder brother and others, the same was not imputed vnto him as any offence.

That the state of *Israel* should receiue this change of gouernment, it was not onely
Gen.49. fore-told by *Moses* in *Deuteronomie*, but perceiued by *Iacob* in this Scripture: *The Scepter*
Gen.15. *shall not depart from Iuda, &c.* It was also promised by God to *Abraham* for a blessing:
Gen.17. For it was not onely assured that his issues should in number equall the starres in heauen, but that Kings should proceed of him: Which state seeing it is framed from the patterne of his sole rule, who is Lord of the Vniuersall; and the excellency thereof in respect of all other gouernments, hath beene by many iudicious men handled and prooued, I shall not need to ouer-paint that which is garnished with better colours already, than I can lay on.

In the time of the Iudges euery man hath obserued what ciuill Warre *Israel* had: what outragious slaughters they committed vpon each other: in what miserable seruitude they liued for many yeares: and when it fared best with them, they did but defend their owne Territories, or recouer some parts thereof formerly lost. The Canaanites dwelt in the best vallies of the Countrie. The Ammonites held much of Gilead ouer Iordan; the Philistims the Sea-coasts; and the Iebusites Hierusalem it selfe, till *Dauids* time: all which that King did not onely conquer and establish, but hee mastered and subiected all the neighbour Nations, and Kings, and made them his tributaries and vassals. But whether it were for that the Israelites were moued by those reasons, which allure the most of all
1.Sam.8. Nations to liue vnder a Monarch, or whether by this meanes they sought to bee cleered from the sonnes of *Samuel*, they became deafe to all the perswasions and threats which *Samuel* vsed, insisting vpon this point, that they would haue a king, both to iudge them and defend them; whereunto when *Samuel* had warrant from God to consent, hee sent euery man to his owne Citie and abiding.

§. II.
Of the election of Saul.

AFter that *Samuel* had dismissed the assembly at *Mizpah*, hee forbare the election of a king; till such time as hee was therein directed by God: who foretold him the day before, that he would present vnto him a man of the Land of Beniamin, whom hee commanded *Samuel* to annoint. So *Samuel* went vnto Ramath Sophim, to make a feast for the entertainement of *Saul* (whom yet he knew not, but knew the truth of Gods promises) and *Saul* also hauing wandred diuers daies to seeke his fathers Asses, at length, by the aduice of his seruant, trauelled towards Ramath, to find a Seer or Prophet, hoping from him to be told what way to take, to finde his beasts. In which iourney it pleased God (who doth many times order the greatest things by the simplest passages, and persons) to elect *Saul*, who sought an Asse, and not a kingdome: like as formerly it had
1.Sam.16. pleased him to call *Moses*, while he fed the sheepe of *Iethro*; and after to make choyce of *Dauid* the youngest of eight sons, and by the Scriptures called a little one, who was then keeping of beasts; and changed his sheephooke into a Scepter, making him of all other the most victorious king of Iuda and Israel. So *Iohn* and *Iames* were taken from casting their nets, to become fishers of men, and honoured with the titles of Apostles: a dignitie that died not in the graue, as all worldly Honours doe; but permanent and euerlasting in Gods euerlasting kingdome.

When *Samuel* was entred into Ramath, hee prepared a banquet for the king, whom hee expected, and stayed his arriuall at the gate. Not long after came *Saul*, whom God shewed to *Samuel*, and made him know that it was the same whom hee had foretold him of, that hee should rule the people of God. *Saul* finding *Samuel* in the gate, but knowing him not, though a Prophet and Iudge of Israel, much lesse knowing the Honour which attended him, asked *Samuel* in what part of the Citie the *Seer* dwelt. *Samuel* answered, that himselfe was the man hee sought, and prayed *Saul* to goe before him to the high place, where *Samuel* setting him according to his degree, aboue all that were inuited, conferred with him afterwards of the affaires of the kingdome, and of Gods

Gods graces to bee bestowed on him, and the morning following annointed him King of Israel.

After this he told him all that should happen him in the way homeward, that two men should incounter him by *Rahels* Sepulchre, who should tell him that his Asses were found, and that his Fathers cares were changed from the feare of losing his beasts, to doubt the losse of his Sonne: that he should then meet three other men in the plaine of Tabor; then a company of Prophets: and that hee should be partaker of Gods Spirit, and prophecie with them: and that thereby his condition and disposition should be changed from the vulgar, into that which became a King elected and fauoured by God.

But the Prophets here spoken of, men indued with spirituall gifts, were not of the first and most reuerenced number, who by diuine reuelation foretold things to come, reprehended without feare the errors of their Kings, and wrought miracles; of which number were *Moses, Iosua, Samuel*, and after them *Gad, Nathan, Ahias, Elias, Elisæus, Esay, Ieremie*, *Chrys. in Ps. 43.* and the rest; for these Prophets, saith S. *Chrysostome, Omnia tempora percurrunt, præterita, præsentia, & futura*: but they were of those of whom S. *Paul* speaketh of, 1.*Cor*.14.14. who inriched with spirituall gifts, expounded the Scriptures and the Law.

At Mispeth *Samuel* assembled the people, that he might present *Saul* to them, who as yet knew nothing of his election: neither did *Saul* acquaint his owne Vncle therewith; when he asked him what had past betweene him and *Samuel*: for either hee thought his estate not yet assured, or else that it might be dangerous for him to reueale it, till he were confirmed by generall consent. When the Tribes were assembled at Mizpeth, the generall opinion is, that he was chosen by lot. *Chimhi* thinkes by the answer of * *Vrim* and *Thummim*: that is, by the answer of the Priest, wearing that mysterie vpon his brest when he asked counsaile of the Lord. But the casting of lots was not onely much vsed among the Iewes, but by many others, if not by all nations. The Land of promise was diuided by lot: God commanded lots to be cast on the two Goates, which should be sacrificed, and which turned off: a figure of Christs suffering, and our deliuerance, for whose garments the Iewes also cast lots. *Cicero, Plautus, Pausanias*, and others haue remembred diuers sorts of lots, vsed by the Romanes, Grecians, and other Nations: as in the diuision of grounds or honours; and in things to be vndertaken: the two first kinds were called Diuisory; the third, Diuinatory; and vnto one of these three all may bee reduced: all which kinds howsoeuer they may seeme chancefull, are yet ordered and directed by God: as in the *Prouerbs*: *The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposition is of the Lord*. And in like sort fell the kingdome of Israel on *Saul*, not by chance, but by Gods ordinance, who gaue *Samuel* former knowledge of his election: from which election *Saul* withdrew himselfe in modestie, as both *Iosephus* consters it; and as it may bee gathered by his former answeres to *Samuel*, when hee acknowledged himselfe the least of the least Tribe. But *Samuel* inlightened by God, found where *Saul* was hidden, and brought him among the people, and hee was taller than all the rest by the shoulders. And *Samuel* made them know that hee was the chosen king of Israel, whereupon all the multitude saluted him King, and prayed for him; yet some there were that enuied his glorie (as in all estates there are such) who did not acknowledge him by offring him presents, as the manner was: of whom *Saul*, to auoide sedition, took
1.Sam.10. no notice.

* The *Vrim* and *Thummim* in the ornaments of the High Priest, were inserted within the pectoral, which therefore was *duplicatum*, they were placed in the pectorall ouer against the hart of the High Priest. It is plaine that they were not the precious stones, nor any thing made by the Artificers. See *Exod.c.*28. *Cic. de diuin. Pausin Mes.*

§. III.
Of the establishing of Saul *by his first victorie.*

NO sooner was *Saul* placed in the kingdom, but that he receiued knowledge that *Nahas* king of the Ammonites prepared to besiege Iabes Gilead: which nation since the great ouerthrow giuen them by *Iephta*, neuer durst attempt any thing vpon the Israelites, till the beginning of *Saul* his rule. And although the Ammonites did alwaies attend vpon the aduantage of time, to recouer those Territories which first the Amorite, & then Israel dispossest them of; which they made the ground of their inuasion in *Iephta's* time; yet they neuer perswaded themselues of more aduantage than at this present. For first, they knew that there were many of the Israelites that did not willingly submit themselues to this new King: secondly, they were remembred that the Philistims had not long before slaine 34000. of their men of Warre: and besides had vsed

vsed great care and policie that they should haue no Smithes to make them swords or speares: neither was it long before, that of the Bethshemesites, and places adioyning, there perished by the hand of God more than 50000. and therefore in these respects, euen occasion it self inuited them to inlarge their Dominions vpon their borderers: Iabes Gilead being one of the neerest. Besides, it may further be coniectured, that the Ammonites were imboldened against Iabes Gilead, in respect of their weakenesse: since the Israelites de-
Iudg.21. stroyed a great part of them, for not ioyning with them against the Beniamites: at which time they did not onely slaughter the men and male-children, but tooke from them their young women, and gaue them to the Beniamites: and therefore they were not likely to haue beene increased to any great numbers: and if they had recouered themselues of this great calamitie, yet the Ammonite might flatter himselfe with the opinion, that Israel hauing for long time been disarmed by the Philistims, was not apt to succour those whom they had so deepely wounded and destroyed. But contrariwise, when the tidings came to *Saul* of their danger, and that the Ammonites would giue them no other condition to ransome themselues, but by pulling out their right eyes, by which they should be vtterly disabled for the Warre, as elsewhere hath been spoken: *Saul*, both to value himselfe in his first yeeres reigne, and because perchance hee was descended of one of those 400. Maids taken from the Gileadites, and giuen to the Beniamites, gaue order to assemble the forces of Israel, hewing a yoke of Oxen into pieces, and sending them by messengers ouer all the coasts, protesting thus: *That whosoeuer came not forth after* Saul *and after* Samuel. *so should his Oxen be serued:* threatning the people by their goods, and not by their liues at the first. Seuen dayes had *Saul* to assemble an Armie, by reason that the Gileadites had obtained the respite of these seuen daies to giue *Nahas* the Ammonite an answer: who, could they haue obtained any reasonable condition, were contented to haue seuered themselues from Israel, and to become Vassals and Tributaries to the Heathen. In the meane while *Saul* assembled the forces which repaired vnto him at *Bezec*, neere *Iordan*, that he might readily passe the riuer; which done, he might in one day with a speedie march arriue at Iabes, vnder the Hills of Gilead.
1.Sam.11.8.

The armie by *Saul* led, consisting of three hundred and thirty thousand, hee returned an answer to those of Iabes, that they should assure themselues of succour by the next day at noone. For, as it seemeth, *Saul* marched away in the latter part of the day, and went on all night; for in the morning watch he surprized the armie of *Nahas* the Ammonite. And to the end that hee might set on them on all sides, hee diuided his forces into three parts, putting them to the sword vntill the heate of the day, and the wearinesse of *Sauls* troope inforced them to giue ouer the pursuit. Now the *Ammonites* were become the more carelesse and secure, in that those of Iabes promised the next morning to render themselues and their Citie to their mercie. After this happie successe, the people were so farre in loue with their new king, that they would haue slaine all those Israelites that murmured against his election, had not himselfe forbidden and resisted their resolutions. Such is the condition of worldly men, as they are violent louers of the prosperous, and base Vassals of the time that flourisheth; and as despightfull and cruell without cause against those, whom any misaduenture, or other worldly accident hath throwne downe.
1.Sam.12.

After the armie remoued, *Samuel* summoned the people to meet at Gilgal, where *Saul* was now a third time acknowledged, and as some Commenters affirme, anointed king: and here *Samuel* vsed an exhortation to all the Assembly, containing precepts, and a rehearsall of his owne Iustice, during the beginning of his gouernment to that day. After
1.Sam.12. *Saul* had now reigned one yeere before he was established in Gilgal, or Galgala, he strengthened himselfe with a good gnard of 3000. chosen men, of which he assigned 1000. to attend on *Ionathan* his sonne at Gibeah, the Citie of his nativitie: the rest hee kept about his owne person in Micmas, and in the Hill of Bethel.

§. IIII.

Of Sauls *disobedience in his proceedings in the Warres with the Philistims and Amalekitis, which caused his final reiection.*

IOnathan with his small Armie or Regiment that attended him, taking a time of aduantage, surprized a Garrison of Philistims: the same, as some thinke, which *Saul* past by, when he came from Rama, where hee was first anointed by *Samuel*, which

which they thinke to haue beene *Cariath-iearim*: because a place where the *Philistims* had a *Garrison*, 1.*Sam*.10. is called the Hill of God, which they vnderstand of *Cariath-iearim*: but *Iunius* vnderstands this Garrison to haue beene at *Gebah* in *Beniamin* neere *Gibha*, where *Ionathan* abode with his thousand followers. Howsoeuer, by this it appeareth that the *Philistims* held some strong places, both in the times of *Samuel*, and of *Saul*, within the Territorie of *Israel*: and now being greatly inraged by this surprize, they assembled thirty thousand armed Chariots, and sixe thousand Horse, wherewith they inuaded *Iudæa*, and incamped at *Machmas* or *Michmas*, a Citie of *Beniamin*, in the direct way from *Samaria* to *Hierusalem*, and in the middest of the Land betweene the Sea and
1 Sam. 13.5.
10 *Iordan*. With this sudden inuasion the *Israelites* were strucken in so great a feare, as some of them hid themselues in the caues of the mountaines; other fledde ouer *Iordan* into *Gad* and *Gilead*: *Saul* himselfe with some 2000. men of ordinarie, and many other people, staid at *Galgala* in *Beniamin*, not farre from the passage of *Iosua* when he led *Israel* ouer *Iordan*. Heere *Saul* by *Samuels* appointment was to attend the comming of *Samuel* seuen daies: but when the last day was in part spent, and that *Saul* perceiued his forces to diminish greatly, he presumed (as some expound the place 1. *Sam*.13.9.) to exercise the office which appertained not vnto him, and to offer a burnt offering and a peace offering vnto God, contrary to the *Ecclesiasticall* lawes of the *Hebrewes*, and *Gods* Commandements: others expound the word, *obtulit*, in this place, by *obtulit per Sacerdotem*,
20 and so make the sinne of *Saul* not to haue beene any intrusion into the Priests office, but first a disobedience to Gods Commandement, in not staying according to the appointment, 1.*Sam*.10.8. secondly a diffidence or mistrust in Gods helpe, and too great relying vpon the strength of the people, whose departing from him he could not beare patiently; and lastly a Contempt of the holy Prophet *Samuel*, and of the helpe which the prayers of so godly a man might procure him. But whatsoeuer was his sinne, notwithstanding his excuses, he was by *Samuel* reprehended most sharply, in termes vnfitting
1 Sam. c.12.
his estate, had not extraordinarie warrant beene giuen to *Samuel* so to doe, from God himselfe; at which time also *Samuel* feared not to let him know, that the Kingdome should be conferred to another (a man after Gods owne heart) both from *Saul* and his
Verse 14.
30 posteritie.

After this, *Samul* and *Saul* returned to *Gibeah*, where *Saul*, when hee had taken view of his armie, found it to consist of 600. men: for the most were fled from him and scattered, yea and among those that staid, there was not any that had either sword or speare, but *Saul* and his sonne *Ionathan* onely. For the *Philistims* had not left them any *Smith*
1 Sam. 13.17.
in all *Israel*, that made weapons; besides, they that came to *Saul* came hastily; and left such weapons and armour as they had, behind them in their garrisons: for if they had had none at all, it might be much doubted how *Saul* should be able the yeere before, or in some part of this very yeere, to succour *Iabes Gilead* with 300. and thirty thousand men; if there had not now beene any yron weapon to defend themselues withall, saue onely in the hand of *Saul* and *Ionathan* his sonne. But howsoeuer, all the rest of the people were
40 formerly disarmed by the *Philistims*, and all those craftesmen carried out of the land that made weapons: there being left vnto the *Israelites* only files to sharpen and amend such stuffe as serued for the Plough, and for nought else: yet that they had some kind of armes it is manifest, or else they durst not haue attempted vpon the *Philistims* as they did. And it is not said in the Text that there was not any sword in all *Israel*, but onely that there was not any found among those 600. souldiers which stayed with *Saul* after *Samuels* de-
1 Sam. 13.22.
parture: and it seemeth that when *Samuel* had sharpely reprehended *Saul*, that his owne guards forsooke him, hauing but 600. remaining of his 3000. ordinarie souldiers, and of all the rest that repaired vnto him, of which many were fledde from him before *Samuel*
50 arriued.

With this small troope he held himselfe to his owne Citie of *Gibeah*, as a place of more strength, and better assured vnto him, than *Gilgal* was. Neither is it obscure how it should come to passe that the *Philistims* should thus disarme the most part of the *Israelites*, howsoeuer in the time of *Samuel* much had beene done against them. For the victories of *Samuel* were not got by sword or speare, but by thunder from heauen: and when these craftesmen were once rooted out of the Cities of *Israel*, no maruell if they could not in a short peace vnder *Samuel* be replanted againe. For this tyrannie of the *Philistims* is to bee vnderstood, rather of the precedent times, than vnder *Samuel*: and yet vnder

 him

him it is to be thought that by their crafts they proceeded in the policie, not suffering their artificers to teach the *Israelites*, and so euen to the times of *Saul* kept them from hauing any store of armour. The same policie did *Nabuchodonosor* vse after his Conquest in *Iudea*: *Dionysius* in *Sicilie*; and many other Princes else-where in all ages. But these lost weapons in part the *Israelites* might repaire in *Gilead*, for ouer *Iordan* the *Philistims* had not inuaded. The rest of their defences were such as antiquitie vsed and their present necessity ministred vnto them; to wit, clubs, bowes, and slings. For the *Beniamites* exceeded in casting stones in slings: and that these were the naturall weapons, and the first of all nations, it is manifest; and so in the first of *Chronicles* the 12. Chapter, it is written of those that came to succour *Dauid* against *Saul*, while he lurked at *Siklag*, *That they were weaponed with bowes, and could vse the right and the left hand with stones*; and with a sling it was that *Dauid* himselfe slew the Gyant *Goliah*.

While the State of *Israel* stood in these hard termes, the *Philistims* hauing parted their armie into three troupes, that they might spoile and destroy many parts at once; *Ionathan* strengthened by *God*, and followed with his Esquire onely, scaled a mountaine, whereon a companie of *Philistims* were lodged: the rest of their armie (as may bee gathered by
1 Sam.14.12. the successe) being incamped in the plaine adioyning. And though he were discouered before he came to the hill top, and in a kinde of derision called vp by his enemies: yet he so behaued himselfe, as with the assistance of God he slew 20. of the first *Philistims* that he encountred. Whereupon the next companies taking the alarme, and being ignorant of the cause, fled away amazed altogether. In which confusion, feare, and iealousie, they slaughtered one another in stead of enemies: whereupon those *Hebrewes* which became of their partie, because they feared to be spoyled by them, tooke the aduantage of their destruction, and slew of them in great numbers. And lastly, *Saul* himselfe taking knowledge of the rout and disorder, together with those *Israelites* that shrouded themselues in
1 Sam.14. mount *Ephraim*, set vpon them and obtained (contrary to all hope and expectation) a most happie and glorious victory ouer them. Heere was that prophesie in *Deuteronomie* fulfilled by *Ionathan*, *That one of those which feared God, should kill a thousand, and two of them ten thousand.*

This done, the small armie of *Israel* made retrait from the pursuit. And although *Saul* had bound the people by an oath not to take food till the euening, yet his sonne *Ionathan* being infeebled with extreame labour and emptinesse, tasted a drope of hony in his passage: for which *Saul* his father would haue put him to death, had not the people deliuered him from his crueltie.

The late miraculous victorie of *Saul* and *Ionathan*, seemes to haue reduced vnto the *Philistims* remembrance their former ouerthrow likewise miraculous in the daies of *Samuel*; so that for some space of time they held themselues quiet. In the meane while *Saul* being now greatly encouraged, vndertooke by turnes all his bordering enemies;
1 Sam.14. namely, the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, and the *Arabians* of *Zobah*, against all which he preuailed. He then assembled all the forces he could make, to wit, 210000. men, and receiuing the commandement of God by *Samuel*, hee inuaded *Amalec*, wasting and destroying all that part of *Arabia Petræa*, and the *Desart* belonging to the *Amalekites*, from *Hauilah* towards *Tigris* vnto *Shur*, which bordereth *Ægypt*; in which warre hee tooke *Agag* their King prisoner. But whereas he was instructed by *Samuel* to follow this Na-
Exod.17. tion without compassion, because they first of all attempted *Israel*, when they left *Ægypt* in *Moses* time: hee notwithstanding did not onely spare the life of *Agag*, but reserued the best of the beasts and spoyle of the Countrie, with pretence to offer them in sacrifice to the liuing God. Therefore did *Samuel* now a second time make him know that God would cast him from his royall estate, to which he was raised when he was of base condition, and as the Text hath it, *little in his owne eyes*. And though the offence was great in *Saul* for not obeying the voyce of God by *Samuel*, had there beene no former precept to that effect: yet seeing *Saul* could not bee ignorant how seuerely it pleased God to inioyne the *Israelites* to reuenge themselues vpon that Nation, he was in all vn-
Deut.25.15. excusable. For God had commanded that the *Israelites should put out the remembrance of* Amalec *from vnder heauen*. For the cruelty which the predecessors of this *Agag* vsed against the *Israelites*, especially on those which were ouer-wearied, faint, sicke, and aged people, was now to be reuenged on him, and his Nation aboue 400. yeeres afterward; and now hee was to pay the debt of bloud, which his forefathers borrowed from the

the innocent: himselfe hauing also sinned in the same kinde, as these words of *Samuel* witnesse: *As thy sword hath made other women childelesse, so shall thy mother be childelesse a-* 1 Sam. 15.33.
mong other women; at which time *Samuel* himselfe (after he had beene by many bootlesse intreaties perswaded to stay a while with *Saul*) did cut *Agag* in pieces before the Lord in *Gilgal*, and soone after he departed to *Ramath*, *and came no more to see* Saul, *vntill the day of his death.*

§. V.

Of the occurrents betweene the reiection of Saul *and his death.*

10 NOw while *Samuel* mourned for *Saul*, God commanded him to choose a King for *Israel*, among the sonnes of *Ishai*: which *Samuel* (doubting the violent hand of *Saul*) feared in a sort to performe, till it pleased God to direct him, how he might auoid both the suspition, and the danger. And if *Samuel* knew that it was no way derogating from the prouidence of God, that by his cautious care and wisedome, he sought to auoid the inconuenience or dangers of this life; then doe these men mistake the nature of his diuine ordinance, who neglecting the reason that God hath giuen them, doe no otherwise auoid the perills and dangers thereof, than as men stupified in the opinion of fate or destinie, neglecting either to beg coun-
20 saile at Gods hands by prayer, or to exercise that wisdome or foresight, wherewith God hath inricheth the minde of man, for his preseruation. Neither did the all-powerfull God (who made and could destroy the world in an instant) disdaine here to instruct *Samuel*, to auoid the furie of *Saul*, by the accustomed cautious waies of the world.

Of the sonnes of *Ishai*, *Samuel*, by God directed, made choice of *Dauid*, the youngest, hauing refused *Eliab*, the first borne: who though he were a man of a comely person and great strength; yet vnto such outward appearance, the Lord had no respect. For as it is written, *God seeth not as man seeth, &c. but the Lord beholdeth the heart*. He also refusing the 1 Sam.16.
other sixe brethren, made choyce of one whom his Father had altogether neglected, & left in the field to attend his flocke; for of him *the Lord said to* Samuel, *Arise and anoint him, for this is he*: which done, *Samuel* departed and went to *Ramath*. Neither was it
30 long after this that *Saul* began to seeke the life of *Dauid*: in which bloudy minde he continued till he died, ouercome in battell by the *Philistims*.

The *Philistims* hauing well considered (as it seemes) the increase of *Saul* his power through many victories by him obtained, whilest they had sitten still & forborne to giue impediment to his prosperous courses, thought it good to make new triall of their fortune, as iustly fearing that the wrongs which they had done to *Israel*, might bee repayed with aduantage, if euer opportunity should serue their often iniured neighbours against them, as lately it had done against *Moab*, *Ammon*, and the rest of their ancient enemies. Now for the qualitie of their Souldiers, and all warlike prouisions, the *Philistims* had reason to thinke themselues equall, if not superiours to *Israel*. The successe of their for-
40 mer wars had for the most part beene agreeable to their own wishes: as for late disasters, they might, according to humane wisedome, impute them to second causes; as to a tempest happening by chance, and to a mistaken alarme, wherby their Armie possessed with a needlesse feare had fallen to rout. Hauing therefore mustered their forces, and taken the field, encamping so neere to the Armie which King *Saul* drew forth against them, that they could not easily depart without the triall of a battel, each part kept their ground of aduantage for a while, not ioyning in grosse, but maintaining some skirmishes, as refusing both of them to passe the Valley that lay betweene their Camps. Iust causes of feare they had on both sides; especially the *Philistims*, whose late attempts had been confounded by the angrie hand of God. Vpon this occasion perhaps it was, that they sought
50 to decide the matter by single combat, as willing to try in one mans person, whether any stroake from heauen were to bee feared. *Goliah* of *Gath* a strong Giant, fearing neither God nor Man, vndertooke to defie the whole hoste of *Israel*, prouoking them with despightfull words, to appoint a Champion that might fight with him hand to hand; offering condition, that the partie vanquished in Champion, should hold it selfe as ouercome in grosse, and become vassall to the other. This gaue occasion to young *Dauid*, whom *Samuel* by Gods appointment had annointed, to make a famous entrance into publike notice of the people. For no man durst expose himselfe

to encounter the great strength of *Goliah*, vntill *Dauid* (sent by his father of an errand to the campe) accepted the combat, and obtained the victorie, without other armes offensiue or defensiue than a sling, wherewith he ouerthrew that haughtie Gyant, and after with his owne sword strooke off his head. Hereupon the Philistims, who should haue yeelded themselues as subiects to the Conquerour, according to the couenant on their owne side propounded, fled without stay; and were pursued and slaughtered euen to their owne gates. By this victorie the *Philistims* were not so broken, that either any of their townes were lost, or their people discouraged from infesting the Territories of Israel. But *Dauid*, by whom God had wrought this victorie, fell into the grieuous indignation of his Master *Saul*, through the honour purchased by his well-deseruing. For after such time as the spirit of God departed from *Saul* and came vpon *Dauid*, hee then
1.*Sam*.16.13. became a cruell Tyrant, faithlesse, and irreligious. Because the high Priest *Abimelech* fedde *Dauid* in his necessitie with hallowed bread, and armed him with a sword of his owne conquest taken from *Goliah*; *Saul* not onely by his wicked *Edomite Doeg* murthered this *Abimelech* and 85. Priests of *Nob*, but also hee destroyed the Citie, *and smote*
1.*Sam*.22.18. *with the edge of the sword both man and woman, both childe and suckling, both Oxe, and Asse, and Sheepe*. And hee that had compassion on *Agag* the Amalekite, who was an enemie to God and his people, and also spared and preserued the best of his Cattell, contrarie to the Commandement and Ordinance of God, both by *Moses* and *Samuel*; had not now any mercie in store, for the innocent, for the Lords seruants the Priests of
1.*Sam*.24.23.§ Israel. Yea hee would haue slaine his owne sonne *Ionathan*, for pittying and pleading *Dauids* innocencie; as also once before for tasting the honie, when his fainting for hunger made him forget his fathers vnreasonable commination. The companions of crueltie are breach of faith towards men, and impietie towards God. The former he shewed in denying *Dauid* his daughter, whom he had promised him: and againe in taking her away from him, to whom he had giuen her; also in that when as *Dauid* had twice spared his life in the Territorie of *Ziph*, and *Saul* twice sworne to do him no hurt, and confessed his errours, yet hee sought still to destroy him, by all the meanes he could. His impiety towards God he shewed, in that he sought counsell of the Witch of Endor, which was the last preparatiue for his destruction. For whereas when he sought counsell from God he had bin alwaies victorious: from the Oracle of the Diuell this successe followed, that both himselfe, and his three sons, with his neerest & faithfull seruants, were all slaughtered by the Philistims: his bodie with the bodies of his sons (as a spectacle of shame and dishonour) were hung ouer the walls of Bethsan: and there had remained till they had found buriall in the bowels of rauenous birds, had not the gratefull Gileadites of Iabes stolne their carcases thence, and interred them. This was the end of *Saul*, after he had gouerned
Acts 13.21. Israel, together with *Samuel*, 40. yeeres, & by himselfe after *Samuel* 20. yeeres according
Cedren.pa.69. to *Cedrenus*, *Theophilus*, and *Iosephus*. But yet it seemeth to me, that after the death of *Sa-*
Theoph.l.3.p.3. *muel*, *Saul* did not rule very long: For in the beginning of the 25. chapter, it is written that
Ioseph.l.28. *Samuel* died: and in the rest of the same chapter the passages are written of *Dauid*, *Nabal*, and *Abigail*, after which the death of *Saul* quickly ensued.

An exceeding valiant man he was, and gaue a faire entrance to all those victories which *Dauid* afterward obtained; for hee had beaten the Ammonites with their neighbouring Nations; crushe the Syrians, and their adherents; broken the strength of the Amalekites; and greatly wasted the power and pride of the Philistims.

§. VI.

Of such as liued with Samuel *and* Saul; *of* Hellen *and* Hercules, *and of their issues: vpon occasion of the* Dores, *with the* Heraclidæ, *entring* Peloponnesus *about this time.*

IN the second yeere of *Samuel*, according to *Eusebius*, was *Dauid* borne: after *Codoman* later, and in the ninth yeere: after *Bunting* in the tenth. For *Dauid*, saith he, was thirtie yeares old when hee began to reigne: whence it followeth, that he was borne in the tenth of the fortie yeares, which are giuen to *Samuel* and *Saul*. About the eleuenth yeare of *Samuel*, *Æneas Siluius* the sonne of *Posthumus* beganne his reigne ouer the Latines in Alba, who gouerned that State one and thirtie yeares. There are who place before him *Latinus Sylnius*, as brother to *Posthumus*, calling him the fifth from

from *Æneas*, and fourth King of Alba, whereof I will not stand to dispute. In the eleuenth of *Samuel*, *Dercilas* sate in the Throne of *Assyria*, being the one and thirtieth King; he ruled that Empire fortie yeeres. In this age of *Samuel* the *Dores* obtained *Peloponnesus*, and at once with the *Heraclidæ*, who then led and commanded the Nation, possest a great part thereof 328. yeeres before the first *Olympiad*, according to *Diodorus* and *Eratosthenes*. For all Greece was anciently possessed by three Tribes or Kindreds, *viz.* the *Ionians*, *Dorians*, and *Æolians*: at length it was called *Hellas*, and the people *Hellenes* of *Hellen*, the sonne of *Deucalion*, Lord of the Countrie of *Pthiotis* in *Thessalie*. But before the time of this *Hellen*, yea and long after, *Greece* had no name common to all the
10 inhabitants, neither were the people called *Hellenes*, till such time as partly by trading in all parts of the Land, partly by the plantation of many *Colonies*, and sundrie great victories obtained, the issues of *Hellen* had reduced much of the Countrie vnder their obedience, calling themselues generally by one name, and yet euery seuerall Nation after some one of the posteritie of *Hellen*, who had raigned ouer it. And because this is the furthest antiquitie of *Greece*, it will not be amisse to recount the Pedigree of her first planters.

Iapetus (as the Poets fable) was the sonne of Heauen and Earth, so accounted, either because the names of his Parents, had in the Greeke tongue such signification: or perhaps for his knowledge in *Astronomie* and *Philosophie*.

20 *Iapetus* begat *Prometheus*, and *Ephimetheus*: of whom all men haue read that haue read Poets. *Prometheus* begat *Deucalion*: and *Epimetheus*, *Pyrrha*, *Deucalion* & his wife *Pyrrha* reigned in *Thessalie*, which was then called *Pyrrha* (as *Cretensis Rhianus* affirmeth) of *Pyrrha* the *Queene*. In *Deucalions* time was that great floud, of which we haue spoken elsewhere. *Deucalion* begat *Hellen*: whose sonnes were *Xuthus*, *Dorus*, and *Æolus*: of *Dorus* and *Æolus*, the *Dores* and *Æolians* had name. The *Æoles* inhabited *Bœotia*. The *Dores* hauing first inhabited sundry parts of *Thessalie*, did afterward feate themselues about *Parnassus*, and finally became Lords of the Countries about *Lacedæmon*: *Xuthus* the eldest sonne of *Hellen*, being banished by his brethren, for hauing diuerted from them to his owne vse some part of their Fathers goods, came to *Athens*: where marrying the
30 Daughter of King *Erictheus*, hee begat on her two sonnes, *Achæus* and *Ion*. Of these two, *Achæus*, for a slaughter by him committed, fledde into *Peloponnesus*: and seating himselfe in *Laconia*, gaue name to that region: from whence (as some write) he afterwards departed; and leuying an Armie, recouered the Kingdome of his Grandfather in *Thessalie*.

Ion being Generall for the *Athenians*, when *Eumolpus* the *Thracian* inuaded *Attica*, did obtaine a great victorie, and thereby such loue and honour of the people, that they committed the ordering of their State into his hands. He diuided the Citizens into Tribes, appointing euery one to some occupation, or good course of life. When the people
40 multiplied, hee planted *Colonies* in *Sycionia*, then called *Ægialos*, or *Ægialia*: In which Countrie *Solinus* then reigning, thought it safer to giue his Daughter *Helice* in marriage to *Ion*, and make him his Heire, than to contend with him. So *Ion* married *Helice*, and built a Towne called by his Wiues name in Ægialia, where he and his posterity reigned long, and (though not obliterating the old name) gaue to that Land denomination. But in after-times the *Dores* assisting the Nephewes of *Hercules*, inuaded *Peloponnesus*, and ouer-comming the *Achæans*, possessed *Laconia*, and all those parts which the *Achæi* had formerly occupied. Hereupon the *Achæi* driuen to seeke a new seate, came vnto the *Iones*, desiring to inhabit *Ægialia* with them, and alleadging in vaine, that *Ion* and *Achæus* had beene brethren. When this request could not be obtained, they sought by force to expell the *Ionians*, which they performed; but they lost their King *Tisamenes*, the sonne of
50 *Orestes* in that Warre.

Thus were the *Iones* driuen out of *Peloponnesus*, and compelled to remooue into *Attica*, from whence after a while they sailed into *Asia*, and peopled the Westerne coast thereof; on which they built twelue Cities, inhabited by them, euen to this day, at the least without any vniuersall or memorable transmigration. This expedition of the *Iones* into *Asia* hath beene mentioned of all which haue written of that Age, and is commonly placed 140. yeeres after the warre of *Troy*, and 60. yeeres after the descent of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponnesus*. These *Heraclidæ* were they of whom the Kings of *Sparta* issued; which race held that Kingdome about 700. yeeres. Of their Father

Hercules many strange things are deliuered vnto vs by the Poets, of which some are like to haue beene true, others perhaps must bee *allegorically* vnderstood. But the most approued Writers thinke that there were many called *Hercules*, all whose exploits were by the *Greekes* ascribed to the sonne of *Alcmena*, who is said to haue performed these 12. great labours.

First, he slew the *Nemean* Lyon: secondly, he slew the Serpent *Hydra*, which had nine heads, whereof one being cut off, two grew in the place: The third was the ouer-taking a very swift Hare: The fourth was the taking of a wilde Bore aliue, which hanted mount *Erymanthus* in *Arcadie*: The fifth was the cleansing of *Augias* his Oxe-stall in one day, which he performed by turning the Riuer *Alpheus* into it: The sixt was the chasing away of the Birds from the Lake *Stymphalu*: The seuenth was the fetching a Bull from *Crete*: The eight was the taking of the Mares which *Diomedes* King of *Thrace* fed with humane flesh: The ninth was to fetch a Girdle of the *Queen* of the *Amazons*: The three last were, to fetch *Gerions* Beeues from *Gades*; the golden Apples of the *Hesperides*; and *Cerberus* from hell. The *Mythologicall* interpretation of these I purposely omit, as both ouerlong to be heere set downe, and no lesse perplexed than the labours themselues. For some by *Hercules* vnderstand Fortitude, Prudence, and Constancie, interpreting the Monsters, Vices. Others make *Hercules* the *Sunne*, and his trauailes to bee the twelue signes of the *Zodiac*. There are others who apply his workes historically to their owne conceits; as well assured, that the exposition cannot haue more vnlikelihood, than the fables: That hee tooke *Elis*, *Pylus*, *OEchalia*, and other Townes, being assisted by such as eyther admired his vertues, or were beholding vnto him. Also that hee slew many Theeues, and Tyrants, I take to be truly written, without addition of Poeticall vanitie. His trauailes through most parts of the world are, or may seeme, borrowed from *Hercules Libycus*. But sure it is that many Cities of *Greece* were greatly bound to him: for that hee (bending all his indeuours to the common good) deliuered the Land from much oppression. But after his death no Citie of Greece (*Athens* excepted) requited the vertue and deserts of *Hercules*, with constant protection of his children, persequuted by the King *Eurystheus*. This *Eurysthens* was sonne of *Sthenelus*, and grand-childe of *Perseus*; hee reigned in *Mycenæ*, the mightiest Citie then in Greece. He it was that imposed those hard taskes vpon *Hercules*, who was bound to obey him (as Poets report) for expiation of that Murther, which in his madness he had committed vpon his owne children; but as others say, because he was his Subiect and Seruant: wherefore there are who commend *Eurystheus* for imploying the strength of *Hercules* to so good a purpose. But it is so generally agreed by the best writers, that *Hercules* was also of the stocke of *Perseus*, and holden in great iealousie by *Eurystheus* because of his vertue, which appeared more and more in the dangerous seruices, wherein hee was imployed, so that he grew great in reputation and power through all Greece; and had by many wiues and Concubines aboue threescore children. These children *Euryfteus* would faine haue got into his power, when *Hercules* was dead: but they fled vnto *Ceyx* King of *Thracinia*, and from him (for he durst not withstand *Euryftheus*) to *Athens*. The *Athenians* not onely gaue them entertainement, but lent them ayde, wherewith they encountred *Euryftheus*. *Iolaus* the brothers son of *Hercules*, who had assisted him in many of his trauels, was captaine of the *Heraclidæ*. It is said of him, that being dead, hee obtained leaue of *Pluto* to liue againe till hee might reuenge the iniuries done by *Euryftheus*: whom when he had slaine in battell, hee died againe. It seemes to me, that whereas he had led *Colonies* into Sicilie, and abode there a long time forgotten: hee came againe into Greece to assist his cousins, and afterwards returned backe. When the *Peloponnesians* vnderstood that *Euryfteus* was slaine, they tooke *Atreus* the sonne of *Pelops* to their King: for he was rich, mighty, and fauoured of the people. Against him the *Heraclidæ* marched vnder *Hyllus* the sonne of *Hercules*. But to auoide effusion of bloud, it was agreed, that *Hyllus* should fight with *Echenus* King of the *Tegeatæ* a people of *Arcadia*, who assisted *Atreus*; with condition, that if *Hyllus* were victor, he should peaceably enioy what he challenged as his right: otherwise the *Heraclidæ* should not enter *Peloponnesus* in an hundred yeeres. In that combat *Hylus* was slaine, and the *Heraclidæ* compelled to forbeare their Country, till the third generation: at which time they returned vnder *Aristodemus* (as the best authoritie doth shew, though some haue said, that they came vnder the conduct of his children) and brought with them the *Dores*, whom

whom they planted in that countrey, as is before shewed, hauing expelled the *Achæi*, ouer whom the issue of *Pelops* had reigned after the death of *Euryftheus* foure generations.

§. VII.

Of Homer *and* Hesiod, *and many changes in the world, that happened about this age.*

About this time that excellent learned Poet *Homer* liued, as many of the best *Chronologers* affirme. He was by race of the *Mæones*, descended (as *Funcius* imagineth) of *Berosus* his *Anamæon*, who gaue name to that people. But this *Funcius* imagineth *Homer* the Poet to haue beene long after these times, rasnly framing his *Æra* according to [a] *Archilochus* in the tract, or rather fragment *de temporibus*; and makes seauen more of this name to haue florished in diuers Cities in *Greece*. Whence, perhaps, sprang the diuersitie of opinions, both of the time and of the natiue Citie of *Homer*. According to this *Archilochus*, *Funcius* finds *Homer* about the time of *Manasse* King of *Iuda*, and *Numa* of *Rome*. He was called *Melesigenes* from the place of his birth, and at length *Homer*, because blinde men follow a guide, which signification among others, is in the verbe ὁμηρεῖν: for this *Homer* in his latter time was blinde. * *Clemens Alexandrinus* recites many different opinions touching the question of the time when *Homer* liued. So also [b] *Aulus Gellius*, and *Tatianus Assyrius* in his Oration *ad gentes*. *Paterculus* reckons that *Homer* florished 950. yeeres before the *Consulship* of *Marcus Vinutius*: which *Mercator* casteth vp in the worlds yeere 3046. and after *Troy* taken, about 260 yeeres: * and about 250. yeeres before the building of *Rome*; making him to haue florished about the time of *Iehosaphat* King of *Iuda*. But *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Tatianus* aboue named, mention authors that make him much ancienter. The difference of which authors in this point is not vnworthy the readers consideration, that by this one instance he may guesse of the difficultie, and so pardon the errours in the computations of ancient time: seeing in such diuersitie of opinions a man may hardly finde out what to follow. For *Crates* the *Grammarian* (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* reports) gaue being to *Homer* about 80. yeeres after *Troy* taken, neere the time that the *Heraclidæ* returned into *Peloponnesus*: and * *Eratostenes* after *Troy* 100. yeeres. *Theopompus* 500. yeeres after the armie of *Greece*, sailed into *Phrygia* for the warre of *Troy*. *Euphorion* makes him contemporarie with *Gyges*, who began to reigne in the 18. *Olympiad* (which was 45. yeeres after *Rome* was built) and *Sosibius* saith, that he was 90. yeeres before the first *Olympiad*: which he seekes to proue by the times of *Charillus* and his sonne *Nicander*; *Philochorus* placeth him 180. after *Troy*: *Aristarchus* 140. in the time of the seating of the *Colonies* in *Ionia*. *Apollodorus* affirmes that he liued while *Agesilaus* gouerned *Lacedæmon*; and that *Lycurgus* in his yong yeeres, about 100. yeeres after the *Ionian* plantations, came to visit him, neere 240. yeeres after *Troy* taken. *Herodotus* findes *Homer* flourishing 622. yeeres before *Xerxes* enterprise against the *Græcians*: which *Beroaldus* accounteth at 168. yeeres after the *Troian* warre. *Eusebius* seemes to make him to haue beene about the time of *Ioas* King of Iuda, 124. yeeres before *Rome* built: though elsewhere in his *Chronologie* hee notes that some place him in the time of *Samuel*, and others in the end of *Dauid*, and others in other ages. In his *Euangelicall* Preparation, where out of *Tatianus Assyrius* he citeth sundry opinions touching the time when *Homer* liued, hee reckoneth many other *Greeke* writers more ancient than *Homer*; as *Linus*, *Philammon*, *Epimenides*, *Phemius*, *Aristæus*, *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, *Thamyras*, *Amphion*, and others.

Now whether *Homer* or *Hesiodus* were the elder, it is also much disputed. *Aulus Gellius* reports that *Philochorus* and *Xenophanes* affirme, that *Homer* preceded *Hesiod*: and on the contrary, that *Luc. Accius* the Poet, and *Ephorus* the *Historian*, make *Hesiod* of an elder time than *Homer*. *Varro* leaues it vncertaine which of these learned fablers was first borne: but he findes that they liued together some certaine yeeres, wherein hee confirmes himselfe by an *Epigram*, written vpon a Treuit, and left by *Hesiod* in *Helicon*.

Cornelius Nepos reports that they both liued 160. yeeres before *Rome* built: while the *Siluij* reigned in *Alba*, about [a] 140. yeeres after the fall of *Troy*. [b] *Euthymenes* findes them both 200. yeeres after *Troy* taken, in the time of *Acastus* the sonne of *Pelias*, King of

[a] This author set out with *Berosus* and others, first at *Basil*, and after with *Fryer Annius* his Comment at *Antwerp* is incerta fidei.

* *Funcl. chro. sol. 11. col. D.*

* *Naucler f. 147.* placeth *Homer* in the 32. generation in the time of *Samuel*.

* *Stromatum l. 5.*

b *Nat. Attic l. 3 c. 11. item. l. 17. c. 21.*

* As both *Clem. Alex.* and *Tatian. Assyr.* report his opinion *rerum Phil.*

Kos. in disc. temporum.

Phil. in comm. in Archilog.

Her. in vita Hom.

Noct. Attic. l. 3. c. 11.

Varro de imag. l. 1.

Nep. in Chron.

Cass. l. 1. annal.

[a] This number *Mercator* corrects, & reads 240. for it.

b *Euthy. in chron. apud Clem. Alex. Strom. 5.*

of *Thessaly*. For my selfe, I am not much troubled when this Poet liued; neither would I offend the Reader with these opinions, but onely to shew the vncertainty and disagreement of Historians, aswell in this particular, as in all other questions and dispute of time. For, the curiositie of this mans age is no lesse ridiculous, than the iniquisition why he began his *Iliades* with the word *Menin*, as perhaps containing some great mysterie. In derision whereof *Lucian* faining himselfe to haue beene in hell, and to haue spoken with *Homer*, there asked him the cause why he began his booke with that word: who answered, That he began in that sort, because it came in his head so to doe.

It seemeth that *Senyes*, or after *Macrobius*, *Senemires*, ruled *Egypt* at this time: for *Tenephersobris* was his successour, who preceded *Vaphres*, father in law to *Salomon*. 10

Euse. & Cassian Chron. About the end of *Sauls* gouernment, or in the beginning of *Dauids* time according to *Cassiodorus*, the *Amazones* with the *Cymmerians* inuaded *Asia*, *Latinus Syluius* then ruling in *Italie*. And besides the ouerthrow of that famous State of *Troy* (which fell 103. yeeres before *Dauids* time) there were many other changes in the middle part of the world, not onely by reason of those Northerne Nations: but there sprung vp somwhat neerely together, sixe Kindgomes into greatnesse not before erected. In *Italie*, that of the *Latines*: in the South part of Greece, those of *Lacedæmon*, *Corinth*, and the *Achæi*. In *Arabia*, *Syria Soba*, and *Damascus*; the *Adads* made themselues Princes, of which there were ten Kings, which began and ended with the Kings of Israel in effect: and somewhat before these, the State of the *Israelites* hauing now altered the forme of Gouernment, began to flourish 20 vnder Kings, of which *Dauid*, in a few yeeres, became master of all those neighbouring Nations, who by interchange of times had subiected the *Iudæans*, corrupted their religion, and held them vnder in a most abiect and grieuous slauerie; to wit, the *Edumeans*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Midianites*, *Ituræans*, and the rest of the *Arabians*, with the *Philistims*, *Iebusites*, *Gesburites*, *Machathites*; all which acknowledged *Dauid* for their Soueraigne Lord, and paid him tribute.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Dauid. 30

§. I.

Of Dauids *estate in the time of* Saul.

THE hazzards which *Dauid* ran into while he was yet onely designed King, and liued as a priuate man, expecting the Empire, were very many. The first personall act of fame, was his killing of *Goliah* in the view of both armies, whereby hee became knowne to *Saul*, and so highly affected of *Ionathan* the son 40 of *Saul*, that he loued him as his owne soule: In so much as when *Saul* sought to perswade his sonne, that *Dauid* would assuredly bee the ruine of his house, and estate, and offered him violence when hee pleaded his cause; *Ionathan* could neuer be perswaded, neuer forc't, nor euer wearied from the care of *Dauids* life, & well doing. It was not long after this signall act of *Dauid*, but that *Saul* became exceeding iealous of him, though he were become as his houshold seruant, and his Esquire, or armor-bearer. *Saul* being vexed with an euill spirit, was aduised to procure some cunning Musician to play before him vpon the Harpe; wherby it was thought that he might find ease; which came to passe accordingly. He entertained *Dauid* for this purpose, and began to fauour him, giuing him a place of 50 Command among the men of warre. But the iealous tyrant soone wexed wearie of his good affection, and sought to kill *Dauid*, being thereunto moued onely through enuie of his vertue. This passion first brake forth in the middest of his rauing fit, at which time he threw a speare at *Dauid* that was then playing on his Harpe to doe him ease.

Cens. c. 12. & 14. *Censorinus* remembreth one *Asclepius* a *Physician*, who practised the curing of the Frenzie, by the like Musicke: and tempered thereby those diseases which grew from passion. That *Pythagoras* did also the like by such a kind of harmonie, *Seneca* in his third booke of anger witnesseth. But the madnesse of *Saul* came from the cause of causes; and

and was thereby incurable, howsoeuer it sometimes left him, and yeelded vnto that Musicke, which God had ordained to be a meane of more good to the Musician than to the King.

Saul hauing failed in such open attempts, gaue vnto *Dauid* the Command ouer 1000. souldiers, to confront the *Philistims* withall. For hee durst not trust him as before, about his person, fearing his reuenge. Now the better to couer his hatred towards him, he promised him his daughter *Merab* to wife: but hauing married her to *Adriel*, he gaue to *Dauid* his yonger daughter *Michol*, but with a condition, to present him with an hundred foreskins of the *Philistims*: hoping rather (in respect of the valour of that 10 Nation,) that the *Philistims* would take *Dauids* head, than hee their foreskins. This hope failing, when as now *Dauids* victories begat new feares and iealousies in *Saul*, hee practised with *Ionathan*, and afterwards with his owne hands attempted his life; but his purposes were still frustrated. After all this he sought to murther him in his owne house, but *Michol* his wife deliuered him. So *Dauid* sought *Samuel* at *Ramah*, and being pursued by *Saul*, fled thence vnto *Nob* in *Beniamin*, to *Abimelech*, then to *Achis* the *Philistim*, 1 Sam. 19. Prince of *Geth*: where to obscure himselfe, he was forc't to counterfeit both simplicitie and distraction. But being ill assured among the *Philistims*, hee couered himselfe in the 1 Sam. 21. *Caue of Adullam*: and after conueying such of his kinsfolkes as were not fit to follow him, into *Moab*, he hid himselfe in the *desarts of Ziph*, *Maon* and the hils of *Engaddi*, where 1 Sam. 24. 20 he cut off the lap of *Sauls* garment, and spared his life: as he did a second time in the *desart of Ziph*, after his passage with *Nabal* and *Abigail*. After which he repaired to *Achis* 1 Sam. 29. *of Geth* the second time, and was kindly entertained, in regard of the hatred with which his master *Saul* was knowne to prosecute him. *Iansen in Psal.*

Of *Achis Dauid* obtained * *Siklag* in *Simeon*, pretending to inuade Iudæa: but he bent his forces another way and strooke the *Amalekites*, with other enemies of Israel, letting none liue to complaine vpon him. *Achis* supposing that *Dauid* had drawne bloud of his owne Nation, thought himselfe assured of him: and therefore preparing to inuade Israel, summoneth *Dauid* to assist him, who dissembling his intent, seemeth very willing thereto. But the rest of the *Philistim* Princes knowing his valour, and doubting his disposition, liked not his company, and therefore he withdrew himselfe to *Siklag*. At his re- 30 turne he found the town burnt, his two wiues, with the wiues and children of his people, taken by the *Amalekites*: Hereupon his followers mutined, but God gaue him comfort and assurance to recouer all againe: which he did.

* It seemeth that *Simeon* neuer obtained *Siglag* till this time, for it is said in the 1. of *Sam. c.* 27. *v.* 6. therefore *Siglag* pertaineth vnto the King of *Iuda* vnto this day.

This armie of the *Philistims* commanded by *Achis*, encountred *Saul* at *Gilboa*, in which he and his three sonnes were slaine. The newes, with *Sauls* Crowne and bracelets, were brought to *Dauid* at *Siklag*, in his returne from being victorious ouer *Amaleck*, by a man 2 Sam. 1. of the same Nation, who auowed (though falsly) that himselfe at *Sauls* request had slaine him. *Dauid*, because he had accused himselfe, made no scruple to cause him to be slaine 40 at the instant: and the sooner, because the probabilities gaue strong euidence withall. Otherwise it followeth not that euery man ought to be beleeued of himselfe to his owne preiudice. For it is held in the law; *Confessio reorum non habenda est pro explorato crimine, nisi approbatio alia instruit religionem cognoscentis.* *The prisoners confession must not be taken for an euidence of the crime, vnlesse some other proofe informe the conscience of the Iudge.* For a men may confesse those things of himselfe, that the Iudge by examination may know to be impossible. But because it is otherwise determined in the title *de custodia reorum l. si confessus, & in cap. de pœnis l. qui sententiam*, therefore doth the Glosse reconcile these two places in this sort: *Si quis in iudicio sponte de seipso confiteatur, & postea maneat in confessione, id est satis.* *If any man in iudgement doe confesse of himselfe, of his owne accord, and after doth perseuere in his confession, it is enough.* That *Dauid* great- *In F. de quæst. l. 1.* 50 ly bewailed *Saul*, it is not improbable; for death cutteth asunder all competition: and the lamentable end that befell him, being a King, with whom in effect the strength of Israel also fell, could not but stirre vp sorrow, and moue compassion in the heart of Dauid.

The victorie which the Philistims had gotten, was so great, that some townes of the Israelites, euen beyond the riuer of Iordan, were abandoned by the inhabitants, and left vnto the enemie, who tooke possession of them without any resistance made. Wherefore it may seeme strange, that a Nation so warlike and ambitious as were the Philistims, did not follow their fortune with all diligence, and seeke to make the Conquest entire.

Most

Most like it seemes, that the Ciuill warre immediately breaking out betweene *Dauid* and the house of *Saul*, wherein *Iuda* was diuided from the rest of *Israel*, gaue them hope of an easie victory ouer both; and thereby caused them to attempt nothing at the present, lest by so doing they should inforce their disagreeing enemies to a necessarie reconciliation; but rather to permit that the one part should consume the other, by which meanes, both the victors, and the vanquished, would become a prey to the violence of such as had beaten them, when their forces were vnited.

§. II.

Of the beginning of Dauids *reigne, and the warre made by* Abner *for* Isboseth.

AFter the death of *Saul*, *Abner*, who commanded for *Saul* in the warre, sought to aduance *Isboseth* (or *Iebostus*, according to *Iosephus*) though hee had no right to the Kingdome of *Israel*: for *Mephiboseth* the first son of *Ionathan* liued. Against this *Abner*, and *Isboseth*, *Dauid* made a defensiue warre, till *Abner* past *Iordan*, and entred the border of *Iuda*; at which time he sent *Ioab* with such forces as he had, to resist *Abner*: *Isboseth* remaining in *Gilead*, and *Dauid* in *Hebron*. The armies encountred each other neere *Gibeon*, where it seemeth, that *Abner* made the offer to trie the quarrell by the hands of a few; like to that Combat betweene the *Lacedæmonians*, and the *Argiues*, remembred by *Herodotus*, 300. being chosen of each Nation, of which number three persons were onely left vnslaine. The like triall by a farre lesse number was performed by the *Horatij* and *Curiatij* for the *Romanes* and *Latines*. The same challenge *Goliah* the *Philistim* made, whom *Dauid* slew: a custome very ancient. *Edward* the third offered the like triall in his own person to the French King; and *Francis* the French King to *Charles* the Emperour. There were twelue chosen of each part, in this warre of *Dauid* with the house of *Saul*, to wit, so many of *Beniamin*, and as many of *Iuda*: whose force and valor was so equall, as there suruiued not any one to challenge the victorie. But the quarrell staid not here: for the Armie of *Iuda* preste *Abner* in grosse, and brake him. Three hundreth and sixtie men of *Abners* companions were slaine, and but twentie of *Iuda*: whereof *Asahel* the brother of *Ioab* was one: who when hee would needes pursue *Abner*, and by *Abners* perswasions could not bee moued to quit him, hee was forced to turne vpon him, wounded him to death, with the stroake of his speare. For though *Asahel* were an excellent footman, and as it is written in the Text, as light as a wilde *Roe*, and as *Iosephus* reporteth, contended not onely with men, but with horses; and hoped to haue gotten great fame, if he could haue mastered *Abner* (who, as *Asahel* perswaded himselfe, had by being ouerthrown and flying away lost his courage) yet here it fell out true; *That the race is not to the swift.*

2 Sam. 2.

Eccles. 9.

That this ciuill warre lasted two yeeres, wee finde it written in the second of *Samuel* the second Chapter; though in the beginning of the third it is againe made probable, that this contention dured longer; and therefore the matter resteth still in dispute, and some of the *Rabbines* conceiue that *Isboseth* had then raigned two yeeres, when this was written, the warre as yet continuing a longer time. For *Abner* held for the partie of *Isboseth* after this, and till such time as there grew iealousie betweene him and *Isboseth* for *Sauls* concubine: neither did the death of *Isboseth* instantly follow; but how long after the murther of *Abner* it happened, the same doth not certainly appeare.

Vers. 10.

§. III.

Of the death of Abner *slaine by* Ioab, *and of* Isboseth *by* Rechab *and* Baanah.

ABner, reconciled to *Dauid*, was anon by *Ioab* murdered; for *Ioab* could not endure a companion in *Dauids* Fauour, and in the commandement of his forces; by which he was growne so powerfull, as *Dauid* forbare to call him to account: for thus much he confesseth of himselfe; *I am this day weake, and these men of the sonnes of* Zeruiah *be too hard for me.* In this sort *Dauid* complained after *Abners* death; and to make it cleare that he hated this fact of *Ioab*, he followed him with this publike imprecation; *Let the bloud fall on the head of* Ioab, *and on all his fathers house: and let them be*

2 Sam. 3. 27.

2 Sam. 3. 39.

Verse 29.

be subiect to vlcers, to the leprosie, to lamenesse, to the sword, and to pouertie, &c. For could any thing haue withstood the ordinance of *God*, this murther committed by *Ioab* might greatly haue indangered *Dauids* estate, *Abner* being the mouth and trust of all the rest of the Tribes, not yet reconciled. This mischance therefore *Dauid* openly bewailed, so that all *Israel* perceiued him to be innocent of that fact. The place which *Abner* held, being Generall of the men of warre, was of such importance, that the Kings themselues were faine to giue them great respect, as hath beene already shewed more at large. This office *Ioab* held in the armie of *Iuda*, and thought himselfe worthy to hold the place entire, if once his Lord might obtaine the whole Kingdome. For he was neere to *Dauid* in kindred, and had beene partaker of all his aduersitie; wherefore he did not thinke it meete, that an old enemy should in reward of new benefits, be made his partner. Indeede he was by nature so iealous of his dignitie and place, that he afterward slew *Amasa* his owne kinsman and the Kings, vpon the same quarrell, taking it in high disdaine to see him ioyned with himselfe as captaine of the hoste of *Iuda*: much lesse could hee brooke a superiour, and such a one as had slaine his brother, and beene beaten himselfe in battell. But howsoeuer *Ioab* did hate or despise *Abner*, *Dauid* esteemed highly of him as of a Prince, and a great man in *Israel*, excusing the ouersight by which he might seeme to haue perished, by affirming that he died not like a foole, nor a man vanquished, *But as a man falleth before wicked men, so* (said he) *diddest thou fall.* And certainly it is no error of wit, nor want of valour and vertue in him whom a stronger hand destroyed vnawares; or whom subtiltie in free trust bringeth to confusion. For all vnder the *Sunne* are subiect to worldly miseries and misaduentures. Howsoeuer *Isboseth* meant to haue dealt with *Abner*, yet when he heard of his death, he despaired greatly of his estate, and with him all *Israel* were possest with great feare: insomuch as two of *Isboseths* owne Captaines, *Rechab* and *Baanah*, murthered *Isboseth*, and presenting his head to *Dauid*, receiued the same reward that the *Amalekite* lately did, for pretending to haue slaine *Saul*. *Isboseth* being dead, all the Elders of *Israel* repaired to *Dauid* at *Hebron*, where he was the third and last time annointed by generall consent.

2 Sam. 3. Verse 34.

2 Sam. 4.

§. IIII.

Of the flourishing time of Dauids *Kingdome, the taking of Ierusalem, with two ouerthrowes giuen to the Philistims, and the conduction of the Arke to the Citie of* Dauid.

WHen *Dauid* was now established in the Kingdome, his first enterprise was vpon the *Iebusites*, who in derision of his force, and confident in the strength of the place (as is thought) manned their wals with the blinde and lame of their Citie; which *Dauid* soone after entered: all their other forces notwithstanding. For hauing mastered the fort of *Zion* (which was afterward the Citie of *Dauid*) hee became Lord of *Hierusalem*, without any great danger, expelling thence the *Iebusites*, who had held it from the foundation, to the times of *Moses* and *Iosua*, and after them almost 400. yeeres. There are who expound this place otherwise: *Except thou take away the blinde and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither.* For some thinke that it was meant by the *Idols* of the *Iebusites*: others, that it had reference to the Couenant made long before with *Isaac*, and *Iacob*: the one blinde by nature and age, the other made lame by wrestling with the Angell, and that therefore till those (that is, till that Couenant) be broken, *Dauid* ought not to molest them. But for my selfe, I take it with *Iosephus*, that they armed their wals with certaine impotent people at first, in scorne of *Dauids* attempt. For they that had held their Citie about 400. yeeres against all the children of Israel, *Iosua*, the *Iudges*, and *Saul*, did not doubt but to defend it also against *Dauid*.

2 Sam. 5.

When he had now possest himself of the very heart and Center of the Kingdome, and receiued congratulatorie Embassadours and presents from *Hiram* King of *Tyre*: he entertained diuers other concubines and married moe wiues, by whom he had ten sons in Ierusalem, and by his former wiues he had sixe in Hebron where he reigned 7. yeeres.

The *Philistims* hearing that *Dauid* was now annointed King, as wel of *Iuda* as of Israel, they thought to try him in the beginning, before he was fully warme in his seat. And being encountred by *Dauid* at two seuerall times in the *Valley of Rephaim*, or of the *Giants*, they were at both times ouerthrowne. After which he called the place *Baalperazim*.

2 Sam. 5.

Then *Dauid* assembled 30000. choice *Israelites* to conduct the *Arke of God* from the house

house of *Abinadab* in *Gibea* to the Citie of *Dauid*; which busineſſe was interrupted by the death of *Vzzah* the ſonne of *Abinadab*, whom the Lord ſlew for preſuming to touch the *Arke*, though it were with intent to ſtay it from taking harme, when it was ſhaken. But after three yeeres it was with great ſolemnity brought into the Citie with ſacrifices, muſicke, dances, and all ſignes of ioyfulneſſe, in which *Dauid* himſelfe gladly bare a part. Hereupon *Michol* derided him for dancing before the *Arke*, and afterward told him in ſcorne, *That he was vncouered as a foole in the eyes of the maidens his ſeruants*; namely that he forgat his regall dignity both in apparrell and behauiour; and mixed himſelfe among the baſe multitude, dancing as fooles doe in the wayes and ſtreetes: not that ſhee diſliked *Dauids* behauiour (as I take it) though ſhe made it the colour of her deriſion; but rather the aboundant griefe, which this ſpectacle ſtirred vp, beholding the glory of her husband to whom ſhe was deliuered laſtly by force, and remembring the miſerable end of her father and brethren, out of whoſe ruines ſhe conceiued that the ſonne of *Iſhai* had built this his greatneſſe: together with the many new wiues and concubines imbraced ſince his poſſeſsion of *Ieruſalem*, made her breake out in thoſe deſpitefull tearmes, for which ſhe remained barren to her death.

1 Chro.c.3. This done, *Dauid* conſulted with the Prophet *Nathan* for the building of the Temple or houſe of *God*: but was forbidden it, becauſe he was a man of warre, and had ſhed bloud. So greatly doth the Lord and King of all deteſt homicide; hauing threatned, not in vaine, that he would require the bloud of man, at the hand of man and beaſt. The wars which *Dauid* had made were iuſt, and the bloud therein ſhed was of the enemies of God, and his Church: yet for this cauſe it was not permitted that his hands ſhould lay the foundation of that holy Temple. Hereby it appeares how greatly thoſe Princes deceiue themſelues, who thinke by bloud-ſhed & terrour of their warres, to make themſelues in greatneſſe like to the *Almightie*, which is a damnable pride; not caring to imitate his mercie and goodneſſe, or ſeeke the bleſſedneſſe promiſed by our *Sauiour* vnto the peace-makers.

Now although it was not pleaſing to the Lord to accept a Temple of *Dauids* founding, yet was his religious intent ſo well accepted, that hereupon he receiued both a confirmation of the Kingdome to him and his heires, and that happie promiſe of the euerlaſting Throne, that ſhould be eſtabliſhed in his ſeede.

§. V.

The ouerthrow of the Philiſtims and Moabites.

2 Sam.8.v.1. SOone after this, *Dauid* ouerthrew the *Philiſtims*, which made them altogether powerleſſe, and vnable to make any inuaſion vpon *Iſrael* in haſte. For it is written, *Accepit frænum Amgaris è manu Philiſthæorum*; which place our *Engliſh Geneua* conuerts in theſe words, And *Dauid tooke the bridle of bondage out of the hand of the Philiſtims*. The Latine of *Iunius* giueth another and a better ſenſe; for by that bridle of *Amgar* was meant the ſtrong Citie of *Gath*, or *Geth*, and ſo the *Geneua* hath it in the marginall note. This Citie of *Gath* was the ſame which was afterward *Dio-Cæſarea*, ſet on the frontier of *Palæſtina* at the entrance into *Iudæa* and *Ephraim*. From thence they made their incurſions, and thereinto their retrait in all their inuaſions; which being taken by *Dauid* and demoliſhed, there was left no ſuch frontier towne of equall ſtrength to the *Philiſtims* on that part. The hill whereon *Geth* or *Gath* ſtood, the *Hebrews* call *Ammæ*, wherof and of the word *Gar* is made *Amgar*, of which *Plinie* in his firſt book, and Chap. 13. This expoſition is made plaine and confirmed in the firſt of *Chro.* the 18.

Iunius n 8.c. of the ſecond of Sam.

There was no nation bordering the *Iewes* that ſo greatly afflicted them as the *Philiſtims* did, who before the time of *Saul*, (to the end they might not ſharpen any weapon againſt them) did not leaue one Smith in all their Cities and Villages of that kinde, but infor't them to come downe into their territorie, for all iron worke whatſoeuer they needed; ſo as the *Iſraelites* till this time of *Dauid* were ſeldome free from paying tribute to the *Philiſtims*.

1 Sam.13.

After this he gaue them foure other ouerthrowes: but the war of the *Moabites* and *Arabians* came betweene. In the firſt of which he was indangered by *Iſhbi-benob*, the head of whoſe ſpeare weighed 300. ſheckles of braſſe, which make nine pound three quarters of our poizes: at which time *Abiſhai* ſuccoured *Dauid* and ſlew the *Philiſtim*, whereupon the

the Counſellors and Captaines of *Dauid* (leſt the light of Iſrael might by his loſſe be quenched) vowed that he ſhould not thenceforth hazzard himſelfe in any battail. The ſecond and third incounter and ouerthrow of the *Philiſtims* was at *Gob*, a place neere *Geſar*, and the laſt at *Gath* or *Geth*. And being now better aſſured of the *Philiſtims* by the taking of *Geth*, he inuaded *Moab*, from whom notwithſtanding in his aduerſitie hee ſought ſuccour, and left his parents with him in truſt. But whether it were the ſame King or no, it is not knowne. 2 Sam.21.v.17

The *Rabbines* faine that *Moab* ſlew thoſe kinsfolkes of *Dauid*, which liued vnder his protection in *Sauls* time; but queſtionleſſe *Dauid* well knew how that Nation had bin alwayes enemies to Iſrael, & tooke all the occaſions to vex them that were offered. And he alſo remembred that in the 23. of *Deut.* God commanded Iſrael not to ſeek the peace or proſperity of the Moabites, which *Dauid* well obſerued, for hee deſtroyed two parts of the people, leauing a third to till the ground. This victory obtained, he led his army by the border of *Ammon* towards *Syria Zobah*, the region of *Adadezer* the ſon of *Rehob* King thereof. The place is ſet downe in the deſcription of the holy Land: to which I referre the Reader.

§. VI.

The warre which Dauid *made vpon the Syrians.*

IT is written in the Text: Dauid *ſmote alſo* Hadadezer, *&c. as he went to recouer his border at the riuer Euphrates*. Now whether the words (*as hee went to recouer his border*) bee referred to *Dauid* or *Hadadezer*, it is not agreed vpon. *Iunius* thinkes that the article (*hee*) hath relation to *Dauid*, who finding *Tohu* oppreſt by *Hadadezer*, ouerthrew the one, and ſuccoured the other. But the ancient and moſt receiued opinion, that this recouery hath reference to the Syrian, is more probable. For if *Dauid* had intended any ſuch enterprize towards *Euphrates*, he was in farre better caſe to haue proceeded after his victory than before: ſeeing that (*Adadezer* being taken) he had now left no enemie on his back, either to purſue him, to take victuals and ſupplies from him, or to ſtop the paſſages of the mountaines vpon him at his returne.

Againe, ſeeing *Dauid* was either to paſſe through a part of *Arabia* the deſart, or by the plaines of *Palmyrena*, his army conſiſting of footmen, for the moſt, if not all: He had now both horſe and chariots good ſtore to carry his prouiſions through thoſe vncultiued places, by which hee was to haue marched before he could haue reached *Euphrates* or any part thereof. But wee finde that *Dauid* returned to Ieruſalem, after he had twice ouerthrowne the Syrian army, not bending his courſe towards the riuer *Euphrates*, but ſeeking to eſtabliſh his purchaſes already made. Whereby it may appeare, that it was the Syrian, and not King *Dauid*, that was going to inlarge his border, as afore is ſaid.

The king of Syria, Damaſcena, & of Damaſcus, whereof that region is ſo called, hearing that *Adadezer* was ouerthrown by the Iſraelites, fearing his own eſtate, & the loſſe of his own country which adioined to *Syria Zoba* of *Hadadezer*, ſent for an army of Aramites or Syrians to his ſuccour: but theſe, as it appeareth, came too late for *Adadezer* and too ſoone for themſelues: for there periſhed of thoſe ſupplies 22000. This king of Damaſcus, *Ioſephus* (out of *Nicholaus* an ancient Hiſtorian) calleth *Adad*, who was alſo of the ſame name and family as all thoſe other *Adads* were: which now began to grow vp in greatneſſe, and ſo continued for ten deſcents, till they were extinguiſhed by the Aſſyrians, as is ſhewed heretofore. *Dauid* hauing now reduced Damaſcus vnder his obedience, left a garriſon therin, as he did in Edom: hauing alſo ſackt the adioyning Cities of Betah, & Berathi, belonging to *Adadezer*, of which Cities *Ptolomie* calleth Betah, Tauba: and *Berathi* he nameth *Barathena*. *Tohu* or *Thoi*, whoſe country of *Hamath* ioyned to *Adadezer* (as in the deſcription of the Holy land the reader may perceiue) ſent his ſon *Ioram* to congratulate this ſucceſſe of *Dauid*: partly becauſe he had war with *Adadezer*, & partly becauſe he feared *Dauid* now victorious. He alſo preſented *Dauid* with veſſels of gold, ſiluer, and braſſe; all which together with the golden ſhields of the Aramites, and 2 Sam. 8.

the best of all the spoiles of other Nations, *Dauid* dedicated vnto God at his returne. *Iunius* translated the words (*clypeos aureos*) by *vmbones*, as if all the parts of the targets were not of gold but the bosses onely. The *Septuagint* call them bracelets: *Aquila*, golden chains. But because *Roboam* made shields of brasse in place of these of *Adadezer*, at such time as *Shicah* the Egyptian sackt the Temple of Ierusalem, it may be gathered thereby that those of *Adadezer* were golden shields.

2 Sam. 1. This done, *Dauid* sent Embassadours to *Hanum* King of the Ammonities to congratulate his establishment in his fathers Kingdome: for *Dauid* in the time of his affliction vnder *Saul*, had beene relieued by *Nahash*, the father of *Hanum*. But this *Ammonite* being ill aduised, and ouer-iealous of his estate, vsed *Dauids* messengers so barbarously, and contemptuously (by curtailing their beardes, and their garments) as hee thereby drew a warre vpon himselfe, which neither his owne strength, nor all the aydes purchased could put off, or sustaine. For notwithstanding that hee had waged three and thirtie thousand Souldiers of the Amalekites, and their confederates; to wit, of the vassalles of *Adadezer* twentie thousand, and of *Maachah* and *Ishtob* thirteene thousand (for which hee disbursed a thousand talents of siluer) yet all these great armies together with the strength of the Ammonites, were by *Ioab* and his brother *Abishai* easily broken and put to ruine: and that without any great losse or slaughter at that time. And it is written, that when the Aramites fled, the Ammonites also retraited into their Cities, the one holding themselues within the walles, the other in their desarts adioyning, till *Ioab* was returned to Ierusalem.

Maachah the North part of *Traconitis* remembred in *Deut.*3.14. *Ishtob* or *Thob* a country neere *Gad* vnder the rockes of *Arnon*. 2 *Sam.*10.

Hadadezer hearing that *Ioab* had dismissed his armie, assembled his forces againe, and sent all the companies that hee could leuie out of *Mesopotamia*, who vnder the command of *Shobach* passed *Euphrates*, and incamped at *Helam*, on the South side thereof. *Dauid* hearing of this new preparation, assembled all the ablest men of Israel, and marched towards the Syrian armie in Palmyrena, not yet entred into Arabia; to wit, at Helam, a place no lesse distant from Damascus, towards the North-east, than Ierusalem was towards the Southwest. Now *Dauid* (speaking humanely) might with the more confidence goe on towards *Euphrates* (which was the farthest-off iourney that euer hee had) because hee was now Lord of Damascus, which lay in the midway. Hee also possest himselfe of * Thadmor or Palmyrena, which *Salomon* afterward strongly fortified; and this Citie was but one dayes iourney from Helam, and the riuer Euphrates. So had he two safe retraites, the one to Thadmor, and the next from thence to Damascus. In this encounter betweene *Dauid* and the Syrians, they lost 40000. horsemen, and 700. chariots, together with *Shobach* Generall of their armie. The Chronicles call these 40000. Souldiers footmen, and so *Iunius* conuerts it, and so is it very probable. For the armie of Israel consisting of footemen, could hardly haue slaughtered 40000. horsemen, except they quitted their horse and fought on foote. So are the chariots taken in this battell, numbred at 7000. in the first of *Chronicles* the ninth; in which number, as I conceiue, all the Souldiers that serued in them with the conductors are included: so as there dyed of the Syrians in this warre against *Dauid*, before he forc't them to tribute, 100000. footemen, besides all their horsemen and waggoners, and besides all those that *Ioab* slew, when they fled at the first encounter, together with the Ammonites, before *Rabbah*. Notwithstanding all which, the Adads in following ages gathered strength againe, and afflicted the Kings of Iuda often: but the Kings of Israel they impouerished euen to the last end of that State.

Helam or *Chelam* which *Ptolomy* calleth *Alamatha* neere the foords of *Euphrates*. 2 *Sam.*10.

* See c. 18. §. 2.

Dauid hauing now beaten the Arabians and Mesopotamians, from the partie and confederacy of *Ammon*: He sent out *Ioab* the Lieutenant of his armies to forradge and destroy their territorie, and to besiege *Rabbah*, afterward *Philadelphia*, which after a while the Israelites mastered and possest. The Kings crowne which weighed a talent of gold, garnished with precious stones, *Dauid* set on his owne head; and carried away with him the rest of the riches and spoile of the Citie. And though *Dauid* stayed at Ierusalem, following the war of *Vriah* his wife, till such time as the Citie was brought to extreamity and ready to be entred: yet *Ioab* in honour of *Dauid* forbare the last assault, & enterance thereof, till his masters arriuall. To the people he vsed extreame rigour (if wee may so call it being exercised against heathen Idolaters,) for some of them hee tare with harrowes

rowes, some he sawed asunder, others he cast into burning kils, in which he baked tyle and bricke.

§. VII.

Of Dauids *troubles in his reigne, and of his forces.*

BVt as victorie begetteth securitie, and our present worldly felicitie a forgetfulnesse of our former miseries, and manie times of God himselfe the giuer of all goodnesse: so did these changes, in the fortune and state of this good King, change also the zealous care which formerly he had to please God in the precise obseruation of his Lawes and Commandements. For hauing now no dangerous apparant enemie (against whom he was wont to aske counsaile from the Lord) he began to be aduised by his owne humane affections and vaine desires. For hee was not onely satisfied to take *Vriahs* wife from him, and to vse her by stealth; but hee imbrodered his adulterie with *Vriahs* slaughter, giuing order to his trustie seruant *Ioab* to marshall him in the front or point of those Israelites, which gaue an assault vpon the suburbs of Rabba, when there was not as yet anie possibilitie of preuailing. And, that which could no lesse displease God than the rest, he was content that manie others of his best seruants and souldiers should perish together with *Vriah*, hoping thereby to couer his particular ill intent against him. After which hee began by degrees to fall from the highest of happinesse, and his dayes then to come were filled with ioyes and woes interchangeable, his troden-downe sorrowes began againe to spring, and those perils which he had pulled vp by the rootes (as he hoped) gaue him an after-haruest of many cares and discontentments. And if it had pleased God to take the witnesse of *Dauids* own mouth against him, as *Dauid* himselfe did against the Amalekite, which pretended to haue slain *Saul*, he had then appeared as worthy of reprehension as the other was of the death he suffered. For when *Nathan* the Prophet propounded vnto him his owne errour in the person of another, to wit, of him that tooke the poore mans sheepe that had none else, the bereauer being Lord of manie: He then vowed it to the liuing Lord, that such a one should die the death. And hereof, although it pleased God to pardon *Dauid* for his life, which remission the Prophet *Nathan* pronounced: yet hee deliuered him Gods iustice together with his mercie in the tenour following; *Now therefore the sword shall neuer depart from thy house &c. because thou hast taken his wife to be thy wife, and hast slaine Vriah with the sword of the children of Ammon.* Soone after this, *Dauid* lost the childe of adulterie which he begot on *Bersheba*. Secondly, his own sonne *Amnon* being in loue with his halfe sister *Thamar*, by the aduice of his cousin-german the sonne of *Shimeah Dauids* brother, possest her by force: which when he had performed, he thrust her from him in a carelesse and despitefull manner. Two yeares after which foule and incestuous act, *Absalom* caused him to be murthered, at the feast of his sheepe-shearing: not perchance in reuenge of *Thamars* rauishment alone; but hauing it in his heart to vsurpe the kingdome: in which, because he could not in anie sort be assured of *Amnon*, he thought his affaire greatly aduanced by his destruction. So the one brother hauing rauished his owne sister, and then despised her; the other after a long dissembled malice, first made his owne brother drunken, and then slaughtered him; which done, he fled away, and liued vnder the saueguard of *Talmai* king of Gessur, neere Damascus, who was his grandfather by the mother, but a heathen King. Thirdly, when *Absalom* by the inuention of *Ioab* (but chiefly because of the great affection of *Dauid* towards his sonne) was brought againe, first to the Kings fauour, and then to his presence; he began instantly to practise against *Dauid* his father, seeking by the pretence of common iustice, and by lowly and familiar manner to all men, and by detracting from his fathers equitie, to win vnto himselfe a popular reputation. Here began the great affliction, threatned by the Lord as a punishment of *Dauids* sinne.

2. Sam. 11. & 5.

2. Sam. 12. 9. & 10.

2. Sam. 13.

2. Sam. 14.

The companie which *Absalom* gathered at the first were but 200. men: which he carried with him from Ierusalem to Hebron, pretending, though impiously, the performance of a vow to God. There when *Achitophel* repaired vnto him, & many troupes of

2. Sam. 15.

people from all places, he proclaimed himself King, & was by the people (whose hearts God had turned from their lawfull Prince) accepted so readily, that *Dauid* doubting to be set vpon on the suddaine, durst not trust himselfe in his owne Citie of Ierusalem, nor in any other walled towne for feare of surprise: but incamped in the fields and desarts with some 600. of his guard, and few else. The Priests hee left in Ierusalem with the Arke of God, from whom hee desired to be aduertised of those things that chanced; to whom he directed *Hushai* his trustie friend, & seruant, praying him to make himselfe in
2.Sam.15. all his outward actions and counsels of *Absaloms* party and confederacy, thereby the better to discouer vnto him the purposes of *Achitophel*, a reuolting Counsailor, whose practices lie greatly doubted. And now when treason was in fashion, *Ziba* also sought to 10 betray his master *Mephibosheth* the sonne of *Ionathan*: And *Shimei* of the house of *Saul* (the fire of whose hatred *Dauids* prosperity had smothered, but his aduersity illightned) holding himselfe vpon the aduantage of a mountaine side, cast stones at *Dauid*, and most
2.Sam.16. despightfully cursed him to his face: but *Dauid* attending no priuate reuenges, forbad *Abishai* to pursue him for the present, yet left him among others in the roll of his reuenge, to his sonne *Salomon*. *Absalom* being now posseſt of Ierusalem, was aduised by *Achitophel* to vse his fathers concubines in some such publique place, as all Israel might assure themselues, that he was irreconcileable to his father: whereof being perswaded, they would then resoluedly adhere to *Absalom* and his cause, without feare of being
2.Sam.17. giuen vp vpon a reconciliation betweene them. This saluage and impious (though crafte 20 tie counsaile) *Achitophel* indeede vrged for his owne respect, as fearing that this rebellion might take end to his destruction; who most of all other inflamed *Absalom* against his father. And now was it fulfilled that *Nathan* had directly foretold *Dauid*: *I will raise*
2.Sam.c.12. v.11. *vp euill against thee out of thine owne house, and will take thy wiues before thine eyes, and giue them vnto thy neighbour, and hee shall lye with thy wiues in the sight of the Sunne: for thou diddest it secretly, but I will doe this thing before all Israel, and before the Sunne.* Hee also gaue aduice to *Absalom*, that himselfe with an armie of 12000. men might bee im-
2.Sam.17.v.14. ployed at the instant for the surprizing of *Dauid*; which had willingly beene imbraced by *Absalom*, had not *Hushai Dauids* faithfull seruant giuen counter-aduice, and swayed it: perswading *Absalom* that it was fitter and more safe for him with all the strength of 30 Israel, to pursue his father, than by such a troope, which *Dauids* valour and those of his attendants might either indanger or resist. This delay in *Absalom*, and aduantage of time gained by *Dauid*, was indeede, after God, the losse of the one, and deliuery of the
2.Sam.17.23. other. Whereupon *Achitophel* rightly fearing (by the occasion fore-shewed) the successe which followed, disposed of his owne estate, and then forfooke both the party and the care of *Absalom*, and of his owne life.

Dauid being aduertised of this enterprize against him, marched away all night, and past Iordan, possessing himselfe of Mahanaim in the tribe of *Gad*: the same wherin *Ishboseth* himselfe in the war against *Dauid* after *Sauls* death seated himselfe. To which place there repaired vnto him *Shobi* the sonne of *Nahash* the Ammonite, whom *Dauid* loued, 40 the same which *Iosephus* calleth *Shiphar*. And though it bee greatly disputed, what this *Shobi* was, yet the most generall and probable opinion makes him a second brother to *Hanum*, whom *Dauid* for his fathers sake established in the kingdome, after *Hanums* ouerthrow: in thankfulnesse whereof he relieued *Dauid* in this his extremity. There came also to *Dauids* assistance *Machir* of *Lodabar*, Guardian in former times to *Mephiboseth*, and among others *Barzillai* the Gileadite, who willingly fed *Dauid* and all his companie.

In the meane time both the king and *Absalom* prepared to fight; *Absalom* made *Amasa* Commander of the armie of Israel, the same place which *Ioab* held with *Dauid*; an office next the king himselfe, like vnto that of the Maiors of the Palace anciently in 50 France. *Dauid*, perswaded by his company, stayed in Mahanaim, & disposed the forces he had to *Ioab*, *Abishai*, and *Ittai*, giuing them charge in the hearing of all that issued out of the port of Mahanaim, that they should spare the life of *Absalom*. But *Ioab*, besides that hee was very cruell by nature, remembred that *Absalom* had lately disposed of his gouernment to *Amasa*, and therfore the victory being obtained, & newes brought him
15. 16. that *Absalom* hung by the haire of his head on a tree, when hee could not perswade the
2.Sam.18.14. messenger to returne and kill him, he himselfe with his owne seruants dispatcht him.

It appeared also by the sequell that *Ioab* affected *Adoniah* whom he afterward acknow-
2.Sam.18. ledged, *Dauid* yet liuing; and fearing the disposition of *Absalom*, he imbraced the present aduantage offered.

Hereof, together with newes of the victorie, when knowledge was brought to *Dauid*, he mourned and sorrowed, not only as a man that had lost a sonne, but as one that had outliued all his worldly ioyes, and seene euerie delight of life interred. For hee so hid himselfe from his people, as those which hoped for honour and reward after so great a victorie, couered themselues also in the citie, as if they had committed the greatest offences, and had rather deserued death than recompence. Whereupon *Ioab* presenting 10 himselfe before *Dauid*, perswaded him to dissemble his sorrow for the present, and to shew himselfe to the armie. For first, he told him that he had discountenanced his faithfull seruants, who had that day preserued his life; inferring that nothing could bee more dangerous to a King, than not onely not to acknowledge so great a loue and constancie in his people, who being but few in number, did yet resoluedly expose themselues to great perils for his sake: but on the contrarie, grieue and lament at their good successe. For, no doubt, they might all haue bought their peace of *Absalom* at an easie rate. Secondly, he vrged that it was generally beleeued, that he loued his enemies & hated his friends; and that he witnessed by this his mourning, that he had not anie respect of his Princes, and others his faithfull seruants, but would more haue ioyed if they had 20 all perished, and Absalom liued, than in the victorie by their faithfulnesse and approued valour gotten.

Lastly, he vsed this preualent argument, That if the King came not out and shewed himselfe publickly to his men of warre, that they would all that verie night abandon him, and returne: concluding with this fearefull threatning, *And that will be worse vn-*
2.Sam.19. *to thee than all the euill that fell on thee from thy youth hitherto.* By these ouer-bold and arrogant speeches (though perchance vttered with a good intent) *Ioab* raised *Dauid* from his bed of sorrow, and brought him to the gates of the citie among the people, whom he assured of his loue and affection, especially *Amasa*, who commanded the armie of *Absalom*, to whom he promised the office of Lieutenantship; the same which *Absalom* 30 had giuen him, and which *Ioab* now enioyed. For *Dauid* doubted, that if *Amasa* were not satisfied, he might draw from him a great part of the strength of Israel, now vnder his commandement.

This done, the King marched towards Iordan homeward, where in his passage hee
2.Sam.19.23. pardoned *Shimei*, who had lately reuiled him to his face: but this remission was but externall, as appeared afterward. He also accepted of *Mephibosheth* his excuse, whom *Ziba* had falsly accused and betrayed.

He also intreated *Barzillai* the Gileadite, his late liberall Oast, to follow him to Ieru-
2.Sam.19.38. salem, that he might reward his seruice done him; who excusing himselfe by his age, 40 appointed his sonne *Chimham* to attend the King.

At Gilgal on this side Iordan, all the Tribes assembled, and after some contention which of them ought to haue most interest in Dauid, the Armie brake, & Dauid returned to Ierusalem. But Sheba the son of Bichri, a Beniamite, of the faction of the house of Saul, finding some discontent among the Israelites, withdrew them from Dauid, as from a stranger in whom they had no interest, and it seemeth that manie of the people of the out Tribes, and in effect of all but Iuda, bare still a good affection to the issues of their first King. Dauid imployed his reconciled Captaine Amasa, to giue him contentment, and to witnesse his trust, as also because hee conceiued that Amasa had interest in those reuolts of Israel more than Ioab had. He receiued commandement from Dauid to assemble the Armie within three dayes, which hee foreslowed: but being on-
50 ward on his way, Abishai, Ioabs brother, was sent after him, with Dauids guard and best Souldiers, whom also Ioab accompanied: and ouertaking Amasa neere Gibeon, pretending to imbrace him, gaue him a wound, whereof hee fell dead, being no lesse ielous of Amasa than he was of Abner, whom he murdered in the same manner, and out of the same impatient ambition. This done, hee pursued Sheba; and finding him inclosed in Abel, assaulted the citie with that furie, that the citizens by the perswasions
2.Sam.20.16. of a wise woman there inhabiting, cut off Sheba his head, and flung it to Ioab ouer the walls: which done, he retraited his Armie to Ierusalem, and commanded, as before, all
2.Sam.20.22. the Host of Israel.

The next act of Dauid, was the deliuery of Sauls sons or kinsmen to the Gibeonites, whom those citizens hung vp in reuenge of their fathers crueltie. Dauid had knowledge from the *Oracle of God*, that a famine which had continued on the land three yeers, came by reason of Saul and his house, to wit, for the slaughter of the Gibeonites: and therefore he willingly yeelded to giue them this satisfaction, both because he had warrant from God himselfe, as also, if wee may iudge humanely, to rid himselfe of Sauls line, by whom he and his might, aswell in the present as in the future, be greatly molested and indangered; only he spared Mephibosheth the sonne of Ionathan, both for the loue he bare to his father, as for his oath and vow to God.

Now whereas it is written in the Text, *The King took the two sonnes of Rispah, whom she bare vnto Saul, and the fiue sonnes of Michol the daughter of Saul, whom she bare to Adriel, and deliuered them to the Gibeonites*: Iunius cals this Michol the sister of her that was Dauids wife, snee whom Saul married to Phaltiel: but Michol here named, had Adriel to her husband; the same which is named Merab in the first of Samuel the eighteenth, who was first promised to Dauid when he slew Goliah in the valley of Raphaim: and because it is written that Michol loued Dauid, which perchance Merab did not, whether Dauid had anie humane respect in the deliuerie of her children, it is onely knowne to God. 2.Sam.21.

Now where the Geneua nameth Michol for Merab the wife of Adriel: the better translation were out of the Hebrew word here vsed, hauing an eclipsis or defect, & signifieth, as I am informed, one of the same kinred, as in the 19. verse of the same one and twentieth chapter it is said of Goliah, whose speare was weightie as a Weauers beame, when as by the same eclipsis it must be vnderstood by the brother of Goliah; Goliah himselfe being formerly slaine.

As by the death of Sauls children God secured the house of Dauid, leauing no head vnto rebellion; so did hee strengthen both the King and Nation against forreine enemies, by the valour of many braue Commanders, the like of whom, for number & qualitie, that people of Israel is not knowne to haue had at any time before or after. Thirty Captaines of thousands there were, all men of marke, and great reputation in warre. Ouer these were sixe Coronels, whose valour was so extraordinarie, that it might be well held as miraculous. These Coronels had some difference of place and honour, which seemeth to haue beene giuen vpon meere consideration of their vertue. For Abishai the brother of Ioab, who in the warre against the Ammonites & Aramites was Lieutenant, and commanded halfe the armie, could not attaine to the honour of the first ranke, but was faine to rest contented with being principall of the three Coronels of the second order, notwithstanding his neernesse of bloud vnto the King, the flourishing estate of his owne house, and his well approued seruices. All these Coronels and Captains, with the Companies belonging to them, may seeme to haue beene such as were continually retained, or at the least kept in readines for anie occasion, considering that the numbers which were mustered and drawne out, if need required, into the field, verie farre exceeded thirtie thousand, yea, or thirty times as manie. They were most of them such as had followed the King in Sauls time, and been hardned with his aduersities. Others there were verie manie, and principall men in their seuerall Tribes, that repaired vnto him after the death of Saul; but these Captaines and Coronels, (who with Ioab, that was Generall of all the Kings forces, make vp the number of 37.) were the speciall men of warre, and reckoned as Dauids Worthies. The long reigne of Dauid, as it is knowne to haue consumed many of these excellent men of warre, so may it probably be ghessed to haue wasted the most of those whose deaths we find no-where mentioned. For the sonnes of Zeruia, who had beene too hard for Dauid, were worne away, and only Ioab left in the beginning of Salomon, who wanted his brother Abishai to stand by his side in his last extremitie. 2.Sam.23.39.

By the actions forepassed in the time of Dauid, it is gathered that he had reigned now 33. yeares or thereabouts, when the posterity of Saul was rooted out, so that he enioyed about seuen yeeres of entire quiet and securitie, wherein it pleased God to remoue all impediments that might haue troubled the succession of Salomon in his fathers throne. In this time also Dauid hauing established all things in Iuda and Israel, and the borders thereof, he againe displeased God by numbring the people, as in ostentation of his power: in which he employed Ioab, with other Captaines of his Armie, who after nine

nine moneths and twentie dayes trauell, returned with the account & register of all the people, able and fit to beare Armes, and they amounted to the number of thirteen hundred thousand, besides Leui and Beniamin, whereof in Iuda and the cities thereof fiue hundred thousand, and in Israel eight hundred thousand. 2.Sam.24. 1.Chr.21.

For this, when by the Prophet Gad he was offered from God the choice of three punishments, whereof he might submit himselfe to which he pleased; to wit, seuen yeeres famine; three moneths warre, wherein he should be vnprosperous in all attempts, and be chased by his enemies; or a generall pestilence to last three dayes: Dauid made choice to bow himselfe vnder the hand of God only, and left himselfe subiect to that cruell disease, which hath no compassion or respect of persons, of which there perished 70. thousand. And hereby hee hath taught all that liue, that it is better to fall into the hands of God than of men; wherof he giueth this diuine reason, *For his mercies are great.* 2.Sam.14.

§. VIII.

Of the last acts of Dauid; Adonijahs *faction; the reuenge vpon* Ioab *and* Shimei.

LAstly, when he grew weake and feeble, and past the acts and knowledge of women, he was yet aduised to lie in the armes of a young and well complexioned maiden, to keepe him warme. In this his weake estate of bodie, when hee was in a manner bed-rid, Adonijah his eldest sonne (Ammon & Absalom being now dead) hauing drawn vnto his partie that inuincible, renowned and feared Ioab, with Abiathar the Priest, began manifestly to prepare for his establishment in the Kingdome after his father. For being the eldest now liuing of Dauids sonnes, and a man of goodly personage, Salomon yet young, and borne of a mother formerly attainted with adulterie, for which her name was omitted by S. Matthew (as Beda, Hugo, Thomas, and others suppose) he presumed to carrie the matter without resistance. Hereof when Dauid had knowledge by Bersabe the mother of Salomon, who did put him in mind of his faithfull promise, that Salomon her son should reigne after him (Nathan the Prophet affirming the same thing vnto the King, & seconding her report of Adonijah his presumption) the King calling vnto him Zadoc the Priest, Nathan the Prophet, & Benaiah the Captaine of his guard, gaue charge and commission to anoint Salomon, and to set him on the Mule whereon himselfe vsed to ride in his greatest state: which done, Salomon, attended, and strongly guarded by the ordinarie and choyce men of warre, the Cherethites and Pelethites, shewed himselfe to the people. These tidings being reported to Adonijah, he presently abandoned his assistants, and for the safety of his life, he held by the horns of the Altar, whom for the present Salomon pardoned. After this, Dauid had remaining two especiall cares, whereof he was desirous to discharge his thoughts; the one concerning the peace of the land, which might be disturbed by some rebellion against Salomon; the other concerning the building of the Temple, which he sought by all meanes to aduance, and make the businesse publicke. To bring these intentions to good effect, he summoned a Parliament, consisting of all the Princes of Israel, the Princes of the seuerall Tribes, all the Captaines and Officers, with all the mightie, and men of power; who did repaire vnto Ierusalem. 1.Reg.1. 1.Chron.28.1.

In this assembly the King stood vp, & signified his purpose of building the Temple, shewing how the Lord had approued the motion. Herein he took occasion to lay open his owne title to the Crowne, shewing that the Kingdome was by Gods ordinance due to the Tribe of Iuda (as Iacob in his blessing prophetically bequeathed it) and that God himselfe was pleased to make choyce of him among all his fathers sonnes. In like manner he said that God himselfe had appointed Salomon by name to be his successor: whereupon hee earnestly charged both the people and his sonne to conforme themselues vnto all that God had commanded, and particularly to goe forward in this worke of the Lords house, which Salomon was chosen to build. Then produced he the patterne of the worke, according to the forme which God himselfe had appointed; and so laying open his owne preparations, he exhorted all others to a voluntarie contribution. 1.Chr.29.9.

The Kings proposition was so well approued by the Princes & people, that whereas hee himselfe had giuen three thousand talents of gold, and seuen thousand of siluer, they added vnto it seuen thousand of gold, & ten thousand of siluer, besides brasse, iron, and

and iewels, heartily reioycing in the aduancement of so religious a worke. This busi-
nesse being so well dispatched, a solemne feast with great sacrifice was made, at which
time *Salomon* was againe anointed King, & receiued fealtie of all the Princes & people
of the Land, & of all the Princes his brethren, the sonnes of King *Dauid*. *Salomon* being
thus established King, his Father *Dauid* finding himselfe euen in the hands of death, first
exhorted his sonne to exercise the same courage and strength of minde, which him-
selfe had done in all his attempts: and to the end that a happy end might follow the
beginning of all his enterprizes, he vttered these mighty words; *Take heed to the charge*
1.King.2.3. *of the Lord thy God, to walke in his wayes, and keepe his statutes, and his commandements, and*
his iudgements, and his testimonies, as it is written in the Law of Moses, *&c.* to the per-
formance of which, GOD fastened the succession, and prosperitie of his issues. For
this done (saith GOD himselfe) *Thou shalt not want one of thy posteritie to sit vpon the*
1.Kin.1.20. *Throne of Israel.*

Secondly, he aduised him concerning *Ioab*, who out of doubt had serued *Dauid* from
the first assault of *Ierusalem* to the last of his warres, with incomparable valour and fide-
litie, sauing that he fastened himselfe to *Adonijah* (his master yet liuing) & thereby vexed
him in his feeble age. But as God hath neuer left cruelty vnreuenged, so was it his will
that *Ioab* should drinke of the same cup, whereof he hath enforced other men to taste, &
suffer the same violence which himself had vniustly strooken others withall; *Qui gladio*
percutit, gladio peribit: for he had bereaued *Abner* & *Amasa* of their liues, hauing against
the one the pretence onely of his brothers slaughter, whom *Abner* had slaine in the time
of warre, and could not auoyd him: against the other but a meere iealousie of his grow-
ing great in the fauour of *Dauid*. And though *Ioab* assured himselfe that *Abner* & *Amasa*
being dead, there was none left either to equall him or supplant him, yet God (deriding
the policies of wicked men) raised vp *Benhaiah* the sonne of *Iehoiadah*, to pull him from
the Sanctuary, and to cut him in peeces. For *Dauid* giueth this cause to *Salomon* against
1.King.2. *Ioab*, that he slue the Captaines of the hoste of *Israel*, and shed bloud of battell in peace;
and to this apparant & iust cause, it is not improbable but that *Dauid* remembred the ill
affection of *Ioab* towards *Salomon*, which *Ioab* made manifest by the vntimely setting vp
1.King.2. of *Adonijah*, *Dauid* yet liuing. Some other offence *Ioab* had committed against *Dauid*, of
which in these words he put his sonne *Salomon* in minde; *Thou knowest also what* Ioab *the*
sonne of Seruiah *did to me, &c.* Now whether this were meant by the killing of *Absalom*,
contrary to the Kings desire, or by the proud words vsed to him when he mourned in
Mahanaim for *Absalom*; or whether it were the publishing of *Dauids* letter vnto him for
the killing of *Vriah*, thereby to disgrace *Salomon* as descended of such a mother, the
Scriptures are silent. True it is, that those great men of warre doe oftentimes behaue
themselues exceeding insolently towards their Princes, both in respect of their seruice
done, as also because they flatter themselues with an opinion, that either their masters
cannot misse them, or that they dare not offend them. But this kinde of pride hath ouer-
throwne manie a worthy man otherwise deseruing great honour and respect.

He also gaue order to *Salomon* to rid himselfe of *Shimei*, who not long before had cast
stones at *Dauid*, and cursed him to his face. And albeit by reason of his oath and pro-
1.King.2. mise *Dauid* spared *Shimei* all the time himselfe liued, yet being dust, and in the graue, hee
slew him by the hand of *Salomon* his sonne. Hence it seemeth that King *Henry* the se-
uenth of England had his patterne, when he gaue order to *Henry* the eight to execute
Pool as soone as himselfe was buried, hauing made promise to the King of Spaine when
he deliuered *Pool* vnto him, that while hee liued hee would neuer put him to death, nor
suffer violent hands to be laid vpon him.

And yet did not the execution of *Ioab* yeeld vnto *Salomon* any such great profit or as-
surance as he hoped for. For he found a young *Adad* of Idumæa, & *Resin* of Damascus
1.King.11. to vexe him: who, as the Scriptures witnesse, were emboldened to enterprize vpon *Sa-*
lomon, hearing that *Dauid* slept with his fathers, and that *Ioab* the Captaine of the Host
was dead. Now when *Dauid* had reigned in all fortie yeares, to wit, in Hebron 7. yeers,
and in Ierusalem three and thirty, he died.

For his person, he was of small stature, but exceeding strong. For his internall gifts
and graces he so farre exceeded all other men, as putting his humane frailtie apart,
he was said by God himselfe to be a man according to his owne heart. The Psalmes
which he wrote, witnesse his pietie and his excellent learning: of whom *Hierome* to
Paulinus:

Paulinus: Dauid Simonides *noster*, Pindarus, & Alcæus, Flaccus, *quoque* Catullus, &
Serenus, *Christum lyra personat, & in decachordo Psalterio ab inferis suscitat resurgentem*;
Dauid (saith he) *our* Simonides, Pindarus, Alcæus, Horace, Catullus *and* Serenus, *hee*
playeth Christ on his harpe, and on a ten stringed Psalter he raiseth him vp rising from the dead.
And being both a King and a Prophet, he foretelleth Christ more lightsomly & liuely
than all the rest.

The booke of the Psalmes, saith *Glycas*, was diuided, ordered and distinguished by
Ezekias: but whether all the Psalmes were written by *Dauid*, it is diuersly disputed. For
Athanasius, *Cyprian*, *Lyranus*, and others conceiue diuers Authors answering the titles
10 of the seuerall Psalmes, as *Moses*, *Salomon*, and the rest hereafter named; and that onely
73. Psalmes were composed by *Dauid* himselfe, namely, those which are intituled *ipsius*
Dauid. For the 50. and the 72. with the ten that follow, are bestowed on *Asaph* the son
of *Barachia*, eleuen other on the sonnes of *Korath*; and eleuen are ascribed to *Moses*, to
wit, the 89. and the ten following, and so they are intituled in the old Hebrew Copies,
though the vulgar and Septuagint (three excepted) stile them otherwise. The supposed
nine Authors of these Psalms which *Dauid* wrote not, *Sixt. Senensis* nameth as follow-
eth; *Salomon*, *Moses*, (whom *Aben Ezra*, contrary to *Hierome*, maketh one of *Dauids* sin-
gers) *Asaph*, *Ethan-Eziachi*, *Eman-Eziaira*, *Idithum*, and the three sonnes of *Chore*. But
S. *Chrysostome* makes *Dauid* the sole Author of all the Psalmes, and so doth S. *Augustine*,
20 reasoning in this manner: Although (saith he) some there are that ascribe those Psalms
onely to *Dauid*, which are ouer-written *ipsius Dauid*, and the rest intituled *ipsi Dauid*, to
others, this opinion (saith he) *Voce Euangelicâ Saluatoris ipsius refutatur, vbi ait quòd ipse*
Dauid *in spiritu Christum dixerit esse suum Dominum, quoniam Psalmus* 100. *sic incipit*,
Dixit Dominus Domino meo, Sede à dextris meis, &c. The voyce of the Gospell refutes
this opinion, where it saith, that *Dauid* himselfe in the spirit called Christ his Lord, be-
cause the 109. Psalme begins thus: *The Lord said vnto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand*,
&c. Lastly, his testimonies are vsed both by Christ and the Apostles, and hee was as a
patterne to all the kings and princes that succeeded him.

Athan. in Synop. Hier. epist. 134. Lyran. in exp. Vid. Sixt. Sen. & Bibl. sanct. l. 1. fol. 10. & 11. Aug. de ciuit. Dei. l. 13. c. 14.

His Story and all his particular actions, were written by the Prophets, *Samuel*, *Na-*
30 *than* and *Gad*, as it is in the first of *Chron.* 29. *vers.* 19. For the seuerall parts of the bookes
of *Samuel* which intreate chiefly of *Dauid*, were as it seemes written by these three
holy men.

Constantine Manasses hath an opinion, that the Troians during the time of the siege,
sought for succour from *Dauid*, and that hee stayed neuter in that warre. But it seemeth
that *Manasses* did miscast the time twixt *Dauid* and the Troian warre. For it is generally
receiued that Troy fell between the times of *Abdon* and *Samson* Iudges of Israel, about
the worlds yeere 2848. and *Dauid* died in the yeere 2991.

c. 17. §. 6. 7. In his annales translated out of Greeke into Latin by *Ioannes Leunclauius*.

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§. IX.

Of the treasures of Dauid *and* Salomon.

His treasures were exceeding great. For it is written in the 22. of the first of *Chro-*
nicles, that he left *Salomon* for the building of the Temple a hundred thousand
talents of gold, and a thousand thousand talents of siluer, and of brasse & yron
passing all weight, which is more than any king in the world possest besides himselfe,
and his sonne to whom he left it. For it amounteth to three thousand three hundred
thirty & three cartload, & a third of a cartload of siluer, allowing two thousand weight
of siluer or sixe thousand pound sterling to euery cartload, besides threescore & seuen-
teene millions of French Crownes, or of our money twenty three millions and a thou-
50 sand pound: a matter, but for the testimony of the Scriptures, exceeding all beleefe. For
that any riches were left him, it doth not appeare, seeing that the Iudges had not any
treasure, nor any soueraign power to make leuies: but when they went to the wars, they
were followed by such voluntaries as the seuerall tribes by turns gaue them: seeing also
that *Saul*, who was of a mean parentage, and perpetually vexed and inuaded by the Phi-
listims, could not in all likelihood gather great riches (if any at all) his Territories being
exceeding narrow, and thereof the better part possest by his enemies.

Therfore it were not amisse to consider how *Dauid* within the space of not very ma-
ny yeeres, might amasse vp such mighty treasures. For though parsimony be it selfe a
great

Vers. 14.

great reuenue,yet needs there must haue beene some other great meanes. It seemes that he made the vttermost profit of all that he had,that was profitable. *Eusebius* in his ninth booke and last chapter *de preparatione Euangelica*, citeth the words of *Eupolemus*, who reporteth that *Dauid*,among other preparations for the Temple, built a Nauy in *Melanis* (or as *Villalpandus* corrects it, *Achanis*) a citie of Arabia,and from thence sent men to digge for gold in the Iland Vrphe,which *Ortelius* thinks was Ophir, though *Eupolemus* in this place of *Eusebius* (erring perhaps in this circumstance) saith that this Iland is in the red Sea : from whence,saith this *Eupolemus*,they brought gold into Iurie. *Pineda,l.4 de rebus Salamonis,c.1.* thinkes that *Dauid* did this way also enrich himselfe, and cyteth this testimonie of *Eupolemus*: and yet certainly *Dauid* had many other wayes to gather riches. Much land doubtlesse he gained by conquest from the Canaanites & Philistims, besides those fruitfull vallies neere Iordan in Trachonitis & Basan, and the best of Syria;and other countries bordering the Israelites. These demaines belike he kept in his own hands,and with his infinite number of captiues,which he took in his warres,which were not able to redeeme themselues, husbanded those grounds for his greatest aduantage. For it is written, 1.*Chron.*17. that *Iehonathan* was ouer his treasures in the field,in the villages,in the cities,in the townes ; that *Ezri* was ouer the labourers that tilled his ground ; *Simei* ouer the vineyards,and *Sabdi* ouer the store of the wine; *Baal Hanan* ouer the oliue trees,and *Ioash* ouer the store of the oyle : also that hee had heardsmen that had charge ouer his cattell,both in the high lands and in the plaines, ouer his Sheepe, Camels and Asses. And this custome of enriching themselues by husbandrie and cattell, the ancient Kings euerie where held,both before and after *Dauids* time. For wee reade of *Pharaoh*, that hee spake to *Ioseph* to appoint some of his brethren or of their seruants,to be rulers ouer his cattell. Wee reade of *Vzzia*, that hee loued husbandrie, had much cattell, and plough-men,and dressers of Vines : likewise wee reade it in all Greeke Poets,that the wealth of the ancient Kings did specially consist in their Herds and Flocks,whereof it were needlesse to cyte *Augeas* and *Admetus*,or anie other for examples,the rule holding true in all. Now concerning *Dauid* it is not vnlikely, but that those captiues which were not imployed in husbandrie, were manie of them vsed by him in all sorts of gainfull professions,as the ancient Romanes in like maner vsed their slaues.

Gen.47.

2.Chron.26.

To these profits (besides the tributes and impositions, which doubtlesse were great, and besides the innumerable presents which yearly were brought him, or extraordinarily sent him,by Tohu and others) wee may adde the great spoyles which hee found in the cities and countries which hee conquered : also the head money which was gathered *per legem capitationis* ; *By the law of capitation,or head money*, euerie man rich or poore paying halfe a sickle of the Sanctuarie, which is about as much as foureteene pence,and so in all it amounted to a wondrous summe in that Kingdome : wherein one thousand thousand fiue hundred and seuentie thousand fighting men were numbred by *Ioab*. Now although this law of capitation be thought by some verie learned, not to haue beene perpetuall (which opinion of theirs neuertheless they confesse is against the Hebrew expositions) yet *Dauid* vpon this occasion is not vnlikely to haue put it in practise. And by these meanes might he be able to leaue those huge treasures to *Salomon*. Yet it may seeme that this great masse of gold and siluer left by *Dauid*, the least part was his owne in priuate,and so will it appeare the lesse wonderfull that hee left so much. Of his owne liberalitie we finde, that hee gaue to the building of the Temple three thousand talents of gold,and seuen thousand talents of siluer : a great summe,but holding a verie small proportion to the other. Wherefore we are to consider, that the treasures of the Sanctuarie it selfe were exceeding great, as needs they must haue been, hauing receiued continual encrease,without any losse or diminution euer since the time of *Moses* and *Iosuah*. The reuenues of the Sanctuarie (besides all manner of tithes and oblations,which defrayed the daily expences, and maintained the Priests and Leuites) were partly raised out of the head money before mentioned ; partly out of the spoyles gotten in warre. For all the bootie was diuided into two parts, whereof the Souldiers had one,and the people which remained at home,had the other halfe ; whereby all the country receiued benefite of the victorie, yet so, that the Souldiers had a farre greater proportion than the rest, as being fewer, and therefore receiuing more for euerie single share.

1.Chron.21.

Numb.31.27.

Out

Out of this purchase was deducted the Lords tribute, which was one in fiftie,of that which the people receiued and one in fiue hundred, of that which was giuen to the Souldiers;namely one hundred and one thousand part of the whole bootie. So in the spoyle of *Midian*, thirty two thousand women being taken, the armie had sixteene thousand of them for slaues, and the Congregation had other sixteene thousand ; but out of the sixteene thousand giuen to the Armie,were exempted two and thirty for the Lords tribute. Out of the peoples number were taken three hundred and twenty. By this meanes, the lesser that the Armie was which had exposed it selfe to danger, the greater profit had euery Souldier ; but when it consisted of many hands, they who remaining at home were faine to vndergoe more than ordinarie trauaile in domesticall affaires, did receiue by so much the greater portion. But the Lords tribute was alwaies certaine, yea many times it was increased,either by some especiall commandement, as when all the gold,and siluer, and other mettalls found in *Ierico*, were consecrated vnto God;or by thankefulnesse of the Rulers and People, as when after the victorie obtained against the Midianites without the losse of one man, all Iewells,Bracelets, Eare-rings,and the like,were offered vp, as voluntarie presents.

Num.31.40.

Ios.6.19.

Num.31.50.

Now howsoeuer the Israelites were many times oppressed,& troden down by other Nations,yet were not these treasures robbed or spoyled;for the enemies neuer gat possession of the Tabernacle that was in *Shilo*. Wherefore it cannot otherwise be,than that the wealth of the Sanctuarie must haue bin exceeding great ; as containing aboue one hundreth part of all the money and other goods found by the Israelites in the whole Land of *Canaan*;and of all that was purchased by so many victories,as they obtained against the bordering Nations. For that this treasurie was not defrauded of the due portion,it is euident; seeing that before the time of *Dauid* and his Lieutenant *Ioab*, it is recorded that *Saul* and *Abner*, & before them *Samuel*, had vsed to dedicate of the spoiles obtained in war,to maintaine the house of the Lord: the like whereof may be well presumed of the former Iudges and Captaines of other Ages. Certaine it is,that the Conquest of *Dauid* brought into the Land far greater aboundance of riches,than any former victories had purchased,those of *Iosua* perhaps excepted : but these vast summes of an hundred thousand Talents of siluer,may seeme rather to haue bin made vp, by the addition of his winnings and liberalitie, to the treasures laid vp in many former Ages, than to haue beene the meere fruits of his owne industrie.

1 Chron.26. v.27.& 28.

Now concerning the riches of *Salomon*,it is more manifest how he gathered them; for he reciued of yeerely reuennues with his tributes *666*. Talents of gold, besides the Customes of Spices. He had also sixe rich Returnes from the East India, which greatly increased his store. For his ships performed that voyage euery three yeeres, and he began that trade in the two and twentieth yeere of his reigne,and ruled fortie yeeres. Besides this, all Iudæa and Israel were now mastered to his hands; all the *Arabians* his borderers, the *Syrians* of *Zobah*,of *Damascena*, of *Palmyrena*, of *Ituræa*; all of *Idumæa*, *Moab*, and *Ammon*, paid him tribute ; as likewise did the Hittites, who with the Perizzites,Heuites, Iebusites, and other races of the Canaanites, were not as yet extinguished,though subjected.

A Talent of gold is 770. french crowns

1 King.10.14.

1 King c.9. v.20.&c.10. v.29.

Into this flourishing estate was the Kingdom of Israel reduced by *Dauid*, who after 40 yeers reigne,and 70.yeers of life,dyed in a good age, full of dayes,riches, and honour, and was buried in the Citie of *Dauid*. It is written by *Iosephus* that there was hid in *Dauids* Tombe a maruailous quantitie of treasures, insomuch as *Hyrcanus* (who first of the *Chasmanæi*, or race of Maccabees,called himself King)one thousand and threehundred yeers after,drew thence three thousand Talents, to rid himself of *Antiochus* then besieging *Ierusalem*;& afterward *Herod* opening another Cell,had also an exceeding masse of gold and siluer therein. And it was an ancient custome to burie treasure with the dead. So the Peruvians &other Americans did the like,which being discouered by the Spaniards,they inriched themselues by nothing so much in their first Conquest. That *Salomon* did burie so much treasure in his fathers graue,it would hardly be beleeued,in regard of the great exactions with which hee was faine to burthen the people, notwithstanding all the riches which he got otherwise, or which were left vnto him : were it not withall considered that his want of mony grew from such magnificent imployments. Particularly of the Sepulchre of *Dauid* the Scriptures haue no mention, but onely the Sepulchres of the Kings of *Iuda*,as of an honourable place of burial. Yet the

1 Chron.29.28.

Iosep.Ant.l.7.

Monuments

Peregrinat. Hierosol.D.N. Ch.Radz.Epist. 2.

Monuments of those Kings,as (by relation of the Duke of *Vlika*) they remained within these thirty yeeres,and are like to remaine still, are able to make report credible of the cost bestowed vpon them.

§. X.

Of the Philistims, whom Dauid *absolutely mastered: and of sundry other contemporaries with* Dauid.

OF the *Philistims*, whose pride *Dauid* was the first that absoluely mastered, in this conclusion of *Dauids* time somewhat heere may be spoken.

Isid.l.9.19. Ios.l.1.ant.17.

They descended of *Casloim*,who, according to *Isidor* and *Iosephus*, was one of the sonnes of *Misraim*,and was surnamed *Philistim*,as *Esau* was surnamed *Edom*, and *Iacob Israel*.There were of them fiue Cities of pettie principalities, namely, *Azotus*, or *Asdod*, *Gaza* or *Aczaph*, *Ascalon*,*Geth* or *Gath*, and *Accaron*. It seemeth that *Casloim* was the first founder of this nation, because of his kindred on either hand, the Canaanites and the Egyptians.

2.Sam.6.

Gen.20.

The first King of these *Philistims*,which the Scriptures haue named, was that *Abimelech* which loued *Sara*,*Abrahams* wife.

Gen.26.

The second *Abimelech* liued at once with *Isaac*, to whom *Isaac* repaired in the time of famine,*Abimelech* then residing at *Gerar* in the border of *Idumæa*, which *Abimelech* sancied *Isaac* his wife : as his father had done *Sara*.

Iud.16. 1 Sam.18.29. 1 Sam. 21.11. 1 King.2.

After *Abimelech* the second,the *Philistims* Kings are not remembred in the Scriptures, till *Dauids* time: perhaps the gouernment was turned into *Aristocraticall*. For they are afterwards named Princes of the *Philistims*,howsoeuer *Achis* be named king of *Gath*,the same to whom *Dauid* fled,and who againe gaue him *Siklag* to inhabit in *Sauls* time.

After him we reade of another *Achis* who liued with *Salomon*,to whom *Shimei* trauelled to fetch backe his fugitiue seruant,what time the seeking of his sernant was the losse of his life. *Ieremie* the Prophet speaketh of the Kings of *Palæstin* or *Philistim*. *Amos* nameth the King of *Ascalon*; *Zacharias*, a King of Gaza. The rest of the warres of the *Philistims* are remembred in the Catalogue of the *Iudges*,of *Saul* and *Dauid*,and therefore I shall not need to collect the particulars in this place.

There liued at once with *Dauid*, the third of the *Siluij* King of *Alba*,called *Latinus Siluius*,who is said to haue ruled that part of Italie fiftie yeers. And about his fourteenth yeere *Codrus* the last King of the *Athenians* died, to whom succeeded the first Prince of those,who being called after *Medon*,*Medontidæ*, without regall name gouerned *Athens* during their life.

The reasons which moued the *Athenians* to change their gouernment, were not drawn from any inconuenience found in the rule of soueraignty,but in honor of *Codrus* only . For when the *Gracians* of *Doris*,a region between *Phocis*, & the mountain of *Oeta*, sought counsaile from the Oracle,for their successe in the warres against the *Athenians*, is was answered,that then vndoubtedly they should preuaile and become Lords of that State,when they could obtaine any victorie against the Nation,and yet preserue the *Athenian* King liuing.*Codrus* by some intelligence being informed of this answer, withdrew himselfe from his owne forces, and putting on the habit of a common souldier, entred the Campe of the *Dorians*, and killing the first hee encountred, was himselfe forthwith cut in pieces.

Eupales the 31.King of *Assyria*,which others account but the 30. began to rule that Empire,about the 13.yeere of *Dauid*,and held it 38.yeeres.

Neere the same time began *Ixion* the second King of the *Heraclidæ*, the sonne of *Eurysthenes* in *Corinth*;and *Agis* the second of the *Heraclidæ* in *Lacedæmon* : in honour of which *Agis*,his successours were called *Agidæ*,for many yeeres after. Hee restored the *Laconians* to their former libertie: hee ouercame the Citizens of *Helos* in *Laconia*, who had refused to pay him tribute: he condemned them and theirs to perpetuall slauerie; whereof it came, that all the *Messenians*, whom at length they brought into the like bondage,were after called *Helotes*.

In like sort from the *Sclaui* came the word *Slaue*.For when that Nation issuing out of *Sarmatia*,now called *Russia*,had seized vpon the country of *Illyria* & made it their owne by conquest,their victory pleased them so highly,that therupon they called themselues by

by a new name, *Slauos*, which is in their language *glorious*. But in after times (that warmer Climate hauing thawed their northerne hardines,and not ripened their wits)when they were troden downe,and made seruants with their neighbours ; the Italians which kept many of them in bondage, began to call all their bondmen *Slaues*, vsing the word as a name of reproach : in which sense it is now currant through many countries.

Other Chronologers make this *Agis*, the third King of Sparta,and somewhat later,about the 23. yeere of *Dauid*, and say, that *Achestratus* was the fourth King of this race, the same whom *Eusebius* calls *Labotes*, and sets him in the thirteenth yeere of *Salomon*.

Euseb. in chro.

In the tenth yeere of *Achestratus*, *Androclus* the third sonne of *Codrus*,assisted by the Ionies, built Ephesus in Caria, who after the adioyning of the Ile of Samos to his territorie,was slaine by the Carians,whose countrie he vsurped. He was buried(saith *Fausanias*) in one of the gates of Ephesus called Magnetes, his armed Statua being set ouer him. *Strabo* reports that after *Androclus* had subdued the Ionians (the next prouince to Ephesus on the sea coast of Asia the lesse) he inlarged his Dominions vpon the Æoles, which ioyneth to Ionia : and that his posteritie gouerned the Cities of Ephesus and Erythræ by the name of Basilidæ in *Strabo* his own time. Of the expedition of the Iones how they came hither out of Peloponnesus, I haue * spoken already vpon occasion of the return of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, wherin, with the Dores, they expelled the Achæi, and inhabited their places in that land : though this of the Iones succeeded that of the Heraclidæ 100. yeeres.

The Ciue of Ephesus

Arist.l.5.pol.c.6

**See ch.in this 17. ch.9.1. post medium.*

The Citie of Ephesus became exceeding famous: first,for the Temple of *Diana* therein built , which had in length 425.foote,and 220.in breadth,sustained with 127.pillars of marble,of 70. foote high: whereof 27. were most curiously grauen,& all the rest of choyce marble polisht, the worke being first set out by *Ctesiphon* of Gnossos. Secondly, it became renowned by being one of the first that receiued the Christian faith,of which *Timothy* was Bishop;to whom,and to the Ephesians, Saint *Paul* wrote his Epistles so intituled. The other Citie possest by *Androclus* in Æolis,was also vniuersally spoken of by reason of Sibylla,surnamed Erythræa: who liued 740.yeeres before Christ was borne. S*t*. *Augustine* auoweth that a Romane Proconsul shewed him in an ancient Greeke copie certaine verses of this Prophetesse: which began (as Saint *Augustine* changed them into Latine) in these words : *Iesus Christus Dei filius, Saluator : Iesus Christ Sonne of God, the Sauiour*.

Plin.l.2.c.58. & l.7.c.37.

About the time that *Ioab* besieged Rabba in Moab, *Vaphres* began to gouern in Egypt, the same that was father in law to *Salomon*,whose Epistles to *Salomon*,and his to *Vaphres*, are remembred by *Eusebius* out of *Polemon*. In the 21. of *Dauid*, was the Citie of Magnesia in Asia the lesse founded,the same which is seated vpon the riuer Mœander,where *Scipio* gaue the great ouerthrow to *Antiochus*. In this territorie are the best Horses of the lesser Asia bred, whereof *Lucan* :

Et Magnetis equis, Minyæ gens cognita remis.

Seru.in Aeneid. 3.

About the same time Cuma in Campania was built by the inhabitants of Chalcis in Euboea, according to *Seruius*, with whom *Strabo* ioyneth the Cumæans of Æolis, saying, that to the one of these people the gouernment was giuen, with conditiõ that the other should giue name to the city.Of this Cuma was *Ephorus* the famous scholler of *Isocrates*.

Strabo.l.5.

Eusebius and *Cassiodor* finde the building of Carthage at this time, to wit, in the 31. yeere of *Dauid*, but much mistaken. For the father of *Dido* was *Metinus* the son of *Badezor*, brother to *Iezabel*, who married *Achab* King of Israel ; and between the death of *Dauid*, and the first of *Achab*, there were wasted about 95. yeeres.

Euseb. in chrõ. Herod.in vit. Hom. & Strab. l.14. Antiq.8. & cont.Ap.l.1.

In this time also *Acastus* liued, the second of the Athenian Princes after *Codrus*, of which there were thirteen in desent before the State changed into a Magistracie of ten yeers. Some writers make it probable, that the Æolians,led by *Graus*,the grand nephew of *Orestes*,possest the Citie and Iland of Thebes about this time. In the 32.yeere of *Dauid*,*Hiram* began to reigne in Tyre, according to *Iosephus*, who saith that in his twelfth yeere *Salomon* began the worke of the Temple. But it is a familiar errour in *Iosephus*,to misreckon times, which in this point he doth so strangely, as if he knew not how at all to cast any accompt. For it is manifest, that *Hiram* sent messengers, and Cedars vnto *Dauid*,soone after his taking of Ierusalem, which was in the very beginning of *Dauids* reigne ouer Israel, when as yet hee had reigned onely seauen yeeres in *Hebron* ouer the house of Iuda. Wherefore it must needes bee that *Hiram* had reigned aboue 30.

2.Sam.5.

yeeres before *Salomon*; vnlesse more credit should bee giuen to those Tyrian records which are cited by *Iosephus*, than to the plaine words of Scripture contradicting them. For that it was the same *Hiram* which liued both with *Dauid* and with *Salomon*, the Scriptures make it plainely manifest.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of *SALOMON*.

§. I.

Of the establishing of Salomon: *of birthright, and the cause of* Adoniiahs *death, and of* Salomons *wisedome.*

SALOMON, who was brought vp vnder the Prophet *Nathan*, began to reigne ouer Iuda and Israel, in the yeere of the World 2991. He was called *Salomon* by the appointment of God: hee was also called *Iediddia*, or *Theophilus* by *Nathan*, because the Lord loued him.

Hiram King of Tyre, after *Salomons* anointing, dispatched Embassadours toward him, congratulating his establishment: a custome betweene Princes very ancient. Whence, wee reade that *Dauid* did in like sort salute *Hanum* King of the Ammonites, after his obtaining the Kingdome. 2 Sam.10.

The beginning of *Salomon* was in bloud, though his reigne were peaceable. For soon after *Dauids* death, hee caused his brother *Adonijah* to be slaine by *Benaiah* the sonne of *Iehoiada*, taking occasion from *Adoniiah* his desiring by *Bersheba*, that the young maide *Abishag* (which lay in *Dauids* bosome in his latter dayes, to keepe him warme) might be giuen to him. Whatsoeuer hee pretended, it was enough that *Adonijah* was his elder brother, and sought the kingdome contrary to the will of *Dauid* whom God inclined towards *Salomon*. And yet it is said that a word is enough to the wise, & he that sees but the claw, may know whether it be a Lyon or no: so it may seem that to the quick-sighted wisedome of *Salomon*, this motion of *Adonijahs*, was a demonstration of a new treason. For they which had beene Concubines to a king, might not after bee touched but by a king: whence *Achitophel* wished *Absalon* to take his fathers Concubines as a part of the Royaltie. And *Dauid* after that wrong, determining to touch them no more, did not giue them to any other, but shut them vp, and they remained widowed vntil their death. And this it seemes was the depth of *Isboseths* quarrell against *Abner*, for hauing his Fathers Concubine. And some signification of this custome may seeme too in the words of God by *Nathan* to *Dauid*; *I haue giuen thee thy masters house, and thy masters wives.* And in the words of *Saul* vpbraiding *Ionathan*, that hee had chosen *Dauid* to the shame of the nakednesse of his Mother. Hereupon perhaps was some reference to this purpose of *Adonijah*, to marrie with her that was alwaies present with *Dauid* in his latter daies, and who belike knew all that was past, for the conueying of the kingdom to *Salomon*. There might be diuers further occasions; as either that hee would learn such things by her as might be for the aduantage of his ambition, or that he would perswade her to forge some strange tale about *Dauids* last Testament, or any thing else that might preiudice the title of *Salomon*.

2 Sam.16,21. 2 Sam.2.3. 2 Sam.20.30.

As for the right of an elder brother which *Adonijah* pretended, though generally it agreed both with the law of Nations, & with the customes of the Iewes: yet the kings of the Iewes were so absolute, as they did therin, & in all else what they pleased. Some examples also they had (though not of kings) which taught them to vse this paternall authoritie in transferring the birthright to a younger sonne: namely of *Iacobs* disheriting *Reuben*, and giuing the birthright (which was twice as much as any portion of the other brethren) to *Ioseph*: of whom hee made two tribes. And that it was generally acknowledged that this power was in *Dauid*, it appeareth by the words of *Bersabe* and *Nathan* to *Dauid*, and of *Ionathan* to *Adonijah*. For, as for popular election, that it was necessarie to confirme, or that the refusall of tht people had authoritie to frustrate the elder

1 King.2.15. Deut.21.15. *Filium exose agnoscito, dando ei portionem duorum: nam ipsius est ius primogenitorum.* 1 Reg.1.17 & 20.29. & 34 1 King.1.1.v.20 & 27.

elder brothers right to the Kingdome, it now here appeares in the stories of the Iewes. It is said indeed that the people made *Saul* King at Galgal: that is, they acknowledged & established him. For that he was King long before, no man can doubt. In like manner elsewhere the phrase of chusing or making their King, is to be expounded: as where in the prohibition, that they should not make themselues a King, it is said, *Thou shalt make him King whom the Lord shall chuse.* 1.Sam.11.14. Deut.17.30.

But to proceed with the acts of *Salomon*: at the same time that hee put *Adonijah* to death, he rid himselfe also of *Ioab*; and three yeers after of *Shimei*, as *Dauid* had aduised him: he displaced also the Priest *Abiathar*, who tooke part with *Adonijah* against him: but in respect of his office, and that he followed *Dauid* in all his afflictions, and because he had borne the *Arke of God* before his Father, he spared his life. And thus being established in his Kingdome, he tooke the daughter of *Vaphres* King of Egypt to Wife: for so *Eusebius* out of *Eupolemus* cals him. He offered a thousand Sacrifices at Gibeon, where God appearing vnto him in a dreame, bade him aske what he would at his hands; *Salomon chooseth wisedome, which pleased God. And God said vnto him, Because thou hast asked this thing, and hast not asked for thy selfe long life, neither hast thou asked riches for thy selfe, nor hast asked the life of thine enemies, behold, I haue done according to thy words:* by which we may informe our selues, what desires are most pleasing to God, and what not. For the coueting after long life in respect of our selues, cannot but proceed of selfe-loue, which is the roote of all impiety: the desire of priuate riches is an affection of couetousnesse, which God abhorreth; to affect reuenge, is as much as to take the sword out of Gods hand, and to distrust his iustice. And in that it pleased God to make *Salomon* know that it liked him, that he had not asked the life of his enemies, it could not but put him in minde of his brothers slaughter, for which hee had not any warrant either from *Dauid*, or from the Law of God. But because *Salomon* desired wisedome onely, which taught him both to obey God, and to rule men, it pleased God to giue him withall that which he desired not. *And I haue also giuen thee* (saith God) *that which thou hast not asked, both riches and honour.* This gift of wisedome our Commentators stretch to almost all kindes of learning: but that it comprehended the knowledge of the nature of plants and liuing creatures the Scripture testifieth, though no doubt the chiefe excellencie of *Salomons* wisedome, was in the knowledge of gouerning his Kingdome: whence, as it were for an example of his wisedome, the Scripture telleth how soone hee iudged the controuersie between the two harlots. 1.King.2.26. 1.King.4.33. 1.King.3.9.

§. II.

Of Salomons *building and glorie.*

HEe then entred into league with *Hiram* King of Tyre, from whom he had much of his materials for the Kings Palace and the Temple of God: for the building whereof he had receiued a double charge, one from his father *Dauid*, and another from God. For like as it is written of *Dauid*, that *He called* Salomon *his sonne, and charged him to build a house for the Lord God of Israel*: so doth *Tostatus* giue the force of a diuine precept to these words, *Behold, a sonne is borne vnto thee, &c. Hee shall build an house for my Name.* 1.Chron.22.6. Tost.9.26. in 1.Chron.

He began the worke of the Temple in the beginning of the fourth yeer of his raign, at which time also he prepared his fleete at Esiongaber to trade for gold in the East Indies, that nothing might be wanting to supply the charge of so great a worke. For, that the Temple was in building, while his fleets were passing to and fro, it is manifest. For the pillars of the Temple were made of the Almaggim trees brought from Ophir. Of this most glorious building, of all the particulars (whereof the forme and example was giuen by God himselfe) many learned men haue written; *as Salmeron, Montanus, Ribera, Barradas, Azorius, Villalpandus, Pineda*, and others, to whom I refer the Reader. 1.King.6. 1.Chro.28.29

For the cutting and squaring of the Cedars which serued that building, *Salomon* employed 30. thousand Carpenters, 10. thousand euery month by course: he also vsed 80. thousand Masons in the mountain, and 70. thousand labourers that bare burdens, which it is conceiued, he selected out of the Proselites, besides three thousand three hundred masters of his worke; so as he paid and imployed in all one hundred eighty three thousand and three hundred men; in which number the Sidonians, which were farre more 1.King.5.

skilfull in hewing timber than the Israelites, may (as I thinke) be included. For *Hiram* caused his seruants to bring down the Cedars and Firres from Libanon to the sea, and
1 King 5.9. thence sent them in rafles to Ioppe, or the next port to Ierusalem. For in the second of *Chronicles* the second Chapter, it is plaine, that all but the thirtie thousand Carpenters, and the ouer-seers, were strangers, and as it seemeth, the vassals of *Hiram*, and of *Vaphres*
1 King.5.11. King of Egypt. In recompence of all this timber and stone, *Salomon* gaue *Hiram* twentie thousand measures of wheate, and twenty measures of pure oyle yeerely. *Eusebius* out of *Eupolemus* in the ninth booke of his preparation, the last Chapter, hath left vs a Copie of *Salomons* Letter to *Suron* (which was the same as *Huram* and *Hiram*) King of Tyre in these words: 10

R*Ex* Salomon Suroni, *Tyri, Sydonis, atque Phœniciæ regi, Amico paterno salutem. Scias me à Deo magno* Dauid *patris mei regnum accepisse, cumque mihi pater præcepit templum Deo, qui terram creauit, condere, vt etiam ad te scriberem præcepit: Scribo igitur, & peto à te vt artifices atque fabros ad ædificandum Templum Dei mittere velis.*

K*ing* Salomon *to King* Suron, *of Tyre, Sydon, and Phœnicia King, and my fathers friend, sendeth greeting. You may vnderstand that I haue receiued of the great God of my father* Dauid, *the Kingdome: and when my father commanded me to build a Temple to God which created heauen and earth, hee commanded also that I should write to you: I write therefore to you, and beseech you, that you would be pleased to send me Artificers and Carpenters to build the* 20 *Temple of God.*

To which the King *Suron* made this answer.

S*Vron, Tyri, Sydonis, & Phœniciæ Rex*, Salomoni *Regi salutem. Lectis literis gratias egi Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit: & quoniam scribis fabros ministrosq; ad condendum Templum esse tibi mittendos, misi ad te millia hominum octoginta, & Architectum Tyrium hominem ex matre Iudæa, virum in rebus architecturæ mirabilem. Curabis igitur vt necessarijs non egeant, & Templo Dei condito ad nos redeant.*

S*Vron of Tyre, Sydon and Phœnicia King, to King* Salomon *greeting: When I read your let-* 30 *ters, I gaue God thankes, who hath installed you in your fathers Kingdome. And because you write, that Carpenters and Workemen may be sent to build Gods Temple, I haue sent you foure-score thousand men, and a Master-builder a Tyrian, borne of a Iewish woman, a man admirable in building. You will be carefull that all necessaries be prouided for them, and when the Temple*
Iosf.ant.l.8.c.2. *of God is built, that they come home to vs.*

The Copies of these letters were extant in *Iosephus* time, as himselfe affirmeth, and to be seene, saith he, *Tam in nostris quàm in Tyriorum annalibus, as well in our owne as in the Tyrian annals.* But he deliuereth them somewhat in different termes, as the Reader may finde in his Antiquities. But were this intercourse betweene *Salomon* and *Hiram* either 40 by message or by writing, it is somewhat otherwise deliuered in the Scriptures, than ei-
1 King.5. from the 1.v. to the 9. ther *Eupolemus* or *Iosephus* set it downe, but so, that in substance there is little difference betweene the one and the other.

The like letter in effect *Salomon* is said to haue written to *Vaphres* King of Egypt, and was answered as from *Hiram*.

But wheras some Commentors vpon *Salomon* finde that *Hiram* King of Tyre, and *Vaphres* King of Egypt, gaue *Salomon* the title of *Rex magnus*, and cite *Eupolemon* in *Eusebius*, I doe not finde any such addition of *magnus* in *Eusebius* in the last chapter of that ninth booke; neither is it in *Iosephus* in the eight booke and second chapter of the Iewes Anti- 50 quities: it being a vain title vsed by some of the Assyrian and Persian Kings, and vsed likewise by the Parthians, and many other after them, insomuch as in later times it grew common, and was vsurped by meane persons in respect of the great *Hermes* the first, which was honoured by that name for his noble qualities, as much or more than for his mightinesse.

After the finishing and dedication of the Temple and house of the Lord, *Salomon* fortified Ierusalem with a treble wall, and repaired Hazor which had beene the ancient Metropolis of the Canaanites, before *Iosua's* time: so did he Gaza of the Philistims: he
Iosf.ant.l.8.c.2. built Berothon, Gerar, & the Millo or munition of Ierusalem. For *Pharaoh* (as it seemeth in

in fauour of *Salomon*) came vp into the edge of Ephraim, and tooke Gerar, which place the Canaanites yet held, and put them to the sword, and burnt their Citie. The place & Territorie he gaue *Salomons* wife for a dowrie. And it is probable that because *Salomon* was then busied in his magnificent buildings, and could not attend the war, that he entreated his father in law to rid him of these neighbours, which *Pharaoh* performed. But hee thereby taught the Egyptians to visit those parts againe before they were sent for; and in his sonne *Rehoboams* time *Sheshack* this mans successor did sacke Ierusalem it self.

Salomon also built Megiddo in Manasse, on this side Iordan, and Balah in Dan: also Thadmor, which may be either *Ptolomies* Thamoron in the desart of Iuda, or (as *Iosephus* Ios.l.8.ant.c.2.
10 thinks) Palmyra in the desart of Syria, which Palmyra because it stood on the vtmost border of *Salomons* dominion to the northeast of Libanus, and was of *Dauids* conquest when he wan Damascus; it may seeme that *Salomon* therfore bestowed theron the most cost, and fortified it with the best Art that that age had. *Iosephus* calls this place Thada- Iosep.l.8.ant. c.2.
mora, by which name (saith he) giuen by *Salomon*, the Syrians as yet call it. *Hierom* in his booke of Hebrew places, calls it Thermeth. In aftertimes, when it was rebuilt by *Adrian* the Emperour, it was honoured with his name, and called Adrianopolis. In respect of this great charge of building *Salomon* raised tribute through all his Dominions, besides an hundred and twenty talents of gold receiued from *Hirams* seruants; *Salomon* offered *Hiram* twenty townes in or neere the vpper Galilee, but because they stood in
20 an vnfruitfull and marish ground, *Hiram* refused them, and therefore was the territory called Chabul.

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Of Salomons *sending to Ophir, and of some seeming contradictions about* Salomons *riches, and of* Pinedas *conceit of two strange passages about Africke.*

HEre *Salomon* prepared his Fleet of Ships for India, with whom *Hiram* ioyned in that voyage, and furnished him with Mariners and Pilots, the Tyrians being of
40 all other the most expert sea-men. From this part of Arabia, which at this time belonged to Edom, and was conquered by *Dauid*, did the Fleet passe to the East India, which was not farre off, namely to Ophir, one of the Islands of the Moluccas, a place exceeding rich in gold: witnesse the Spaniards, who notwithstanding all the abundance which they gather in Peru, doe yet plant in those Islands of the East at Manilia, and recouer a great quantitie from thence, and with lesse labour than they do in any one part of Peru, or new Spaine.

The returne which was made by these Ships amounted to foure hundred and twenty talents, but in the second of *Chronicles* the eight, it is written 450. talents: wherof 30. talents went in expence for the charge of the fleet, and wages of men; and 420. talents which makes fiue and twenty hundred and twenty thousand Crownes, came cleere.
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My opinion of the land of Ophir, that it is not Peru in America (as diuers haue thought) but a Countrey in the East Indies; with some reason why at those times they could not make more speedy returne to Ierusalem from the East Indies than in three c.8.§.9.10.& 3. Lib.4.de rebus
yeeres; and that Tharsis in Scripture is diuers times taken for the Ocean, hath beene Salomonis c.6.
already declared in the first booke. & 15.

skilfull in hewing timber than the Israelites, may (as I thinke) be included. For *Hiram* caused his seruants to bring down the Cedars and Firres from Libanon to the sea, and
1 King. 5. 9. thence sent them in raffes to Ioppe, or the next port to Ierusalem. For in the second of *Chronicles* the second Chapter, it is plaine, that all but the thirtie thousand Carpenters, and the ouer-seers, were strangers, and as it seemeth, the vassals of *Hiram*, and of *Vaphres*
1 King. 5. 11. King of Egypt. In recompence of all this timber and stone, *Salomon* gaue *Hiram* twentie thousand measures of wheate, and twenty measures of pure oyle yeerely. *Eusebius* out of *Eupolemus* in the ninth booke of his preparation, the last Chapter, hath left vs a Copie of *Salomons* Letter to *Suron* (which was the same as *Huram* and *Hiram*) King of Tyre in these words: 10

REx Salomon Suroni, *Tyri, Sydonis, atque Phœniciæ regi, Amico paterno salutem. Scias me à Deo magno* Dauid *patris mei regnum accepisse, cumque mihi pater præcepit templum Deo, qui terram creauit, condere, vt etiam ad te scriberem præcepit: Scribo igitur, & peto à te vt artifices atque fabros ad ædificandum Templum Dei mittere velis.*

KIng Salomon *to King* Suron, *of Tyre, Sydon, and Phœnicia King, and my fathers friend, sendeth greeting. You may vnderstand that I haue receiued of the great God of my father* Dauid, *the Kingdome: and when my father commanded me to build a Temple to God which created heauen and earth, hee commanded also that I should write to you: I write therefore to you, and beseech you, that you would be pleased to send me Artificers and Carpenters to build the* 20 *Temple of God.*

To which the King *Suron* made this answer.

SVron, *Tyri, Sydonis, & Phœniciæ Rex*, Salomoni *Regi salutem. Lectis literis gratias egi Deo, qui tibi regnum patris tradidit: & quoniam scribis fabros ministrosq; ad condendum Templum esse tibi mittendos, misi ad te millia hominum octoginta, & Architectum Tyrium hominem ex matre Iudæa, virum in rebus architecturæ mirabilem. Curabis igitur vt necessarijs non egeant, & Templo Dei condito ad nos redeant.*

SVron *of Tyre, Sydon and Phœnicia King, to King* Salomon *greeting: When I read your let-* 30 *ters, I gaue God thankes, who hath installed you in your fathers Kingdome. And because you write, that Carpenters and Workemen may be sent to build Gods Temple, I haue sent you foure-score thousand men, and a Master-builder a Tyrian, borne of a Iewish woman, a man admirable in building. You will be carefull that all necessaries be prouided for them, and when the Temple*
Iosef. ant. l. 8. c. 2. *of God is built, that they come home to vs.*

The Copies of these letters were extant in *Iosephus* time, as himselfe affirmeth, and to be seene, saith he, *Tam in nostris quàm in Tyriorum annalibus, as well in our owne as in the Tyrian annals.* But he deliuereth them somewhat in different termes, as the Reader may finde in his Antiquities. But were this intercourse betweene *Salomon* and *Hiram* either 40 by message or by writing, it is somewhat otherwise deliuered in the Scriptures, than ei-
1 King. 5. from the 1. v. to the 9. ther *Eupolemus* or *Iosephus* set it downe, but so, that in substance there is little difference betweene the one and the other.

The like letter in effect *Salomon* is said to haue written to *Vaphres* King of Egypt, and was answered as from *Hiram*.

But wheras some Commentors vpon *Salomon* finde that *Hiram* King of Tyre, and *Vaphres* King of Egypt, gaue *Salomon* the title of *Rex magnus*, and cite *Eupolemon* in *Eusebius*, I doe not finde any such addition of *magnus* in *Eusebius* in the last chapter of that ninth booke; neither is it in *Iosephus* in the eight booke and second chapter of the Iewes Anti-
quities: it being a vain title vsed by some of the Assyrian and Persian Kings, and vsed 50 likewise by the Parthians, and many other after them, insomuch as in later times it grew common, and was vsurped by meane persons in respect of the great *Hermes* the first, which was honoured by that name for his noble qualities, as much or more than for his mightinesse.

After the finishing and dedication of the Temple and house of the Lord, *Salomon* fortified Ierusalem with a treble wall, and repaired Hazor which had beene the ancient Metropolis of the Canaanites, before *Iosua's* time: so did he Gaza of the Philistims: he
Ios. ant. l. 8. c. 2. built Berothon, Gerar, & the Millo or munition of Ierusalem. For *Pharaoh* (as it seemeth in

in fauour of *Salomon*) came vp into the edge of Ephraim, and tooke Gerar, which place the Canaanites yet held, and put them to the sword, and burnt their Citie. The place & Territorie he gaue *Salomons* wife for a dowrie. And it is probable that because *Salomon* was then busied in his magnificent buildings, and could not attend the war; that he entreated his father in law to rid him of these neighbours, which *Pharaoh* performed. But hee thereby taught the Egyptians to visit those parts againe before they were sent for; and in his sonne *Rehoboams* time *Sheshack* this mans successor did sacke Ierusalem it self.

Salomon also built Megiddo in Manasse, on this side Iordan, and Balah in Dan: also Thadmor, which may be either *Ptolomies* Thamoron in the desart of Iuda, or (as *Iosephus* Ios. l. 8. ant. c. 2.
10 thinks) Palmyra in the desart of Syria, which Palmyra because it stood on the vtmost border of *Salomons* dominion to the northeast of Libanus, and was of *Dauids* conquest when he wan Damascus; it may seeme that *Salomon* therfore bestowed theron the most cost, and fortified it with the best Art that that age had. *Iosephus* calls this place Thada- Iosep. l. 8. ant. c. 2.
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yeeres; and that Tharsis in Scripture is diuers times taken for the Ocean, hath beene already declared in the first booke.

Only it remaineth that I should speake somewhat of *Pineda* his strange conceits, who being a Spaniard of Bætica, would faine haue Gades or Calis-malis, in old times called Tartessus, which is the Southwest corner of that Prouince, to bee the Tharsis from whence *Salomon* fetcht his gold; for no other reason, as it seemes, but for loue of his own countrie, and because of some affinitie of sound betweene Tharsis and Tartessus. For wheras it may seeme strange that it should be three yeeres ere they that took ship in the red sea, should return from the East Indies to Ierusalem, this hath been in part answered already. And further, the intelligent may conceiue of sundry lets, in the digging and refining of the mettall, and in their other trafficke, and in their land-carriages between Ierusalem and the red sea, and perhaps also elsewhere: so that we haue no need to make *Salomons* men to goe many thousand miles out of their way to Gades, round about all Affrick, that so they might bee long a comming home.

For the direct way to Gades (which if *Salomon* and the Israelites knew not, the Tyrians which went with them, could not haue been ignorant of) was along the Mediterran sea, and so (besides many wonderfull inconueniences, and terrible nauigation in rounding Affrica) they should haue escaped the troublesome land-carriage betweene Ierusalem and the red sea through drie, desart, and the theeuish Countries: and within 30. mile of Ierusalem at Ioppe, or some other hauen in *Salomons* owne Country, haue laden and vnladen their ships.

But this direct course they could not hold (saith *Pineda*) because the huge Island of Atlantis in largenes greater than all Affrick and Asia, being swallowed vp in the Atlantik Ocean, hindred *Salomons* ships from passing through the straits of Gibraliar: for this hee alleageth *Plato* in Timæo. But that this calamitie happened about *Salomons* time, or that thereby the Straights of Gades were filled with mud and made vnpassable, that there could be no comming to Gades by the Mediterran sea: or that this indraught where the sea runneth most violently, and most easily scoureth his channell, should be filled with mud, and not also the great Ocean in like manner, where this huge Iland is supposed to haue stood: or that *Salomons* ships being in the red sea, should neglect the golden Mines of the East Indies (which were infinitely better and neerer to the red sea, than any in Spain) to seeke gold at Cadyz by the way of compassing Affrica; it is most ridiculous to imagine. For the Spaniard himselfe that hath also the rich Peru in the West, fortifieth in the East Indies, and inhabites some part thereof, as in Manilia, finding in those parts no lesse quantitie of gold (the small territorie which hee there possesseth considered) than in Peru.

De rebus Sal. l. 4 c. 11. As it appeares he tooke a ship at *Iapho* or *Ioppe. c. 1. v. 2.*

The same *Pineda* hath another strange passage round about all Affrica, which elswhere he dreames of: supposing whereas *Ionas* sailing to Tharsis the Citie of Cilicia, was cast out in the Mediterran sea, and taken vp there by a Whale, that this Whale in three daies swimming aboue twelue thousand English miles, along the Mediterran seas, and so through the streights of Gades, and along all the huge seas round about Affrica, cast vp *Ionas* vpon the shore of the Red sea, that so hee might haue perhaps some sixe miles the shorter (though much the worse) way to Niniuie. This conceit he grounds only vpon the ambiguitie of the word Suph, which oftentimes is an Epitheton of the Red sea (as if we should call it *mare algosum, the sea full of weeds*) for the red sea. But in *Ionas* 2.5. it is generally taken in the proper signification for weeds, and not as *Pineda* would haue it, who in this place against his own rule (which elsewhere he giueth vs) supposeth strange miracles without any need. For this long voyage of the Whale finished in three daies, is a greater miracle, than the very preseruation of *Ionas* in the belly of the Whale: and therefore seeing there is no necessitie of this miracle, we send it back vnto him, keeping his owne rule, which in this place hee forgets; *Miracula non sunt multiplicanda.* And againe, *Non sunt miracula gratis danda, nec pro arbitrio noua fingenda, Miracles are not to be multiplied without necessitie, nor deliuered without cause, nor fained at pleasure.* Therefore we leaue this man in his dreames, which (were he not otherwise very learned and iudicious) might be thought vnworthy the mentioning. But to proceed with our storie of *Salomon.*

Ing. P.

The Queene of *Sabaes* comming from farre to *Salomon*, (as it seemes, from Arabia fœlix, & not, as some thinke, from Ethiopia) and her rich presents, & *Salomons* reciprocall magnificence, and his resoluing of her difficult questions, those are set downe at large in the Text. But herein *Iosephus* is greatly mistaken, who calls this Queen of *Saba Nicaules*,

Nicaules, the successor (saith hee out of *Herodotus*) of those thirty and eight Egyptian Kings which succeeded *Meneus* the founder of Memphis; adding, that after this Egyptian, and the father in law of *Salomon*, the name of *Pharaoh* was left off in Egypt. For as it is elsewhere proued that the Queene was of Arabia, not of Egypt and Ethiopia; so were there other *Pharaohs* after the father in law of *Salomon*. Yea, aboue three hundred yeeres after *Salomon*, *Pharao Necho* slew *Iosias* King of Iuda. *Iosiant. 8. 1. 2.* *2. King. c. 23. & 2. Chro. c. 25.* *Ier. c. 46. v. 2.*

It is also written of *Salomon*, that he kept in garrisons fourteene thousand Chariots, and twelue thousand horsemen; that hee spent in Court euery day thirty measures of fine flower, threescore measures of wheat, one hundred sheepe, besides stags and fallow deare, bugles and fowle; foure thousand stalles of horses he had for his chariots & other vses, & for the twelue thousand horsemen of his guard. For, the ten thousand stals in the first of *Kings* the fourth, are to be taken but for so many horses, whence in the second of *Chronicles* the ninth, it is written but foure thousand stals or teemes, and in euery teeme ten horses, as *Iunius* and the *Geneua* vnderstand it. He was said to be wiser than any man, yea than were *Ethan* the Ezrahite, than *Heman*, *Chalcal*, or than *Darda*, to which *Iunius* addeth a fift, to wit, *Ezrak*. For the *Geneua* maketh *Ethan* an Ezrahite by Nation. *Iosephus* writes them *Athan*, *Æman*, *Chalceus* and *Donan* the sonnes of *Hemon*. He spake three thousand Prouerbes, and his songs were one thousand and fiue, whereof either the most part perished in the Captiuitie of Babylon, or else because many acts of *Salomons* were written and kept among the publike Records of Ciuill causes and not Ecclesiasticall, therefore they were not thought necessary to bee inserted into Gods Booke. *1. King. 4. 31.*

§. IIII.

Of the fall of Salomon, *and how long he liued.*

NOw as he had plenty of all other things, so had he no scarcitie of women. For besides his seuen hundred Wiues, hee kept three hundred Concubines, and (forgetting that God had commanded that none of his people should accompany the daughters of Idolators) he tooke Wiues out of Egypt, Edom, Moab, Ammon, Zidon and Heth: and when hee fell adoting, his Wiues turned his heart after other gods, as Asteroth of the Zidonians, Milcom or Molech of the Ammonites, and Chemosh of Moab.

These things God punished by *Adad* of Idumæa, *Rezin* of Damascus, and by *Ieroboam* his owne seruant, and one of the masters of his workes, who by the ordinance of God tare from his sonne *Roboam*, ten of the twelue parts of all the territorie he had. *Deus dum in peccatores animaduertit, aliorum peccatis vtitur, quæ ipse non fecit*: God in punishing sinners, vseth the sins of others, which he himselfe wrought not. *P. Mart. in reg.*

In the reigne of *Salomon* (as in times of long peace) were few memorable actions by him performed, excepting his buildings with other workes of magnificence, and that great Indian voyage already mentioned. Fortie yeeres he reigned: how many he liued, it is not written, and must therefore be found only by coniecture. The most likely way to guesse at the truth in this case is, by considering the actions of *Dauid* before and after *Salomons* birth, whereby we may best make estimation of the yeeres which they consumed, and consequently learne the true, or most likely yeere of his natiuitie. Seauen yeeres *Dauid* reigned in Hebron: in his eighth yeere he tooke Ierusalem, and warred with the Philistims, who also troubled him in the yeere following. The bringing home of the Arke seemes to haue been in the tenth yeere of *Dauid*, and his intention to build the Temple in the yeere ensuing, at which time hee had sufficient leisure, liuing in rest. *2. King. 7. v. 1.* After this he had warres with the Philistims, Moabites, Aramites and Edomites, which must needs haue held him fiue yeeres, considering that the Aramites of Damasco raised warre against him, after such time as hee had beaten *Hadadezer*; and that in euery of these warres, he had the entire victorie. Neither is it likely that these seruices occupied any longer time, because in those dayes and places there were no wintering campes in vse, but at conuenient seasons of the yeere Kings went forth to warre, dispatching all with violence, rather than with temporizing; as maintaining their armies, partly vpon the spoyle of the enemies country, partly vpon the priuate prouision which euery souldier made for himselfe. The 17. yeere of *Dauid*, in which he tooke *Mephibosheth* the son *2. Sam. c. 11. v. 1.* *1. Sam. c. 17. v. 17. & 18.*

of

of *Ionathan* into his Court, appeareth to haue passed away in quiet; and the yeere following to haue begun the warre with *Ammon*; but somewhat late in the end of Summer perhaps, it came to triall of a battaile (for *Ioab* after the victory, returned immediately to Ierusalem) the causes and preparations for that warre taking vp all the Summer. *Dauids* personall expedition against the *Aramites* wherein he brought all the tributaries of *Adadezer* vnder his owne allegiance, appeares manifestly to haue beene the next yeeres worke, wherein he did cut off all meanes of succour from the Ammonites; all Syria, Moab and Idumæa being now at his owne deuotion. By this reckoning it must haue been the 20. yeare of *Dauids* reigne, and about the fiftieth of his life, in which hee sent forth *Ioab* to besiege *Rabba*, and finished the warre of *Ammon*: wherein also 10 fell out the matter of *Vriahs* wife. So one halfe of *Dauids* reigne was very prosperous: in the other halfe hee felt great sorrow by the expectation, execution, and sad remembrance of that heauie Iudgement laid vpon him by God for his foule and bloody offence.

Now very manifest it is, that in the yeere after the death of that child which was begotten in adulterie, *Salomon* was borne, who must needs therefore haue been nineteene yeeres old or thereabout, when he began to reigne at the dicease of his father, as being begotten in the 21. yeere of his fathers reigne, who reigned in all fortie.

This account hath also good coherence with the following times of *Dauid*, as may be collected out of ensuing actions: for two yeeres passed ere *Absolon* slew his brother *Ammon*; three yeeres ere his father pardoned him; and two yeeres more ere he came into the Kings presence. After this he prepared horses and men, and laid the foundation of his rebellion, which seemes to haue been one yeeres work. So the rebellion it selfe with all that happened thereupon, as the Commotion made by *Sheba*, the death of *Amasa* & the rest, may well seeme to haue been in the 30. yeere of *Dauids* reigne.

Whether the three yeeres of famine should be reckoned apart from the last yeeres of warre with the Philistims, or confounded with them, it were more hard than needful to coniecture. Plaine enough it is, that in the ten remaining yeeres of *Dauid* there was time sufficient, and to spare, both for the three yeeres of famine, for foure yeeres of warre, and for numbring the people, with the pestilence ensuing; as also for his owne last in- 30 firmitie, and disposing of the Kingdome. Yet indeed it seemes that the warre with the Philistimes, was but one yeares worke, and ended in three or foure fights, of which the two or three former were at Gob or Nob neere vnto Gezer, and the last at Gath. This war the Philistims vndertooke, as it seemeth, vpon confidence gathered out of the tumults in Israel, and perhaps emboldened by *Dauids* old age: for hee fainted now in the battaile, and was afterwards hindered by his men from exposing himselfe vnto danger anie more. So *Dauid* had sixe or seuen yeares of rest, in which time it is likely that manie of his great men of Warre died (being of his owne age) whereby the stirring spirit of *Adonijah* found little succour in the broken partie of *Ioab* the sonne of *Zeruia*. 40

1 King.1.2.v.9. & 6.3.v.7. At this time it might both truly be said by *Dauid* to *Salomon*, *Thou art a wise man*; and by *Salomon* to God, *I am but a young childe*: for nineteene yeares of age might well agree with eyther of these two speeches.

Neuertheless there are some that gather out of *Salomons* professing himselfe a child, that hee was but eleuen yeares old when hee began to reigne. Of these *Rabbi Salomon* seemes the first Author, whom other of great learning and iudgement haue herein followed: grounding themselues perhaps vpon that which is said of *Absolons* rebellion, 2.Sam.15.7. that it was after fortie yeares, which they vnderstood as yeares of *Dauids* reigne. But whereas *Rehoboam* the sonne of *Salomon* was 41. yeares old when hee began to reigne, it would follow hereby that his father had begotten him, being himselfe but a childe of 50 nine or ten years old; the difference betweene their ages being no greater, if *Salomon* (who reigned 40. yeares) were but eleuen yeares old when his reigne began. To auoide this inconuenience, *Iosephus* allowes 80. yeares of reigne to *Salomon*; a report so disagreeing with the Scriptures, that it needs no confutation. Some indeede haue in fauour of this opinion construed the words of *Iosephus*, as if they included all the yeeres of *Salomons* life. But by such reckoning he should haue beene 40. yeeres old at his Fathers death; and consequently should haue beene borne long before his Father had wonne *Ierusalem*; which is a manifest vntruth. Wherefore the 40. yeeres remem-

remembred in *Absalons* rebellion, may either seeme to haue reference to the space between *Dauids* first anointment, and the trouble which GOD brought vpon him for his wickednesse, or perhaps be read (according to *Iosephus*, *Theodoret*, and the Latine translation) foure yeeres; which passed betweene the returne of *Absalon* to Ierusalam, and his breaking out.

§. V.
Of Salomons *writings.*

10 THere remaine of *Salomons* workes, the *Prouerbs*, the *Preacher*, and the song of *Salomon*. In the first he teacheth good life, and correcteth manners; in the second, the vanitie of humane nature; in the third, he singeth as it were the Epithalamion of Christ and his Church. For the Booke intituled, The wisedome of *Salomon*, (which some giue vnto *Salomon*, and some make the elder *Philo* the Author therof) *Hierome* and many others of the best learned make vs thinke it was not *Salomon* that wrote it. *Stylus libri sapientiæ* (saith Hierome) *qui* Salomonis *inscribitur, Græcam redolet eloquentiam*; *The Stile of the Booke of wisedome, which is ascribed to* Salomon, *sauoureth of the Græcian eloquence*; and of the same opinion was S. *Augustine*, and yet he confesseth in the nineteenth Booke and twentieth Chapter of the Citie of God, that the Author of that Booke hath a direct foretelling of the Passion of Christ in these wordes: Hier. ad Cromatium.

20 *Circumueniamus iustum, quoniam insuauis est nobis, &c. Let vs circumuent the righteous, for he is vnpleasing to vs, hee is contrary to our doings, he checketh vs for offending against the Law, he makes his boast to haue the knowledge of God, and he calleth himselfe the sonne of the Lord, &c.* and so doth the course of all the following words point directly at Christ. Sap.2. The Bookes of *Ecclesiastes*, *Prouerbs*, and *Cantica Canticorum*, *Rabbi Mosos Kimchi* ascribeth to *Isay* the Prophet. *Suidas* & *Cedrenus* report, that *Salomon* wrote of the remedies of all diseases, and graued the same on the sides of the Porch of the Temple, which (they say) *Ezechias* pulled downe, because the people neglecting helpe from God by prayer, repaired thither for their recoueries. S. Sen. fol. 62. Reinecc. in Iul. Hist.

Of *Salomons* Bookes of Inuocations, and Inchantments to cure diseases, and expell 30 euill spirits, *Iosephus* hath written at large, though (as I conceiue) rather out of his owne inuention, or from some vncertaine report, than truly.

He also speaketh of one *Eliazarus*, who by the roote in *Salomons* ring, dispossest diuers persons of euill spirits in the presence of *Vespasian*, and many others, which I will not stand to examine.

Certainely so strange an example of humane frailtie hath neuer beene read of as this King: who hauing receiued wisedome from God himselfe, in honour of whom, and for his only seruice, he built the first and most glorious Temple of the world: he that was made King of Israel and Iudæa, not by the law of Nature, but by the loue of God, and 40 became the wisest, richest, and happiest of all Kings, did in the end, by the perswasion of a few weake and wretched Idolatrous Women, forget and forsake the Lord of all the world, and the giuer of all goodnesse, of which he was more liberall to this King, than to any that euer the world had. Of whom *Syracides* writeth in this manner: Salomon *reigned in a peaceable time and was glorious, for God made all quiet round about, that he might build a house to his name, and prepare the Sanctuary for euer; How wise wast thou in thy youth, and wast filled with vnderstanding, as with a floud? Thy minde couered the whole earth, and hath filled it with graue and darke sentences. Thy name went abroad in the Iles, and for thy peace thou wast beloued, &c.* but thus hee concludeth: *Thou didst bow thy loynes to Women, and wast ouer come by thy body; thou didst staine thine honour, and hast defiled thy posteritie, and hast brought wrath vpon thy children, and felt sorrow for thy* 50 *folly.* cap.27.

§. VI.
Of the Contemporaries of Salomon.

NEere the beginning of *Salomons* reigne, *Agesilaus* the third of the *Heraclidæ* in Corinth; *Labotes* in Lacedæmon; and soone after *Syluius Alba* the fourth of the Siluii, swayed those Kingdomes: *Laosthenes* then gouerning Assyria: *Agastus* & *Archippus* the second and third Princes after *Codrus*, ruling the Athenians.

In

In the sixe and twentieth of *Salomons* reigne *Hiram* of Tyre died, to whom *Baliastrus* succeeded, and reigned seuenteene yeers, after *Mercators* account; who reckons the time of his rule by the age of his sonnes. *Iosephus* giues him fewer yeeres. *Theophilus Antiochenus* against *Antolicus* finds *Bozorius* the next after *Hiram*, if there be not some Kings omitted betweene the death of *Hiram* and the reigne of *Bozorius*.

Vaphres being dead, about the twentieth of *Salomon*, *Sesac* of Shishak (as our English Geneua termes him) began to gouern in Egypt, being the same with him whom *Diodorus* calleth *Sosachis*; *Iosephus*, *Susac*; *Cedrenus*, *Susesinus*; *Eusebius* in the colume of the Egyptian Kings, *Smendes*; and in that of the *Hebrewes*, *Susac*. *Iosephus* in the eight of his Antiquities reproueth it as an errour in *Herodotus*, that hee ascribeth the acts of *Susac* to *Sesostris*, which perchance *Herodotus* might haue done by comparison, accounting *Sesac* another *Sesostris*, for the great things he did.

Of the great acts and vertues of King *Sesostris* I haue spoken already in the story of the Egyptian Princes: onely in this hee was reproued, that he caused foure of his captiue Kings to draw his Caroch, when he was disposed to be seene, and to ride in triumph: one of which foure, saith *Eutropius*, at such time as *Sesostris* was carried out to take the aire, cast his head continually backe vpon the two fore-most wheeles next him; which *Sesostris* perceiuing, asked him what he found worthy the admiration in that motion: to whom the captiue King answered, that in those he beheld the instability of all worldly things; for that both the lowest part of the wheele was suddenly carried about, and became the highest, and the vpmost part was as suddenly turned down-ward, and vnder all: which when *Sesostris* had iudiciously weighed, he dismissed those Princes, and all other from the like seruitude in the future. Of this *Sesostris*, and that hee could not bee taken for *Sesac*, I haue spoken at large in that part of the Egyptian Kings preceding.

Hist. Miscel. l. 17

CHAP. XIX.

Of Salomons *Successors vntill the end of* Iehosaphat.

§. I.

Of Rehoboam *his beginnings: the defection of the ten Tribes, and* Ieroboams *Idolatrie.*

REhoboam the Sonne of *Salomon* by *Nahama* an Ammonitesse, now forty yeeres old, succeeded his Father *Salomon*, and was anointed at Sichem, where the ten Tribes of Israel were assembled: who attended a while the returne of *Ieroboam* as yet in Egypt, since hee fled thither fearing *Salomon*. After his arriuall the people presented a Petition to *Rehoboam*, to be eased of those great Tributes laid on them by his Father. *Sic enim firmius ei fore Imperium, si amari mallet quàm metui*; *So should his Empire* (saith *Iosephus*) *bee more assured, if hee desired rather to bee beloued than feared*: whereof hee tooke three daies to deliberate before his answer; of whom therefore it could not be said as of *Dauid*, that hee was wiser than all his Teachers. For as of himselfe he knew not how to resolue, so had he not the iudgement to discerne of counsels; which is the very test of wisedome in Princes, and in all men else. But notwithstanding that hee had consulted with those graue and aduised men, that serued his Father, who perswased him by all meanes to satisfie the multitude: hee was transported by his familiars and fauourites, not onely to continue on the backes of his subiects those burdens which greatly crusht them; but (vaunting falsly of greatnesse exceeding his Fathers) he threatned in sharpe, or rather in terrible tearmes, to lay yet heauier, and more vnsupportable loades on them. But as it appeared in the successe, those yonger aduisers greatly mistooke the nature of seueritie, which without the temper of clemency is no other than cruelty it selfe: they also were ignorant that it ought to be vsed for the helpe, and not for the harme of subiects. For what is the strength of a King left by his people? and what cords or fetters haue euer lasted long, but those which haue been twisted

Ant. l. 8. c. 3.

twisted and forged by loue onely? His witlesse parasites could well iudge of the Kings disposition: and being well learned therein, though ignorant in all things else, it sufficed and enabled them sufficiently for the places they held. But this answer of *Rehoboam* did not a little aduance *Ieroboams* designes. For being fore-told by the Prophet *Achiah* of his future aduancement, these the Kings threats (changing the peoples loue into furie) confirmed and gaue courage to his hopes. For he was no sooner arriued, than elected King of Israel: the people cryed out; What portion haue we in *Dauid*? wee haue no inheritance in the Sonne of *Ishai*. Now though themselues, euen all the Tribes of Israel, had consented to *Dauids* anointing at Hebron the second time, acknowledging that they were his bones and his flesh: yet now after the manner of rebels, they forgat both the bands of nature, and their dutie to God; and, as all alienate resolued hearts doe, they serued themselues for the present with impudent excuses. And now ouer-late, and after time, *Rehoboam* sent *Adoram*, one of the Taxers of the people, a man most hatefull to all his Subiects, to pacifie them: whom they instantly beate to death with stones. Whereupon the King affrighted, got him from Sichem with all speede, and recouered Ierusalem, where preparing to inuade Israel, with an hundred and foure score thousand chosen men, *Shimei* in the person of God commanding to the contrary, all was staied for the present. In the meane time *Ieroboam* the new King fortified Sechem on this side, and Penuel on the other side of Iordan; and fearing that the Vnion and exercise of one Religion would also ioyne the peoples hearts againe to the House of *Dauid*; and hauing in all likelihood also promised the Egyptians to follow their Idolatry, he set vp two Calues of gold for the children of Israel to worship, impiously perswading them that those were the Gods, or at least by these hee represented those Gods which deliuered them out of Egypt: and refusing the seruice of the Leuites, he made Priests fit for such gods. It must needes be that by banishing the Leuites which serued *Dauid* and *Salomon* through all Israel, *Ieroboam* greatly enriched himselfe: as taking into his hands all those Cities which were giuen them by *Moses* and *Iosua*; for as it is written, *The Leuites left their suburbs, and their possession, and came to Iuda, &c.* This irreligious policie of *Ieroboam* (which was the foundation of an Idolatry that neuer could be rooted out, vntill Israel for it was rooted out of the Land) was by prophecie and miracles impugned sufficiently when it first began; but the affections maintaining it, were so strong, that neither Prophesie nor Miracle could make them yeeld. *Ieroboam* could not be moued now by the Authority of *Ahia*, who from the Lord had first promised vnto him the Kingdome; nor by the withering of his owne hand as he stretched it ouer the Altar, which also claue a-sunder, according to the signe, which the man of God had giuen him by the commandement of God, who againe recouered and cured him of that defect; yet he continued as obstinate an Idolater as before, for he held it the safest course in policie to proceed as he had begun. This impious inuention of *Ieroboam*, who forsooke God, and the Religion of his forefathers, by God and his Ministers taught them, was by a moderne Historian compared with the policies of late Ages; obseruing, well the practice of his Nation, being an Italian borne. *Sic qui hodie* (saith hee) *politici vocantur, & propria commoda, præsentesq; vtilitates sibi tanquam vltimum finem constituunt, causam quam vocant status in capite omnium ponunt: pro ipsa tuenda, promouenda, conseruanda, amplianda, nihil non faciendum putant. Si iniuria proximo irrogandà, si iustitiæ honestatisq; leges subvertendæ, si religio ipsa pessundanda, si deniq; omnia iura diuina, & humana violanda, nihil intentatum, nil per fas nefasq; relinquendum censent; cuncta ruant, omnia pereant, nihil ad ipsos, modò id, quod è re sua esse sibi persuadent, obtineant, ac si nullus sit qui talia curet, castigareue possit Deus: So they who are now called Polititians, propounding to themselues, as their vtmost end and scope, their owne commoditie and present profit; are wont to alleage the case of state forsooth, as the principall point to bee regarded: for the good of the state, for aduancing, preseruing, or encreasing of the state, they thinke that they may doe any thing. If they meane to oppresse their neighbour, to ouerturne all lawes of iustice and honestie, if religion it selfe must goe to wracke, yea if all rights of God and Man must be violated, they will try all courses, bee it right, be it wrong, they will doe any thing; let all goe to ruine, what care they, so long as they may haue what they would; as who should say, there were no God that would offer to meddle in such matters, or had power to correll them.*

Indeed this allegation of *raggione del stato*, did serue as well to vphold, as at the first

2 Sam. 5. 2.

1 King. 12. 21.

1 King. 13. 4.

Verse 5.
Verse 6.

first it had done to bring in this vile Idolatrie of the ten Tribes. Vpon this ground *Amaziah* the Priest of Bethel, counsailed the Prophet *Amos*, not to prophecie at Bethel; *For* (saith hee) *it is the Kings Court.* Vpon this ground euen *Iehu* that had massacred the Priests of *Baal*, in zeale for the Lord, yet would not in any wise depart from that politique sinne of *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Nebat*, which made Israel to sinne. It was reason of state that perswaded the last famous *French King Henry* the fourth to change his Religion, yet the Protestants whom he forsooke, obeyed him, but some of the Papists whom he followed, murdered him. So strongly doth the painted vizzor of wise proceeding delude euen those that know the foule face of impietie lurking vnder it: and behold the wretched ends that haue euer followed it; whereof *Iehu* and all the Kings of Israel had and were themselues very great examples.

Amos 7. 13.
2. *King*. 10. 16.
2. *King*. 10. 20.

§. II.

Of Rehoboam *his impietie; for which he was punished by* Sesac : *of his end and Contemporaries.*

WHile *Ieroboam* was occupied in setting vp his new Religion, *Rehoboam* on the other side, hauing now little hope to recouer the Prouinces lost, strengthened the principall places remaining with all endeauour: for he fortified and victualled fifteene Cities of Iudah and Beniamin: not that hee feared *Ieroboam* alone, but the Egyptians, to whom *Ieroboam* had not only fastned himselfe, but withall inuited them to inuade Iudæa: laying perchance before them the incountable riches of *Dauid* and *Salomon*, which might now be easily had, seeing ten of the twelue Tribes were reuolted, and become enemies to the Iudæans. So as by those two waies (of late yeeres often troden) to wit, change of Religion, and inuitation of forraigne force, *Ieroboam* hoped to settle himselfe in the seate of Israel, whom yet the powerfull God for his Idolatry in a few yeeres after rooted out, with all his. *Rehoboam* also, hauing, as he thought, by fortifying diuers places, assured his estate, forsooke the Law of the liuing God, and made high Places, and Images, and Groues on euery high Hill, and vnder euery greene Tree.

2 *Chro*. 12.
1 *King*. 14. 13.

And therefore in the fifth yeere of his reigne, *Sesac* or *Shishac* before spoken of, being now King of Egypt, and with whom as well *Adad* of Idumæa, as *Ieroboam*, were familiar, and his instruments; entred Iudæa with twelue thousand Chariots, and threescore thousand Horse, besides foot-men, which *Iosephus* numbers at foure hundred thousand. This Armie was compounded of foure Nations: Egyptians, Lubæans, Succæans, and Cusites. The Lubæans were Lybæans, the next bordering Region to Egypt, on the West-side. The Cusites were of Petræa, and of the desart Arabia, which afterward followed *Zerah* against *Asa* King of Iuda. The Succæans, according to *Iunius* his opinion, were of Succoth, which signifieth Tents: he doth suppose that they were the Trogloditæ, mentioned often in *Plinie*, *Ptolomie*, and other Authors. The Troglodites inhabited not farre from the bankes of the red Sea, in 22. degrees from the line Northward, about sixe hundred English miles from the best and Maritimate part of Egypt: and therefore I do not thinke that the Succims, or Succæi were those Trogloditæ, but rather those Arabians which *Ptolomie* cals *Arabes Ægyptii*, or, *Ichthyophagi*, which possesse that part of Egypt between the mountaines called *Alabastrini*, and the red Sea, far neerer Egypt, and readier to be leuied than those remoued Sauages of the Trogloditæ.

2 *Chro*. 12.3
Ios. Ant. 8. *c*. 4.
2 *Chro*. 12.
2 *King*. 14.
Annot in 12. *Chro*.
Plin. *l*. 6. *c*. 29.
Ptol. *Asia tab*. 3
Cap. 47. *v*. 13.

With this great and powerfull Army, *Sesac* inuaded Iudæa, and (besides many other strong Cities) wan Ierusalem it selfe; of which, and of the Temple, and Kings house, he took the spoyle, carrying away (besides other treasures) the golden shields which *Salomon* had made, in imitation of those which *Dauid* recouered from *Adadezer*, in the Syrian war: these *Rehoboam* supplied with Targets of brasse, which were fit enough to guard a King of his quality: whom *Syracides* calleth, The foolishnesse of the people.

From this time forward the Kings of Egypt claimed the soueraigntie of Iudæa, and held the Iewes as their Tributaries: *Sesac*, as it seemes, rendring vp to *Rehoboam* his places on that condition. So much may bee gathered out of the Word of GOD, where premising the deliuerance of Iuda after their humiliation, he doth notwithstanding leaue them vnder the yoke of Egypt, in these words: *Neuertheleſſe, they* (to wit, the Iudæans) *shall be his seruants, that is, the seruants of* Sesac.

After

After this ouerthrow and dishonour, *Rehoboam* reigned twelue yeeres, and his losses receiued by *Sesac*, notwithstanding, he continued the warre against *Ieroboam* all his life time. After his death *Ieroboam* gouerned Israel foure yeeres.

Rehoboam liued 58. yeeres, and reigned 17. his story was written at large by *Shemeiah* and *Hiddon* the Prophets, but the same perished with that of *Nathan*, and the rest.

With *Rehoboam*, *Archippus*, and *Tersippus*, the third and fourth *Archontes* or Gouernors for life after *Codrus*, gouerned in Athens. *Abdastrartus*, or *Abstrartus*, in Tyre. *Doristhus* the fift of the Heraclidæ in Sparta, according to *Eusebius* (others make him the sixt) and *Priminas* the fourth in Corinth. Ouer the Latines reigned *Syluius Alba*, *Syluius Atys*, the fourth and fifth of the Syluii.

Euseb. *Chron*.

About the 12. of *Rehoboam*, *Abdastrartus* king of Tyre was murthered by his Nurses sons, or foster-brethren, the elder of which vsurped the kingdome twelue yeeres.

Towards his latter times *Periciades*, or *Pyrithiades*, began to gouerne Assyria, the 34. king thereof: and not long after *Astartus*, the son of *Baleastartus*, recouered the kingdome of Tyre from the Vsurpers.

§. III.

Of the great battaile betweene Ieroboam *and* Abia, *with a Corollarie of the examples of Gods iudgements.*

Abijah the sonne of *Rehoboam*, inherited his Fathers kingdome, and his vices. Hee raised an Armie of foure hundred thousand, with which he inuaded *Ieroboam*, who encountred him with a double number of eight hundred thousand: Both Armies ioyned neere to the Mount Ephraim, where *Ieroboam* was vtterly ouerthrowne, and the strength of Israel broken: for there fell of that side fiue hundred thousand; the greatest ouerthrow that euer was giuen or receiued of those Nations. *Abijah* being now master of the field, recouered Bethel, Ieshanah, and Ephron. Soon after which discomfiture, *Ieroboam* died: who reigned in all 22. yeeres. *Abijah*, the better to strengthen himselfe, entred into league with *Hesion*, the third of the Adads of Syria; as may be gathered out of the second of *Chronicles*: he reigned but three yeeres, & then died: the particulars of his acts were written by *Iddo* the Prophet, as some part of his Fathers were.

2. *Chron*. 16. 2.

Here wee see how it pleased God to punish the sinnes of *Salomon* in his son *Rehoboam*: first, by an Idolator and Traitor: and then by the successor of that Egyptian, whose daughter *Salomon* had married, therby the better to assure his estate, which while he serued God, was by God assured against all and the greatest neighbouring kings; & when he forsooke him, it was torne asunder by his meanest Vassals: Not that the Father wanted strength to defend him from the Egyptian *Sesac*; For the son *Abijah* was able to leuie foure hundred thousand men, & with the same number hee ouerthrew eight hundred thousand Israelites, and slew of them fiue hundred thousand; God giuing spirit, courage, and inuention, when, and where it pleaseth him. And as in those times the causes were expreſt, why it pleased God to punish both Kings and their People: the same being both before, and at the instant deliuered by Prophets; so the same iust God, who liueth and gouerneth all things for euer, doth in these our times giue victorie, courage, and discourage, raise, and throw downe Kings, Estates, Cities, and Nations, for the same offences which were committed of old, and are committed in the present: for which reason, in these and other the afflictions of Israel, alwayes the causes are set downe, that they might be as precedents to succeeding ages. They were punished with famine in *Dauids* time for three yeeres, *For Saul and his bloudy house, &c.* And *Dauid* towards his latter end suffered all sorts of afflictions, and sorrowes in effect, for *Vriah*. *Salomon* had ten Tribes of twelue torne from his son for his Idolatrie. *Rehoboam* was spoyled of his riches and honour by *Sesac* of Egypt, because the people of Iuda made images, high places, and groues, &c. and because they suffered Sodomites in the Land. *Ieroboam* was punished in himselfe and his posterity, for the golden Calues that he erected. *Ioram* had all his sons slaine by the Philistims, and his very bowels torne out of his body by an excoriating flixe, for murthering his brethren. *Ahab* and *Iezebel* were slaine, the bloud of the one, the body of the other eaten with dogges, for the false accusing and killing of *Naboth*. So also hath God punished the same and

2. *Sam*. 21. 2.

the like sinnes in all after-times, and in these our dayes by the same famine, plagues, warre, losse, vexation, death, sicknesse, and calamities; howsoeuer the wise men of the world raise these effects no higher than to second causes, and such other accidents, which, as being next their eyes and eares, seeme to them to worke euery alteration that happeneth.

§. IIII.

Of Asa *and his Contemporaries:*

TO *Abijah* succeeded *Asa*, who enioyed peace for his first ten yeeres, in which time he established the Church of God, breaking downe the altars dedicated to strange gods, with their images, cutting downe their groues, and taking away their high places. Hee also spared not his owne mother, who was an Idolatresse, but deposing her from her regency, brake her Idoll, stampt it, and burnt it. Hee also fortified many Cities, and other places, prouiding (as prouident Kings do) for the troubles of war in the leasure of peace. For not long after he was inuaded by *Zerah*, who then commanded all the Arabians bordering Iudæa, and with such a multitude entred the territorie of *Asa*, as (for any thing that I haue read) were neuer assembled of that Nation, either before or since. For it is written, that there came against the Iudæans, *Zerah* of Æthiopia, with an hoste of ten hundred thousand, and three hundred Chariots, which *Asa* encountred with an Armie of fiue hundred and foureſcore thousand, leuied out of those two Tribes of Iuda and Beniamin, which obeyed him, and with which hee ouerthrew this fearefull multitude, and had the spoyle both of their Cities and Campes.

2. *Chron.* 14.

2. *Chron.* 15. 16.

2. *Chron.* 14. 9.

That this *Zerah* was not an Æthiopian, I haue* proued already, and were it but the length between Æthiopia and Iudæa, and the strong flourishing Regions of Egypt interiacent (who would not suffer a million of strangers to pass through them) it were sufficient to make it appeare how foolish the opinion is, that these inuaders were Æthiopians. But in that the Scriptures acknowledge that Gerar was belonging to *Zerah*, & the cities thereabouts were spoiled by the Iudæans, in following their victory, as places belonging to *Zerah*, and that all men know that Gerar standeth vpon the torrent of Besor, which *Dauid* past ouer when he surprized the Amalekites or Arabians; this proueth sufficiently, that *Zerah* was leader of the Arabians, & that Gerar was a frontier town standing on the vttermost South-border of all Iudæa, from all parts of Æthiopia sixe hundred miles. Also the spoiles which *Asa* tooke, as the cattell, camels, and sheepe, whereof he sacrificed fiue thousand, shew them to be Arabians adioyning, and not far off, and not vnknown Æthiopians. And if it be obiected that these desart countries can hardly yeeld a million of men fit for the wars, I answer, that it is as like that Arabia Petræa, and the Desart which compasse two parts of the holy Land, should yeeld ten hundred thousand, as that two Tribes of the twelue, should arme fiue hundred and foureſcore thousand. Besides, it answereth to the promise of God to *Abraham*, that these Nations should exceede in number; for God spake it of *Ismael*, that hee would make him fruitfull, and multiply him exceedingly, that hee should beget twelue Princes, &c.

* In the former booke. c. 4. §. 14. *item* c. 8. §. 10. * 6.

Baasha a king of Israel began to reigne in the third of *Asa*, and fearing the greatnes of *Asa* after his great victory, entertained *Benhadad* king of Syria, of the race of *Adadezer*, to ioyne with him against *Asa*; and to the end to block him vp, he fortified Rama, which lieth in the way from Ierusalem towards Samaria.

2. *Chro.* 16. *v.* 1.

This warre began according to the letter of the Scriptures in the 36. yeere of *Asa* his reigne: but because in the first of Kings the 16. it is said that *Baasha* died in the 26. yeer of *Asa*; therfore could not *Baasha* begin this war in the 35. of *Asa* his reign, but in the 35. yeer of the diuision of Iuda and Israel; for so many yeers it was from the first of *Rehoboam*, who reigned 17. yeers, to the 16. of *Asa*. It may seeme strange, that *Asa* being able to bring into the field an Army of fiue hundred & foureſcore thousand good Souldiers, did not easily driue away *Baasha*, and defeat him of his purposes; the victories of *Abia* against *Ieroboam*, and of *Asa* himselfe against *Zerah*, being yet fresh in minde, which might well haue emboldened the men of Iuda, and asmuch disheartened the enemies. Questionlesse there were some important Circumstances, omitted in the Text, which caused

caused *Asa* to fight at this time with money. It may be that the imployment of so many hundred thousands of hands, in the late seruice against *Zerah*, had caused many mens priuate businesses to lye vndispatched, wherby the people being now intentiue to the culture of their lands & other trades, might be vnwilling to stir against the Israelites, choosing rather to winke at apparant inconuenience, which the building of Rama would bring vpon them in after-times. Such backwardnesse of the people might haue deterred *Asa* from aduenturing himself with the least part of his forces, & committing the successe into the hands of God. Howsoeuer it were, he took the treasures remaining in the temple, with which he waged *Benhadad* the Syrian against *Baasha*, whose emploiments *Benhadad* readily accepted, and brake off confederacy with *Baasha*. For the Israelites were his borderers and next neighbours, whom neither himselfe (after his inuasion) nor his successors after him euer gaue ouer, till they had made themselues masters of that kingdome. So *Benhadad* being now ented into Nepthalim, without resistance, hee spoyled diuers principall Cities thereof, & inforced *Baasha* to quit Rama, & to leaue the same to *Asa*, with all the materials which he had brought thither, to fortifie the same: which done, *Benhadad*, who loued neither party, being loden with the spoiles of Israel, and the treasures of Iuda, returned to Damascus. After this, when *Hanani* the Prophet reprehended *Asa*, in that he now relyed on the strength of Syria, and did not rest himselfe on the fauour and assistance of God, he not only caused *Hanani* to be imprisoned, but he began to burden and oppresse his people, and was therefore strooken with the grieuous paines of the gout in his feet, wherewith after he had been two yeeres continually tormented, he gaue vp the ghost when he had reigned 41. yeeres.

2. *Chron.* 16. 4.

1. *King.* 15.

2. *Chron.* 16.

There liued with *Asa*, *Agesilaus* the sixt of the Heraclidæ, and *Bacis* the fift king of the same race in Corinth, of whom his successors were afterward called Bacidæ, *Astartus*, & *Astarimus* were kings in Tyre. *Astarimus* took reuenge on his brother *Phelletes*, for the murther of *Ithobalus* Priest of the goddesse *Astarta*, whom *Salomon* in dotage worshipped. *Atys* & *Capys* ruled the Latines: *Pirithiades* & *Ophrateus* the Assyrians: *Tersippus* and *Phorbas* the Athenians: *Chemmis* reigned in Egypt; who dying in the 36. yeere of *Asa*, left *Cheops* his successour, that reigned fifty sixe yeeres, euen to the 16. of *Ioas*.

Euseb. in Chron.

§. V.

Of the great alteration falling out in the ten Tribes during the reigne of Asa.

IN the reigne of *Asa* the Kingdome of Israel felt great and violent commotions, which might haue reduced the ten Tribes vnto their former allegeance to the house of *Dauid*, if the wisedome of God had not otherwise determined. The wickednesse of *Ieroboam* had in his latter dayes, the sentence of heauie vengeance laid vpon it, by the mouth of *Abia*, the same Prophet which had foretold the diuision of Israel, for the sinne of *Salomon*, and his reigne ouer the ten Tribes. One son *Ieroboam* had among others, in whom onely God found so much piety, as (though it sufficed not to with-hold his wrath from that Family) it procured vnto him a peaceable end; an honourable testimony of the peoples loue, by their generall mourning and lamentation at his death, and (wherein he was most happy) the fauourable approbation of God himselfe.

After the losse of this good son, the vngodly father was soon taken away: a miserable creature, so conscious of his vile vnthankefulnesse to God, that he durst not suffer his owne name to be vsed in consulting with an holy Prophet, assured of the ruine hanging ouer him and his, yea of Gods extreame hatred; yet forbearing to destroy those accursed Idols that wrought his confusion. So loath he was to forsake his worldly wisdome, when the world was ready to forsake him, and all belonging to him, his hatefull memory excepted.

Nadab the son of *Ieroboam*, reigned in the second and third yeeres of *Asa*, which are reckoned as two yeeres, though indeede his fathers last yeer of two and twenty did run along (how farre is vncertaine) with the second of *Asa*, whose third yeere was the first of *Baasha*, so that perhaps this *Nadab* enioyed not his Kingdome one whole yeere. He did not alter his fathers courses, neither did God alter his sentence. It seemes that hee little feared the iudgements denounced against his fathers house: for as a Prince that

1. *King.* 15. 25.

was secure of his owne estate, he armed all Israel against the Philistims, & besieged one of their Townes. There (whether it were so, that the people were offended with his ill successe, and recalled to mind their grieuous losse of fiue hundred thousand vnder *Ieroboam*, counting it an vnluckie family to the Nation; or whether by some particular indiscretion, he exasperated them) slaine he was by *Baasha*, whom the Army did willingly accept for king in his stead: *Baasha* was no sooner proclaimed king, than hee began to take order with the house of *Ieroboam*, that none of them might molest him, putting all of them, without mercy, to the sword. That he did this for priuate respects, & not in regard of Gods will to haue it so, it is euident by his continuing in the same form of Idolatry which *Ieroboam* had begun. Wherefore he receiued the same sentence from God 10 that had been laid vpon *Ieroboam*; which was executed vpon him also in the same sort. He began to infest *Asa*, by fortifying Ramah; but was diuerted from thence by the Syrian *Benhadad*, who did waste his Country, destroying all the Land of *Nepthalim*. Foure and twenty yeeres hee reigned, and then dying, left the Crowne to *Ela* his son; who enioyed it, as *Nadab* the son of *Ieroboam* had done, two yeeres currant, perhaps not one compleat.

Ela was as much an Idolater as his father: and withall a riotous person. He sent an Army against Gibbethon, the same town of the Philistims, before which *Nadab* the son of *Ieroboam* perished; but he sate at home the whilest, feasting & drinking with his Minions, whereby he gaue such aduantage against himselfe, as was not neglected. *Zimri*, 20 an ambitious man, remaining with the king at Tirza, finding his Master so dissolute, & his behauiour so contemptible, conceiued hope of the like fortune as *Baasha* had found, by doing as *Baasha* had done. Wherefore he did set vpon *Ela* in his drunkennesse, and slew him. Presently vpon which fact, he stiled himselfe king of Israel: and began his reigne with massacring all the house of *Baasha*; extending his cruelty not onely to his children, and kinsfolke, but vnto all his friends in Tirza. These newes were quickly blowne to the Campe at Gibbethon, where they were not welcommed according to *Zimri* his expectation. For the Souldiers in stead of proclaiming him King, proclaimed him Traitor: and being led by *Omri*, whom they saluted King, they (quitting the siege of Gibbethon) presented themselues before Tirza; which in short space they may 30 seeme to haue forced. *Zimri* wanting strength to defend the City, not courage to keepe himselfe from falling aliue into his enemies hands, did set fire on the Palace, consuming it and himselfe together to ashes. Seuen dayes he is said to haue reigned: accounting (as is most likely) to the time that *Omri* was proclaimed in the Campe. For *Zimri* was also
1. King. 16. 15. an idolater, *Walking in the way of* Ieroboam; & therfore is likely to haue had more time wherein to declare himselfe, than the reigne of seuen dayes, and those consumed partly in murthering the friends of *Baasha*, partly in seeking to haue defended his own life. After the death of *Ela*, there arose another King to oppose the faction of *Omri*; whereby it may seeme, that *Zimri* had made his party strong, as being able to set vp a new 40 head, who doubtlesse would neuer haue appeared, if there had not beene ready to his hand, some strength, not vnlikely to resist and vanquish the Army which maintained *Omri*. How long this *Tibni*, the new Competitor of *Omri*, held out, I doe not finde; onely it appeares that his side was decayed, and so he died, leauing no other Successor than his concurrent.

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§. VI.

A coniecture of the causes hindering the re-union of Israel with Iuda, which might haue beene effected by these troubles.

ANy man that shall consider the state of Israel in those times, may iustly wonder 50 how it came to passe, that either the whole Nation, wearied with the calamities already suffered vnder these vnfortunate Princes, and with the present ciuill warres, did not returne to their ancient kings, and re-unite themselues with the mighty Tribes of Iuda and Beniamin; or that *Zimri* and *Tibni*, with their oppressed factions, did not call in *Asa*, but rather chose the one to endure a desperate necessitie of yeelding, or burning himselfe, the other to languish away, a man forsaken; than to haue recourse vnto a remedy, so sure, so ready, and so honourable. To say that that God was pleased to haue it so, were a true, but an idle answer (for his secret will is the

the cause of all things) vnlesse it could be proued, that he had forbidden *Asa* to deale in that businesse, as he forbad *Rehoboam* to force the rebellious people vo obedience. That the restraint laid by God vpon *Rehoboam*, did only binde his hands from attempting the suppression of that present insurrection, it appeares by the Warre continued betweene Israel & Iuda, so many yeeres following: wherein *Abia* so farre preuailed, that he wan a great battaile, and recouered some Townes belonging to the other Tribes, which hee annexed to his own Dominion. Wherfore we may boldly look into the second causes, mouing the People and Leaders of the ten Tribes, to suffer any thing vnder new vpstarts, rather than to cast their eyes vpon that Royall house of *Dauid*, from which the 10 succession of fiue kings in lineall descent, had taken away all imputation, that might formerly haue beene laid vpon the meane beginnings thereof. To thinke that *Omri* had preuented his Competitors in making peace with *Asa*, were a coniecture more bold than probable. For *Omri* was not onely an adolater, *but did worse than all that were be-* 1. King. 16. 25.
fore him; which as it might serue alone to proue, that *Asa*, being a godly king, would not adhere to him, so the course which he professed to take at the very first, of reuenging the massacre committed vpon the family and friends of *Baasha*, (*Asa* his mortall enemy) giues manifest reason, why *Zimri*, who had wrought that great execution, should more iustly than he haue expected the friendship of Iuda in that quarrel. Wherfore, in searching out the reason of this backwardnes in the ten Tribes (which was such, that they may 20 seeme to haue neuer thought vpon the matter) to submit themselues to their true Princes; it were not amiss to examine the causes, mouing the people to reuenge the death of *Ela*, an idle drunkard, rather than of *Nadab* the son of *Ieroboam*, who followed the wars in person, as a man of spirit & courage. Surely it is apparant, that the very first defection of the ten Tribes, was (if we looke vpon humane reason) occasioned by desire of breaking that heauie yoke of bondage wherewith *Salomon* had galled their neckes. Their desire was to haue a king that should not oppresse them; not to haue no king at all. And therfore when the arrogant follie of *Rehoboam* had caused them to renounce him, they did immediatly choose *Ieroboam* in his stead, as a man likely to afford that liberty vnto them, for which he had contended in their behalfe. Neither were they (as it seemes) herein 30 altogether deceiued. For his affectation of popularity appears in his building of decayed Towes, & in the institution of his new deuised idolatry; where he told the people, that it was too much for them, to trauaile so far as to Ierusalem. But whether it were so, that his moderation, being voluntary, began to cease, towards the latter end of his reign, and in the reigne of his son, when long time of possession had confirmed his title, which at the first was onely good by courtesie of the people: or whether the people (as often happens in such cases) were more offended by some prerogatiues of a king, that he still retained in his owne hands, than pleased with his remission of other burdens: it is cleerly apparant, that the whole army of all Israel ioined with *Baasha*, taking in good part the death of *Nadab*, and eradication of *Ieroboams* house.

Now the reign of *Baasha* himselfe, was (for ought that remaineth in writing of it) euery way vnfortunate; his labour and cost at Rama was cast away; the other side of his 40 kingdome harried by the Syrians; neither did he win that one town of Gibbethon from the Philistims, but left that businesse to his son, who likewise appeares an vnprofitable sluggard. Wherefore it must needs be, that the fauour of the people toward the house of *Baasha* grew from his good forme of Ciuill gouernment, which happely he reduced to a more temperate method than *Ieroboam* euer meant to doe. And surely hee that shall take pains to look into those examples, which are extant of the different courses, held by the kings of Israel & Iuda, in administration of iustice, will finde it most probable, that vpon this ground it was that the ten Tribes continued so auerse from the line of *Dauid*; 50 as to thinke all aduersitie more tolerable, than the weightie Scepter of that house. For the death of *Ioab* and *Shimei* was indeede by them deserued; yet in that they suffered it without forme of iudgement, they suffered like vnto men innocent. The death of *Adonijah* was both without iudgement, and without any crime obiected, other than the kings iealousie: out of which by the same rule of arbitrary iustice (vnder which it may be supposed that many were cast away) hee would haue slaine *Ieroboam* (if hee could haue caught him) before he had yet committed any offence; as appeares by his confident returne out of Egypt, like one that was knowne to haue endured wrong, hauing not offered anie.

The like and much more barbarous execution, to wit, without law; *Ieboram* did vpon his brethren, & vpon sundry of his greatest men; as also *Ioash* did so put to death *Zacharish* the son of *Iehoiada*, who had made him king, *euen in the court of the house of the Lord*, and Manasses *did shed innocent bloud exceeding much, till hee replenished Ierusalem from corner to corner*: and this was imputed to him as another fault; *besides his sinne, wherewith he made Iuda to sinne.* Contrariwise, among the kings of Israel we finde no monument of such arbitrary proceeding; vnlesse perhaps the words of *Ieboram* the sonne of *Ahab* (which were but words) may be taken for an instance, when he said, *God doe so to mee, and more also, if the head of* Elisha *the sonne of* Shaphat *shall stand on him this day*: whereby it is not plaine whether he meant to kill him without more adoe, or to haue him condemned as a false Prophet, that had made them hold out against the Aramites, till they were faine to eate their owne children; which he thought a sufficient argument to proue, that it was not Gods purpose to deliuer them. The death of *Naboth* sheweth rather the liberty which the Israelites enioyed, than any peremptory execution of the kings will. For *Naboth* did not feare to stand vpon his owne right, though *Ahab* were euen sicke for anger; neither was he for that cause put to death, as vpon commandement, but made away by conspiracie, the matter being handled after a iudiciall forme, which might giue satisfaction to the people, ignorant of the deuice, though to God it could not.

2. Chro. 24. 21.

2. King. 11. 16.

2. King. 6. 31.

The murther of the Prophet is continually ascribed to *Iezabel*, an impudent woman, and not vnto the king her husband. Neither is it certaine, that there was no Law made whereby their liues were taken from them; but certaine it is, that the people being idolaters, were both pleased with their death, & laboured in the execution. So that the doings of the kings of Iuda (such as are registred) proue them to vse a more absolute maner of command, than the kings of the ten Tribes. Neither doe their sufferings witnesse the contrary. For of those which reigned ouer Iuda, from the diuision of the kingdome, to the captiuity of the ten Tribes, three were slaine by the people, and two were denied a buriall amongst their ancestors. Yea, the death of *Ahazia* and his brethren, slaine by *Iehu*, with the destruction of all that Royall seed of *Athalia* did not (for ought that we can read) stirre vp in the people any such thirst of reuenge, as might by the suddennesse and vniformity testifie the affection to be generall, and proceeding from a louing remembrance of their Princes: vnlesse we should thinke that the death of *Athalia*, after seuen yeeres reigne, were occasioned rather by the memory of her ill purchasing, than by the present sense of her tyrannicall abusing the gouernment, whereon she had seised. On the other side, such of the kings of Israel as perished by treason (which were seuen of the twenty) were all slaine by conspiracie of the great men, who aspired by treason to the Crowne: the people being so far from embruing their hands in the bloud of their Soueraignes, that (after *Nadab*) they did neuer forbeare to reuenge the death of their kings, when it lay in their power; nor approue the good successe of treason, vnlesse feare compelled them. So that the death of two kings, being throughly reuenged vpon other two, namely the death of *Ela* and *Zacharia*, vpon *Zimri* and *Shallum*, who traiterously got and vsurped, for a little while, their places; onely three of the seuen remain, whose ends how the people tooke, it may be doubtfull. Though indeede it is precisely said of the slaughter, committed on *Ahabs* children by *Iehu*, that the people durst not fight with him that did it, because *they were exceedingly affraid*: and the same feare might be in them at the death of *Peka*, whose history (as others of that time) is cursorily passed ouer. The like may be pronounced, and more absolutely, of the kings of *England*, that neuer any of them perished by fury of the people, but by treason of such as did succeed them; neither was there any motiue vrging so forcibly the death of king *Edward* and king *Richard* when they were in prison, as feare lest the people should stirre in their quarrell. And certainely (howsoeuer all that the Law cals treason, bee interpreted, as tending finally to the kings destruction) in those treasonable insurrections of the vulgar, which haue here most preuailed, the fury of the multitude hath quenched it selfe with the bloud of some great Officers; no such rebellions, howsoeuer wicked and barbarous otherwise, thirsting after the ruine of their naturall Soueraigne, but rather forbearing the aduantages gotten vpon his Royall person: which if any man impute vnto grosse ignorance, another may more charitably, and I thinke, more truely, ascribe to a reuerent affection. Wherefore that fable of *Briareus*, who

2. King. 10. 4.

2. King. 19. 10.

who, being loosened by *Pallas*, did with his hundred hands giue assistance to *Iupiter*, when all the rest of the gods conspired against him, is very fitly expounded by Sir *Francis Bacon*, as signifying that Monarches need not to feare any curbing of their absolutenes by mighty subiects, as long as by wisedome they keep the hearts of the people; who will be sure to come in on their side. Though indeed the Storie might very well haue borne the same interpretation, as it is rehearsed by *Homer*, who tells vs that *Pallas* was one of the conspiracie, and that *Thetis* alone did marre all their practice, by loosening *Briareus*. For a good forme of gouernment sufficeth by it selfe to retaine the people, not onely without assistance of a laborious Wit, but euen against all deuices of the greatest and shrewdest Politicians: euery Sheriffe and Constable, being sooner able to arme the multitude, in the Kings behalfe, than any ouer-weening Rebell, how mighty soeuer, can against him.

This declaration of the peoples loue, being seldome found in Iuda, makes it very likely, that the rule it selfe of gouernment there was such, as neither gaue occasion of contentment vnto the subiects, nor of confidence in their good affection to the kings. Vpon which reasons it may seem that the multitude was kept vsually disarmed. For otherwise it would haue beene almost impossible, that *Athalia* the sister of *Ahab*, a stranger to the royall bloud of Iuda, should by the onely authority of a Queene-mother haue destroyed all the seed of *Dauid*, and vsurped the Kingdome very neere 7. yeeres, without finding any resistance. Yea when *Iehoiada* the high Priest had agreed with the Captains and principall men of the Land to set vp *Ioash* their lawfull King, whereunto the whole nation were generally well affected; hee was faine to giue to these Captaines and their men, *the speares and the shields that were King* Dauids, *and were in the house of the Lord*. But we need not enter into such particulars. Questionlesse, the Tribes which thought obedience to their Princes to be a part of their duty toward God, would endure much more with patience, than they which had Kings of their owne choice or admission, holding the Crowne by a more vncertaine tenure.

And this, in my opinion, was the reason, why the ten Tribes did neuer seek to returne to their ancient Lords: but after the destruction of their sixe first Kings, which died in the reigne of *Asa*, admitted a seuenth of a new family, rather than they would consubiect themselues, with those of Iuda and Beniamin, vnder a more honourable, but more heauie yoke.

So *Asa* hauing seen the death of 7. kings of Israel, died himselfe after one and fortie yeeres reigne, leaning *Iehosaphat* his sonne to deale with *Ahab* the sonne of *Omri*, who was the eighth King ouer the ten Tribes.

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§. VII.

Of Iehosaphat *and his contemporaries.*

Iehosaphat, who succeeded *Asa*, was a Prince religious and happy; hee destroyed all the Groues, Altars, and high places dedicated to idolatry, and sent teachers to all places and people wanting instruction; he recouered the tribute due vnto him by the Arabians and Philistims: from the one he had siluer, from the other sheepe and goates to the number of fifteene thousand and foure hundred. The numbers of men of war were more than admirable; for it is written that *Adnah* had the command of three hundred thousand, *Iehohanan* of two hundred and fourescore thousand, and *Amasia* of two hundred thousand; also that he had, besides these, in Beniamin of those that bare shields, which we call *Targetiers*, and of Archers vnder *Eliada*, two hundred thousand, and vnder the commandement of *Iehozabad* a hundred and fourescore thousand: which numbred together, make eleuen hundred and sixty thousand, all which are said to haue waited vpon the King besides his garisons.

2. Chron. 17.

That Iuda & Beniamin, a territory not much exceeding the Countie of Kent, should muster eleuen hundred and sixtie thousand fighting men, it is very strange, and the number farre greater than it was found vpon any other view. *Ioab* in *Dauids* time found fiue hundred thousand: *Rehoboam* found but an hundred and fourescore thousand: *Abia* foure hundred and eight thousand: *Asa* fiue hundred and fourescore thousand: *Amaziah* inrolled all that could beare armes, & they amounted to three hundred thousand. Surely,

2. Sam. 24. 9.

ly, wheras it is written that when news was brought to *Iehosaphat* that Moab & Ammon were entred his territory to the West of Iordan, and that their numbers were many, hee feared (to wit) the multitude, it is not likely that he would haue feared euen the army of *Xerxes*, if hee could haue brought into the field 11. hundred and 60. thousand fighting men, leauing all his strong Cities manned. I am therefore of opinion (referring my selfe to better iudgement) that these numbers specified in the second of *Chronicles* the 17. distributed to seuerall Leaders, were not all at one time, but that the 300. thousand vnder *Adnah*, and the 200. and foure score thousand vnder *Iehohanam*, were afterward commanded and mustered by *Amasiah*, *Eliada*, and *Iehosabad*: for the grosse and totall is not in that place set downe, as it was vnder the other kings formerly named. Againe, as the aydes which *Iehosaphat* brought to *Ahab* did not shew that he was a Prince of extraordinary power, so the Moabites & Ammonites which he feared, could neuer make the one halfe of those numbers, which he that commanded least among *Iehosaphats* Leaders had vnder him.

This mighty Prince notwithstanding his greatnesse, yet he ioyned in friendship with *Ahab* king of Israel, who had married that wicked woman *Iezabel*. Him *Iehosaphat* visited at Samaria, and caused his son *Ioram* to marry *Athalia*, this *Achabs* daughter.

Ahab perswaded *Iosaphat* to assist him in the Warre against the Syrians, who held the City of Ramoth Gilead from him, & called together foure hundred of his Prophets, or Baalites to foretell the successe: who promised him victory. But *Iehosaphat* beleeued nothing at all in those diuiners, but resolued first of all to consulte with some one Prophet of the Lord God of Israel. Hereupon *Achab* made answer that hee had one called *Michaiah*, but he hated that Prophet, because hee alwayes foretold of euill, and neuer of any good towards him. Yet *Michaiah* was sent for to the king; but by the way the messenger prayed him to consent with the rest of the Prophets, and to promise victory vnto them as they did. But *Michaiah* spake the truth, and repeated his vision to both the kings, which was, that *God asked who shall perswade* Ahab, *that hee may goe vp and fall at Ramoth Gilead?* to whom a spirit that stood before the Lord answered, that hee would enter into his Prophets, and be in them a false spirit to delude. For as it is said by Christ: *Non enim vos estis qui loquimini, sed spiritus patris vestri loquitur in vobis*: It is not you that spake, but the Spirit of your Father speakes in you: so in a contrary kinde did the deuill in the Prophets of *Baal*, or Satan, incourage *Achab* to his destruction. And as *P. Martyr* vpon this place well obseruieth, these euill spirits are ministers of Gods vengeance, & are vsed as the hangmen and tormentors, which Princes sometime imploy. For as it pleaseth God by his good Angels, to saue & deliuer from destruction, of which the Scriptures haue many examples: so on the contrary, it is by the euill that hee punisheth and destroyeth; both which are said to performe the will of their Creator, *licet non eodem animo*. *Ecclesiasticus* remembreth a second sort of malignant natures, but they are euery-where visible. There are spirits, saith he, created for vengeance, which in their rigour lay on sure stroakes. In the time of destruction they shew forth their power, and accomplish the wrath of him that made them.

Now *Michaias* hauing by this his reuelation greatly displeased the King, and the Prophets whose spirit he discouered, was stroken by *Zidkiah* one of *Baals* Prophets, and by *Achab* himselfe committed to prison: where he appointed him to be reserued and fed with bread of affliction till he returned in peace. But *Michaiah*, not fearing to reply, answered, *If thou returne in peace, the Lord hath not spoken by mee.* Neuertheless *Achab* went on in that warre, and was wounded to death. *Iehosaphat* returned to Ierusalem, where he was reprehended by *Iehu* the Prophet for assisting an idolatrous Prince, and one that hated God. 2.Chron.18.

After this the Aramites or Damascens, ioined with the Moabites, Ammonites & Idumæans to inuade Iudæa: who passe Iordan & encamp at Engaddi; & when *Iehosaphat* gathered his army, the prophet *Iahaziel* foretold him of the victory, which should be obtained without any bloud-shed of his part: & so when *Iehosaphat* approached, this assembly of Nations, the Ammonites & Moabites, disagreeing with the Idumæans, & quarrelling for some causes among themselues, those of Ammon & Moab set vpon the Idumæans, & brake them vtterly: which done, they also inuaded each other; in which broile *Iehosaphat* arriuing took the spoile of them all without any loss of his part, as it was foretold & promised 2.Chro.20.

mised by God. Notwithstanding this victory, *Iehosaphat* forgetting that he was formerly reprehended for assisting an Idolatrous king, did notwithstanding ioyn with *Ochazias*, the son of *Achab*, in preparing a Fleet to send to Ophir, hoping of the like return which *Salomon* had: but as *Eliezor* the Prophet foretold him, his ships perished, & were broken in the port of Ezion Gaber, and so that enterprize was ouerthrowne.

Yet he taketh part with *Iehoram* the brother of *Ochazias*, against the Moabites, with which kings of Iuda & Israel the Edomites ioyne their forces, not forgetting, it seemes, that the Moabites assisted by the Ammonites, had not long before destroied their army. 2.Chron.20.

The Moabites, subiects to *Dauid* & *Salomon*, forsaking the kings of Iuda, gaue themselues for vassals to *Ieroboam*, & so they continued to his successors till the death of *Achab*: but *Iehosaphat*, notwithstanding the Idolatry of his Colleague, yet as it seemeth, he was drawne into this war both to be auenged of the Moabites for their defection from Iuda to Israel, as also because they had lately ioined themselues with the Syrians against *Iosaphat*, & thirdly, to punish their double rebellion who first forsook Iuda & now Israel.

Both kings resolued to passe by the way of Idumæa, thereby the better to assure that Nation; for we find that both Moab, Ammon & Edom were all in the field together at Engaddi against *Iehosaphat*: But whether they had then declared themselues against *Iehosaphat*, it is not certaine; for in the 2. of *Chron.* 11. *vers.* 8. it is written that in the time of *Iehoram* the son of *Iehosaphat*, Edom rebelled: and therefore it seemeth to mee that the Edomites, when they were slain by Moab & Ammon, not finding themselues satisfied in such conditions as they required, offered to turne from them, & to ioyne themselues with the army of Iuda. For, that they were numbred among the enemies of *Iehosaphat*, it is plaine in the 2. of *Chron.* the 20. and as plain *c.2.v.8.* that they were not declared, nor had made them a king, till *Iehosaphats* death. Now in the passage of these kings towards Moab, whether it were by the extraordinary heat of the yeer, or whether the Idumæans hauing a purpose to rebell, misled the army of Iuda & Israel, with intent to infeeble them for want of water; true it is, that they suffered the same, if not a greater thirst than the armies of *Crassus* & *M. Antonius* did in their Parthian expeditions; and had in all likelihood vtterly perished, had not *Elisha* taught them to cut trenches wherinto the water sprang, by which not only *Iehosaphat* and his army, but *Iehoram* king of Israel an Idolator was relieued: the great mercy & goodnes of God hauing euer been prone to saue the euill for the good, whereas he neuer destroyed the good for the euill.

The miserable issue of this warre, and how *Moab* burnt his son, or the son of the king of Edom, for sacrifice on the rampire of his owne Citie, I haue already written in the life of *Iehoram* among the kings of Israel. *Iehosaphat* reigned 25. yeeres and died; hee was buried in the valley of *Iehosaphat*, and a part of the Pyramis set ouer his graue is yet to be seen, saith *Brochard*. His acts are written at large by *Iehu* the son of *Hanani*. 2.King.3. 2.Chron.20. Brochard.sanct.

There liued with *Iehosaphat*, *Ophratenes* in Assyria, *Capetus* & *Tiberinus* kings of the Albans in Italy; of the latter the riuer Tiber (formerly Albula) tooke name.

In *Iehosaphats* time also ruled *Mecades* or *Mezades* in Athens: *Agelas* or *Agesilaus* in Corinth; and *Archilaus* of the same race, of the Heraclidæ the seuenth in Lacedæmon. *Badesorus* ruled the Tyrians; *Achab*, *Ochazias* and *Iehoram* the Israelites.

CHAP. XX.

Of Iehoram *the sonne of* Iehosaphat *and* Ahazia.

§. I.

That Iehoram *was made king sundry times.*

Iehoram the son of *Iehosaphat* king of Iuda began to reigne at thirty two yeeres of age, and liued vntill he was forty yeeres old, being eight yeeres a king: but of these eight yeeres, which *Iehoram* is said to haue reigned, foure are to be reckoned in the life of his father, who going to the Syrian warre with *Ahab*, left this *Iehoram* king in his stead, as *Ahab* did his son *Ahazia*. This appeares by the seuerall beginnings, which are giuen in Scripture to the two *Iehorams* kings of Israel and Iuda, and to *Ahazia* the eldest son of *Ahab*. For *Ahazia* is 1.Kin.22.v.51.

said

said to haue begun his reigne, in the seuenteenth yeer of *Iehosaphat*. *Iehoram* the brother
2.King.1.17. of *Ahazia* succeeded him in the second yeer of *Iehoram the sonne of Iehosaphat king of Iuda*; that is, in the next yeere after that *Iehoram* of Iuda was designed king by his father;
2.King.3.v.1. and 9. it being (as we finde elsewhere) *the eighteenth yeer of* Iehosaphat *himselfe*, who went with the Israelite against Moab. Hereby it appeares that the full power and execution of the royall office was retained still by *Iehosaphat*, who gouerned absolutely by himselfe, not
2.King.8.16. communicating the rule with his son. But in *the fifth yeere of* Iehoram *King of Israel*, which was the two and twentieth of *Iehosaphat*, the old king took vnto him, as partner in the Gouernment, this his eldest son, who was at that time 32. yeeres old, his Father being 57. Now forasmuch as *Iehosaphat reigned 25. yeeres*, it is euident that his sonne 10
2.Kin.22.42. did not reigne alone till the eighth of *Ioram* king of Israel. The like regard is to be had in accounting the times of other kings of Iuda & Israel, who did not alwaies reign precisely so long as the bare letter of the text may seem at first to affirme: but their yeeres were sometimes compleat, sometimes onely current, sometimes confounded with the yeeres of their successors or foregoers, and must therefore be found by comparing their times with the yeeres of those others, with whom they did begin and end.

It were perhaps a thing lesse needful than curious, to enquire into the reasons mouing *Iehosaphat* either to assume vnto him his son as partner in the kingdome, whilest hee was able himselfe to command both in peace and in warre, the like hauing neuer beene done by any of his progenitors, or hauing once (in the 17. of his reign) vouchsafed vnto 20 him that honour, to resume it vnto himselfe, or at leastwise to deferre the confirmation of it, vntill foure or fiue yeers were passed. Yet forasmuch as to enter into the examination of these passages, may be a meane to find some light, whereby we may more clearly discouer the causes of much extraordinary businesse ensuing, I hold it not amisse to make such coniecture, as the circumstances of the Story briefly handled in the Scriptures may seeme to approue.

We are therfore to consider, that this king *Iehosaphat* was the first of *Rehoboams* issue that euer entred into any streight league with the kings of the ten Tribes. All that reigned in Iuda before him, had with much labour and long war, tired themselues in vaine, making small profit of the greatest aduantages that could be wished. Wherefore *Iehosa-* 30 *phat* thought it the wisest way, to make a league offensiue & defensiue betweene Israel and Iuda, whereby each might enioy their owne in quiet.

2.Chron.19.v.2. and 3. This confederacy made by a religious king, with one that did *hate the Lord*, could not long prosper, as not issuing from the true *root and fountaine of all wisedome*: yet as a piece of sound policy, doubtlesse it wanted not faire pretences of much common good therby likely to arise, with mutuall fortification of both those kingdoms, against the vncircumcised nations their ancient enemies. This apparant benefit, being so inestimable a iewell, that it might not easily be lost, but continue as hereditary from father to son; it was thought a very good course to haue it confirmed by some sure bond of affinity, and thereupon was *Athalia* the daughter of *Omri*, and sister of *Ahab* king of Israel, giuen in 40 marriage to *Iehoram*, who was son and heire apparant to the king of Iuda. This Lady was of a masculine spirit, and had learned so much of Queen *Iezabel* her brothers wife, that she durst vndertake, & could throughly performe a great deale more in Ierusalem, than the other knew how to compasse in Samaria. Shee was indeed a fire-brand ordained by God to consume a great part of the noblest houses in Iuda, and perhaps of those men or their children, whose worldly wisedome, regardlesse of Gods pleasure, had brought her in.

The first fruits of this great league, was the Syrian war at Ramoth Gilead, wherein Iuda & Israel did aduenture equally, but the profit of the victory should haue redounded wholly to *Ahab*: as godly Princes very seldome thriue by matching with Idolators, but 50 rather serue the turnes of those false friends, who being ill affected to God himself, cannot be well affected to his seruants. Before their setting forth, *Ahab* designed, as king, his son *Ahaziah*; not so much perhaps in regard of the vncertaine euents of war (for none of his predecessors had euer done the like vpon the like occasions) nor as fearing the threatnings of the Prophet *Michaia* (for he despised them) as inuiting *Iehosaphat* by his owne example, to take the same course, wherein he preuailed.

§.II. *Pro-*

§.II.

Probable coniectures of the motiues inducing the old King Iehosaphat *to change his purpose often, in making his sonne* Iehoram *King.*

MAny arguments do very strongly proue *Iehoram* to haue been wholly ouer-ruled by his wife; especially for his forsaking the religion of his godly Ancestors, and following the abominable superstitions of the house of *Achab*. That she was a woman of intolerable pride, and abhorring to liue a priuate life, the whole course of her actions witnesseth at large. Much vaine matter she was able to pro- 10 duce, whereby to make her husband thinke that his brethren and kindred were but meane and vnworthy persons in comparison of him, & of his children, which were begotten vpon the daughter and sister of two great Kings, not vpon base women & meere subiects. The Court of *Ahab*, and his famous victories obtained against the Syrian *Benhadad*, were matter sufficient to make an insolent man think highly of himselfe, as being allied so honourably; who could otherwise haue found in his heart well enough, to despise all his brethren, as being the eldest, and heire apparant to the Crown, whereof already he had, in a maner, the possession.

How soone his vices brake out, or how long he dissembled them and his idolatrous religion, it cannot certainly be knowne. Like enough it is, that some smoke, out of the 20 hidden fire, did very soone make his fathers eyes to water; who thereupon caused the yongue man to know himselfe better, by making him fall backe into ranke among his yonguer brethren. And surely the doings of *Iehosaphat* about the same time, argue no small distemper of the whole country, through the misgouernment of his vngodly son. For the good king was fain to make his progresse round about the Land, reclaiming the people vnto the seruice of God, and appointing Iudges *throughout all the strong Cities of* 2.Chron.19.v.4. *Iuda Citie by Citie*. This had beene a needlesse labour, if the religion taught and strongly 5.&c. maintained by *Asa*, and by himselfe, had not suffered alteration, & the course of Iustice beene peruerted, by the power of such as had borne authority. But the necessitie that then was of reformation, appears by the charge which the King did giue to the Iudges; 30 and by his commission giuen to one of the Priests in spirituall causes, & to the Steward of his house in temporall matters, to be generall ouer-seers.

This was not till after the death of *Ahazia* the son of *Ahab*; but how long after it is vncertain. For *Iehoram* the brother of *Ahazia* began his raign (as hath been already noted) in the eighteenth of *Iehosaphat*, which was then accounted the second of *Iehoram*, *Iehosaphats* sonne, though afterward this *Iehoram* of Iuda had another first and second yeere, euen in his fathers time, before he reigned alone, as the best Chronologers and Expositors of the holy Text agree. So he continued in priuate estate, vntill the two and twentieth of his fathers reign, at which time, though the occasions inducing his restitution to former dignity are not set downe, yet we may not thinke, that motiues thereto, 40 appearing substantiall, were wanting. *Iehoram* of Israel held the same correspondency with *Iehosaphat* that his father had done; & made vse of it. He drew the Iudæan into the war of Moab, at which time it might well be, that the yongue Prince of Iuda was again ordained King by his father, as in the Syrian expedition he had beene. Or if wee ought rather to think, that the preparations for the enterprize against Moab did not occupy so much time, as from the eighteenth of *Iehosaphat*, in which yeere that Nation rebelled against Israel, vnto his two and twentieth; yet the daily negotiations between the two kings of Iuda and Israel, and the affinity between them contracted in the person of *Iehoram*, might offer some good occasions thereunto. Neither is it certain how the behauiour of the yonguer sons, in their elder brothers disgrace, might cause their Father to 50 put him in possession for feare of tumult after his death; or the deep dissimulation of *Iehoram* himselfe might win the good opinion both of his Father and Brethren; it being a thing vsuall in mischieuous fell natures, to be as abiect & seruile in time of aduersity, as insolent and bloudy vpon aduantage. This is manifest, that being repossessed of his former estate, he demeaned himself in such wise toward his brethren, as caused their father to enable them, not onely with store *of siluer and gold, and of precious things*, (which kind 2.Chron.21.3. of liberality other kings doubtlesse had vsed vnto their yonguer sons) but with the custody of *strong Cities in Iuda*, to assure them, if it might haue beene, by vnwonted means, against vnwonted perils.

§.III. *The*

§.III.

The doings of Iehoram *when he raigned alone; and the rebellion of Edom and Libna.*

BVt all this prouidence auailed nothing; for an higher prouidence had otherwise determined of the sequell. When once the good old man, their Father, was dead, the yonger sonnes of *Iehosaphat* found strong Cities, a weake defence, against the power of him vnto whom the Citizens were obedient. If they came in vpon the summons of a king their brother, then had he them without any more adoo; if they stood vpon their guard, then were they Traitors, & so vnable to hold out against him, who besides his owne power, was able to bring the forces of the Israelitish kingdome against them; so that the apparant likelihood of their finall ouerthrow, sufficed to make all forsake them in the very beginning. Howsoeuer it was, they were all taken and slaine, and with them for company many great men of the Land; such belike, as either had taken their part, when the Tyrant sought their liues, or had been appointed Rulers of the Country, when *Iehoram* was deposed from his Gouernment; in which Office they, without forbearing to doe iustice, could hardly auoide the doing of many things, derogatory to their yong Master; which if he would now call treason, saying that hee was then king, who durst say the contrary?

After this *Iehoram* took vpon him, as being now Lord alone, to make innouations in Religion: wherein he was not contented as other Idolatrous Princes, to giue way and safe conduct vnto Superstition and Idolatry, nor to prouoke and encourage the people to that sinne, whereto it is wonderfull that they were so much addicted, hauing such knowledge of God, and of his detesting that aboue all other sinnes; but he vsed compulsion, and was (if not the very first) the first that is registred, to haue set vp Irreligion by force.

Whilest he was thus busied at home, in doing what he listed, the Edomites his Tributaries rebelled against him abroad; and hauing hitherto, since *Dauids* time, beene gouerned by a vice-Roy, did now make vnto themselues a king. Against these *Iehoram* in person made an expedition, taking along with him his Princes, and all his Chariots, with which he obtained victory in the field, compelling the rebels to flie into their places of aduantage, whereof he forced no one, but went away contented with the honour that he had gotten in beating and killing some of those whom hee should haue subdued, and kept his seruants. Now began the prophecy of *Isaac* to take effect, wherin he foretold, that *Esau* in processe of time should breake the yoke of *Iacob*. For after this the Edomites could neuer be reclaimed by any of the kings of Iuda, but held their owne so well, that when, after many ciuill and forraine wars, the Iewes by sundry Nations had beene brought low; *Antipater* the Edomite, with *Herod* his son, and others of that race following them, became Lords of the Iewes, in the decrepit age of Israel, & reigned as Kings, euen in Ierusalem it selfe.

The freedome of the Edomites, though purchased somewhat dearly, encouraged Libna, a great Citie within Iuda, which in the time of *Iosua* had a peculiar king, to rebell against *Iehoram*, and set it selfe at liberty. Libna stood in the confines of *Beniamin* & of *Dan* farre from the assistance of any bordering enemies to Iuda, and therfore so vnlikely it was to haue maintained it selfe in liberty, that it may seem strange how it could escape from vtter destruction, or at the least from some terrible vengeance, most likely to haue beene taken, by their powerfull, cruell, and throughly incensed Lord. The Israelite held such good intelligence at that time with Iuda, that he would not haue accepted the Towne, had it offered it selfe vnto him: neither doe we reade that it sought how to cast it selfe into a new subiection, but continued a free estate. The rebellion of it against *Iehoram*, was, *Because he had forsaken the Lord God of his Fathers*; which I take to haue not onely been the first and remote cause, but euen the next and immediate reason, mouing the inhabitants to doe as they did: for it was a Town of the Leuites; who must needs be driuen into great extremities, when a religion, contrary to Gods Law, had not onely some allowance to countenance it by the king, but compulsiue authority to force vnto it all that were vnwilling. As for the vse of the Temple at Ierusalem (which, being deuout men, they might feare to lose by this rebellion) it was neuer denied to those of the

2.Chron.21.10.

ten reuolted Tribes by any of the Religious Kings, who rather inuited the Israelites thither, and gaue them kinde entertainement: vnder Idolaters they must haue bin without it, whether they liued free or in subiection. Yet it seemes that priuate reasons were not wanting, which might moue them rather to doe than suffer that which was vnwarrantable. For in the generall visitation before remembred, wherein *Iehoshaphat* reformed his kingdome, the good old king appointing new Gouernours, and giuing them especiall charge to doe iustice without respect of persons, vsed these words, *The Leuites shall bee Officers before you; Be of good courage, and doe it, and the Lord shall bee with the good.* By these phrases, it seemes, that he encouraged them against the more powerfull, than iust proceedings of his son; whom if the Leuites did (according to the trust reposed in them) neglect in discharging their dueties, likely it is that hee meant to be euen with them, and make them now to feele, as many Princes of the land had done, his heauie indignation. How it happened that *Libna* was not hereupon destroyed, yea, that it was not (for ought that we can read) so much as besieged or molested, may iustly seeme very strange. And the more strange it is in regard of the mighty Armies which *Iehosophat* was able to raise, being sufficient to haue ouer-whelmed any one Towne, and buried it vnder the earth, which they might well in one moneth haue cast into it with shouels, by ordinary approaches.

But it seemes that of those great numbers which his Father could haue leuied, there were not many whom *Ieroboam* could well trust; and therefore perhaps he thought it an easier losse, to let one Town goe, than to put weapons into their hands, who were more likely to follow the example of Libna, than to punish it. So desperate is the condition of Tyrants, who thinking it a greater happinesse to bee feared, than to be loued; are faine themselues to stand in feare of those, by whom they might haue beene dreadfull vnto others.

§. IV.

Of the miseries falling vpon Iehoram, *and of his death.*

THese afflictions not sufficing to make any impression of Gods displeasure in the minde of the wicked Prince; a Prophecy in writing was deliuered vnto him, which threatned both his people, his children, his vviues, and his owne body. Hereby likewise it appeares that he was a cruell Persecutor of Gods seruants; in as much as the Prophets durst not reproue him to his face, as they had done many of his predecessors, both good and euill kings; but were faine to denounce Gods Iudgements against him by letters, keeping themselues close and farre from him. This Epistle is said to haue been sent vnto him from *Elias* the Prophet. But *Elias* was translated, and *Elizeus* prophesied in his stead before this time, euen in the daies of *Iehoshaphat*. Wherfore it may be that *Elias* left this prophesie in writing behind him, or that (as some coniecture) the errour of one letter in writing, was the occasion that we reade *Elias* for *Elizeus*. Indeed any thing may rather be beleeued than the Tradition held by some of the Iewish Rabbins, that *Elias* from heauen did send this Epistle; a tale somewhat like to the fable of our Ladies letters, deuised by *Erasmus*, or of the Verse that was sent from heauen to S. *Giles*.

2.Chron.21.12.

2.Kin.2.& 3.11

But whosoeuer was the Author of this threatning Epistle, the accomplishment of the prophecie was as terrible as the sentence. For the Philistims and Arabians brake into Iudæa, and tooke the Kings house, wherein they found all, or many of his children, and wiues; all which they slew, or carried away, with great part of his goods. These Philistims had not presumed since the time of *Dauid*, to make any offensiue warre till now; for they were by him almost consumed, and had lost the best of their Townes, maintaining themselues in the rest of their small Territories, by defensiue armes, to which they were constrained at Gibbethon by the Israelites. The Arabians were likely to haue bin then as they are now, a naked people, all horsemen, and ill appointed; their countrie affording no other furniture, than such as might make them fitter to rob and spoyle in the open fields, than to offend strong Cities such as were thicke set in Iuda. True it is that in ages long after following, they conquered all the South parts of the world then knowne, in a very short space of time, destroying some, and building other some very stately Cities. But it must bee considered, that this was when they had learned of the

Romanes the Art of Warre; and that the prouisions which they found, together with the Arts which they learned, in one subdued Prouince, did make them able and skilfull in pursuing their conquest, and going on into Regions far remoued from them. At this day hauing lost in effect all that they had gotten, such of them as liue in Arabia it self are good horsemen, but ill appointed; very dangerous passengers, but vnable to deale with good Souldiers, as riding starke naked, and rather trusting in the swiftnesse of their horses, than in any other meanes of resistance, where they are well opposed. And such, or little better, may they seeme to haue been, that spoyled Iudæa in the time of *Iehoram*. For their Countrie was alwaies barren and desert, wanting manuall Arts wherby to supply the naturals with furniture: neither are these bands named as chief in that action, but rather adherents of the Philistims. Out of this we may infer, that one halfe, yea, or one quarter of the numbers found in the least muster of *Iuda* and *Beniamin* vnder *Iehosaphat* (wherin were inrolled three hundred and eighty thousand fighting men) had beene enough to haue driuen away far greater forces than these enemies are likely to haue brought into the field, had not the people beene vnable to deale with them, for lack of weapons, which were now kept from them by their Princes iealousie, as in *Sauls* time by the policie of the Philistims.

It may seeme that the house of the King which these inuaders tooke, was not his Palace in Ierusalem, but rather some other house of his abroad in the Country, where his wiues and children at that time lay for their recreation: because we reade not that they did sacke the City, or spoyle the Temple, which would haue inuited them as a more commodious bootie, had they got possession thereof. Yet perhaps they took Ierusalem it selfe by surprize, the people being disarmed, and the Kings guards too weake to keep them out; yet had not the courage to hold it, because it was so large and populous: and therefore hauing done what spoyle they could, with-drew themselues with such purchase as they were able safely to conueigh away.

The slaughter committed by *Iehu* on the two and fortie brethren of *Ahazia*, or (as they are called elsewhere) so many of his brothers sons, and the cruell massacre wherein all the Royall seede perished (onely *Ioas* excepted) vnder the tyrannie of *Athalia*, following within two yeeres after this inuasion of the Philistims, and Arabians, make it seeme probable, that the sonnes of *Iehoram* were not all slaine at once, but that rather the first murther beganne in his owne time, and was seconded by many other heauie blowes, wherewith his house was incessantly striken, vntill it was in a manner quite hewed downe.

After these calamities, the hand of God was extended against the body of this wicked King, smiting him with a grieuous disease, in his bowels, which left him not vntill his guts fell out, and his wretched soule departed from his miserable carcasse. The people of the Land, as they had small cause of comfort in his life, so had they not the good manners to pretend sorrow for his death; wherefore hee was denied a place of buriall among his Ancestors the Kings of Iuda, though his owne sonne succeeded him in the Kingdome, who was guided by the same spirits that had beene his Fathers euill Angels. *Athalia* had other matters to trouble her head, than the pompous enterring of a dead husband. Shee was thinking how to prouide for the future, to maintaine her owne greatnesse, to retaine her fauourites in their authoritie, and to place about her Sonne such *Counsellours of the house of Ahab*, as were fittest for her turne. Wherefore shee thought it vnseasonable to make much a-doe about a thing of nothing, and offend the peoples eyes, with a stately funerall of a man by them detested: but rather chose to let the blame of things passed be laid vpon the dead, than to procure an ill opinion of her selfe and hers, which it now did concerne her to auoyd. Such is the qualitie of wicked Instigators, hauing made greedy vse of bad imployments, to charge, not only with his own vices, but with their faults also, the man whose euil inclinations their sinister counsailes haue made worse, when once he is gone, and can profit them no longer. The death of *Iehoram* fel out indeed in a busie time; when his friend & cousin the Israelite, who had the same name, was entangled in a difficult warre against the Aramite; and therefore could haue had no better leasure to help *Athalia*, in setting of things according to her owne minde, than hee had (perhaps through the same hinderance) to helpe her husband, when hee was distressed by the Philistims. Yea rather hee needed and craued the assistance of the men of Iuda, for the taking in of Ramoth Gilead, where they had not

2 Chro.24.4.

not sped so well the last time, that they should willingly run thither againe, vnlesse they were very fairely intreated.

The acts of this wicked man I haue thought good to handle the more particularly (pursuing the examination of all occurrences, as farre as the circumstances remembred in holy Scripture, would guide mee by their directions) to the end that it might more plainely appeare, how the corrupted affections of men, impugning the reuealed will of God, accomplish neuertheless his hidden purpose, and without miraculous meanes, confound themselues in the seeming-wise deuices of their owne folly: as likewise to the end that all men might learne, to submit their iudgements to the ordinance of God, rather than to think, that they may safely dispense with his cõmandements, and follow the prudent conceits which worldly wisedome dictateth vnto them. For in such kind of vnhappie subtilties, it is manifest that *Athalia* was able to furnish both her Husband and her Sonne; but the issue of them partly hath appeared already, and partly will appear, in that which immediately followeth.

§. V.

Of the reigne of Ahazia, *and his businesse with the King of Israel.*

O*Chazias*, or *Ahazia*, the sonne of *Iehoram* and *Athalia*, beganne his reigne ouer Iuda in the twelfth yeere of *Iehoram* the son of *Ahab* King of Israel, and reigned but one yeere. Touching his age, it is a point of much more difficultie than importance to know it; yet hath it bred much disputation, whereof I see no more probable conclusion, than that of *Torniellus*, alleaging the Edition of the *Septuagint* at Rome, *Anno Domini* 1588. which saith that he was twenty yeeres old in the beginning of his Kingdome; and the Annotations thereupon, which cite other Copies, that doe giue him two yeeres more. Like enough he is to haue beene yongue: for he was gouerned by his Mother, and her Ministers, who gaue him counsaile, by which hee perished. In matter of Religion he altered none of his fathers courses. In matter of state he likewise vp-held the league made with the house of *Ahab*. Hee was much busied in doing little, and that with ill successe. Hee accompanied his Cousin the Israelite against Ramoth Gilead, which they wan, but not without blowes: for the Aramites fought so well, that the King of Israel was faine to aduenture his owne person, which scaped not vnwounded.

The Towne being won was manned strongly, in expectation of some attempt likely to be made by *Hazael* king of Aram: which done, *Iehoram* king of Israel with-drew himselfe to the Citie of Izrael, where with more quiet he might attend the curing of his wounds; and *Ahazia* returned to Ierusalem. It seemes that he was but newly come home (for he reigned in all scantly one yeere, whereof the former expedition, with the preparations for it, had taken vp a great part,) when he did make a new iourney, as it were for good manners sake, to visit the King of Israel, who lay sore of his wounds. Belike *Athalia* was brewing some new plots, which his presence would haue hindered, and therefore sought euery occasion to thrust him abroad: for otherwise it was but a vaine piece of worke so to leaue his kingdome, hauing no other businesse than by way of complement to goe see one whom he had seen yesterday. Certaine it is, that the Lord had resolued at this time to put in execution that heauie iudgement, which he had laid by the mouth of *Elias* the Prophet vpon the house of *Ahab*. And hereupon at this time had he desposed not only the concurrence of all other things, which in mans eyes might seeme to haue been accidentall; but the very thoughts and affections of such persons, as intended nothing lesse than the fulfilling of his high pleasure. Of these *Athalia* doubtlesse was one; whose mischieuous purposes it will shortly bee needfull for explanation of some difficulties arising, that we diligently consider and examine.

§. VI.

How Ahazia *perished with the house of* Ahab: *and how that Family was destroyed by* Iehu.

THE whole Armie of Israel, with all the principall Captaines lying in Ramoth Gilead, a Disciple of *Elizeus* the Prophet came in among the Captaines that were sitting together; who calling out among them *Iehu*, a principall man, tooke him apart, and anointed him king ouer Israel, rehearsing vnto him the Prophecie of *Elias* against the house of *Ahab*, and letting him vnderstand that it was the pleasure of God to make him executioner of that sentence. The fashion of the Messenger was such as bred in the Captaines a desire to know the errand, which *Iehu* thought meet to let them know, as doubting whether they had ouer-heard all the talke or no. When he had acquainted them with the whole matter, they made no delay, but forth-with proclaimed him King. For the Prophecie of *Elias* was well knowne among them, neither durst any one oppose himselfe against him, that was by God ordained to performe it.

Iehu, who had vpon the sudden this great honour throwne vpon him, was not slow to put himself in possession of it, but vsed the first heat of their affections who ioyned with him, in setting on foot the businesse which neerely concerned him, and was not to bee fore-slowed, being no more his owne than Gods.

The first care taken was that no newes of the reuolt might be carried to *Izreel*, wherby the King might haue had warning either to fight or flee: this being foreseen, he marched swiftly away, to take the Court while it was yet secure. King *Iehoram* was now so well recouered of his wounds, that hee could endure to ride abroad, for which cause it seemes that there was much feasting, and ioy made, especially by Queene *Iezabel*, who kept her state so wel, that the brethren of *Ahazia* comming thither at this time, did make it as well their errand to salute the Queen, as to visit the King.

Certaine it is, that since the rebellion of *Moab* against Israel, the house of *Ahab* did neuer so much flourish as at this time. Seuenty Princes of the bloud Royall there were that liued in Samaria; *Iehoram* the sonne of Queen *Iezabel* had won Ramoth Gilead, which his Father had attempted in vaine, with losse of his life; and he wonne it by valiant fight, wherein he receiued wounds, of which the danger was now past, but the honour likely to continue. The amitie was so great between Israel and Iuda, that it might suffice to daunt all their common enemies, leauing no hope of successe, to any rebellious enterprizer: so that now the Prophecie of *Elias* might be forgotten, or no otherwise remembred, than as an vnlikely tale by them that beheld the maiestical face of the Court, wherein so great a friend as the King of Iuda was entertained, and fortie Princes of his bloud expected.

In the middest of this securitie, whilest these great Estates were (perhaps) either consulting about prosequution of their intents, first against the Aramites, and then against *Moab*, *Edom*, and other rebels & enemies: or else were triumphing in ioy of that which was already atchieued, and the Queene-Mother dressing her selfe in the braueſt manner to come downe amongst them; tidings were brought in, that the watchman had from a Tower discouered a company comming. These newes were not very troublesome: for the Armie that lay in Ramoth Gilead, to be readie against all attempts of the Aramites, was likely enough to be discharged vpon some notice taken that the enemy would not, or could not stirre. Onely the King sent out an Horse-man to know what the matter was, and to bring him word. The messenger comming to *Iehu*, and asking whether all were well, was retained by him, who intended to giue the King as little warning as might bee. The seeming negligence of this fellow in not returning with an answer, might argue the matter to be of small importance: yet the king to be satisfied, sent out another that should bring him word how all went; and hee was likewise detained by *Iehu*. These dumbe shewes bred some suspicion in *Iehoram*, whom the watchman certified of all that happened. And now the company drew so neere, that they might, though not perfectly, bee discerned, and notice taken of *Iehu* himselfe by the furious manner of his marching. Wherfore the king that was loth to discouer any weakenesse, caused his Chariot to bee made ready, and issued forth with *Ahazia* king of Iuda in his company,

company, whose presence added maiestie to his traine, when strength to resist, or expedition to flee, had beene more needfull. This could not be done so hastily, but that *Iehu* was come euen to the Townes end, and there they met each other in the field of *Naboth*. *Iehoram* began to salute *Iehu* with termes of peace, but receiuing a bitter answer, his heart failed him, so that crying out vpon the treason to his fellow king, he turned away to haue fled. But *Iehu* foone ouertooke him with an arrow, where-with he strooke him dead, & threw his carkasse into that field, which, purchased with the bloud of the right-full owner, was to be watered with the bloud of the vniust possessour. Neither did *Ahazia* escape so well, but that he was arrested by a wound, which held him till death did seize vpon him.

The Kings Palace was soyning to the wall, by the gate of the Citie, where *Iezabel* might soone be aduertised of this calamitie, if she did not with her owne eies behold it. Now it was high time for her to call to God for mercie, whose iudgement, pronounced against her long before, had ouer-taken her, when she least expected it. But shee, full of indignation and proud thoughts, made her selfe ready in all haste, and painted her face, hoping with her stately and imperious lookes to daunt the Traitour, or at least to vtter some Apophthegme, that should expresse her braue spirit, and brand him with such a reproach as might make him odious for euer. Little did she thinke vpon the hungry dogs that were ordained to deuoure her, whose paunches the *stibium*, with which she besmeared her eies, would more offend, than the scolding language wherewith shee armed her tongue, could trouble the eares of him that had her in his power. As *Iehu* drew neere, she opened her window, & looking out vpon him, began to put him in minde of *Zimri*, that had not long enioyed the fruits of his treason, and murther of the King his Master. This was in meere humane valuation stoutly spoken, but was indeed a part of miserable folly; as are all things, howsoeuer laudable, if they haue an ill relation to *God the Lord of all*. Her owne Eunuches that stood by and heard her, were not affected so much as with any compassion of her fortune; much lesse was her enemie daunted with her proud spirit. When *Iehu* saw that shee did vse the little remainder of her life in seeking to vexe him, hee made her presently to vnderstand her owne estate, by deeds and not by words. He only called to her seruants to know which of them would be on his side, and soone found them ready to offer their seruice, before the very face of their proud Ladie. Hereupon hee commanded them to cast her downe head-long: which immediately they performed, vvithout all regard of her greatnesse and estate, vvherein shee had a few houres before shined so gloriously in the eyes of men; of men that considered not the iudgements of God that had been denounced against her.

So perished this accursed vvoman by the rude hands of her own seruants; at the commandement of her greatest enemie, that vvas yesterday her subiect, but now her Lord: and she perished miserably, struggling in vaine with base groomes, vvho contumeliously did hale and thrust her, vvhilest her insulting enemie sate on Horse-backe, adding indignitie to her griefe by scornefull beholding the shamefull manner of her fall, and trampling her body vnder foot. Her dead carcasse that vvas left vvithout the vvals, vvas deuoured by dogs, and her very memorie vvas odious. Thus the vengeance of God rewarded her Idolatrie, murther, and oppression, vvith slow, but sure paiment, and full interest.

Ahazia king of Iuda fleeing a-pace from *Iehu*, vvas ouer-taken by the vvay vvhere he lurked; & receiuing his deadly vvound in the kingdome of Samaria, vvas suffered to get him gone (vvhich he did in all haste) and seek his buriall in his own kingdome: and this fauour he obtained for his grand-fathers sake, not for his fathers, nor his own. He died at Megiddo, and vvas thence carried to Ierusalem, vvhere he vvas enterred vvith his Ancestors, hauing reigned about one yeere.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Athalia, and whose Sonne he was that succee ded her.

§. I.

Of Athalia *her vsurping the Kingdome, and what pretences she might forge.*

2 Chro 22.9.

AFter the death of *Ahazia*, it is said that his house *was not able to retaine the Kingdome*: which note, and the proceedings of *Athalia* vpon the death of her sonne, haue giuen occasion to diuers opinions concerning the Pedegree of *Ioas*, who reigned shortly after. For *Athalia* being thus dispoyled of her sonne, vnder whose name shee had ruled at her pleasure, did forth-with lay hold vpon all the Princes of the bloud, and slew them, that so she might occupie the Royall Throne her self, and reigne as Queen, rather than liue a Subiect. Shee had before-hand put into great place, & made Counsellors vnto her son, such as were fittest for her purpose, & ready at all times to execute her will: that she kept a strong guard about her, it is very likely; & as likely it is that the great execution done by *Iehoram*, vpon the Princes, & many of the Nobilitie, had made the people tame, and fearfull to stir, whatsoeuer they saw or heard.

Yet ambition, how violent soeuer it be, is seldome or neuer so shamelesse as to refuse the cõmoditie of goodly pretences offering themselues; but rather scrapes together all that will any way serue to colour her proceedings. Wherfore it were not absurd for vs to think, that *Athalia*, when she saw the Princes of the Royal bloud, all of them in a manner, slain by her husband, and afterwards his own children destroyed by the Philistims, began euen then to play her owne game, reducing by artificiall practice, into faire likelihoods, those possibilities wherewith her husbands bad fortune had presented her. Not without great shew of reason, either by her owne mouth, or by some trustie creature of hers, might she giue him to vnderstand, how needful it were to take the best order whilst as yet he might, for feare of the worst that might happen. If the issue of *Dauid*, which now remained only in his Family, should by any accident faile (as woful experience had already shewed what might after come to passe) the people of Iuda were not vnlikely to choose a King of some new stocke, a popular seditious man peraduenture, one that to countenance his owne vnworthinesse, would not care what aspersions he laid vpon that Royall house, which was fallen downe. And who could assure him, that some ambitious spirit, fore-seeing what might bee gotten thereby, did not already contriue the destruction of him, and all his seede? Wherfore it were the wisest way to designe by his authoritie, not only his successour, but also the reuertioner, and so to prouide, that the Crowne might neuer be subiect to any risling, but remaine in the disposition of them that loued him best, if the worst that might be feared comming to passe, his own posteritie could not retaine it.

Such perswasions being vrged, and earnestly followed, by the importunate sollicitation of her that gouerned his affections, were able to make the iealous Tyrant think, that the onely way to frustrate all deuices of such as gaped after a change, was to make her Heire the last and yongest of his house, whom it most concerned, as being the Queen-Mother, to vphold the first and eldest.

If *Athalia* took no such course as this in her husbands times, yet might she do it in her sonnes. For *Ahazia* (besides that he was wholly ruled by his mother) was not likely to take much care for the securitie of his halfe-brethren, or their children; as accounting his Fathers other wiues, in respect of his owne-born-Mother, little better than Concubines, and their children basely begotten. But if this mischieuous woman forgat her self so far in her vvicked policie, that she lost all opportunitie which the weakenesse of her husband and sonne did afford, of procuring vnto her selfe some seeming Title; yet could shee afterwards faine some such matter, as boldly shee might: being sure that none would aske to see her euidence, for feare of being sent to learne the certaintie of her sonne or husband in another World. But I rather thinke that shee tooke order

der for her affaires before-hand. For though shee had no reason to suspect or feare the sudden death of her sonne, yet it was the wisest way to prouide betimes against all that might happen, whilest her husbands issue by other women was yong and vnable to resist. We plainely finde that the Brethren or Nephewes of *Ahazia*, to the number of two and fortie, were sent to the Court of Israel, only to salute the children of the King, and the children of the Queen. The slender occasion of which long iourny, considered together with the qualitie of these persons (being in effect all the stocke of *Iehoram* that could bee growne to any strength) makes it very suspicious, that their entertainement in *Iezabels* house would onely haue beene more formall, but little differing in substance, from that which they found at the hand of *Iehu*. Hee that lookes into the courses held both before and after by these two Queenes, will finde cause enough to thinke no lesse. Of such as haue aspired vnto Lordships not belonging to them, and thrust out the right Heires by pretence of Testaments, that had no other validitie than the sword of such as claimed by them could giue, Histories of late, yea of many Ages, afford plentifull examples: and the rule of *Salomon* is true: *Is there any thing whereof one may say, Behold, this is new? It hath beene already in the old time that was before vs.* That a King might shed his brothers bloud, was proued by *Salomon* vpon *Adonia*; that he might alien the Crown from his naturall Heires, *Dauid* had giuen proofe; but these had good ground of their doings. They which follow examples that please them, will neglect the reasons of those examples, if they please them not, and rest contented with the practice, as more willingly shewing what they may doe, than acknowledging why *Salomon* slew his brother that had begun one rebellion, and was entring into another. Iehoram *slew all his brethren, which were better than hee*: *Dauid* purchased the kingdome, and might the more freely dispose of it, yet he disposed of it as the Lord appointed: if *Iehoram*, who had lost much and gotten nothing, thought that hee might alien the remainder at his pleasure; or if *Ahazia* sought to cut off the succession of his brethren, or of their issue: either of these was to bee answered with the words which *Iehoiada* the Priest vsed afterwards, in declaring the title of *Ioash*: *Behold, the Kings sonne must reigne; as the Lord hath said of the sonnes of* Dauid. Wherefore though I hold it very probable, that *Athalia* did pretend some title, whatsoeuer it might be, to the Crown of Iuda; yet it is most certaine that shee had thereunto no right at all, but onely got it by treachery, murder, and open violence; and so she held it sixe whole yeeres, and a part of the seauenth, in good seeming securitie.

Eccles. 1.10.

2 Chro. 21.13.

§. II.

How Iehu *spent his time in Israel, so that he could not molest* Athalia.

IN all this time *Iehu* did neuer goe about to disturbe her; which in reason hee was likely to desire, being an enemie to her whole House. But hee was occupied at the first in establishing himselfe, rooting out the posteritie of *Ahab*, and reforming somewhat in Religion: afterwards in warres against the Aramite, wherein hee was so far ouercharged, that hardly he could retaine his own, much lesse attempt vpon others. Of the line of *Ahab* there were seuentie liuing in Samaria, out of which number *Iehu* by letter aduised the Citizens to set vp some one as King, and to prepare themselues to fight in his defence. Hereby might they gather how confident he was; which they well vnderstood to proceede from greater power about him, than they could gather to resist him. Wherefore they tooke example by the two Kings whom he had slain, and being exceedingly affraid of him, they offered him their seruice; wherein they so readily shewed themselues obedient, that in lesse than one daies warning, they sent him the heads of all those Princes, as they were inioyned by a second letter from him. After this he surprized all the Priests of *Baal* by a subtiltie, faining a great sacrifice to their god, by which meanes hee drew them altogether into one Temple, where hee slew them: and in the same zeale to God vtterly demolished all the monuments of that impietie.

Concerning the Idolatrie deuised by *Ieroboam*, no king of Israel had euer greater reason than *Iehu* to destroy it. For he needed not to feare lest the people should bee allured vnto the house of *Dauid*; it was (in appearance) quite rooted vp, and the Crown of Iuda in the possession of a cruell Tyrannesse: he had receiued his kingdom by the vnexpected

grace

grace of God; and further in regard of his zeale expressed in destroying *Baal* out of Israel; hee was promised, notwithstanding his following the sinne of *Ierobeam*, that the kingdome should remaine in his Familie, to the fourth Generation. But all this would not serue; he would needs helpe to peece out Gods prouidence with his owne circumspection; doing therein like a foolish greedy gamester, who by stealing a needlesse Card to assure himselfe of winning a stake, forfeits his whole test. Hee had questionlesse displeased many, by that which he did against *Baal*; and many more he should offend by taking from them the vse of a superstition, so long practised as was that Idolatrie of *Ieroboam*. Yet all these, how many soeuer they were, had neuer once thought vpon making him king, if God, whom (to retaine them) hee now forsooke, had not giuen him the Crown, when more difficulties appeared in the way of getting it, than could at any time after be found in the meanes of holding it.

This ingratitude of *Iehu* drew terrible vengeance of God vpon Israel, whereof *Hazael* king of Damascus was the executioner. The cruelty of this barbarous Prince we may finde in the prophecie of *Elizeus*, who fore-told it, saying: *Their strong Cities shalt thou set on fire; and their yong men shalt thou slay with the sword, and shalt dash their Infants against the stones, and rent in pieces their women with childe.* So did not onely the wickednesse of *Ahab* cause the ruine of his whole house, but the obstinate Idolatry of the people bring a lamentable misery vpon all the Land. For the furie of *Hazaels* victorie was not quenched with the destruction of a few Townes, nor wearied with one inuasion; but hee *smote them in all the coast of Israel*, and wasted all the Countrie beyond the Riuer of Iordan. Notwithstanding all these calamities, it seemes that the people repented not of their Idolatrie; (*For in those daies the Lord began to loathe Israel*,) but rather it is likely, that they bemoaned the noble House of *Ahab*, vnder which they had beaten those enemies to whom they were now a prey, and had brauely fought for the conquest of Syria, where they had enlarged their border, by winning Ramoth Gilead, and compelled *Benhadad* to restore the Cities which his Father had won: wheras now they were faine to make wofull shifts, liuing vnder a Lord that had better fortune and courage in murdering his Master that had put him in trust, than in defending his people from their cruell enemies. Thus it commonly fals out, that they who can finde all manner of difficulties in seruing him, to whom nothing is difficult, are, in stead of the ease & pleasure to themselues propounded by contrary courses, ouer-whelmed with the troubles which they sought to auoide; and therein by God whom they first forsooke, forsaken, and left vnto the wretched labours of their owne blinde wisedome, wherin they had reposed all their confidence.

2 King.8.11.

2 King.10.32.

§. III.
Of Athaliahs *Gouernment.*

THese calamities falling vpon Israel, kept *Athalia* safe on that side, giuing her leisure to looke to things at home; as hauing little to doe abroad, vnlesse it were so that shee held some correspondencie with *Hazael*, pretending therein to imitate her husbands grand-father king *Asa*, who had done the like. And some probability that she did so, may be gathered out of that which is recorded of her doings. For wee finde, that this *wicked* Athalia *and her children brake vp the house of God, and all things that were dedicate for the house of the Lord did they bestow vpon* Baalim. Such a sacrilege, though it proceeded from a desire to set out her owne Idolatry, with such pompe as might make it the more glorious in the peoples eyes, was not likely to want some faire pretext of necessity of the State so requiring: in which case others before her had made bold with that holy place, and her next successour was faine to doe the like, being thereunto forced by *Hazael*, who perhaps was delighted with the taste of that which was formerly thence extracted for his sake.

2 Chro.24.7.

Vnder this impious gouernment of *Athalia*, the deuotion of the Priests and Leuites was very notable, and serued (no doubt) very much to retaine the people in the religion taught by God himselfe, howsoeuer the Queenes proceedings aduanced the contrary. For the pouerty of that sacred Tribe of Leui must needes haue been exceeding great at this time, all their lands and possessions in the ten Tribes being vtterly lost, the oblations and other perquisites, by which they liued, being now very few, and small; and the

store laid vp in better times vnder godly Kings, being all taken away by shamefull robberie. Yet they vp-held in all this misery the seruice of God, and the daily sacrifice, keeping daily their courses, and performing obedience to the high Priest, no lesse than in those dayes wherein their entertainment was farre better.

§. IV.
Of the preseruation of Ioas.

Iehoiada then occupied the high Priesthood, an honourable, wise, and religious man. To his carefulnes it may be ascribed, that the state of the Church was in some slender sort vp-held in those vnhappy times. His wife was *Iehoshabeth*, who was daughter of king *Iehoram*, & sister to *Ahazia*, a godly Lady and vertuous, whose pietie makes it seeme that *Athalia* was not her mother, though her accesse to the Court argue the contrary: but her discreet carriage might more easily procure her welcome to her owne Fathers house, than the education vnder such a Mother could haue permitted her to bee such as she was. By her care, *Ioash* the yongue Prince that reigned soone after, was conueighed out of the nursery, when *Athalia* destroyed all the Kings children, and was carried secretly into the Temple, where as secretly hee was brought vp. How it came to passe that this yongue childe was not hunted out, when his body was missing; nor any great reckoning (for ought that we finde) made of his escape, I will not stand to examine: for it was not good in policie, that the people should heare say, that one of the children had auoyded that cruell blow; it might haue made them hearken after inuouations, and so be the lesse conformable to the present gouernment. So *Ioash* was deliuered out of that slaughter, he and his nurse being gone no man could tell whither, and might be thought peraduenture to be cast away, as hauing no other guard than a poore woman that gaue him sucke, who foolishly doubting that she her selfe should haue been slaine, was fled away with him into some desolate place, where it was like enough that she and he should perish. In such cases flatterers, or men desirous of reward, easily coine such tales, and rather sweare them to bee true in their owne knowledge, than they will lose the thankes due to their ioyfull tidings.

§. V.
whose sonne Ioas *was.*

†. I.
whether Ioas *may be thought likely to haue been the son of* Ahazia.

NOw concerning this *Ioash*, whose sonne hee was, it is a thing of much difficultie to affirme, and hath caused much controuersie among writers. The places of Scripture, which call him *the sonne of* Ahazia, seeme plaine enough. How any figure of the Hebrew language might giue title of Sonne vnto him, in regard that hee was his Successour, I neither by my selfe can finde, nor can by any helpe of Authors learne how to answer the difficulties appearing in the contrary opinions of them, that thinke him to haue beene, or not, the naturall sonne of *Ahazia*. For whereas it is said, that *the house of* Ahazia *was not able to retaine the Kingdome*; some doe inferre that this *Ioash* was not properly called his Son, but was the next of his kindred, and therefore succeeded him, as a sonne in the inheritance of his father. And hereunto the murder committed by *Athalia*, doth very well agree. For shee perceiuing that the Kingdome was to fall into their hands, in whom she had no interest, might easily finde cause to feare, that the tyranny exercised by her husband at her instigation vpon so many noble Houses, would now bee reuenged vpon her selfe. The ruine of her Idolatrous religion might in this case terrifie both her and her Minions; the sentence of the Law rewarding that offence with death; and the Tragedy of *Iezabel* teaching her what might happen to another Queene. All this had little concerned her, if her owne grand-child had been heire to the Crowne; for she that had power enough to make her selfe Queene, could with more ease, and lesse enuie, haue taken vpon her the office of a Protector, by which authoritie she might haue done her pleasure, and been the more both obeyed by others,

2 King.11.2. & 2 Chro.22.11

2 Chro.22.9.

and secure of her owne estate, as not wanting an Heire. Wherfore it was not needfull, that she should be so vnnaturall, as to destroy the childe of her owne son, of whose life she might haue made greater vse, than she could of his death: whereas indeed, the loue of Grand-mothers to their Nephewes, is little lesse than the Mothers to their children.

This argument is very strong. For it may seeme incredible, that all naturall affection should be cast a-side, when as neither necessity vrgeth, nor any commoditie therby gotten requireth it, yea when all humane policie doth teach one the same, which nature without reason would haue perswaded.

†. II.

That Ioas *did not descend from* Nathan.

BVt (as it is more easie to finde a difficultie in that which is related, than to shew how it might haue otherwise bin) the pedegree of this *Ioash* is, by them which think him not the sonne of *Ahazia*, set downe in such sort that it may very iustly be suspected. They say that he descended from *Nathan* the sonne of *Dauid*, and not from *Salomon*, to which purpose they bring a Historie (I know not whence) of two families of the race of *Dauid*, saying that the line of *Salomon* held the kingdome with this condition, that if at any time it failed, the familie of *Nathan* should succeed it. Concerning this *Nathan* the sonne of *Dauid* there are that would haue him to bee *Nathan* the Prophet, who, as they thinke, was by *Dauid* adopted. And of this opinion was *Origen*, as also S. *Augustine* sometime was, but afterward he reuoked it, as was meete; for this *Nathan* is reckoned among the sons of *Dauid*, by *Bathsua* the daughter of *Ammes*, and therfore could not be the Prophet. *Gregory Nazianzen* (as I finde him cited by *Peter Martyr*) and after him, *Erasmus*, and *Faber Stapulensis*, haue likewise held the same of *Ioash*, deriuing him from *Nathan*. But *Nathan* and those other brethren of *Salomon* by the same Mother, are thought, vpon good likelihoods, to haue been the children of *Vria* the Hittite: and so are they accounted by sundry of the fathers, and by *Lyra*, & *Abulensis*, who follow the Hebrew Expositors of that place in the first of *Chronicles*. The words of *Salomon* calling him himselfe the only begottten of his mother, doe approue this exposition: for we reade of no more than two sons which *Bathsua* or *Bathsheba* did beare vnto *Dauid*, whereof the one begotten in adultery, died an infant, and *Salomon* onely of her children by the King did liue. So that the rest must needes haue beene the children of *Vria*, and are thought to haue beene *Dauids* only by adoption. Wherefore if *Ioas* had not beene the son of *Ahazia*, then must that pedegree haue beene false, wherein S. *Matthew* deriueth him lineally from *Salomon*; yea, then had not *our blessed Sauiour* issued from the loynes of *Dauid*, according to the flesh, but had only beene of his line by courtesie of the Nation, and forme of Law, as any other might haue been. As for the authoritie of *Philo*, which hath drawne many late writers into the opinion that *Ioash* was not of the posteritie of *Salomon*, it is enough to say, that this was *Frier Annius* his *Philo*: for no other edition of *Philo* hath any such matter; but *Annius* can make Authors to speake what he list.

1. Chron. 3. 5.

†. III.

That Ioas *may probably be thought to haue been the sonne of* Iehoram.

IN so doubtfull a case, if it seeme lawfull to hold an opinion that no man hath yet thought vpon, me thinkes it were not amisse to lay open at once, and peruse together two places of Scripture, whereof the one telling the wickednesse of *Iehoram* the son of *Iehosaphat* King of Iuda, for which he and his children perished, rehearseth it as one of Gods mercies towards the house of *Dauid*, that according to his promise hee would *giue him a light, and to his children for euer*: the other doth say, that for the offences of the same *Iehoram*, *there was not a sonne left him, saue* Iehoahas *the yongest of his sonnes*. Now, if it were in regard of Gods promise to *Dauid*, that after those massacres of *Iehoram* vpon all his brethren, and of the Philistims and Arabians vpon the children of *Iehoram*, one of the seed of *Dauid* escaped; why may it not bee thought that he was said to haue escaped, in whom the line of *Dauid* was preserued? for had all the race of *Salomon*

2. King. 8. 19.

mon beene rooted vp in these wofull Tragedies, and the progenie of *Nathan* succeeded in place there of; like enough it is that some remembrance more particular would haue beene extant, of an euent so memorable. That the race of *Nathan* was not extinguished, it is indeed apparant by the *Genealogie* of our Lord, as it is recounted by S. *Luke*: but the preseruation of the house of *Dauid*, mentioned in the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, was performed in the person of *Iehoahas*, in whom the Royall branch of *Salomon*, the natural, and not only legall issue remaining of *Dauid*, was kept aliue. Wherefore it may bee thought that this *Ioash*, who followed *Athalia* in the Kingdome, was the yongest sonne of *Iehoram*, whose life *Athalia* as a stepdame, was not likely to pursue. For it were not easily vnderstood, why the preseruation of *Dauids* line, by Gods especiall mercy, in regard of his promise made, should pertaine rather to that time, when besides *Ahazia* himselfe, there were two and fortie of his brethren, or (as in another place they are called) sonnes of his brethren remaining aliue, which afterwards were all slain by *Iehu*; than haue reference to the lamentable destruction and little lesse than extirpation of that progenie, wherein one only did escape. Certainely that inhumane murther which *Iehoram* committed vpon his brethren, if it were (as appeareth in the Historie) reuenged vpon his owne children; then was not this vengeance of God accomplished by the Philistims and Arabians, but being only begun by them, was afterwards prosecuted by *Iehu*, and finally tooke effect by the hands of that same wicked woman, at whose instigation hee had committed such barbarous outrage. And from this execution of Gods heauie iudgement laid vpon *Iehoram* and all his children, only *Iohoahas* his yongest son was exempted; whom therfore if I should affirme to be the same with *Ioas*, which is called the son of *Ahazia*, I should not want good probabilitie. Some further appearance of necessity there is, which doth argue that it could no otherwise haue beene. For it was the yongest sonne of *Iehoram* in whom the race was preserued; which could not in any likelihood be *Ahazia*, seeing that hee was twenty yeeres old at the least (as is already noted) when he began to reigne, and consequently, was borne in the eighteenth or tweentieth yeere of his Fathers age. Now I know not whether of the two is more vnlikely, either that *Iehoram* should haue begotten many children before hee was eighteene yeeres old, or that hauing (as hee had) many wiues and children, hee should vpon the suddaine, at his eighteenth yeere, become vnfruitfull, and beget no more in twenty yeeres following: each of which must haue beene true, if this were true that *Ahazia* was the same *Iehoahas*, which was his yongest sonne. But this inconuenience is taken away, & those other doubts arising from the causelesse cruelty of *Athalia*, in seeking the life of *Ioas*, are easily cleered, if *Ioas* and *Iehoahas* were one. Neither doth his age withstand this opinion. For he was *seuen yeeres old when he began to reigne*; which if we vnderstand of yeeres compleat, he might haue been a yeere old at the death of *Iehoram*, being begotten somewhat after the beginning of his sicknesse. Neither is it more absurd to say that he was the naturall son of *Iehoram*, though called the son of *Ahazia*, than it were to say, as great Authors haue done, this difficulty notwithstanding, that he was of the posteritie of *Nathan*. One thing indeed I know not how to answer; which, had it concurred with the rest, might haue serued as the foundation of this opinion. The name of *Iehoahas*, that soundeth much more neere to *Ioas*, than to *Ahazia*, in an English eare, doth in the Hebrew (as I am informed by some, skilfull in that language) through the diuersitie of certaine letters, differ much from that which it most resembleth in our Westerne manner of writing, and little from the other. Now, although it bee so that *Ahazia* himselfe bee also called *Azaria*, and must haue had three names, if hee were the same with *Iehoahas*; in which manner *Ioas* might also haue had seuerall names; yet, because I finde no other warrant hereof than a bare possibilitie, I will not presume to build an opinion vpon the weake foundation of mine owne coniecture, but leaue all to the consideration of such as haue more abilitie to iudge, and leasure to consider of this point.

2. King 10. 13.
2. Chro. 22. 8.
2. Chro. 21. 14.
2. Chro. 24. 1.
2. Chro. 22. 6.

†. IV.

Vpon what reasons Athalia *might seeke to destroy* Ioas, *if he were her owne grandchilde.*

IF therefore we shall follow that which is commonly receiued, and interpret the text according to the letter, it may be said, that *Athalia* was not only blinded by the passi-

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ons of ambition and zeale to her idolatrous worship of *Baalim*, but pursued the accomplishment of some vnnaturall desires, in seeking the destruction of her grand-child, and the rest of the bloud Royall. For whether it were so that *Athalia* (as proud and cruell women are not alwaies chaste) had imitated the libertie of *Iezabel* her sister in law, whose whoredomes were vpbraided by *Iehu* to her sonne; or whether she had children
2.Kin.9.22. by some former husband, before she was married vnto *Ieboram* (which is not vnlikely in regard of her age, who was daughter of *Omri*, and sister to *Ahab*) certaine it is that shee had sonnes of her own, and those old enough to be employed, as they were, in robbing of the Temple. So it is not greatly to be wondred at, that to settle the Crown vpon her own children, she did seeke to cut off, by wicked policie, all other claimes. As for *Ioas*, if 10 she were his grand-mother, yet she might mistrust the interest which his mother would haue in him, lest when he came to yeeres, it might draw him from her deuotion. And hereof (besides that women doe commonly better loue their daughters husbands, than their sonnes wiues) there is some appearance in the reigne of her sonne: for shee made him spend all his time in idle iourneyes, to no other apparant end, than that she might rule at home; and he liuing abroad be estranged from his wife, and entertaine some new fancies, wherein *Iezabel* had cunning enough to be his *tutoresse*. But when the sword of *Iehu* had rudely cut in sunder all these fine deuises, then was *Athalia* faine to go roundly to worke, and doe as she did, whereby she thought to make all sure. Otherwise, if (as I could rather thinke) she were onely stepdame to *Ioas*, we need not seeke into the reasons 20 mouing her to take away his life; her owne hatred was cause enough to dispatch him among the first.

§. VI.

A digression, wherein is maintained the liberty of vsing coniecture in Histories.

THus much concerning the person of *Ioas*, from whom, as from a new root, the tree of *Dauid* was propagated into many branches. In handling of which matter, the more I consider the nature of this History, and the diuersitie between it and others, the lesse me thinkes I need to suspect mine owne 30 presumption, as deseruing blame, for curiosity in matter of doubt, or boldnesse in liberty of coniecture. For all Histories do giue vs information of humane counsailes & euents, as farre forth as the knowledge and faith of the writers can afford; but of Gods will, by which all things are ordered, they speak only at randome, and many times falsly. This we often finde in profane writers, who ascribe the ill successe of great vndertakings, to the neglect of some impious Rites, whereof indeed God abhorred the performance as vehemently, as they thought him to be highly offended with the omission. Hereat we may the lesse wonder, if we consider the answer made by the Iewes in Egypt vnto *Ieremy* the Prophet reprehending their Idolatry. For howsoeuer the written Law of God was known vnto the people, and his punishments laid vpon them for contempt 40 thereof, were verie terrible, and euen then but newly executed; yet were they so obstinately bent vnto their wils, that they would not by any meanes be drawne to acknowledge the true cause of their affliction. But they told the Prophet roundly, that they would worship the *Queene of Heauen*, as they and their fathers, their Kings and their
Ier.44.17.18. Princes had vsed to doe: *For then* (said they) *had we plenty of victuals, and were well, and felt no euill*: adding that all manner of miseries were befalne them, since they left off that seruice of the *Queene of Heauen*. So blinde is the wisedome of man, in looking into the counsaile of God, which to finde out, there is no better nor other guide than his owne written will not peruerted by vaine additions.

But this Historie of the Kings of Israel & Iuda hath herein a singular prerogatiue 50 aboue all that haue beene written by the most sufficient of meerely humane authors: it setteth downe expresly the true, and first causes of all that happened; not in imputing the death of *Ahab* to his ouer-forwardnesse in battaile; the ruine of his family, to the securitie of *Ieboram* in Izreel; nor the victories of *Hazael*, to the great commotions raised in Israel, by the cõming of *Iehu*; but referring all vnto the will of God, I meane, to his reuealed will: from which that his hidden purposes doe not vary, this Storie, by many great examples, giues most notable proofe. True it is, that the concurrence of second causes with their effects, is in these bookes nothing largely described; nor perhaps

haps exactly in any of those Histories that are in these points most copious. For it was well noted by that worthy Gentleman, Sir *Philip Sidnie*, that Historians doe borrow S.Phi.Sid.in his Apol.for Poetry of Poets, not onely much of their ornament, but somewhat of their substance. Informations are often false, records not alwais true, and notorious actions commonly insufficient to discouer the passions which doe set them first on foot. Wherfore they are faine (I speake of the best, and in that which is allowed; for to take out of *Liuie* euery one circumstance of *Claudius* his iourney against *Asdrubal* in Italy, fitting all to another businesse, or any practice of that kinde, is neither Historicall, nor Poeticall) to search into the particular humour of Princes, and of those which haue gouerned their affections, or 10 the instruments by which they wrought; from whence they doe collect the most likely motiues or impediments of euery businesse; and so figuring as neere to the life as they can imagine, the matter in hand, they iudiciously consider the defects in counsaile, or obliquity in proceeding.

Yet all this, for the most part, is not enough to giue assurance, howsoeuer it may giue satisfaction. For the heart of man is vnsearcheable: and Princes, howsoeuer their intents be seldome hidden from some of those many eyes which prie both into them, and into such as liue about them; yet sometimes either by their owne close temper, or by subtill mistes, they conceale the truth from all reports. Yea, manie times the affections themselues lye dead, and buried in obliuion, when the preparati-
20 ons which they begat, are conuerted to another vse. The industrie of an Historian, hauing so many things to wearie it, may well bee excused, when finding apparant cause enough of things done, it forbeareth to make further search; though it often fall out, where sundry occasions worke to the same end, that one small matter in a weake minde is more effectuall, than many that seemes farre greater. So comes it manie times to passe, that great fires, which consume whole houses or townes, begin with a few strawes, that are wasted or not seene; when the flame is discouered, hauing fastned vpon some wood-pile, that catcheth all about it. Questionlesse it is, that the warre commenced by *Darius*, and pursued by *Xerxes* against the Greekes, proceeded from desire of the Persians to inlarge their Empire: howsoeuer the enterprize of
30 the Athenians vpon *Sardes*, was noised abroad as the ground of that quarrell; yet *Herodotus* telleth vs, that the wanton desire of Queen *Atossa*, to haue the Grecian dames her bondwomen, did first moue *Darius* to prepare for this warre before hee had receiued any iniury, & when he did not yet so much desire to get more, as to enioy what was Hero.l.1. already gotten.

I will not here stand to argue whether *Herodotus* be more iustly reprehended by some, or defended by others, for alleadging the vain appetite, and secret speech of the Queen in bed with her husband, as the cause of those great euils following; this I may boldly affirme, (hauing, I thinke, in euery estate some sufficient witnesse) that matters of much consequence, founded in all seeming vpon substantiall reasons, haue issued indeed
40 from such pettie trifles, as no Historian would either thinke vpon, or could well search out.

Therefore it was a good answer that *Sixtus Quintus* the Pope made to a certaine Frier, comming to visit him in his Popedome, as hauing long before in his meaner estate, been his familiar friend. This poore Frier, being emboldened by the Pope to vse his old liberty of speech, aduentured to tell him, that he very much wondred how it was possible for his Holinesse, whom he rather tooke for a direct honest man, than any cunning Polititian, to attaine vnto the Papacy; in compassing of which, all the subtilty (said he) of the most crafty braines, finde worke enough: and therefore the more I thinke vpon the Art of the Conclaue, and your vnaptnesse thereto, the more I needes must wonder.
50 Pope *Sixtus* to satisfie the plaine dealing Frier, dealt with him againe as plainly, saying, Hadst thou liued abroad as I haue done, and seen by what follie this world is gouerned, thou wouldest wonder at nothing.

Surely, if this bee referred vnto those exorbitant engines, by which the course of affaires is moued, the Pope said true. For the wisest of men are not without their vanities, which requiring and finding mutuall toleration, worke more closely, and earnestly, than right reason either needes or can. But if wee lift vp our thoughts to that supreme Gouernour, of whose Empire all that is true, which by the Poet was said of *Iupiter*:

Qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat
Ventosum, & vrbes, regnaq; tristia
Diuosq; mortalesq; turmas,
Imperio regit vnus æquo.

Who rules the duller earth, the windeswolne streames,
The ciuill Cities and th' infernall realmes,
Who th' host of heauen, and the mortall band,
Alone doth gouerne by his iust command.

Then shall we finde the quite contrary. In him there is no vncertainety nor change; he foreseeth all things, and all things desposeth to his owne honour; He neither deceiueth nor can be deceiued, but continuing one and the same for euer, doth constantly gouerne all creatures by that Law, which he hath prescribed, and will neuer alter. The vanities of men beguile their vaine contriuers, and the prosperity of the wicked, is the way leading to their destruction: yea this broad and headlong passage to hell, is not so delightfull as it seemes at the first entrance, but hath growing in it, besides the poysons which infect the soule, many cruell thorns deeply wounding the body; all which, if any few escape, they haue only this miserable aduantage of others, that their descent was the more swift and expedite. But the seruice of God is the path guiding vs to perfect happines, & hath in it a true, though not compleat felicity, yeelding such abundance of ioy to the conscience, as doth easily counteruaile all afflictions whatsoeuer; though indeede those brambles that sometimes teare the skin of such as walke in this blessed way, do commonly lay hold vpon them at such time as they sit down to take their ease, & make them wish themselues at their iournies end, in the presence of their Lord whom they faithfully serue, in whose *presence is the fulnesse of ioy, and at whose right hand are pleasures for euermore.* Psal.16.11.

Wherefore it being the end and scope of all History, to teach by example of times past, such wisdome as may guide our desires and actions, we should not maruaile though the *Chronicles of the Kings of Iuda and Israel*, being written by men inspired with the Spirit of God, instruct vs chiefly, in that which is most requisite for vs to know; as the meanes to attaine vnto true felicity, both here, and hereafter, propounding examples which illustrate this infallible rule, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisedome.* Had the expedition of *Xerxes* (as it was foretold by *Daniel*) beene written by some Prophet after the captiuity: wee may well beleeue that the counsaile of God therein, and the executioners of his righteous will, should haue occupied either the whole or the principall roome in that narration. Yet had not the purpose of *Darius*, the desire of his Wife, and the businesse at Sardes, with other occurrents, beene the lesse true, though they might haue beene omitted, as the lesse materiall: but these things it had beene lawfull for any man to gather out of prophane Histories, or out of circumstances otherwise appearing, wherin he should not haue done iniury to the Sacred Writings, as long as he had forborn to derogate from the first causes, by ascribing to the second more than was due.

Such, or little different, is the businesse that I haue now in hand: wherein I cannot beleeue that any man of iudgement will taxe me, as either fabulous or presumptuous. For he doth not faine, that rehearseth probabilities as bare coniectures; neither doth he depraue the Text, that seeketh to illustrate and make good in humane reason, those things which authority alone, without further circumstance, ought to haue confirmed in euery mans beliefe. And this may suffice in defence of the liberty, which I haue vsed in coniectures, and may hereafter vse when occasion shall require, as neither vnlawfull, nor mis-beseeming an Historirn.

§. VII.

The conspiracie against Athalia.

WHen *Athalia* had now sixe yeeres and longer worne the Crowne of Iuda, and had found neither any forreine enemy, nor domesticall aduersarie to disturbe her possession, suddenly the period of her glory, and reward of her wic-

wickednesse meeting together, tooke her away without any warning, by a violent and shamefull death. For the growth of the yongue Prince began to bee such, as permitted him no longer to be concealed, and it had been very vnfitting that his education should be simple, to make him seeme the childe of some poore man (as for his safety it was requisite,) when his capacity required to haue beene indued with the stomacke and qualities meete for a King. All this *Iehoiada* the Priest considered, and withall, the great increase of impiety, which taking deepe roote in the Court, was likely to spead it selfe ouer all the Country, if care were not vsed to weede it vp very speedily. Wherefore he associated vnto himselfe fiue of the Captaines, in whose fidelity he had best assurance; and hauing taken an oath of them, and shewed them the Kings sonne, he made a Couenant with them, to aduance him to the Kingdome. These drew in others of the principall men, to countenance the action, procuring at the first only that they should repaire to Ierusalem, where they were further acquainted with the whole matter. There needed not many perswasions to win them to the businesse: the promise of the Lord vnto the house of *Dauid*, was enough to assure them, that the action was both lawfull, & likely to succeed as they desired.

But in compassing their intent, some difficulties appeared: For it was not to be hoped, that with open force they should bring their purpose to good issue; neither were the Captains, and other associats of *Iehoiada* able by close working, to draw together so manie trusty & seruiceable hands as would suffice to manage the businesse. To helpe in this case, the Priest gaue order to such of the Leuites, as had finished their courses in waiting on the Diuine seruice at the Temple, and were now relieued by others that succeeded in their turnes, that they should not depart vntill they knew his further pleasure. So by admitting the new commers, and not discharging the old, he had, without any noise, made vp such a number, as would be able to deale with the Queenes ordinary Guard: and that was enough; for if the Tyrannesse did not preuaile against them at the first brunt, the fauour of the People was like to shew it selfe on their side, who made head against her. These Leuites were placed in the inner Court of the Temple, about the person of the King, who as yet was kept close; the followers of the Captaines, and other adherents, were bestowed in the vtter Courts: As for weapons, the Temple it selfe had store enough; King *Dauid* had left an Armory to the place, which was now imployed to defence of his issue.

All things being in a readinesse, and the day come, wherein this high design e vvas to be put in execution; *Iehoiada* deliuered vnto the Captaines, Armour for them and their adherents, appointed a guard vnto the Kings person, produced him openly, and gaue vnto him the Crowne; vsing all ceremonies accustomed in such solemnities, with great applause of the people. Of these doings, the Queene was the last that heard any word. Which is not so strange as it may seeme: for insolent natures, by dealing outragiously with such as bring them ill tidings, doe commonly lose the benefit of hearing what is to be feared, whilest yet it may be preuented, and haue no information of danger, till their owne eyes, amazed with the suddennesse, behold it in the shape of ineuitable mischiefe.

All Ierusalem was full of the rumour, and entertained it with very good liking. Some carried home the newes, others ran forth to see, and the common ioy was so great, that without apprehension of perill, vnder the windowes of the Court, were the people running and praising the King. *Athalia* hearing & beholding the extraordinary concourse, and noise of folkes in the streetes, making towards the Temple, with much vnusuall passion in their lookes, did presently conceiue, that somewhat worthy of her care was happened; though, what it might be, she did not apprehend. Howsoeuer it were, shee meant to vse her owne wisedome in looking into the matter, and ordering all as the occasion might happen to require. It may bee, that she thought it some especiall solemnitie vsed in the Diuine seruice, vvhich caused this much adoe; and hereof the vnaccustomed number of Leuites, and of other deuout men, about the towne, might giue some presumption. 2.Chron.23.12.

Many things argue that she little thought vpon her owne Tragedy; although *Iosephus* would make it seeme otherwise. For we finde in the Text, *shee came to the people into the house of the Lord* (which was neere to her Palace) and that when she looked and saw the King stand by his pillar, as the manner was with the Princes, or great men of the 2.Chron.23.12. & 13.2. 1.King.6.11. v. 13.14.

Land by him, and the Trumpetters proclaiming him, shee rent her clothes, and cryed Treason, Treason. Hereby it appeares that she was quietly going, without any mistrust or feare, to take her place; which when she found occupied by another, then she began to afflict her selfe, as one cast away, and cryed out in vaine vpon the Treason, whereby she saw that she must perish. But that she came with a guard of armed men to the Temple, (as *Iosephus* reporteth) and that her company being beaten backe, shee entred alone, and commanded the people to kill the yong Tyrant, I finde no where in Scripture, neither doe I hold it credible. For had she truely known how things went, she would surely haue gathered her friends about her, and vsed those forces in defence of her Crown, by which she gat it, and hitherto had held it. Certainely, if it were granted, that she, like a new *Semiramis*, did march in the head of her troupe, yet it had beene meere madnesse in her, to enter the place alone, when her assistants were kept out; but if shee, perceiuing that neither her authority, nor their owne weapons, could preuaile to let-in her guard, would neuertheless take vpon her to command the death of the new King, calling a childe of seuen yeeres old a Conspirator, and bidding them to kill him, whom she saw to be armed in his defence, may we not thinke that shee was mad in the most extreame degree? Certaine it is that the counsaile of God would haue taken effect, in her destruction, had she vsed the most likely meanes to disappoint it: yet wee neede not so cut her throate with any morall impossibilities. It is enough to say, that the godly zeale of *Iehoiada* found more easie successe, through her indiscretion, than otherwise could haue beene expected; so that at his appointment, shee was without more adoe, carried out of the Temple and slaine, yea so, that no bloud, saue her owne, vvas shed in that quarrell; her small train that she brought along with her, not daring to stand in her defence.

§. VIII.

The death of Athalia, *with a comparison of her and* Iezabel.

MOst like it is, that *Athalia* had many times, with great indignation, bewailed the rashnesse of her Nephew *Iehoram* the Israelite, who did foolishly cast himselfe into the very throate of danger, gaping vpon him, onely through his eager desire of quickly knowing what the matter meant: yet, shee her selfe, by the like bait, was taken in the like trap, and hauing liued such a life as *Iezabel* had done, was rewarded with a sutable death. These two Queenes were in many points much alike, each of them was Daughter, Wife, and Mother to a King; each of them ruled her husband; was an Idolatresse and a Murdresse. The onely difference appearing in their conditions, is, that *Iezabel* is more noted as incontinent of body, *Athalia* as ambitious: So that each of them suruiuing her husband about eight yeeres, did spend their time in satisfying her owne affections; the one vsing tyrannie, as the exercise of her haughty minde; the other painting her face, for the ornament of her vnchaste body. In the manner of their death little difference there was, or in those things which may seeme in this world to pertaine vnto the dead when they are gone. Each of them was taken on the suddaine by Conspirators, and each of them exclaiming vpon the Treason, receiued sentence from the mouth of one that had liued vnder her subiection; in execution whereof, *Iezabel* was trampled vnder the feet of her enemies horses; *Athalia* slaine at her owne horse-gate; the death of *Athalia* hauing (though not much) the more leisure to vexe her proud heart; that of *Iezabel* the more indignitie, and shame of bodie. Touching their buriall, *Iezabel* was deuoured by Dogges, as the Lord had threatned by the Prophet *Elias*; what became of *Athalia* wee doe not finde. Like enough it is, that she was buried, as hauing not persecuted and slaine the Lords Prophets, but suffered the Priests to exercise their function; yet of her buriall there is no monument, for she was a Church-robber. The seruice of *Baal* erected by these two Queenes, was destroyed as soone as they were gone, and their Chaplaines, the Priests of that Religion, slaine. Herein also it came to passe, alike, as touching them both when they were dead; the Kings who slew them, were afterwards afflicted, both of them by the same hand of *Hazael* the Syrian; in which point *Athalia* had the greater honour, if the Syrian (who seemes to haue beene her good friend) pretended her reuenge, as anie part of his quarrell to Iuda. Concerning children, all belonging to *Iezabel* perished in few

few dayes after her: whether *Athalia* left any behinde her, it is vncertaine; she had sons liuing after she was Queene, of whom, or of any other, that they were slaine with her, we doe not finde.

This is a matter not vnworthy of consideration, in regard of much that may depend vpon it. For if the children of *Athalia* had beene in Ierusalem when their Mother fell, their death would surely haue followed hers as neerely, and beene registred, as well as the death of *Mattan* the Priest of *Baal*. That Law by which *God forbad that the children should die for the fathers*, could not haue saued these vngracious Imps, whom the clause following would haue cut off, which commands, that euerie man should die for his owne sinne. Seeing therefore that they had beene professors and aduancers of that vile and Idolatrous worship of *Baal*, yea had robbed the Temple of the Lord, and enriched the house of *Baal* with the spoyle of it; likely it is, that they should not haue escaped with life, if *Iehoiada* the Priest could haue gotten them into his hands. As there was lawfull cause enough requiring their death, so the security of the King and his friends, that is, of all the Land, craued as much, and that very earnestly. For these had beene esteemed as heires of their mothers Crowne, and being reckoned as her assistants in that particular businesse of robbing the Temple, may bee thought to haue carried a great sway in other matters, as Princes, & fellowes with their Mother in the Kingdome. Therefore it is euident, that either they were now dead, or (perhaps following *Hazael* in his warres against *Iehu*) absent from Ierusalem; whereby *Iehoiada* might, with the more confidence, aduenture to take Armes against their Mother, that was desolate. Deut.24.16.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Ioas *and* Amasia, *with their Contemporaries; where somewhat of the building of Carthage.*

§. I.

Of Ioas *his doings, whilest* Iehoiada *the Priest liued.*

BY the death of *Athalia*, the whole Countrie of Iuda was filled with great ioy and quietnesse; wherein *Ioas*, a childe of seuen yeeres old or there-about, began his reigne, which continued almost fortie yeeres. During his minority, he liued vnder the protection of that honourable man *Iehoiada* the Priest, who did as faithfully gouerne the Kingdome, as he had before carefully preserued the Kings life; & restored him vnto the Throne of his ancestors. When he came to mans estate, he tooke by appointment of *Iehoiada* two wiues, and begat Sonnes and Daughters, repairing the family of *Dauid*, which was almost worne out. The first Act that hee tooke in hand, when hee began to rule without a Protector, was the reparation of the Temple. It was a needfull piece of worke, in regard of the decay wherein that holy place was fallen, through the wickednesse of vngodly Tyrants; and requisite it was that he should vp-hold the Temple, whom the Temple had vp-held. This businesse he followed with so earnest a zeale, that not only the Leuites were more slacke than he, but euen *Iehoiada* was faine to be quickened by his admonition. Money was gathered for the charges of the worke, partly out of the taxe imposed by *Moses*, partly out of the liberality of the people: who gaue so freely, that the Temple, besides all reparations, was enriched with vessels of gold and siluer, and with all other Vtensiles. The sacrifices likewise were offered, as vnder godly Kings they had beene, and the seruice of God was magnificently celebrated. 2.chron.24.14.

§.II.

The death of Iehoiada, *and Apostasie of* Ioas.

BVt this endured no longer than the life of *Iehoiada* the Priest: who hauing liued an hundred and thirtie yeers, dyed before his Countrie could haue spared him. He was buried among the kings of Iuda, as he well deserued, hauing preserued the race of them, & restored the true Religion, which the late Princes of that house, by attempting to eradicate, failed but a little, of rooting vp themselues, and all their issue. Yet this honourable Funerall seems to haue bin giuen to him, at the motion of the people; it being said, *They buried him in the Citie of* Dauid. As for the king himselfe, who did owe to him no lesse than his Crowne and life, he is not likely to haue been Author of it, seeing that he was as easily comforted after his death, as if he had therby been discharged of some heauie debt.

For after the death of *Iehoiada*, when the Princes of Iuda began to flatter their king, he soone forgat, not onely the benefits, receiued by this worthy man his old Counsellour, but also the good precepts which he had receiued from him, yea & God himselfe, the Author of all goodnesse. These Princes drew him to the worship of Idols, wherewith *Iehoram* and *Athalia* had so infected the Country, in fifteene or sixteene yeeres; that thirty yeeres, or there-about, of the reigne of *Ioas*, wherein the true Religion was exercised, were not able to cleere it from that mischiefe. The king himselfe, when once he was entred into these courses, ran on head-long, as one that thought it a token of his libertie, to despise the seruice of God; and a manifest proofe of his being now king indeede, that he regarded no longer the sowre admonitions of deuout Priests. Hereby it appeares, that his former zeale was only counterfeited, wherein like an Actor vpon the stage, he had striuen to expresse much more liuely affection, than they could shew, that were indeede religious.

§.III.

The causes and times of the Syrians inuading Iuda in the dayes of Ioas.

BVt God, from whom he was broken loose, gaue him ouer into the hands of men, that would not easily be shaken off. *Hazael* king of Aram, hauing taken Gath, a Town of the Philistims, addressed himselfe towards Ierusalem, whither the little distance of way, and great hope of a rich booty, did inuite him. He had an Army heartned by many victories, to hope for more; and for ground of the war (if his ambition cared for pretences) it was enough that the kings of Iuda had assisted the Israelites, in their enterprises vpon Aram, at Ramoth Gilead. Yet I think he did not want some further instigation. For if the kingdome of Iuda had molested the Aramites, in the time of his predecessour, this was throughly recompensed, by forbearing to succour Israel, and leauing the ten Tribes in their extream misery, to the fury of *Hazael* himselfe. Neither is it likely, that *Hazael* should haue gone about to awake a sleeping Dogge, and stirre vp against himselfe a powerfull enemy, before he had assured the conquest of Israel, that lay between Ierusalem and his owne kingdome, if some opportunity had not performed such easie and good successe, as might rather aduance, than any way disturbe his future proceedings against the ten Tribes. Wherefore I hold it probable, that the sonnes of *Athalia*, mentioned before, were with him in this action, promising (as men expelled their Countries vsually doe) to draw many partakers of their owne to his side; and not to remaine, as *Ioas* did, a neutrall in the warre betweene him and Israel, but to ioyne all their forces with his, as they had cause, for the rooting out of *Iehu* his posterity, who, like a bloudy Traytor, had vtterly destroyed all the kindred of the Queenes, their mother, euen the whole house of *Ahab*, to which hee was a subiect. If this were so, *Hazael* had the more apparant reason to inuade the Kingdome of Iuda. Howsoeuer it were, we finde it plainely, that *Ioas* was affraid of him, and therefore *tooke all the hallowed things, and all the gold that was found in the treasures of the house of the Lord*, or in his owne house, with which present hee redeemed his peace: the Syrian (questionlesse) thinking it a better bargaine, to get so much readily paid into his hand for nothing, than to hazzard the assurance of this, for

2.King.12.18.

for the possibility of not much more. So *Hazael* departed with a rich bootie of vnhappy treasure, which belonging to the liuing God, remained a small while in the possession of this mighty, yet corruptible man, but sent him quickely to the graue. For in the thirtie seuenth yeere of *Ioas*, which was the fifteenth of *Iehoahaz*, hee made this purchase; but in the same or very next yeere he died, leauing all that hee had vnto his Sonne *Benhadad*, with whom these treasures prospered no otherwise, than ill-gotten goods are wont.

This enterprise of *Hazael*, is, by some, confounded with that warre of the Aramites vpon Iuda, mentioned in the second Booke of *Chronicles*. But the reasons alleadged by them that hold the contrary opinion, doe forcibly proue, that it was not all one warre. For the former was compounded without bloud-shed or fight; in the latter, *Ioas* tryed the fortune of a battaile, wherin being put to the worst, he lost all his Princes, and hardly escaped with life: In the one, *Hazael* himselfe was present; in the other, he was not named: but contrariwise, the king of Aram then reigning (who may seem to haue then been the Sonne of *Hazael*) is said to haue beene at Damascus. The first Armie came to conquer, and was so great, that it terrified the king of Iuda; The second was a *small company of men*, which did animate *Ioas* (in vaine; for God was against him) to deale with them, as hauing *a very great Armie*.

2.Chron.24.24.

Now, concerning the time of this former inuasion, I cannot perceiue that God forsooke him, till he had first forsaken God. There are indeed some, very learned, who thinke that this expedition of *Hazael* was in the time of *Iehoiada* the Priest, because that storie is ioyned vnto the restauration of the Temple. This had beene probable, if the death of *Iehoiada* had beene afterwards mentioned in that place of the second Book of *Kings*; or if the Apostasie of *Ioas*, or any other matter implying so much, had followed in the relation. For it is not indeed to be doubted, that the Lord of all may dispose of all things, according to his own will & pleasure; neither was he more vniust in the afflictions of *Iob* that righteous man, or the death of *Iosias* that godly king, than in the plagues which he laid vpon *Pharaoh*, or his iudgements vpon the house of *Ahab*. But it appeares plainly, that the rich furniture of the Temple, and the magnificent seruice of God therwithall, which are ioyned together, were vsed *in the house of the Lord continually, all the dayes of Iehoiada*; soone after whose death, if not immediately vpon it, that is (as some very learnedly collect) in the sixe, or thirty seuenth yeere of this *Ioas* his reign, the king falling away from the God of his Fathers, became a foule Idolater.

2.Chron.24.14.

And indeed we commonly obserue, that the crosses which it hath pleased God sometimes to lay vpon his seruants, without any cause notorious in the eyes of men, haue alwaies tended vnto the bettering of their good. In which respect, euen the sufferings of the blessed Martyrs (*the death of his Saints being precious in the sight of the Lord*) are to their great aduantage. But with euill and rebellious men, God keepeth a more euen and strict account; permitting vsually their faults to get the start of their punishment, and either delaying his vengeance (as with the Amorites) til their wickednesse be full: or not working their amendment by his correction, but suffering them to run on in their wicked courses, to their greater miserie. So hath he dealt with many; and so it appeares that he dealt with *Ioas*. For this vnhappy man did not onely continue an obstinate Idolater, but grew so forgetfull of God and all goodnesse, as if he had strouen to exceed the wickednesse of all that went before him, and to leaue such a villainous patterne vnto others, as few or none of the most barbarous Tyrants should endure to imitate.

Psal.115.15.

§.IV.

How Zacharia *was murthered by* Ioas.

SVndry Prophets hauing laboured in vaine to reclaime the people from their superstition, *Zacharia* the sonne of *Iehoiada* the Priest, was stirred vp at length by the Spirit of God, to admonish them of their wickednesse, and make them vnderstand the punishment due vnto it, whereof they stood in danger. This *Zacharia* was a man so much honoured, and sonne to a man so exceedingly beloued in his lifetime, and reuerenced, that if *Ioas* had reputed him (as *Ahab* did *Elias*) his open enemie, yet ought he in common honestie, to haue cloaked his ill affection, and haue vsed

at

at least some part of the respect that was due to such a person: On the other side, the singular affection which he and his father had borne vnto the King, and the vnrecountable benefits, which they had done vnto him, from his first infancie, were such, as should haue placed *Zacharia* in the most hearty and assured loue of *Ioas*, yea though he had bin otherwise a man of very small marke, and not very good condition. The truth is, that the message of a Prophet sent from God, should be heard with reuerence, how simple soeuer he appeares that brings it. But this King *Ioas*, hauing already scorned the admonitions and protestations of such Prophets as first were sent, did now deale with *Zacharia*, like as the wicked husbandmen in that parable of our Sauiour, dealt with the heire of the Vineyard; who said, *This is the heyre, come let vs kill him, that the inheritance may be ours*. By killing *Zacharia* he thought to become an absolute Commander, supposing belike that he was no free Prince, as long as one durst tell him the plain truth, how great soeuer that mans deseruing were, that did so, yea though Gods commandement required it. So they conspired against this holy Prophet, and stoned him to death at the kings appointment; but whether by any forme of open Law, as was practised vpon *Naboth*; or whether surprising him by any close treachery; I doe neither reade, nor can coniecture. The dignitie of his person, considered together with their treacherous conspiracie, makes it probable, that they durst not call him into publique iudgement, though that the manner of his death, being such as was commonly, and by order of Law, inflicted vpon malefactors, may argue the contrary. Most likely it is, that the kings commandement, by which hee suffered, tooke place in stead of Law: which exercise of meer power (as hath been already noted) was nothing strange amongst the kings of Iuda.

Luk.20.14.

§. V.

How Ioas *was shamefully beaten by the Amorites, and of his death.*

THis odious murther, committed by an vnthankefull snake vpon the man in whose bosome he had been fostered, as of it self alone it sufficed to make the wretched Tyrant hatefull to men of his own time, & his memory detested in all ages; so had it the well-described curse of the blessed Martyr, to accompanie it vnto the throne of God, & to call for vengeance from thence; which fell downe swiftly, & heauily vpon the head of that vngratefull monster. It was the last yeere of his reign; the end of his time comming then vpon him, when he thought himself beginning to liue how he listed without controulment. When that yeer was expired, the Aramites came into the Countrie, rather as may seem to get pillage, than to performe any great action; for they *came with a small company of men*: but God had intended to doe more by them, than they themselues did hope for.

2.Chron.24.24.

That *Ioas* naturally was a coward, his bloudy malice against his best friend, is, in my iudgement, proofe sufficient: though otherwise his base composition with *Hazael*, when he might haue leauied (as his son after him did muster) three hundred thousand chosen men for the warre, doth well enough shew his temper. Yet now he would needs be valiant, and make his people know, how stout of disposition their King was, when hee might haue his owne will. But his timorous heart was not well cloaked. For to encounter with a few bands of Rouers, hee tooke a very great Armie, so that wise men might well perceiue, that he knew what he did, making shew as if he would fight for his Countrie, and expose himselfe to danger of warre, when as indeed all was meere ostentation, and no perill to be feared; hee going forth so strongly appointed, against so weak enemies. Thus might wise men thinke, and laugh at him in secret; considering what adoe he made about that, which in all apparant reason was (as they say) a thing of nothing. But God, before whom the wisedome of this world is foolishnesse, did laugh not only at this vaine-glorious King, but at them that thought their King secure, by reason of the multitude that he drew along with him.

When the Aramites & King *Ioas* met, whether it were by some folly of the Leaders, or by some amazement happening among the souldiers, or by whatsoeuer means it pleased God to work, so it was, that that great Army of Iuda receiued a notable ouer-throw, and all the Princes were destroyed: the Princes of Iuda, at whose persuasion the King had become a Rebell to the King of kings. As for *Ioas* himselfe (as *Abulensis* and others expound

expound the story) he was sorely beaten and hurt by them, being (as they thinke) taken and shamefully tormented, to wring out of him an excessiue ransome.

And surely, all circumstances doe greatly strengthen this coniecture. For the Text (in the old translation) saith, they exercised vpon *Ioas* ignominious iudgements; and that departing from him, they dismissed him in great languor. All which argues; that they had him in their hands, and handled him ill-fauouredly. Now at that time *Ioas* the sonne of *Iehoahaz* reigned ouer Israel, and *Benhadad* the son of *Hazael* ouer the Syrians in Damascus; the one a valiant vnder-taking Prince, raised vp by God to restore the State of his miserable Country; the other inferiour euery way to his father, of whose purchases hee lost a great part, for want of skill to keepe it. The difference in condition found betweene these two Princes, promising no other euent than such as afterward followed, might haue giuen to the king of Iuda good cause to be bold, and plucke vp his spirits; which *Hazael* had beaten downe, if God had not beene against him. But his fearefull heart being likely to quake vpon any apprehension of danger, was able to put the Syrian king in hope, that by terrifying him with some shew of Warre at his doores, it were easie to make him craue any tolerable conditions of peace. The vnexpected good successe hereof, already related, & the (perhaps as vnexpected) ill successe, which the Aramites found in their following Warres against the king of Israel, sheweth plainely the weakenesse of all earthly might, resisting the power of the Almighty. For by his Ordinance, both the kingdome of Iuda, after more than forty yeeres time of gathering strength, was vnable to driue out a small companie of Enemies; and the kingdome of Israel, hauing so been trodden downe by *Hazael*, that onely fifty Horsemen, tenne Chariots, and tenne thousand Footmen were left; preuailed against his Sonne, and recouered all from the victorious Aramites. But examples hereof are euerie-where found, and therefore I will not insist vpon this; though indeede wee should not, if we be Gods children, thinke it more tedious to heare long and frequent reports of our heauenly Fathers honour, than of the noble acts performed by our fore-fathers vpon earth.

When the Aramites had what they listed, & saw that they were not able, being so few, to take any possession of the Country, they departed out of Iuda loaden with spoyle, which they sent to Damascus, themselues belike falling vpon the ten Tribes, where it is to be thought that they sped not halfe so wel. The king of Iuda being in ill case, was killed on his bed when he came home, by the sons of an Ammonitesse, & of a Moabitesse, whom some (because onely their Mothers names, being strangers, are expressed) thinke to haue beene bondmen. Whether it were contempt of his fortune, or feare, lest (as Tyrants vse) he should reuenge his disaster vpon them, imputing it to their fault, or whatsoeuer else it were that animated them to murder their king; the Scripture tels vs plainly, that, *For the bloud of the children of Iehoiada*, this befell him. And the same appears to haue beene vsed as the pretence of their conspiracy, in excuse of the fact when it was done. For *Amazia*, the sonne and successor of *Ioas*, durst not punish them, till his kingdome was established: but contrariwise, his body was iudged vnworthy of buriall in the Sepulchres of the kings: whereby it appeares, that the death of *Zacharia* caused the treason, wrought against the king, to find more approbation, than was requisite, among the people, though afterwards it was recompensed by his Sonne, vpon the Traytors, with well-deserued death.

2 Chro.24.25.

§. VI.

Of the Princes liuing in the time of Ioas: *of the time when Carthage was built; and of* Dido.

THere liued with *Ioas*, *Mezades* & *Diognetus* in Athens: *Eudemus* and *Aristomedes* in Corinth: about which time *Agrippa Syluius*, and after him *Syluius Alladius*, were kings of the Albans in Italy. *Ocrazapes*, commonly called *Anacyndaraxes*, the thirty seuenth king succeeding vnto *Ophratanes*, began his reigne ouer the Assyrians, about the eighteenth yeere of *Ioas*, which lasted forty two yeeres. In the sixteenth of *Ioas*, *Cephrenes*, the fourth from *Sesac*, succeeded vnto *Cheops* in the kingdome of Egypt, and held it fifty yeeres.

In this time of *Ioas*, was likewise the reigne of *Pigmalion* in Tyre, and the foundation of

of Carthage by *Dido*, the building of which City is, by diuers Authors, placed in diuers ages, some reporting it to be 70. yeeres yonger than Rome, others aboue 400. yeers elder, few or none of them giuing any reason of their assertions, but leauing vs vncertaine whom to follow: *Iosephus*, who had read the Annals of Tyre, counting one hundred forty and three yeeres and eight moneths from the building of *Salomons* Temple, in the twelfth yeer of *Hyram* king of Tyre, to the founding of Carthage by *Dido*, in the seuenth of *Pigmalion*. The particulars of this accompt (which is not rare in *Iosephus*) are very perplexed, and serue not very well to make cleer the totall summe. But whether it were so that *Iosephus* did omit, or else that he did mis-write some number of the yeers, which he reckoneth in Fractions, as they were diuided among the Kings of Tyre, from *Hyram* to *Pigmalion*; we may well enough beleeue, that the Tyrian writers, out of whose books hee giues vs the whole summe, had good meanes to know the truth, and could rightly reckon the difference of time, betweene two works no longer following one the other than the memory of three or foure generations might easily reach. This hundred forty and foure yeeres current, after the building of *Salomons* Temple, being the eleuenth yeere of *Ioas*, was a hundred forty and three yeeres before the birth of Rome, and after the destruction of Troy, two hundred eighty and nine: a time so long after the death of *Æneas*, that wee might truely conclude all to be fabulous which *Virgil* hath written of *Dido*, as *Ausonius* noteth, who doth honour her Statua with this Epigram:

Iosep. Cont. App. lib. 1.

Auson. ep. 117.

Ilia ego sum Dido *vultu quam conspicis hospes,*
Assimulata modis pulchraq; mirificis.
Talis eram, sed non Maro *quam mihi finxit, erat mens,*
Vita nec incestis lata cupidinibus,
(Namq; nec Æneas *vidit me Troius vnquam*
Nec Lybiam aduenit, classibus Iliacis.
Sed furias fugiens, atq; arma procacis Iarbæ,
Seruaui, fateor, morte pudicitiam;
Pectore transfixo, castos quod pertulit enses)
Non furor, aut læso crudus amore dolor.
Sic cecidisse iuuat: vixi sine vulnere famæ,
Vlta virum, positis mœnibus oppetij.
Inuida cur in me stimulasti Musa Maronem,
Fingeret vt nostræ damna pudicitiæ?
Vos magis Historicis lectores credite de me
Quam qui furta Deum concubitusq; canunt.
Falsidici vates: temerant qui carmine verum,
Humanisq; deos assimulant vitijs.

Which in effect is this,

I Am that *Dido* which thou here do'st see,
Cunningly framed in beauteous Imag'rie.
Like this I was, but had not such a soule,
As *Maro* fained, incestuous and foule.
Æneas neuer with his *Troian* hoast
Beheld my face, or landed on this coast.
But flying proud *Iarbas* villanie,
Not mou'd by furious loue or iealousie;
I did with weapon chaste, to saue my fame,
Make way for death vntimely, ere it came.
This was my end; but first I built a Towne,
Reueng'd by husbands death, liu'd with renowne.
Why did'st thou stirre vp *Virgil*, enuious Muse,
Falsely my name and honour to abuse?
Readers beleeue Historians; not those
Which to the world *Iones* thefts and vice expose.
Poets are lyers, and for verses sake
Will make the gods of humane crimes partake.

From

From the time of *Dido* vnto the first Punick warre, that Carthage grew and flourished in wealth and conquests, we finde in many Histories: but in particular we finde little of the Carthaginian affaires before that war, excepting those few things that are recorded of their attempts of the Isle of Sicil. We will therefore deferre the relation of matters concerning that mighty Citie, vntill such time as they shall encounter with the State of Rome, by which it was finally destroyed; and prosecute in the mean while the History that is now in hand.

§. VII.

The beginning of Amazia *his reigne. Of* Ioas *King of Israel, and* Elisha *the Prophet.*

Amazias, the son of *Ioash*, being twenty fiue yeeres old when his Father died, took possession of the Kingdome of Iuda, wherin he laboured so to demeane himself, as his new beginning reign might be least offensiue. The Law of *Moses* he professed to obserue; which howsoeuer it had beene secretly despised since the time of *Iehoram*, by many great persons of the Land, yet had it by ptouision of good Princes, yea & of bad ones (in their best times) imitating the good, but especially by the care of holy Priests, taken such deepe roote in the peoples hearts, that no King might hope to be very plausible, who did not conform himselfe vnto it. And at that present time, the slaughter, which the Aramites had made of all the Princes, who had withdrawne the late king from the seruice of God, being seconded by the death of the king himselfe, euen whilest that execrable murther, committed by the king vpon *Zecharia*, was yet fresh in memory, did serue as a notable example of Gods iustice against Idolaters, both to animate the better sort of the people in holding the Religion of their fathers, and to discourage *Amazia* from following the way, which led to such an euill end. He therefore, hauing learned of his father the art of dissimulatiou, did not onely forbeare to punish the Traytors that had slain king *Ioas*, but gaue way to the time, and suffered the dead body to be interred, as that of *Iehoram* formerly had been, in the City of *Dauid*, yet not among the Sepulchres of the kings of Iuda. Neuertheless, after this, when (belike) the noyse of the people hauing wearied it selfe into silence, it was found that the Conspirators (howsoeuer their deed done, was applauded as the handie worke of God) had neither any mighty partakers in their fact, nor strong maintainers of their persons, but rested secure, as hauing done well, seeing it was not ill taken: the king, who perceiued his gouernment well established, called them into question, at such a time, as the heate of mens affections being well allayed, it was easie to distinguish between their treasons and Gods iudgements, which, by their treasons, had taken plausible effect. So they were put to death without any tumult, and their children (as the Law did require) were suffered to liue: which could not but giue contentment to the people, seeing that their king did the office of a iust Prince, rather than of a reuenging sonne. This being done, and his owne life better secured, by such examplary iustice, against the like attempts; *Amazia* carried himselfe outwardly as a Prince well affected to Religion, & so continued in rest, about twelue or thirteen yeeres.

As *Amazia* gathered strength in Iuda by the commodity of a long peace, so *Ioas* the Israelite grew as fast in power, by following the warre hotly against the Aramites. Hee was a valiant and fortunate Prince, yet an Idolater, as his Predecessors had beene, worshipping the Calues of *Ieroboam*. For this sinne had God so plagued the house of *Iehu*, that the ten Tribes wanted little of being vtterly consumed, by *Hazael* and *Benhadad*, in the time of *Iehu* and his sonne *Iehoahaz*. But as Gods benefits to *Iehu*, sufficed not to wirh-draw him from this politique Idolatry; so were the miseries, rewarding that impietie, vnable to reclaime *Iehoahaz* from the same impious course: yet the mercy of God beholdiug the trouble of Israel, did condescend vnto the prayers of this vngodly Prince, eueu then when hee and his miserable subiects, were obstinate in following their owne abominable waies. Therefore in temporall matters the ten Tribes recouered apace; but the fauour of God, which had beene infinitely more wroth, I doe uot finde, nor beleeue that they sought: that they had it not, I finde in the words of the Prophet, saying plainely to *Amazia, The Lord is not with Israel, neither with all the house of* Ephraim. 2. Chron. 25. 7.

Whether

Whether it were so, that the great Prophet *Elisha*, who liued in those times, did foretell the prosperity of the Israelites vnder the reigne of *Ioas*; or whether *Iehoahaz*, wearied and broken with long aduersity, thought it the wisest way, to discharge himselfe in part of the heauie cares attending those vnhappy Syrian Warres, by layiug the burthen vpon his hopefull sonne; wee finde that *in the thirtie seuenth yeere of* Ioas, *King of Iuda*, Ioas *the sonne of* Iehoahaz *began to reigne ouer Israel in Samaria*; which was in the 15. yeere of his fathers reigne, and some two or three yeeres before his death.

2. King. 13. 10.

It appeares that this yongue Prince, euen from his beginning of his Rule, did so well husband that poore stock that he receiued from his Father, of ten Chariots, fifty Horsemen, and ten thousand Foot, that he might seeme likely to proue a thriuer. Amongst other circumstances, the words which he spake to *Elisha* the Prophet, argue no lesse. For *Ioas* visiting the Prophet, who lay sicke, spake vnto him thus; *O my father, my father, the Chariot of Israel, and the horsemen of the same*: by which maner of speech he did acknowledge, that the prayers of this holy man had stood his Kingdome in more stead, than all the Horses and Chariots could doe.

2. King. 13. 14.

This Prophet who succeeded vnto *Elias*, about the first yeere of *Ioram* the sonne of *Ahab* king of Israel, died (as some haue probably collected) about the third or fourth yeere of this *Ioas*, the Nephew of *Iehu*. To shew how the spirit of *Elias* was doubled, or did rest vpon him; it exceedeth my facultie. This is recorded of him, that hee did not onely raise a dead childe vnto life, as *Elias* had done, but when hee himselfe was dead, it pleased God that his dead bones should restore life vnto a carcass, which touched them in the graue. In fine, hee bestowed as a legacie, three victories vpon King *Ioas*, who thereby did set Israel in a faire way of recouering all that the Aramites had vsurped, and weakning the Kings of Damasco in such sort, that they were neuer after terrible to Samaria.

§.VIII.

Of Amazia *his warre against* Edom; *His Apostasie; and ouerthrow by* Ioas.

THe happy successe which *Ioas* had found in his war against the Aramites, was such as might kindle in *Amazia* a desire of vndertaking some expedition, wherin himselfe might purchase the like honour. His kingdome could furnish three hundred thousand seruiceable men for the Wars; & his treasures were sufficient for the payment of these, & the hire of many more. Cause of war he had very iust against the Edomites, who hauing rebelled in the time of his grand-father *Iehoram*, had about fifty yeeres been vnreclaimed, partly by reason of the troubles happening in Iuda, partly through the sloth and timerousnesse of his father *Ioas*. Yet, forasmuch as the men of Iuda had in many yeeres beene without all exercise of Warre (excepting that vnhappy fight wherein they were beaten by a few bands of the Aramites) hee held it a point of wisedome to increase his forces, with souldiers waged out of Israel, whence he hired for an hundred talents of siluer, *an hundred thousand valiant men*, as the Scripture telleth vs, though *Iosephus* diminish the number, saying that they were but twentie thousand.

2. Chron. 25. 6. Ios. Antiq. Iud. lib. 9. c. 10.

This great Armie, which with so much cost *Amazia* had hired out of Israel, hee was faine to dismisse before he had imployed it, being threatned by a Prophet with ill successe, if he strengthened himselfe with the helpe of those men, whom God (though in mercy hee gaue them victory against the cruell Aramites) did not loue, because they were Idolaters. The Israelites therfore departed in great anger, taking in ill part this dismission, as an high disgrace; which to reuenge, they fell vpon a piece of Iuda in their returne, and shewed their malice in the slaughter of three thousand men; and some spoile, which they carried away. But *Amazia* with his owne forces, knowing that God would bee assistant to their iourney, entered couragiously into the Edomites Countrie; ouer whom obtaining victory, he slew ten thousand, and tooke other ten thousand prisoners, all which he threw from an high rocke; holding them, it seemes, rather as Traytors, than as iust enemies. This victory did not seeme to reduce Edom vnder the subiection of the Crowne of Iuda; which might be the cause of that seuerity, which was vsed to the prisoners; the Edomites that had escaped, refusing to buy the liuer of their friends & kinsmen at so deare a rate, as the losse of their owne libertie. Some townes in mount Seir,

Seir, *Amazia* took, as appeares by his carrying away the Idols thence; but it is like they were the places most indefensible, in that he left no garrisons there, wherby he might another yeere the better haue pursued the conquest of the whole countrey. Howsoeuer it were, he got both honour by the iourney, and gaines enough, had he not lost himselfe.

Among other spoyles of the Edomites, were carried away their gods, which being vanquished and taken prisoners, did deserue well to be led in triumph. But they contrariwise, I know not by what strange witchcraft, so besotted this vnworthy King *Amazia*, that *he set them vp to be his gods, and worshipped them, and burned incense vnto them.*

2 Chro. 25. 14.

For this when he was rebuked by a Prophet sent from God, hee gaue a churlish and threatning answer; asking the Prophet, Who made him a Counseller, and bidding him hold his peace for feare of the worst. If either the costly stuffe, wherof these idols were made, or the curious workemanship and beautie, with which they were adorned by Artificers, had rauished the kings fancie; methinkes, he should haue rather turned them to matter of profit, or kept them as house-hold ornaments and things of pleasure, than thereby haue suffered himself to be blinded, with such vnreasonable deuotion towards them. If the superstitious account wherein the Edomites had held them, were able to worke much vpon his imagination; much more should the bad seruice which they had done to their old Clients, haue moued him thereupon to laugh, both at the Edomites, and them. Wherefore it seemes to me, that the same affections carried him from God, vnto the seruice of Idols, which afterwards moued him to talke so roughly to the Prophet reprehending him. He had already obeyed the warning of God by a Prophet, & sent away such auxiliarie forces as he had gathered out of Israel; which done, it is said, that *he was encouraged, and led forth his people*, thinking belike, that God would now rather assist him by miracle, than let him faile of obtaining all his hearts desire. But with better reason he should haue limited his desires by the will of God, whose pleasure it was, that *Esau* hauing broken the yoke of *Iacob* from his necke, accordingly as *Isaac* had fore-told, should no more become his seruant. If therfore *Amazia* did hope to reconquer all the Countrey of Edom, hee failed of his expectation; yet so, that he brought home both profit and honour, which might haue well contented him.

2 Chro. 25. 11.

But there is a foolish and a wretched pride, wherewith men being transported, can ill endure to ascribe vnto God the honor of those actions, in which it hath pleased him to vse their owne industrie, courage, or fore-sight. Therefore it is commonly seene, that they, who entring into battell, are carefull to pray for aide from heauen, with due acknowledgement of his power, who is the giuer of victorie; when the field is won, doe vaunt of their owne exploits: one telling how he got such a ground of aduantage; another, how he gaue checke to such a battalion; a third, how he seized on the enemies Canon; euery one striuing to magnifie himself, whilest all forget God, as one that had not beene present in the action. To ascribe to fortune the effects of another mans vertue, is, I confesse, an argument of malice. Yet this is true, that as he which findeth better successe, than he did, or in reason might expect, is deepely bound to acknowledge God the Author of his happinesse; so he whose meere wisdome and labour hath brought things to a prosperous issue, is doubly bound to shew himselfe thankefull, both for the victory, and for those vertues by which the victory was gotten. And indeed so far from weakenesse is the nature of such thankesgiuing, that it may wel be called the height of magnanimity; no vertue being so truly heroicall, as that by which the spirit of man aduanceth it selfe vvith confidence of acceptation, vnto the loue of God. In which sense it is a braue speech that *Euander* in *Virgil*, vseth to *Æneas*, none but a Christian being capable of the admonition:

Aude hospes contemnere opes, & te quoque dignum
Finge Deo.

With this Philosophy *Amazia* (as appears by his cariage) troubled not his head: he had shewed himselfe a better man of war than any king of Iuda, since the time of *Iehosaphat*, and could be well contented, that his people should think him little inferior to *Dauid*: of which honour he saw no reason vvhy the Prophets should rob him, vvho had made him lose an hundred talents, and done him no pleasure; he hauing preuailed by plaine force and good conduct, vvithout any miracle at all. That hee vvas distempered vvith such vaine thoughts as these (besides the vvitnesse of his impiety following) *Iosephus* doth testifie;

Ios. Ant. l. 9. c. 10

testifie; saying, That he despised God, and that being puft vp with his good successe, of which neuertheless he would not acknowledge God to be the Author, he commanded *Ioas* King of Israel to become his subiect, and to let the tenne Tribes acknowledge him their Soueraigne, as they had done his Ancestors King *Dauid* and *Salomon*. Some thinke that his quarrell to *Ioas* was rather grounded vpon the iniury done to him by the Israelites, whom hee dismissed in the iourney against Mount Seir. And likely it is, that the sense of a late wrong had more power to stirre him vp, than the remembrance of an old title, forgotten long since, and by himselfe neglected thirteene or fourteene yeeres. Neuertheless it might so be, that when he was thus prouoked, hee thought it not enough to requite new wrongs, but would also call old matters into question; that so the kings of Israel might, at the least, learne to keepe their subiects from offending Iuda, for feare of endangering their owne Crownes. Had *Amazia* desired onely recompence for the iniurie done to him, it is not improbable that hee should haue had some reasonable answer from *Ioas*, who was not desirous to fight with him. But the answer which *Ioas* returned, likening himselfe to a Cedar, and *Amazia* in respect of him to no better than a thistle, shewes that the challenge was made in insolent tearmes, stuft perhaps with such proud comparison of Nobilitie, as might bee made (according to that which *Iosephus* hath written) between a king of ancient race, and one of lesse nobilitie than vertue.

Sophocles in Aiace Lon.

It is by *Sophocles* reported of *Aiax*, that when going to the warre of Troy, his father did bid him to be valiant, and get victory by Gods assistance, he made answer, That by Gods assistance, a coward could get victorie, but hee would get it alone without such helpe: after which proud speech, though he did many valiant acts, he had small thanks, and finally, killing himselfe in a madnesse, whereinto hee fell vpon disgrace receiued, was hardly allowed the honour of buriall. That *Amazia* did vtter such wordes, I doe not finde: but hauing once entertained the thoughts, which are parents of such words, he was rewarded with successe according. The very first counsaile wherein this warre was concluded, serues to proue that hee was a wise Prince indeed at Ierusalem, among his Parasites; but a foole when he had to deale with his equalls abroad. For it was not all one, to fight vvith the Edomites, a weake people, trusting more in the site of their Countrey, than the valour of their Souldiers; and to encounter with *Ioas*, who from so poore beginnings had raised himselfe to such strength, that hee was able to lend his friend a hundred thousand men, and had all his Nation exercised, and trained vp in a long victorious warre. But as *Amazia* discouered much want of iudgement, in vndertaking such a match; so in prosecuting the businesse, when it was set on foot, he behaued himselfe as a man of little experience, who hauing once onely tried his fortune, and found it to bee good, thought that in Warre there was nothing else to doe, than send a defiance, fight, and winne. *Ioas* on the contrary side, hauing beene accustomed to deale with a stronger enemie than the king of Iuda, vsed that celeritie, which peraduenture had often stood him in good stead against the Aramite. Hee did not sit waiting till the enemies brake in and wasted his Country, but presented himselfe with an Army in Iuda, ready to bid battell to *Amazia*, and saue him the labour of a long iourney. This could not but greatly discourage those of Iuda; who (besides the impression of feare vvhich an inuasion beates into people, not inured in the like) hauing deuoured in their greedy hopes, the spoyle of Israel, fully perswading themselues to get as much, and at as easie rate as in the iourney of Edom; were so farre disappointed of their expectation, that well they might suspect all new assurance of good lucke, when the old had thus beguiled them. All this notwithstanding, their king that had stomack enough to challenge the patrimonie of *Salomon*, thought like another *Dauid* to winne it by the sword. The issue of which foole-hardinesse might easily haue beene foreseene in humane reason; comparing together, either the two kings, or the qualitie of their Armies, or the first and ominous beginning of the Warre. But meere humane wisedome, howsoeuer it might foresee much, could not haue prognosticated all the mischiefe that fell vpon *Amazia*. For as soone as the two Armies came in sight, God, whose helpe this wretched man had so despised, did (as *Iosephus* reports it) strike such terrour and amazement into the men of Iuda, that without one blow giuen, they fled all away, leauing their king to shift for himselfe; which he did so ill, that his enemy had soone caught him, and made him change his glorious humour into most abiect basenesse. That the Army which fled

Ios. ant. l. 9. c. 10

fled, sustained any other losse than of honour, I neither finde in the Scriptures nor in *Iosephus*; it being likely that the soone beginning of their flight, which made it the more shamefull, made it also the more safe. But of the mischiefe that followed this ouerthrow, it was Gods will that *Amazia* himselfe should sustaine the whole disgrace. For *Ioas* carried him directly to Ierusalem, where he bad him procure that the gates might bee opened to let him in and his Army; threatning him otherwise with present death. So much amazed was the miserable captiue, with these dreadful words, that he durst do no other, than perswade the Citizens, to yeeld themselues to the mercie of the Conqueror. The Towne, which afterwards being in weaker state, held out two yeeres, against *Nebuchadnezzar*, was vtterly dismayed, when the King, that should haue giuen his life to saue it, vsed all his force of cõmand and intreaty to betray it. So the gates of Ierusalem were opened to *Ioas*, with vvhich honour (greater than any King of Israel had euer obtained) he could not rest contented, but, the more to despise *Amazia* and his people, he caused 400 cubits of the wall to be thrown downe, and entred the citie in his Chariot through that breach, carrying the king before him, as in triumph. This done, he sackt the Temple, and the Kings Palace, and so, taking hostages of *Amazia*, he dismissed the poor creature that was glad of his life, and returned to Samaria.

§. IX.

A discourse of the reasons hindering Ioas *from uniting* Iuda *to the Crowne of Israel, when hee had won Ierusalem, and held* Amazia *prisoner. The end of* Ioas *his Reigne.*

Wee may iustly maruell how it came to passe, that *Ioas*, being thus in possession of Ierusalem, hauing the King in his hands, his enemies forces broken, & his own entire, could be so content to depart quietly, with a little spoyle, when he might haue seized vpon the whole Kingdome. The reigne of *Athalia* had giuen him cause to hope, that the issue of *Dauid* might be dispossessed of that crowne; his owne Nobility, being the sonne and gran-childe of Kings, together vvith the famous acts that hee had done, were enough to make the people of Iuda thinke highly of him; who might also haue preferred his forme of gouernment, before that of their owne Kings, especially at such a time, vvhen a long succession of vvicked Princes had smothered the thanks, which were due to the memory of a few good ones. The commodity that vvould haue ensued, vpon the vnion of all the twelue Tribes, vnder one Prince, is so apparant, that I neede not to insist on it. That any message from God forbad the Israelite (as afterwards in the victorie vvhich *Peka* the son of *Romelia* got vpon *Ahaz*) to turne his present aduantage, to the best vse, wee doe not reade. All this makes it the more difficult to resolue the question, why a Prince so vvell exercised, as *Ioas* had beene, in recouering his own, and vvinning from his enemy, should forsake the possession of Ierusalem, and wilfully neglect the possibilities, or rather cast away the full assurance of so faire a conquest, as the kingdome of Iuda.

But concerning that point, vvhich, of all others, had been most materiall, I mean the desire of the vanquished people to accept the Israelite for their king, it is plainely seen, that entring Ierusalem in triumphant manner, *Ioas* vvas vnable to concoct his own prosperitie. For, the opening of the gates had beene enough to haue let him not onely into the Citie, but into the Royall Throne, and the peoples hearts, whom by faire intreaty (especially hauing sure meanes of compulsion) hee might haue made his owne, vvhen they saw themselues betrayed, and basely giuen away by him whose they had beene before. The faire marke which this opportunitie presented, he did not ayme at, because his ambition was otherwise and more meanely busied, in leuelling at the glory of a triumphant entry through a breach. Yet this errour might afterwards haue been corrected well enough, if entring as an enemy, and shewing what he could doe, by spending his anger vpon the wals, he had within the City done offices of a friend, and laboured to shew good will to the inhabitants. But when his pride had done, his couetousnesse beganne, and sought to please it selfe, with that which is commonly most ready to the spoyler, yet should be most forborne. The Treasure wherewith *Sesac*, *Hazael*, and the Philistims, men ignorant of the true God and his Religion, had quenched their greedy thirst, ought not to haue tempted the appetite of *Ioas*, who though an Idalater, yet

yet acknowledged also and worshipped the eternall God, whose Temple was at Ierusalem. Therfore when the people saw him take his way directly to seise that holy place, and lay his rauenous hands vpon the consecrated vessels, calling the familie of *Obed Edom* (*whose children had hereditarie charge of the treasurie*) to a strict account, as if they had beene officers of his owne Exchequer; they considered him rather as an execrable Church-robber, than as a noble Prince, an Israelite and their brother, though of another Tribe. Thus following that course, which the most vertuous King of our age (taxing it with the same phrase) hath wisely auoyded; by stealing a few Apples, he lost the inheritance of the whole Orchard. The people detested him, and after the respite of a few dayes, might by comparing themselues one to one, perceiue his Souldiers to be no betrer than men of their owne mould, and inferiour in number to the inhabitants of so great a Citie. It is not so easie to hold by force a mighty town entered by capitulation, as to enter the gates opened by vnaduised feare. For when the Citizens, not being disarmed, recouer their spirits, and begin to vnderstand their first errour; they will thinke vpon euery aduantage, of place, of prouisions, of multitude, yea of women armed with tile-stones; and rather choose by desperate resolution, to correct the euills growne out of their former cowardise, than suffer those mischiefes to poyson the body, which in such halfe-conquests, are easily tasted in the mouth. A more liuely example hereof cannot be desired, than the City of Florence, which through the weakenesse of *Peter de Medices*, gouerning therein as a Prince, was reduced into such hard tearmes, that it opened the gates vnto the French King *Charles* the Eighth, who not plainely professing himselfe either friend or foe to the State, entred the Towne, with his Armie, in triumphant manner, himself and his horse armed, with his lance vpon his thigh. Many insolencies were therein committed by the French, and much argument of quarrell ministred, betweene them and the Townes-men: so farre forth that the Florentines, to preserue their libertie, were driuen to prepare for fight. To conclude the matter, *Charles* propounds intolerable conditions, demanding huge summes of ready money, and the absolute Signorie of the State, as conquered by him, who entred the Citie in Armes. But *Peter Caponi*, a principall Citizen, catching these Articles from the Kings Secretarie, and tearing them before his face, bad him sound his Trumpets, and they would ring their Bels: which peremptorie words made the French bethink themselues, and come readily to this agreement, that for forty thousand pounds, and not halfe of that money to bee paid in hand, *Charles* should not onely depart in peace, but restore whatsoeuer hee had of their Dominion, and continue their assured friend. So dangerous a matter did it seeme for that braue Armie, which in few moneths after wanne the Kingdome of Naples, to fight in the streets, against the armed multitude of that populous Citie. It is true, that *Charles* had other businesse (and so perhaps had *Ioas*, as shall anon bee shewed) that called him away: but it was the apprehension of imminent danger that made him come to reason. In such cases the firing of houses, vsually drawes euery Citizen to saue his own, leauing victorie to the Souldier: yet where the people are prepared and resolued, women can quench, as fast as the enemie, hauing other things to looke vnto, can set on fire. And indeede that Commander is more giuen to anger than regardfull of profit, who vpon the vncertain hope of destroying a Towne, forsakes the assurance of a good composition. Diuersitie of circumstance may alter the case: it is enough to say, that it might be in Ierusalem, as we know it was in Florence.

1 Chro.26.15.

How strongly soeuer *Ioas* might hold himselfe within Ierusalem, he could not easily depart from thence, with his bootie safe, if the armie of Iuda, which had been more terrified than weakened in the late encounter, should re-enforce it self, & giue him a check vpon the way. Wherfore it was wisely done of him, to take hostages for his better security, his Army being vpon returne, and better loden than when it came forth; for which causes it was the more vnapt to fight.

Besides these impediments, within the Citie and without, seruing to coole the ambition of *Ioas*, and keepe it down from aspiring to the Crown of Iuda; it appeares that somewhat was newly fallen out, which had reference to the anger of *Elisha* the Prophet; who when this *Ioas* had smitten the ground with his arrowes thrice, told him that hee should no oftner smite the Aramites. The three victories which Israel had against *Aram*, are by some, and with great probabilitie, referred vnto the fifth, sixth and seauenth yeeres

yeeres of *Ioas*: after which time, if any losses ensuing had blemished the former good successe, ill might the King of Israel haue likened himselfe to a stately Cedar, and worse could he haue either lent the Iudæan one hundred thousand men, or meet him in battel, who was able to bring into the field three hundred thousand of his own. Seeing therefore it is made plaine by the words of *Elisha*, that after three victories, *Ioash* should finde some change of fortune, and suffer losse; we must needs conclude, That the Aramite preuailed vpon him this yeere, it being the last of his Reigne. That this was so, and that the Syrians, taking aduantage of *Ioas* his absence, gaue such a blow to Israel, as the king at his return was not able to remedie, but rather fell himself into new misfortunes, which increased the calamity; wee may euidently perceiue in that which is spoken of *Ieroboam* his sonne. For it is said, *That the Lord saw the exceeding bitter afflictions of Israel*, and that hauing *not decreed to put out the name of Israel from vnder the heauen, he preserued them by the hand of* Ieroboam *the sonne of* Ioas. This is enough to proue, that the victorious Reigne of *Ioas* was concluded with a sad catastrophe; the riches of the Temple hastning his miserie and death, as they had done with *Sesac*, *Athalia*, and *Hazael*, and as afterwards they wrought with *Antiochus*, *Crassus*, and other sacrilegious Potentates.

Thus either through indignation conceiued against him, by the people of Ierusalem, and courage which they tooke to set vpon him within the Walls; or through preparation of the Armie that lay abroad in the Country, to bid him battell in open field, and recouer by a new charge the honor which was lost at the former encounter; or through the miseries daily brought vpon his own Countrey, by the Syrian in his absence (if not by all of these) *Ioas* was driuen to lay aside all thought of winning the kingdome of Iuda; and taking hostages for his quiet passage, made all haste homewards, where he found a sad wel-come, and being vtterly forsaken of his wonted prosperitie, forsook also his life in few moneths after, leauing his kingdom to *Ieroboam* the second, his fortunate and valiant sonne.

§. X.

The end of Amazia *his Reigne and Life.*

ANy man is able to ghesse how *Amazia* looked, when the enemy had left him. Hee that had vaunted so much of his owne great prowesse and skill in Armes, threatning to worke wonders, and set vp a-new the glorious Empire of *Dauid*, was now vncased of his Lyons hide, and appeared nothing so terrible a beast as he had beene painted. Much argument of scoffing at him he had ministred vnto such, as held him in dislike; which at this time, doubtlesse, were very many: for the shame that fals vpon an insolent man, seldeme failes of meeting with abundance of reproach. As for *Amazia* (besides that the multitude are alwaies prone to lay the blame vpon their Gouernours, euen of those calamities which happen by their owne default) there was no childe in all Ierusalem, but knew him to be the root of all this mischiefe. He had not onely challenged a good man of War, being himselfe a Dastard; but when he was beaten and taken by him, had basely pleaded for the common enemy, to haue him let into the Citie, that with his owne eyes he might see what spoyle there was, and not make a bad bargaine by heare-say. The father of this *Amazia*, was a beastly man; yet when the Aramites tooke him and tormented him, he did not offer to buy his owne life at so dear a rate, as the Citie and Temple of Ierusalem. Had he offered, should they haue made his promise good? surely the haste which they had made in condescending to this hard match, was very vnfortunate: for by keeping out the Israelite (which was easie enough) any little while, they should soon haue been rid of him, seeing that the Aramites would haue made him run home, with greater speed than he came forth. Then also, when hauing trussed vp his baggage, he was ready to be gone, a little courage would haue serued to perswade him to leaue his load behind; had not their good K. deliuered vp hostages, to secure his return, as loath to defraud him of the recompence due to his paines taken.

Such exprobrations could not but vexe the heart of this vnhappie king: it had been well for him, if they had made him acknowledge his fault vnto God, that had punished him by all this dishonour. But wee finde no mention of his amendment. Rather it appeares, that hee continued an Idolator to the very last. For it is said of him, that after his turning away from the Lord, *they wrought treason against him in Ierusalem*: a manifest proofe

2 Chro.25.27.

proofe that he was not reclaimed, vnto his liues end. And certainely, they which tell a man in his aduersity of his faults passed, shall sooner be thought to vpbraid him with his fortune, than to seeke his reformation. Wherfore it is no maruell, that Priests and Prophets were lesse welcome to him, than euer they had been. On the other side, flatterers, and such as were desirous to put a heart into him, whereof themselues might alwaies bee masters, wanted not plausable matter to reuiue him. For he was not first, nor second, of the Kings of Iuda, that had beene ouercome in battell. *Dauid* himselfe had abandoned the Citie, leauing it, before the enemy was in sight, vnto *Absalom* his rebellious sonne. Many besides him had receiued losses, wherein the Temple bare a part. If *Ioas* might so easily haue beene kept out; why did their Ancestors let *Sesac* in? *Asa* was reputed a vertuous Prince, yet with his owne hands hee emptied the Temple, and was not blamed, but held excusable by necessitie of the State. Belike these traducers would commend no actions but of dead Princes: if so, hee should rather liue to punish them, than dye to please them. Though wherein had hee giuen them any cause of displeasure? It was hee indeede that commanded to set open the gates to *Ioas*; but it was the people that did it. Good seruants ought not to haue obeyed their Masters Commandements, to his disaduantage, when they saw him not master of his owne Person. As his captiuitie did acquite him from blame, of all things that hee did or suffered in that condition; so was that misfortune it selfe, in true estimation, as highly to his honour, as deepely to his losse. For had he been as hasty to flye, as others were; hee might haue escaped, as well as others did. But seeking to teach the base Multitude courage, by his Royall example, he was shamefully betrayed by those in whom he trusted. Vnworthy creatures that could readily obey him, when speaking another mans words, being prisoner, hee commanded them to yeeld; hauing neglected his charge, when leading them in the field, he bade them stand to it and fight like men. The best was, that they must needs acknowledge his mischance, as the occasion whereby many thousand liues were saued; the enemy hauing wisely preferred the surprise of a Lion that was Captaine, before the chase and slaughter of an Army of Stags that followed him.

These or the like words comforting *Amazia*, were able to perswade him, that it vvas euen so indeed. And such excuses might haue serued well enough to please the people, if the King had first studied how to please God. But hee that vvas vnwilling to ascribe vnto God the good successe foretold by a Prophet; could easily finde how to impute this late disaster, vnto fortune, and the fault of others. Now concerning fortune, it seemes that hee meant to keepe himselfe safe from her, by sitting still; for in fifteene yeeres following (so long he out-liued his honor) vve find not that he stirred. As for his subiects, though nothing henceforth be recorded of his gouernment, yet vve may see by his end, that the middle time vvas ill spent among them, increasing their hatred, to his owne ruine. He that suspecteth his owne vvorth, or other mens opinions, thinking the lesse regard is had of his person, than he beleeueth to be due to his place, vvill commonly spend all the force of his authoritie, in purchasing the name of a seuere man. For the affected sowrenesse of a vaine fellow, doth many times resemble the grauity of one that is vvise: and the feare vvherein they liue, which are subiect vnto oppression, carries a shew of reuerence, to him that does the vvrong; at least it serues to dazle the eyes of vnderlings, keeping them from prying into the vveakenesse of such as haue iurisdiction ouer them. Thus the time, vvherein, by vvell vsing it, men might attaine to be such as they ought, they do vsually mis-spend, in seeking to appeare such as they are not. This is a vain & deceiueable course; procuring in stead of the respect that was hoped for, more indignation than was feared. Which is a thing of dangerous consequence; especially vvhen an vnable spirit, being ouer-perted vvith so high authority, is too passionate in the execution of such an office, as cannot be checked but by violence. If therfore *Amazia* thought by extream rigour to hold vp his reputation, vvhat did he else than striue to make the people think he hated them, vvhen of themselues they were apt enough to beleeue that he did not loue them? the best was, that he had, by reuenging his fathers death, prouided vvell enough for his own security: but vvho should take vengeance (or vpon vvhom?) of such a murther, vvherin euery one had a part? Surely God himselfe, vvho had not giuen cōmandment or leaue vnto the people, to take his office out of his hand, in shedding the bloud of his Annointed. Yet as *Amazia*, carelesse of God, vvas carried headlong

headlong by his owne affections; so his subiects, following the same ill example, without requiring what belonged vnto their duties, rose vp against him, with such headlong furie, that being vnable to defend himselfe in Ierusalem, he was driuen to forsake the city, and flye to Lachis, for safegard of his life. But so extreame was the hatred conceiued against him, and so generall, that neither his absence could allay the rage of it in the Capitall Citie, nor his presence in the Countrey abroad procure friends to defend his life. Questionlesse hee chose the Towne of Lachis for his refuge, as a place of all other best affected to him; yet found hee there none other fauour, than that the people did not kill him with their owne hands; for when the Conspirators (who troubled not themselues about raising an Armie for the matter) sent pursuers after him, he was abandoned to death. Lachis was the vtmost Citie of his Dominion Westward, standing somewhat without the border of Iuda; so that hee might haue made an easie escape (if he durst aduenture) into the Territorie of the Philistims, or the Kingdome of Israel. Therefore it may seeme that hee was detained there, where certaine it is that he found no kind of fauour: for had not the people of this Towne, added their owne treason to the generall insurrection; the murderers could not at so good leisure as they did, haue carried away his body to Ierusalem, where they gaue him buriall with his fathers.

§. XI.

Of the Interregnum, *or vacancie, that was in the Kingdome of* Iuda, *after the death of* Amazia.

IT hath already beene shewed, that the Reignes of the Kings of Iuda and Israel were sometimes to bee measured by compleat yeeres, otherwhiles, by yeeres current: and that the time of one King is now and then confounded with the last yeeres of his fathers Reigne, or the foremost of his sonnes. But we are now arriued at a meere vacation, wherin the Crown of Iuda lay voyd eleauen whole yeeres: a thing not plainly set downe in Scriptures, nor yet remembred by *Iosephus*, and therfore hard to be beleeued, were it not proued by necessary consequence.

Twice we finde it written, that *Amazia, King of Iuda, liued after the death of* Ioas *King of Israel fifteene yeeres*; whereupon it followes, that the death of *Amazia*, was about the end of fifteene yeeres compleate, which *Ieroboam* the second (who *in the fifteenth yeere of* Amazia *was made king ouer Israel*) had reigned in Samaria. But the succession of *Vzzia*, who is also called *Azaria*, vnto his father in the Kingdome of Iuda, was eleauen yeeres later than the sixteenth of *Ieroboam*: for it is expressed, that Azaria *began to reign in the seauen and twentieth yeere of* Ieroboam; the sixteenth yeere of his life, being ioyned with the first of two and fiftie that he reigned. So the *Interregnum* of eleauen yeers cannot be diuided, without some hard meanes vsed, of interpreting the Text otherwise than the letter sounds.

2 Chro. 25. 2. & 2 King. 14. 17.
2 King. 14. 23.
2 King. 15. 1.

Yet some coniectures there are made, which tend to keepe all euen, without acknowledging any voyd time. For it is thought that in the place last of all cited, by the seuen and twentieth yeere of *Ieroboam*, wee should perhaps vnderstand the seauen and twentieth yeere of his life; or else (because the like words are no where else interpreted in the like sense) that *Azaria* was eleauen yeeres vnder age, that is, fiue yeeres old, when his father died, and so his sixteenth yeere might concurre with the seauen and twentieth of *Ieroboam*; or that the Text it selfe may haue suffered some wrong, by miswriting twenty seauen for seauenteene yeeres; and so, by making the seauenteenth yeere of *Ieroboam* to be newly begun, all may bee salued. These are the coniectures of that worthy man *Gerard Mercator*: concerning the first of which, it may suffice, that the Author himself doth easily let it passe, as improbable; the last is followed by none that I know, neither is it fit, that vpon euery doubt, we should call the text in question, which could not be satisfied in all copies, if perhaps it were in one: as for the second, it may be held with some qualification, that *Azaria* began his Reign being fiue yeeres old; but then must wee adde those eleauen yeeres which passed in his minority, to the two and fiftie that followed his sixteenth yeere, which is all one, in a manner, with allowing an *interregnum*.

But why should we be so carefull to auoide an *interregnum* in Iuda, seeing that the like necessity

neceſſity hath inforced all good Writers, to acknowledge the like vacancy, twice happening within few yeeres, in the kingdome of Iſrael? The ſpace of time betweene *Ieroboams* death, and the beginning of *Zachariahs* Reign, and ſuch another gap found between the death of *Peka*, and the beginning of *Hoſea*, haue made it eaſily to be admitted into Samaria; which the conſideration of things as they ſtood in Iuda, when *Amazia* was ſlaine, doth make more probable to haue happened there, yea although the neceſſity of computation were not ſo apparant.

For the publicke furie, hauing ſo farre extended it ſelfe, as vnto the deſtruction of the kings own perſon, was not likely to be appeaſed without order taken for obtaining ſome redreſſe of thoſe matters, which had cauſed it at the firſt to break forth into ſuch extremity. Wee neede not therefore wonder how it came to paſſe, that they which already had throwne themſelues into ſuch an horrible treaſon, ſhould afterwards dare to withhold the Crowne from a Prince of that age, which being inueſted in all ornaments of Regality, is neuertheleſſe expoſed to many iniuries, proceeding from head-ſtrong, and forgetfull ſubiects.

As for their coniecture, who make *Azaria* to haue beene King but one and fortie yeeres, after hee came out of his non-age; I dare not allow it, becauſe it agrees too harſhly with the Text. The beſt opinion were that, which giues vnto *Ieroboam* eleauen yeeres of Reigne with his Father, before hee began to reigne ſingle in the fifteenth of *Amazia*; did it not ſwallow vp almoſt the whole reigne of *Ioas*, and extending the yeeres of thoſe which reigned in Iſrael (by making ſuch of them compleat, as were onely current) and take at the ſhorteſt the Reignes of Princes ruling in other Nations. But I will not ſtand to diſpute further of this: euery man may follow his owne opinion; and ſee mine more plainely in the Chronologicall Table, drawne for theſe purpoſes.

§. XII.

Of Princes Contemporarie with Amazia, *and more particularly of* Sardanapalus.

THe Princes liuing with *Amazia*, and in the eleauen yeeres that followed his death, were *Ioas* and *Ieroboam* in Iſrael; *Cephrenes* and *Mycerinus* in Egypt; *Syluius Alladius*, and *Syluius Auentinus* in Alba; *Agamemnon* in Corinth; *Diognetus Pheredus*, and *Ariphron* in Athens; in Lacedæmon *Theleclus*, in whoſe time the Spartans wan from the Achaians, Gerauthæ, Amyclæ, and ſome other Townes.

But more notable than all theſe, was Aſſyrian *Sardanapalus*, who in the one and twentieth yeere of *Amazia*, ſucceeding his father *Ocrazapes* or *Anacyndaraxes*, reigned twenty yeeres, and was ſlaine the laſt of the eleuen void yeeres which fore-went the Reign of *Azaria*. In him ended (as moſt agree) the line of *Ninus*, which had held that Empire one thouſand, two hundred and forty yeeres. A moſt luxurious and effeminate Palliard he was, paſſing away his time among ſtrumpets, whom he imitated both in apparell and behauiour.

In theſe voluptuous courſes he liued an vnhappy life, knowing himſelfe to be ſo vile, that he durſt not let any man haue a ſight of him; yet ſeene he was at length, and the ſight of him was ſo odious, that it procured his ruine. For *Arbaces*, who gouerned *Media* vnder him, finding meanes to behold the perſon of his King, was ſo incenſed with that beaſtly ſpectacle, of a man diſguiſed in womans attire, & ſtriuing to counterfeit an harlot, that hee thought it a great ſhame to liue vnder the command of ſo vnworthy a creature. Purpoſing therefore to free himſelfe and others from ſo baſe ſubiection, hee was much encouraged by the prediction of *Bèleſis* or *Beloſus* a Chaldæan, who told him plainly, that the Kingdome of *Sardanapalus* ſhould fall into his hands. *Arbaces* well pleaſed with the prophecie, did promiſe vnto *Beloſus* himſelf the gouernment of Babylon; and ſo concluding how to handle the buſineſſe, one of them ſtirred vp the Medes, and allured the Perſians into the quarrell, the other perſwaded the Babylonians and Arabians to venture themſelues in the ſame cauſe. Theſe foure Nations armed forty thouſand men againſt *Sardanapalus*, who in this danger was not wanting to himſelfe, but gathering ſuch forces as he could, out of other Nations, encountred the rebels, as one that would by deedes refute the tales that they had told of him. Neither did his carriage in the beginning of that warre, anſwer to the manner of his retiredneſſe. For in three battailes

battailes he carried away the better, driuing *Arbaces* and his followers into ſuch fearful termes, that had not *Beloſus* promiſed them conſtantly ſome vnexpected ſuccours, they vvould forthwith haue broken vp their Camp. About the ſame time, an Armie out of Bactria vvas comming to aſſiſt the King; but *Arbaces* encountring it vpon the vvay, perſwaded ſo ſtrongly by promiſe of liberty, that thoſe forces ioyned themſelues with his. The ſudden departure of the enemy ſeeming to be a flight, cauſed *Sardanapalus* to feaſt his Armie, triumphing before victory. But the Rebels being ſtrengthened vvith this new ſupply, came vpon him by night, and forced his Campe, vvhich through ouer-great ſecurity vvas vnprepared for reſiſtance.

This ouerthrow did ſo vveaken the kings heart, that leauing his vviues brother *Salamenus* to keep the field, he vvithdrew himſelf into the City of Niniue; vvhich, till new aides that hee ſent for ſhould come, hee thought eaſily to defend; it hauing beene prophecied, that Niniue ſhould neuer be taken, till the Riuer were enemy to the Towne. Of the greatneſſe and ſtrength of Niuiue, enough hath beene ſpoken in our diſcourſe of *Ninus*. It was ſo vvell victualled, that *Arbaces* (hauing in two battailes ouerthrown the Kings Armie, and ſlaine *Salamenus*) vvas faine to lye two vvhole yeeres before it, in hope to vvinne it by famine; vvhereof yet he ſaw no appearance. It ſeemes that he vvanted Engines and skill to force thoſe vvals, vvhich vvere a hundred foote high, and thicke enough for three Chariots in front to paſſe vpon the rampire. But that vvhich he could not doe in two yeeres, the Riuer of Tygris did in the third: for being high ſwolne vvith raines, it not onely drowned a part of the city through vvhich it ranne, but threw downe twenty furlongs of the vvall, and made a faire breach for *Arbaces* to enter.

Sardanapalus, either terrified vvith the accompliſhment of the old Oracle, or ſeeing no meanes of reſiſtance left, ſhutting vp himſelfe into his Palace, vvith his vviues, eunuches, and all his treaſures, did ſet the houſe on fire, wherewith hee and they were together conſumed. *Strabo* ſpeakes of a monument of his, that was in Anchiale a Citie of Cilicia, wheron was found an inſcription, ſhewing that he built that Citie and Tharſus vpon one day: but the addition hereto, bidding men eate and drink, and make merry, encouraging others, with verſes well knowne, to a voluptuous life, by his owne example teſtified that his nature was more prone to ſenſuality, than to any vertue beſeeming a Prince. *Strabo l.14.*

There are ſome that faintly report otherwiſe of his end, ſaying that *Arbaces*, when he firſt found him among his Concubines, was ſo enraged, that ſuddenly he ſlew him with a dagger. But the more general conſent of Writers agrees with this relation of *Diodorus Siculus*, who citeth *Cteſias* a Greeke Writer, that liued in the Court of Perſia, where the truth might beſt be known. *Diod.Sic.l.2.c.7*

Concerning the Princes which reigned in Aſſyria; from the time of *Semiramis*, vnto *Sardanapalus*, though I beleeue that they were ſometimes (yet not, as *Oroſius* hath it, inceſſantly) buſied in offenſiue or elſe defenſiue armes; yet for the moſt part of them I doe better truſt *Diodorus Siculus*, who ſaith that their names were ouerpaſſed by *Cteſias*, becauſe they did nothing worthy of memory. Whatſoeuer they did; that which *Theophilus Antiochenus* hath ſaid of them is very true; *Silence and Oblivion hath oppreſſed them.* *Diod.l.2.c.6.* *Theophilus Antiochenus l.2.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Vzzia.

§. I.

The prosperitie of Vzzia, *and of* Ieroboam *the second, who reigned with him in Israel. Of the Anarchie that was in the ten Tribes after the death of* Ieroboam. *Of* Zacharia, Sallum, Menahem *and* Pekahia. 10

VZzia, who is also called *Ahazia*, the sonne of *Iotham*, was made king of Iuda, when hee was sixteene yeeres old, in the seauen and twentieth yeere of *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Ioas* king of Israel. Hee serued the God of his father *Dauid*, and had therefore good successe in all his enterprises. Hee built Eloth, a Towne that stood neere to the Red Sea, and restored it to Iuda. He ouercame the Philistims, of whose Townes he dismantled some, and built others in sundry parts of their Territories. Also he got the masterie ouer some parts of Arabia, and brought the Ammonites to pay him tribute. Such were the fruites of his prosperous warres, wherein (as *Iosephus* rehearseth his acts) hee began with the Philistims, and then proceeded vnto the Arabians and Ammonites. His Armie consisted of three hundred and seauen thousand men of warre, ouer which were appointed two thousand and sixe hundred Captaines. For all this multitude the king prepared *shieldes, and speares, and helmets*, and other Armes requisite; following therein happely a course quite opposite vnto that which some of his late predecessours had held, who thought it better policie to vse the seruice of the Nobilitie, than of the multitude; carrying forth to warre *the Princes and all the Chariots*.

2 Chro.26.14.

2 Chro.21.9.

As the victories of *Vzzia* were farre more important, than the atchievements of all that had reigned in Iuda, since the time of *Dauid*; so were his riches and magnificent workes, equall, if not superiour to any of theirs that had beene kings betweene him and *Salomon*. For, besides that great conquests are wonne to repay the charges of Warre with triple interest, he had the skill to vse, as well as the happinesse to get. He turned his Lands to the best vse, keeping Ploughmen and Dressers of Vines, in grounds conuenient for such husbandry. In other places he had Cattell feeding; whereof hee might well keepe great store, hauing wonne so much from the Ammonites and Arabians, that had abundance of waste ground seruing for pasturage. For defence of his Cattell and Heardsmen, he built Towres in the wildernesse. He also digged many Cisternes or Ponds. *Iosephus* calls them Water-courses; but in such dry grounds, it was enough that he found water, by digging in the most likely places. If by these Towres hee so commanded the water, that none could (without his consent) releeue themselues therewith; questionlesse he tooke the onely course, by which hee might securely hold the Lordship ouer all the Wildernesse; it being hardly passable, by reason of the extreame drought, when the few Springs therein found, are left free to the vse of Trauailers.

Besides all this cost, and the building both of Eloth by the Red Sea, and of sundry Townes among the Philistims; he repaired the wall of Ierusalem, which *Ioas* had broken downe, and fortified it with Towres, whereof some were an hundred and fifty Cubits high.

The State of Israel did neuer so flourish, as at this time, since the diuision of the twelue Tribes into two kingdomes. For as *Vzzia* preuailed in the South, so (if not more) *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Ioas*, king of the ten Tribes, enlarged his border on the North; where obtaining many victories against the Syrians, he wan the Royall citie of Damascus, and he wan Hamath, with all the country thereabout *from the entring of Hamath, vnto the Sea of the Wildernesse*, that is, (as the most expound it) vnto the vast deserts of Arabia, the end whereof was vndiscouered. So the bounds of Israel in those parts, were in time of this *Ieroboam*, the same (or not much narrower) which they had beene in the Reigne of *Dauid*.

2 King.14.25. 28.

But

But it was not for the piety of *Ieroboam*, that he thriued so well, for he vvas an Idolater: it vvas only the compassion vvhich the Lord had on Israel, seeing the exceeding bitter affliction, vvhereinto the Aramites had brought his people, vvhich caused him to alter the succession of vvarre, and to throw the victorious Aramites vnder the feete of those vvhom they had so cruelly oppressed. The line of *Iehu*, to vvhich God had promised the kingdome of *Israel vnto the fourth generation*, was now not farre from the end; and now againe it was inuited vnto repentance, by new benefits, as it had been at the beginning. But the sinne of *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Nebat*, was held so precious, that neither the Kingdome it selfe, giuen to him by God, was able to draw *Iehu* from that politike Idolatry; nor the misery falling vpon him and his posteritie, to bring them to a better course of Religion; nor yet, at the last, this great prosperity of *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Ioas*, to make him render the honour that was due, to the onely giuer of victorie. Wherefore the promise of God, made vnto *Iehu*, that his sons, *vnto the fourth generation*, should sit on the throne of Israel, was not enlarged; but, being almost expired, gaue warning of the approaching end, by an accident (so strange, that we, who finde no particulars recorded, can hardly ghesse at the occasions) foregoing the last accomplishment.

1 Reg.10.13

When *Ieroboam* the sonne of *Ioas*, after a victorious reigne of one and forty yeeres, had ended his life; it seemes in all reason that *Zacharia* his sonne, should forthwith haue been admitted, to reign in his stead; the Nobilitie of that race hauing gotten such a lustre, by the immediate succession of foure Kings, that any Competitor, had the Crown passed by election, must needes haue appeared base; and the vertue of the last king, hauing beene so great, as might well serue to lay the foundation of a new house, much more to establish the already confirmed right of a family so rooted in possession. All this notwithstanding, two or three and twenty yeeres did passe, before *Zacharia* the sonne of *Ieroboam* was, by vniforme consent, receiued as king. The true originall causes hereof were to be found at Dan and Bethel, where the golden Calues did stand: yet second instruments of this disturbance, are likely not to haue beene wanting, vpon which, the wisdome of man was ready to cast an eye. Probable it is, that the Captaines of the army (who afterwards slew one another, so fast, that in fourteen yeers there reigned fiue kings) did now by head-strong violence, rend the kingdome asunder, holding each what hee could, and either despising or hating some qualities in *Zacharia*; vntill, after many yeers, wearied with dissention, and the principall of them perhaps, being taken out of the way by death, for want of any other eminent man, they consented to yeeld all quietly to the son of *Ieroboam*. That this Anarchie lasted almost three & twenty yeeres, we find by the difference of time, between the fifteenth yeere of *Vzzia*, which was the last of *Ieroboam* his one and fortieth (his seauen and twentieth concurring with the first of *Vzzia*) and the eight and thirtieth of the same *Vzzia*, in the last sixe moneths wherof *Zacharia* reigned in Samaria. There are some indeede, that by supposing *Ieroboam* to haue reigned with his father eleauen yeeres, do cut off the *interregnum* in Iuda (before mentioned) and by the same reason, abridge this Anarchie, that was before the reigne of *Zacharia* in Israel. Yet they leaue it twelue yeeres long: which is time sufficient to proue, that the kingdome of the ten Tribes was no lesse distempered, than as is already noted. But I choose rather to follow the more common opinion, as concurring more exactly with the times of other Princes reigning abroad in the World, than this doubtful coniecture, that giues to *Ieroboam* two and fifty yeeres, by adding three quarters of his fathers Reign vnto his owne; which was it selfe indeed so long, that hee may well seeme to haue begun it very young: for I do not think, that God blessed this Idolater, both with a longer reign, and with a longer life, than he did his seruant *Dauid*.

Thus much being spoken of the time, wherein the Throne of Israel was voyde, before the reigne of *Zacharia*; little may suffice to bee said of his Reigne it selfe, which lasted but a little while. Sixe moneths onely vvas hee king; in vvhich time he declared himselfe a vvorshipper of the golden Calues; vvhich vvas enough to iustifie the iudgement of God, vvhereby hee vvas slaine. Hee vvas the last of *Iehu's* house, being (inclusiuely) the first of that line; vvhich may haue beene some cause of the troubles impeaching his orderly succession: the prophecie hauing determined that race in the fourth generation. But (besides that Gods promise was extended vnto the vtmost) there was no warrant giuen to *Sallum* or to any other, for the death of *Zacharia*, as had beene giuen to *Iehu*, for the slaughter of *Ieboram*, and for the eradication of *Ahabs* house.

Zacharia

Zacharia hauing beene sixe moneths a King, was then slaine by *Sallum*, who reigned
2 King.15.13. after him, *the space of a moneth in Samaria*. What this *Sallum* was, I doe not finde; saue onely that hee was a Traytour, and the sonne of one *Iabesh*, whereby his father got no honour. It seemes that hee was one of those, who in time of faction had laboured for himselfe; and now when all other Competitors were sitten downe, thought easily to preuaile against that King, in whose person the race of *Iehu* was to faile. Manifest it is, that *Sallum* had a strong party: for Tiphsah or Thapsa, and the coast thereof euen from Tirzah, where *Menahem* his enemy and supplanter then lay, refused to admit, as King in his stead, the man that murdered him. Yet at the end of one moneth, *Sallum* receiued the reward of his treason, and was slaine by *Menahem* who reigned in his place.

Menahem the sonne of *Gadi*, reigned after *Sallum* ten yeeres. In opposition to *Sallum*, his hatred was deadly, and inhumane: for he not onely destroyed Tiphsah, and all that were therin, or therabouts, but he ript vp all their women with childe, because they did not open their gates and let him in. Had this cruelty been vsed in reuenge of *Zacharias* death, it is like that he would haue been as earnest, in procuring vnto him his Fathers Crown when it was first due. But in performing that office, there was vsed such long deliberation, that we may plainly discouer Ambition, Disdaine, and other priuate passions, to haue been the causes of this beastly outrage.

In the time of *Menahem*, and (as it seemes) in the beginning of his Reigne, *Pul*, King of Assyria, came against the Land of Israel; whom this new King appeased, with a thousand talents of siluer, leuied vpon all the substantiall men in his Countrey. With this money the Israelite purchased, not onely the peace of his kingdome, but his owne establishment therein: some factious man (belike) hauing either inuited *Pul* thither, or (if he came vncalled) sought to vse his helpe, in deposing this ill beloued King. *Iosephus* reports of this *Menahem*, that his Reigne was no milder than his entrance. But after ten
Ios. Ant. l. 9. 11. yeeres, his tyrannie ended with his life: and *Pekahia*, his Sonne, occupied his roome.

Of this *Pekahia* the storie is short: for he reigned onely two yeeres; at the end whereof, he was slaine by *Peka*, the sonne of *Remalia*, whose treason was rewarded with the Crowne of Israel, as, in time comming, another mans Treason against himselfe shalbe.
Ios. ibid. There needes no more to be said of *Menahem*, and his sonne, saue that they were, both of them, Idolaters; and the sonne (as we finde in *Iosephus*) like to his father in cruelty. Concerning *Pul* the Assyrian King, who first opened vnto those Northern Nations the way into Palæstina; it will shortly follow in order of the Story, to deliuer our opinion: whether he were that *Belosus* (called also *Beleses*, and by some, *Phul Belochus*) who ioyned with *Arbaces* the Median, against *Sardanapalus*, or whether he were some other man. At the present it is more fit that we relate the end of *Vzzia's* life, who out-liued the happinesse wherein we left him.

§. II.

The end of Vzzia *his Reigne and Life.*

AS the zeale of *Iehoiada*, that godly Priest, was the meane, to preserue the linage of *Dauid*, in the person of *Ioas*; so it appeares, that the care of holy men was not wanting to *Vzzia*, to bring him vp, and aduance him to the Crown of Iuda, when the hatred borne to his Father *Amazia*, had endangered his succession. For
2 Chro. 26. 5. it is said of *Vzzia*, That *he sought God in the daies of* Zecharia (*which vnderstood the visions*
Verse 16. *of God*) *and when as he sought the Lord, God made him prosper.*

But, when hee was strong, his heart was lifted vp to his destruction: for hee transgressed against the Lord his God, and went into the Temple of the Lord to burne incense, vpon the Altar of incense. Thus he thought to enlarge his own authority, by medling in the Priests office, whose power had in euery extremity been so helpefull to the kings of Iuda, that meere gratitude, and ciuill policie, should haue held backe *Vzzia* from incroching thereupon; yea, though the Law of God had been silent in this case, and not forbidding it. Howsoeuer, the king forgot his duty, the Priests remembred theirs, and God forgat not to assist them. *Azaria* the high Priest interrupted the kings purpose, and gaue him to vnderstand, how little to his honour it would proue, that he tooke vpon him the office of the sonnes of *Aaron*. There were with *Azaria* fourescore other Priests, valiant men, but their

their valour was shewed onely in assisting the high Priest, when (according to his duty) he reprehended the Kings presumption. This was enough, the rest God himselfe performed. We finde in *Iosephus*, that the King had apparrelled himselfe in Priestly habit, Ios. Ant. l. 9. c. 11. and that he threatned *Azarias* and his Companions, to punish them with death, vnlesse they would be quiet. *Iosephus*, indeede inlargeth the Story, by inserting a great Earthquake, which did teare downe halfe an Hill, that rowled foure furlongs, till it rested against another Hill, stopping vp the high-wayes, and spoyling the Kings Garden in the passage. With this Earth-quake, he saith, that the roofe of the Temple did cleaue, and that a Sunne-beame did light vpon the Kings face, which was presently infected with leprosie. All this may haue beene true; and some there are who thinke that this Earth-quake is the same, which is mentioned by the Prophet *Amos*; wherein they doe much misse-reckon the times. For the Earth-quake spoken of by *Amos*, was in the dayes of *Ieroboam* King of *Israel*, who dyed seuen and thirty yeeres before *Vzzia*; so that *Iotham* the Sonne of *Vzzia*, which supplied his Fathers place in gouernment of the Land, should, by this accompt, haue beene then vnborne: for he was but fiue and twenty yeeres old, when he began to reigne as King. Therefore, thus farre only we haue assurance; that *while* Vzzia *was wroth with the Priests, the leprosie rose vp in his forehead, before the Priests*. 2. Chro. 26. 20. Hereupon he was caused, in all haste, to depart the place, and to liue in a house by himselfe, vntill he dyed; the rule ouer the Kings house, and ouer all the Land, being committed to *Iotham*, his Sonne and Successor. *Iotham* tooke not vpon himselfe the stile of a King, till his Father was dead; whom they buried in the same field wherein his Ancestors lay interred; yet in a Monument apart from the rest, because hee was a Leper.

§. III.

Of the Prophets which liued in the time of Vzzia; *and of Princes then ruling in Egypt, and in some other Countries.*

IN the time of *Vzzia* were the first of the lesser Prophets, *Hosea, Ioel, Amos, Obadia*, and *Ionas*. It is not indeede set downe, when *Ioel* or *Obadia* did prophecie: but if the Prophets, whose times are not expressed, ought to be ranged (according to Saint *Hieromes* rule) with the next before them; then must these two be iudged contemporary with *Hosea* and *Amos*, who liued vnder King *Vzzia*. To enquire which of these fiue was the most ancient, it may perhaps be thought, at least a superfluous labour; yet if the age wherein *Homer* liued, hath so painefully beene sought, without reprehension; how can he be taxed, which offers to search out the antiquity of these holy Prophets? It seemes to me, that the first of these, in order of time, was the Prophet *Ionas*; who foretold the great victories of *Ieroboam* King of *Israel*; and therefore is like 2. Chron. c. 14. to haue prophecied in the dayes of *Ioas*, whilest the affliction of *Israel* was *exceeding bitter*; the Text it selfe intimating no lesse: by which consequence, he was elder than the other Prophets, whose workes are now extant. But his prophecies that concerned the Kingdome of *Israel*, are now lost. That which remaineth of him, seemes, not without reason vnto some very learned, to haue belonged vnto the time of *Sardanapalus*, in whose dayes *Nineue* was first of all destroyed. This Prophet rather taught Christ by his sufferings, than by his writings now extant: in all the rest are found expresse promises of the Messias.

In the reigne of *Vzzia* likewise it was, that *Esay*, the first of the foure great Prophets, began to see his visions. This difference of *great and lesser* Prophets, is taken from the Volumes which they haue left written (as S. *Augustine* giues reason of the distinction) because the greater haue written larger Bookes. The Prophet *Esay* was great indeede, not only in regard of his much writing, or of his Nobility, (for their opinion is reiected, who thinke him to haue beene the sonne of *Amos* the Prophet) and the high account wherein he liued; but for the excellency, both of his stile & argument, wherein he so plainly foretelleth the Birth, Miracles, Passion, and whole History of our Sauiour, with the calling of the Gentiles, that he might as well be called an Euangelist, as a Prophet; hauing written in such wise, That (as *Hierome* saith) *one would thinke he did not foretell of things to come, but compile an History of matters already past.* Hier. in præf. super Isaiam.

Bocchoris was King of *Egypt*, and the ninth yeere of his Reigne, by our computation

whereof in due place we will giue reason) was current, when *Vzzia* tooke possession of the Kingdome of *Iuda*.

After the death of *Bocchoris*, *Asychis* followed in the Kingdome of *Egypt*: vnto him succeeded *Anysis*; and these two occupied that Crowne sixe yeeres. Then *Sabacus*, an *Æthiopian*, became King of *Egypt*, and held it fifty yeeres, whereof the ten first ranne along with the last of *Vzzia* his Reigne and life. Of these and other *Egyptian* Kings, more shall be spoken, when their affaires shall come to be intermedled with the busines of *Iuda*.

In *Athens*, the two last yeeres of *Ariphron* his twenty, the seuen and twentieth of *Thespeius*, the twentieth of *Agamnestor*, and three the first of *Æschylus* his three and twenty, made euen with the two aud fifty of *Vzzia*: as likewise did in *Alba* the last seuen of *Siluius Auentinus* his seuen and thirty, together with the three and twenty of *Siluius Procas*, and two and twenty the first of *Siluius Amulius*. In *Media Arbaces* began his new Kingdome, in the first of *Vzzia*, wherein, after eight and twenty yeeres, his Sonne *Sosarmus* succeeded him, and reigned thirty yeeres. Of this *Arbaces*, and the diuision of the *Assyrian* Empire, betweene him and others, when they had oppressed *Sardanapalus*, I hold it conuenient to vse more particular discourse, that we may not wander in too great vncertainty in the Story of the *Assyrian* kings, who haue already found the way into *Palestina*, and are not likely to forget it.

§. IIII.

Of the Assyrian Kings, descending from Phul: *and whether* Phul *and* Belosus *were one person, or heads of sundry Families, that reigned a-part in Nineue and Babylon.*

BY that which hath formerly beene shewed of *Sardanapalus* his death, it is apparant, that the chiefe therein was *Arbaces* the *Median*; to whom the rest of the Confederates did not onely submit themselues in that Warre, but were contented afterwards to be iudged by him; receiuing by his authority sentence of death, or pardon of their forfeited liues. The first example of this his power, was showne vpon *Belosus* the *Babylonian*, by whose especiall aduice and helpe, *Arbaces* himselfe was become so great: Yet was not this power of *Arbaces* exercised in so tyrannicall a manner, as might giue offence in that great alteration of things, either to the Princes that had assisted him, or to the generality of the people. For in the condemnation of *Belosus*, he vsed the counsaile of his other Captaines, and then pardoned him of his owne grace; allowing him to hold, not onely the City and Prouince of *Babylon*, but also those treasures, for embezelling whereof his life had beene endangered.

In like manner, he gaue rewards to the rest of his partakers, and made them Rulers of Prouinces; retaining (as it appeares) onely the Soueraignty to himselfe, which to vse immoderately he did naturally abhorre. He is said, indeede, to haue excited the *Medes* against *Sardanapalus*, by propounding vnto them hope of transferring the Empire to their Nation. And to make good this his promise, he destroyed the City of *Nineue*, permitting the Citizens neuertheless to take and carry away euery one his owne goods. The other Nations that ioyned with him, as the *Persians* and *Bactrians*, he drew to his side, by the allurement of liberty; which he himselfe so greatly loued, that by slacking too much the reines of his owne Soueraignty, hee did more harme to the generall estate of *Media*, than the pleasure of the freedome, which it enioyed, could recompence. For both the Territory of that Countrey was pared narrower by *Salmanassar* (or perhaps by some of his Progenitors) whom wee finde in the Scriptures to haue held some Townes of the *Medes*; and the ciuill administration was so disorderly, that the people themselues were glad to see that reformation, which *Deioces*, the fift of *Arbaces* his Line, did make in that gouernment, by reducing them into stricter tearmes of obedience.

How the force of the *Assyrians* grew to be such, as might in foureſcore yeeres, if not sooner, both extend it selfe vnto the conquest of *Israel*, & teare away some part of *Media*, it is a question hardly to be answered; not only in regard of the destruction of *Nineue*, & subuersion of the *Assyrian* Kingdome, whereof the *Medes*, vnder *Arbaces*, had the honor, who may seeme at that time to haue kept the *Assyrians* vnder their subiection, when the rest of the Prouinces were set at liberty; but in consideration of the Kings themselues, who

who reigning afterwards in *Babylon* and *Nineue*, are confounded by some, and distinguished by others; whereby their History is made vncertaine.

I will first therefore deliuer the opinion generally receiued, and the grounds whereupon it stands: then, producing the obiections made against it; I will compare together the determination of that worthy man *Ioseph Scaliger*, with those learned that subscribe thereunto, and the iudgement of others that were more ancient Writers, or haue followed the Ancients in this doubtfull case. Neither shall it be needfull to set down a-part the seuerall authorities & arguments of sundry men adding somewhat of weight or of clearnesse one to another: it will be enough to relate the whole substance of each discourse: which I will do as briefly as I can, and without fear to be taxed of partiality, as being no more addicted to the one opinion than to the other, by any fancy of mine owne, but meerely led by those reasons which vpon examination of each part, seemed to me most forceable, though to others they may perhaps appeare weake.

That which, vntill of late, hath passed as currant, is this; That *Belosus* was the same King, who, first of the *Assyrians*, entred *Palæstina* with an Army; being called *Pul*, or *Phul*, in the Scriptures, and by *Annius* his Authors with such as follow them, *Phul Belochus*. Of this man it is said, that he was a skilfull Astrologer, subtile, and ambitious; that he got *Babylon* by composition made with *Arbaces*; and that not therewith content, he got into his hand part of *Assyria*: finally, that he reigned eight and forty yeers, and then dying, left the Kingdome to *Teglat-phalassar* his Sonne, in whose Posterity it continued some few descents, till the house of *Merodach* preuailed. The truth of this, if *Annius* his *Metasthenes* were sufficient proofe, could not be gainsaid: for that Author (such as he is) is peremptory herein. But, howsoeuer *Annius* his Authors deserue to bee suspected, it stands with no reason, that we should conclude all to be false which they affirme. They, who maintaine this Tradition, iustifie it by diuers good Allegations, as a matter confirmed by circumstances found in all Authors, and repugnant vnto no History at all. For it is manifest by the relation of *Diodorus* (which is indeede the foundation whereupon all haue built) that *Arbaces* and *Belosus* were Partners in the action against *Sardanapalus*; and that the *Bactrians*, who ioyned with them, were thought well rewarded with liberty, as likewise other Captaines were with gouernements: but that any third person was so eminent, as to haue *Assyria* it selfe, the chiefe Countrey of the Empire, bestowed vpon him, it is a thing whereof not the least appearance is found in any History. And certainely it stood with little reason, that the *Assyrians* should be committed vnto a peculiar King, at such time as it was not thought meete to trust them in their owne wals and houses. Rather it is apparant, that the destruction of *Nineue* by *Arbaces*, & the transplantation of the Citizens, was held a needfull policy, because thereby the people of that Nation might be kept downe from aspiring to recouer the Soueraignty, which else they would haue thought to belong, as of right, vnto the Seat of the Empire.

Vpon such considerations did the *Romanes*, in ages long after following, destroy *Carthage*, and dissolue the Corporation, or Body politike, of the Citizens of *Capua*; because those two Towns were capable of the Empire: a matter esteemed ouer-dangerous, euen to *Rome* it selfe, that was Mistresse of them both. This being so, how can it be thought that the *Assyrians* in three or foure yeeres had erected their Kingdome a-new, vnder one *Pul*? or what must this *Pul* haue beene (of whose deseruings, or entermedling, or indeed of whose very name, we finde no mention in the Warre against *Sardanapalus*) to whom the principall parts of the Empire fell, either by generall consent in diuision of the Prouinces, or by his owne power and purchase very soone after? Surely he was none other than *Belosus*; whose neer Neighbourhood gaue him opportunity (as he was wise enough to play his owne game) both to get *Assyria* to himselfe, and to empeach any other man, that should haue attempted to seize vpon it. The Prouince of *Babylon*, which *Belosus* held, being (as *Herodotus* reports) in riches, and power, as good as the third part of the *Persian* Empire, was able to furnish him with all that was requisite for such a businesse: if that were not enough, he had gotten into his owne hands all the gold and siluer that had bin in the Palace of *Nineue*. And questionlesse to restore such a City as *Nineue*, was an enterprise fit for none to take in hand, except he had such meanes as *Belosus* had; which *Pul*, if he were not *Belosus*, is likely to haue wanted.

Tull. contra Rullum. or. 2.

Herodot. l. 1.

Besides all this, had *Pul* been a distinct person from *Belosus*, and Lord of *Assyria*, which

lay beyond the Countries of *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia*, it would not haue beene an easie matter for him, to passe quite through another mans Kingdome with an Army, seeking booty afarre off in *Israel*: the onely action by which the name of *Phul* is knowne. But if we grant, that he, whom the Scriptures call *Pul* or *Phul*, was the same whom prophane writers haue called *Belosus*, *Beleses*, and *Belesis*, (in like manner as *Iosephus* acknowledgeth, that he, whom the Scriptures called neuer otherwise than *Darius* the *Mede*, was the sonne of *Astiages*, and called of the *Greekes* by another name, that is, *Cyaxares*) then is this scruple vtterly remoued. For *Babylon* and *Mesopotamia* did border vpon *Syria* and *Palæstina*: so that *Belosus* hauing setled his affaires in *Assyria* towards the East and North, might with good leisure encroach vpon the Countries that lay on the other side of his Kingdome, to the South and West. He that lookes into all particulars, may finde euery one circumstance concurring, to proue that *Phul* who inuaded *Israel*, was none other than *Belosus*. For the Prince of the *Arabians*, who ioyned with *Arbaces*, and brought no small part of the forces wherewith *Sardanapalus* was ouerthrowne, did enter into that action, meerely for the loue of *Belosus*. The friendship of these *Arabians* was a thing of maine importance, to those that were to passe ouer *Euphrates* with an Army into *Syria*. Wherefore *Belosus*, that held good correspondence with them; and whose most fruitfull Prouince, adioyning to their barraine quarters, might yeerely doe them inestimable pleasures; was not onely likely to haue quiet passage through their borders, but their vtmost assistance: yea, it stands with good reason, that they, who loued not *Israel*, should for their owne behoofe haue giuen him intelligence, of the destruction and ciuill broyles among the ten Tribes; whereby as this *Pul* got a thousand talents, so it seemes that the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, that had felt an heauie neighbour of *Ieroboam*, recouered their owne, setting vp a new King in *Damasco*, and clearing the coast of *Arabia*, (from the Sea of the Wildernesse to *Hamath*) of the *Hebrew* Garrisons. Neither vvas it any new acquaintance, that made the Nations, diuided by *Euphrates*, hold together in so good tearmes of friendship: it was ancient consanguinity; the memory whereof was auaileable to the *Syrians*, in the time of *Dauid*, when the *Aramites* beyond the Riuer came ouer willingly, to the succour of *Hadadezer*, and the *Aramites* about *Damasco*. So *Belosus* had good reason to look into those parts: what a King reigning so farre off as *Nineue*, should haue to doe in *Syria*, if the other end of his Kingdome had not reached to *Euphrates*, it vvere hard to shew.

Iosep. ant. l. 10. cap. 12.

But concerning this last argument of the businesse which might allure the *Chaldeans* into *Palæstina*, it may be doubted, lest it should seeme to haue ill coherence with that which hath beene said of the long Anarchie that vvas in the tenne Tribes. For if the Crowne of *Israel* vvere worne by no man in three and twenty years, then is it likely that *Belosus* was either vnwilling to stirre, or vnable to take the aduantage when it was fairest, and first discouered. This might haue compelled those, vvho alone vvere not strong enough, to seeke after helpe from some Prince that lay further off; and so the opinion of those that distinguish *Phul* from *Belosus*, vvould be somewhat confirmed. On the other side, if we say, that *Belosus* did passe the riuer of *Euphrates*, as soon as he found likelihood of making a prosperous iourney, then may it seeme that the *inter-regnum* in *Israel* vvas not so long as we haue made it: for three and twenty yeers leisure would haue afforded better opportunity, which ought not to haue been lost.

For answer hereunto, we are to consider, what *Orosius* and *Eusebius* haue written concerning the *Chaldees*: the one, that after the departure of *Arbaces* into *Media*, they laid hold on a part of the Empire: the other, that they preuailed and grew mighty, between the times of *Arbaces* and *Deioces* the *Medes*. Now, though it bee held an errour of *Orosius*, where he supposeth that the occupying of *Babylonia* by the *Chaldeans*, was in manner of a rebellion from the *Medes*; yet herein he and *Eusebius* doe concurre, that the authority of *Arbaces* did restraine the ambition, which by his absence grew bold, and by his death, regardfull onely of it selfe. Now, though some haue coniectured that all *Assyria* was giuen to *Belosus* (as an ouerplus, besides the Prouince of *Babylon* vvhich vvas his by plaine bargaine made aforehand) in regard of his high deseruings; yet the opinion more commonly receiued, is, that hee did onely encroach vpon that Prouince by little and little, whileſt *Arbaces* liued, and afterwards dealing more openly, got it all himselfe. Seeing therefore, that there passed but twelue yeeres betweene the death of *Arbaces*, and the beginning of *Menahem* his Reigne; manifest it is, that the conquest of

of *Assyria*, and settling of that Counrey, was worke enough to hold *Belosus* occupyed, besides the restauration of *Nineue*, which alone was able to take vp all the time remaining of his Reigne, if perhaps he lived to see it finished in his owne dayes. So that this argument may rather serue to proue that *Phul* and *Belosus* were one person; forasmuch as the iourney of *Phul* against *Israel* was not made vntill *Belosus* could finde leisure; & the time of aduantage which *Belosus* did let slip, argued his businesse in some other quarter, namely in that Prouince of which *Phul* is called King. Briefely, it may be said, that he who conquered *Assyria*, and performed somewhat vpon a Countrey so farre distant as *Palæstina*, was likely to haue been, at least, named in some Historie, or, if not himselfe, yet his Countrey to haue beene spoken of for those victories: but we neither heare of *Phul*, in any prophane Author, neither doth any Writer, sacred or prophane, once mention the victories or acts whatsoeuer of the *Assyrians*, done in those times; whereas of *Belosus*, and the power of the *Chaldæans*, we finde good Record.

Surely, that great slaughter of so many thousand *Assyrians*, in the quarrell of *Sardanapalus*, together with other calamities of that long and infortunate warre, which ouerwhelmed the whole Countrey, not ending but with the ruine & vtter desolation of *Nineue*, must needes haue so weakened the state of *Assyria*, that it could not in thirty yeeres space be able to inuade *Palæstina*, which the ancient Kings, reigning in *Nineue*, had, in all their greatnesse, forborne to attempt. Yet these afflictions, disabling that Countrey, did helpe to enable *Belosus* to subdue it; vvho hauing once extended his Dominion to the borders of *Media*, and being (especially if he had compounded vvith the *Medes*) by the interposition of that Country, secure of the *Scythians*, & other war-like Nations on that side, might very well turne Southward, and try his fortune in those Kingdomes, wherein into ciuill dissention of the inhabitants, & the bordering enuy of the *Arabians* and *Aramites* about *Damasco*, friends and Cousins to the *Chaldæans* and *Mesopotamians*, did inuite him. For these, and the other before alleadged reasons, it may be concluded, That vvhat is said of *Pul* in the Scriptures, ought to be vnderstood of *Belosus*; euen as by the names of *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Darius* the *Mede*, *Artaxhasht*, and *Ahashuerosh*, vvith the like, are thought, or knowne, to be meant the same, vvhom prophane Historians, by names better knowne in their owne Countries, haue called *Nabopollassar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Artaxerxes*: especially considering, that hereby we shall neither contradict any thing that hath beene vvritten of old, nor neede to trouble our selues and others with framing new coniectures. This in effect is that, vvhich they alleadge in maintenance of the opinion commonly receiued.

Now this being once granted; other things of more importance will of themselues easily follow. For it is a matter of no great consequence to know the truth of this point (considering it apart from that which depends thereon) Whether *Pul* vvere *Belosus*; or some other man: the whole race of these *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings, vvherein are found those famous Princes, *Nabonassar*, *Mardocempadus*, and *Nabopollassar* (famous for the Astronomicall obseruations recorded from their times) is the maine ground of this contention. If therefore *Belosus* or *Belesis* were that *Phul* which inuaded *Israel*; if he and his posterity reigned both in *Nineue* & in *Babylon*; if he were father of *Teglat-Phul-Asar*, from whom *Salmanasar*, *Senacherib*, and *Asarhaddon* descended; then it is manifest, that we must seeke *Nabonassar*, the *Babylonian* King, among these Princes; yea, and conclude him to be none other than *Salmanasar*, who is knowne to haue reigned in those yeares, which *Ptolomy* the Mathematician hath assigned vnto *Nabonassar*. As for *Merodach*, who supplanted *Asar-haddon*, manifest it is, that he and his successors were of another house. This is the scope and end of all his disputation.

But they that maintaine the contrary part, will not be satisfied with such coniectures. They lay hold vpon the conclusion, and by shaking that into pieces, hope to ouerthrow all the premisses, vpon which it is inferred. For (say they) if *Nabonassar*, that reigned in *Babylon*, could not be *Salmanassar*, or any of those other *Assyrian* Kings, then is it manifest, that the races vvere distinct, and that *Phul* and *Belosus* were seuerall Kings. This consequence is so plaine, that it needes no confirmation. To proue that *Nabonassar* was a distinct person from *Salmanassar*, are brought such arguments as would stagger the resolution of him that had sworne to hold the contrary. For first, *Nabonassar* was King of *Babylon*, and not of *Assyria*. This is proued by his name, vvhich is meerely *Chaldean*, vvhereas *Salman*, the first part of *Salmanassars* name, is proper to the *Assyrians*.

It is likewise proued by the Astronomicall obseruations, which proceeding from the *Babylonians*, not from the *Assyrians*, doe shew, that *Nabonassar*, from whom *Ptolomy* drawes that *Epocha*, or account of times, was a *Babylonian*, and no *Assyrian*. Thirdly, and more strongly, it is confirmed by the successor of *Nabonassar*, which was *Mardocempadus*, called in his owne language *Mero-dac-ken-pad*, but more briefly in *Esay* his
Esay 39.1. prophesie, *Merodach*, by the former part of his name; or *Merodach Baladan*, the sonne of *Baladan*. Now if *Merodach*, the sonne of *Baladan*, King of *Babel*, were the sonne of *Nabonassar*, then was *Nabonassar* none other than *Baladan* King of *Babel*, and not *Salmanassar* King of *Assyria*.

What can be plainer? As for the cadence of these two names, *Nabonassar* and *Salmanassar*; which in *Greeke* or *Latine* writing hath no difference, we are taught by *Scaliger*, that in the *Hebrew* letters there is found no affinity therein. So concerning the places of *Babylonia*, whereinto *Salmanassar* carried captiue some part of the ten Tribes; it may wel be granted, that in the Prouince of *Babylon*, *Salmanassar* had gotten somewhat, yet will it not follow that he was King of *Babylon* it selfe. To conclude, *Merodach* began his reign ouer *Babylon* in the sixtyeare of *Hezekia*, at which time *Salmanassar* tooke *Samaria*; therefore, if *Salmanassar* were King of *Babylon*, then must we say that he and *Merodach*, yea & *Nabonassar*, were all one man. These are the arguments of that noble and learned Writer *Ioseph Scaliger*; vvho not contented to follow the common opinion, founded vpon likelihood of coniectures, hath drawne his proofes from matter of more necessary infetence.

Touching all that was said before of *Phul Belosus*, for the prouing that *Phul* and *Belosus* were not sundry Kings; *Ioseph Scaliger* pitties their ignorance, that haue spent their labour to so little purpose. Honest and painefull men he confesseth that they were, who by their diligence might haue won the good liking of their Readers, had they not, by mentioning *Annius* his Authors, giuen such offence, that men refused thereupon to read their Bookes and Chronologies. A short answer.

For mine owne part, howsoeuer I beleeue nothing that *Annius* his *Berosus*, *Metasthenes*, and others of that stampe affirme, in respect of their bare authority; yet am I not so squeamish, but that I can well enough digest a good Booke, though I finde the names of one or two of these good fellowes alleadged in it: I haue (somewhat peraduenture too often) already spoken my mind of *Annius* his Authors: Neuertheless, I may say here againe, that where other Histories are silent, or speake not enough, there may we without shame borrow of these, as much as agrees with that little which elsewhere vve finde, and serueth to explaine or inlarge it without improbabilities.

Neither indeede are those honest and painfull men (as *Scaliger* tearmes them, meaning, if I mistake him not, good silly fellowes) who set downe the *Assyrian* Kings from *Pul* forwards, as Lords also of *Babylon*, taking *Pul* for *Belosus*, and *Salmanassar* for *Nabonassar*, such Writers as a man should bee ashamed or vnwilling to reade. For (to omit a multitude of others, that herein follow *Annius*, though disliking him in generall) *Gerard Mercator* is not so slight a Chronologer, that he should be laughed out of doores, vvith the name of an honest meaning fellow.

But I will not make comparisons betweene *Scaliger* and *Mercator*; they were both of them men notably learned: let vs examine the arguments of *Scaliger*, and see whether they be of such force, as cannot either be resisted or auoided. It vvill easily bee granted, that *Nabonassar* was King of *Babylon*; that he vvas not King of *Assyria*, some men doubt vvhether *Scaligers* reasons bee enough to proue. For though *Nabonassar* bee a *Chaldean* name, and *Salmanassar* an *Assyrian*; yet what hinders vs from beleeuing, that one man in two languages might bee called by two seuerall names? That Astronomy flourished among the *Chaldees*, is not enough to proue *Nabonassar* either an Astrologer, or a *Chaldean*. So it is, that *Scaliger* himselfe cals them, *Prophetas nescio quos, qui* Nabonassarum
Scal. canon. l. 3. *Astronomum fuisse in somnis viderunt*; *Prophets I know not who, that in their sleepe haue dreamt of* Nabonassar, *that he was an Astrologer.*

Whether *Nabonassar* were an Astrologer or no, I cannot tell; it is hard to maintaine the negatiue. But as his being Lord ouer the *Chaldeans*, doth not proue him to haue beene learned in their sciences; so doth it not proue him, not to haue beene also King of *Assyria*. The Emperour *Charles* the fift, who was borne in *Gant*, and *Philip* his Sonne, King of *Spaine*, and Lords of the *Netherlands*, had men farre more learned in all Sciences,

Sciences, and particularly in the Mathematicks, among their Subiects of the Low Countries, than were any that I read of then liuing in *Spaine*, if *Spaine* at that time had any; yet I thinke, Posterity will not vse this as an argument, to proue that *Spaine* vvas none of theirs. It may well be, that *Salmanassar* or *Nabonassar*, did vse the *Assyrian* Souldiers, & *Babylonian* Schollers: but it seemes, that hee and his posterity, by giuing themselues wholly to the more warlike Nation, lost the richer, out of which they first issued, as likewise king *Philip* lost partly, & partly did put to a dangerous hazzard all the Netherlands, by such a course. As for the two vn-answerable arguments, (as *Scaliger* termes them, being me-thinks none other than answers to somewhat that is or might be alleadged on
10 the contrary side) one of them vvhich is drawne from the vnlike sound and writing of those names, *Salmanassar* and *Nabonassar* in the *Hebrew*, I hold a point about which no man vvill dispute; for it is not likenesse of sound, but agreement of time, and many circumstances else, that must take away the distinction of persons: the other likewise may be granted; which is, that *Salmanassar* might be Lord of some places in the Prouince of *Babylon*, yet not king of *Babylon* it selfe: this indeed might be so, and it might be otherwise. Hitherto there is nothing saue coniecture. But in that which is alleadged out of the Prophet *Esay* concerning *Merodach* the sonne of *Baladan*; and in that which is said of this *Merodach*, or *Mardokenpadus*, his being the Successor of *Nabonassar*, and his beginning to reigne in the sixt yeare of *Hezekia*, I finde matter of more difficulty, than can be
20 answered in haste. I will therefore deferre the handling of these obiections vntill I meet with their subiect in his proper place; vvhich will bee vvhen wee come to the time of *Hezekia*, vvherein *Merodach* liued and vvas King. Yet that I may not leaue too great a scruple in the minde of the Reader, thus farre vvill I heere satisfie him; that how strong soeuer this argument may seeme, *Scaliger* himselfe did liue to retract it, ingenuously confessing, that in thinking *Merodach* to be the son of *Nabonassar*, he had been deceiued.

Now therefore let vs consider, in what sort they haue fashioned their Story, vvho taking *Pul* to bee a distinct person from *Belosus* or *Belestis*, haue in like sort, as was necessary, distinguished their off-spring, making that of *Pul* to faile in *Asarhaddon*, vvhich left
30 all to *Merodach* the *Babylonian*. And heere I must first confesse my vvant of Bookes, if perhaps there be many, that haue gone about to reduce this narration into some such order, as might present vnto vs the body of this History, in one view. Diuers, indeede, there are, whom I haue seene, that since *Ioseph Scaliger* deliuered his opinion, haue written in fauour of some one or other point thereof: but *Sethus Caluisius* himselfe, who hath abridged *Scaligers* learned Worke, *De emendatione Temporum*, hath not been carefull to giue vs notice, how long *Belosus*, *Baladan*, *Pul*, or *Tiglat Pulassar*, did reigne, (perhaps because he found it not expressed in *Scaliger*) but is content to set downe *Baladan*, for the same person vvith *Nabonassar*, which *Scaliger* himselfe reuoked. In this case therefore I must lay downe the plot of these diuided Kingdomes, in such sort as I find it contriued
40 by *Augustinus Torniellus*; who onely of all that I haue seene, sets downe the succession, continuance, and acts, of those that reigned in *Assyria* after *Sardanapalus*, distinguishing them from *Belosus*, and his Posterity, of vvhom hee hath the like remembrance. This *Torniellus* is a Regular Clarke of the congregation of S. *Paul*, whose Annales were printed the last yeare; he appeares to me a man of a curious industry, sound iudgement, and free Spirit; yet many times (and I take it, wilfully) forgetfull of thanking, or mentioning those *Protestant* Writers, by whose Bookes hee hath receiued good information, and enriched his vvorkes by inserting somewhat of theirs. But in this businesse hee hath openly professed to follow *Scaliger*, whose helpe, vvithout wrong or dishonour to himselfe, he hath both vsed and acknowledged. For mine owne part, I will not spare to doe
50 right vnto *Torniellus*; but confesse my selfe to haue receiued benefit by his writing; and wish that his Annales had sooner come to light; for that as he hath much confirmed mee in some things, so would he haue instructed and emboldned me, to write more fully and lesse timorously in other things, which now I haue not leisure to reuise. Particularly in that coniecture (which I had faintly deliuered, and yet feared lest it had ouer-hastily passed out of my hand, and beene exposed to other mens constructions) of the foure Kings that inuaded the Vally of *Siddim*, and were slaine by *Abraham*, I finde him aduenturing, C. 1. §. 13.
as I haue done, to say, that they may probably bee thought to haue beene some petty Lords; the contrary opinion of all Writers notwithstanding. But now let vs consider how

how he hath ordered these last *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings. After the destruction of *Sardanapalus*, *Arbaces* being the most mighty, sought to get all to himselfe, but was opposed by *Belosus*; in which contention, one *Phul*, a powerfull man in *Assyria*, sided with *Belosus*, and they two preuailed so farre, that finally *Arbaces* was content to share the Empire with them, making such a diuision thereof, as was long after made of the *Roman* Empire, between *Octauian*, *Anthony*, and *Lepidus*.

Another coniecture is (for *Torniellus* offers not this, or the rest, as matter of certainety) that *Arbaces* made himselfe Soueraigne Lord of all, and placed the seate of his Empire in *Media*, appointing *Belosus* his Lieutenant in *Babylonia*, and *Phul* in *Assyria*. But in short space, that is, in foure yeeres, it came to passe, by the iust iudgement of God, that *Phul* and *Belosus* rebelled against *Arbaces*, like as *Arbaces* had done against *Sardanapalus*; and in stead of being his Vice-Royes, made themselues absolute Kings. And to this latter opinion *Torniellus* himselfe leanes, holding it much the more probable, as being more agreeable to that vvhich is found in prophane Histories. Why he did make and publish the former supposition, resoluing to hold the later, I shall anon, without any wrong to him, make bold to guesse. Hauing thus deuised, how *Phul* and *Belosus* might, at the first, attaine to be Kings, he orders their time, and their successors, in this manner.

Foure yeeres after *Arbaces*, *Phul* begins to reigne, and continues eight and forty years. *Theglatphalasar* (whose name, and the names of other Princes, I vvrite diuersly, according as the Authors whom I haue in hand are pleased to diuersifie them) succeeding vnto *Phul*, reigned three and twenty. *Salmanassar* followed him, and reigned tenne. After him *Senacherib* reigned seuen: and when he was slaine, *Asarhaddon* his sonne ten yeares; in vvhom that Line failed.

The same time that *Phul* tooke vpon him as King of *Assyria*, or not long after, (why not rather afore? for so it had beene more likely) *Belosus* vsurped the Kingdome of *Babylon*, and held it threescore and eight yeeres; at the least threescore and eight yeeres did passe, before *Nabonassar* followed him in the possession.

To *Nabonassar*, vvhom (with *Scaliger*) he thinkes to be *Baladan*, are assigned sixe and twenty yeares: then two and fifty to *Merodach*, or *Mardocempadus*: foure and twenty to *Ben Merodach*: and lastly, one and twenty to *Nabolassar*, the father of *Nabuchodonosor*; vvho is like to offer matter of further disputation.

Concerning the originall of these *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Kingdomes, I may truely say, That the coniectures of other men, who giue all to *Belosus*, and confound him vvith *Phul*, appeare to me more neerely resembling the truth. Neither doe I thinke, that *Torniellus* would haue conceiued two different vvaies, by which *Phul* might haue gotten *Assyria* (for how *Belosus* came to get *Babylon*, it is plaine enough) if either of them alone could haue contented him. He adheres to the latter of the two, as better agreeing with *Diodore*, and other Historians. But he perceiued, that to make *Phul* on the suddain King of *Assyria*; or to giue him so noble a Prouince, as would, of it selfe, inuite him to accept the name and power of a King, was a thing most vnlikely to haue happened, vnlesse his deserts (whereof wee finde no mention) had beene proportionable to so high a reward. And for this cause (as I take it) hath he deuised the meanes, wherby *Phul* might be made capable of so great a share in the Empire. If this vvere a true or probable supposition, then vvould a new doubt arise, Why this *Phul*, being one of the three that diuided all betweene them, was vtterly forgotten by all Historians? yea, why this Diuision it selfe, and the ciuill Warres that caused it, were neuer heard of? Questionlesse, the interuerting of some Treasures by *Belosus*, with his Iudgement, Condemnation, and Pardon following, were matters of farre lesse note. Therefore I doe not see, how one of the two inconueniences can this way be auoyded; but that eyther we must confesse, the Dominion giuen to *Phul* to haue beene exceeding his merits; or else his merits, and name withall, to haue beene strangely forgotten: either of which is enough to make vs think, that rather the coniecture, inferring such a sequele, is wide of the truth. As for the rebellion of *Phul* and *Belosus* against *Arbaces*, it was almost impossible for the *Assyrians* to recouer such strength in foure yeares, as might serue to hold out in rebellion: for *Belosus* it was needlesse to rebell, considering, that *Arbaces* did not seeke to molest him, but rather permitted (as being an ouer-great fauourer of liberty) euen the *Medes*, that were vnder his owne Gouernment, to doe what they listed.

But

But it is now fit that wee peruse the Catalogue of these Kings; not passing through them all (for some will require a large discourse in their owne times) but speaking of their order and time in generall. If it be so vnlawfull to thinke, that some of *Annius* his tales (let them all be counted his tales, which are not found in other Authors aswell as in his) may be true, especially such as contradict no acknowledged truth, or apparant likelihood; why then is it said, that *Phul* did reigne in *Assyria* eight and forty yeeres? For this hath no other ground than *Annius*. It is true, that painefull and iudicious Writers haue found this number of yeeres, to agree fitly with the course of things in History: yet all of them tooke it from *Annius*. Let it therefore be the punishment of *Annius* his forgery (as questionlesse he is often guilty of this crime) that when he tells truth, or probability, he be not beleeued for his owne sake; though for our owne sakes wee make vse of his boldnesse, taking his words for good, whereas (nothing else being offered) we are vnwilling our selues to be Authors of new, though not vnprofitable coniectures. Heerein we shall haue this commodity, that we may without blushing alter a little, to helpe our owne opinions; and lay the blame vpon *Annius*, against whom vve shall be sure to finde friends that will take our part.

The reignes of *Theglathalasar* and *Salmanassar* did reach, by *Annius* his measure, to the length of fiue and twenty yeeres the one, and seuenteene the other; *Torniellus* hath cut off two from the former, and seuen from the later of them, to fit (as I thinke) his own computation; vsing the liberty whereof I spake last: for that any Author, saue our good *Metasthenes*, or those that borrowed of him, hath gone about to tell how long each of these did reigne, it is more than I haue yet found. To *Senacherib* and *Asarhaddon*, *Torniellus* giues the same length of reigne, vvhich is found in *Metasthenes*. I thinke there are not many, that will arrogate so much vnto themselues, as may very well bee allowed vnto a man so iudicious as is *Torniellus*: and yet I could wish that hee had forborne to condemne the followers of *Annius*, in this businesse, wherein hee himselfe hath chosen, in part, rather to become one of them, than to say, as else he must haue done, almost nothing.

The like liberty we finde that he hath vsed in measuring the reignes of the *Chaldeans*; filling vp all the space betweene the end of *Sardanapalus*, and the beginning of *Nabonassar*, with the threescore and eight yeares of *Belosus*. In this respect it was, perhaps, that he thought *Belosus* might haue begun his reign somewhat later than *Phul*: for threescore and eight years would seem a long time for him to hold a Kingdome, that was no yong man when he tooke possession of it. But how is any vvhit of his age abated by shortning his reigne, seeing his life reacheth to the end of such a time, as were alone, without adding the time wherein he was a priuate man, enough for a long liuer? Indeed, eight and forty yeares had been somewhat of the most, considering that he seemes by the story to haue beene little lesse, at such time as he ioyned with *Arbaces*; and therfore the addition of twenty years, did well deserue that note (which *Torniellus* aduisedly giues) that if his reigne extended not so far, then the reigne of such as came after him, occupied the middle time, vnto *Nabonassar*.

I neither doe reprehend the boldnesse of *Torniellus*, in coniecturing, nor the modesty of *Scaliger* and *Sethus Caluisius*, in forbearing to set downe as warrantable, such things as depend only vpon likelihood. For things, whereof the perfect knowledge is taken away from vs by Antiquity, must be described in History, as Geographers in their Maps describe those Countries, whereof as yet there is made no true discouery; that is, either by leauing some part blanke, or by inserting the Land of Pigmies, Rockes of loade-stone with Head-lands, Bayes, great Riuers, and other particularities, agreeable to common report, though many times controlled by following experience, and found contrary to truth. Yet indeed the ignorance growing from distance of place, allowes not such liberty to a Describer, as that which ariseth from the remediless obliuion of consuming time. For it is true that the Poet saith;

——Neq; feruidis
Pars inclusa caloribus
Mundi, nec Boreæ finitimum latus,
Durataq; sole Niues,
Mercatorem abigunt: horrida callidi
Vincunt æquora Nauita.

Nor

Nor Southerne heate, nor Northerne snow
That freezing to the ground doth grow,
The subiect Regions can fence,
And keep the greedy Merchant thence:
The subtile Shipmen way will finde,
Storme neuer so the Seas with Winde.

Therefore the fictions (or let them be called coniectures) painted in Maps, doe serue only to mis-lead such discouerers as rashly beleeue them; drawing vpon the publishers, either some angry curses, or well deserued scorne; but, to keepe their owne credit, they 10 cannot serue alwaies. To which purpose I remember a prety iest of *Don Pedro de Sarmiento*, a worthy *Spanish* Gentleman, who had beene employed by his King in planting a Colony vpon the Streights of *Magellan*: for when I asked him, being then my Prisoner, some question about an Island in those Streights, which, mee thought, might haue done either benefit or displeasure to his enterprise, he told me merrily, that it was to be called the *Painters wines Island*; saying, That whilest the fellow drew that Map, his wife sitting by, desired to put in one Countrey for her; that she, in imagination, might haue an Island of her owne. But in filling vp the blankes of old Histories, wee need not be so scrupulous. For it is not to be feared, that time should runne backward, and by restoring the things themselues to knowledge, make our coniectures appeare ridiculous: What if 20 some good Copy of an ancient Author could be found, shewing (if we haue it not already) the perfect truth of these vncertainties? would it bee more shame to haue beleeued in the meane while, *Annius* or *Torniellus*, than to haue beleeued nothing? Heere I will not say, that the credit, which wee giue to *Annius*, may chance otherwhiles to be giuen to one of those Authors whose names he pretendeth. Let it suffice, that in regard of authority, I had rather trust *Scaliger* or *Torniellus* than *Annius*; yet him than them, if his assertion be more probable, and more agreeable to approued Histories than their coniecture, as in this point it seemes to me; it hauing moreouer gotten some credit, by the approbation of many, and those not meanly learned.

To end this tedious disputation; I hold it a sure course in examination of such opinions, as haue once gotten the credit of being generall, so to deale as *Pacunius* in *Capua* did with the multitude, finding them desirous to put all the Senatours of the City to death. He lockt the Senatours vp within the State-house, and offered their liues to the Peoples mercy; obtaining thus much, that none of them should perish, vntill the Commonalty had both pronounced him worthy of death, and elected a better in his place. The condemnation was hasty; for as fast as euery name was read, all the town cryed, Let him die: but the execution required more leisure; for in substituting of another, some notorious vice of the Person, or basenesse of his condition, or insufficiency of his quality, made each new one that was offered, to be reiected: so that finding the worse and lesse choice, the further and the more that they sought, it was finally agreed, that the old should be 40 kept for lacke of better.

§. V.

Of the Olympiads, and the time when they began.

After this diuision of the *Assyrian* Empire, followes the instauration of the *Olympian* games, by *Iphitus*, in the reigne of the same King *Vzzia*, and in his one and fiftieth yeere. It is, I know, the generall opinion, that these games were established by *Iphitus* in the first of *Iotham*: yet is not that opinion so generall, but that Authors, weighty enough, haue giuen to them a more early beginning. The truth is, that 50 in fitting those things vnto the sacred History, which are found in prophane Authors, wee should not be too carefull of drawing the *Hebrewes* to those workes of time, which had no reference to their affaires; it is enough, that setting in due order these beginnings of accompts, we ioyne them to matters of *Israel* and *Iuda*, where occasion requires.

These *Olympian* games and exercises of actiuity, were first instituted by *Hercules*, who measured the length of the race by his owne foote; by which *Pythagoras* found out the stature and likely strength of *Hercules* his body. They tooke name, not from the Mountaine *Olympus*, but from the City *Olympia*, otherwise *Pisa*, neere vnto *Elis*; where also *Iupiters*

Iupiters Temple in *Elis*, famous among the *Grecians*, and reputed among the wonders of the World, was knowne by the name of the Temple of *Iupiter Olympius*. These games were exercised from euery fourth yeere compleat, in the plaines of *Elis*, a City of *Peloponnesus*, neere the riuer *Alpheus*.

After the death of *Hercules*, these meetings were discontinued for many yeeres, till *Iphitus*, by aduice from the Oracle of *Apollo*, re-established them, *Licurgus* the Law-giuer then liuing: from which time they were continued by the *Grecians*, till the reign of *Theodosius* the Emperor, according to *Cedrenus*: others thinke that they were dissolued vnder *Constantine* the Great. *Aul.Gell.l.1.c.1. ex Plut. Vt ait out of Hermippus.*

10 From this institution, *Varro* accompted the *Grecian* times, and their stories, to be certaine: but reckoned all before either doubtfull, or fabulous: and yet *Pliny* giues little credit to all that is written of *Greece*, till the reigne of *Cyrus*, who began in the fiue and fiftieth *Olympiad*, as *Eusebius* out of *Diodore*, *Castor*, *Polybius*, and others hath gathered; in whose time the seuen wise *Grecians* flourished. For *Solon* had speech with *Cræsus*, and *Cræsus* was ouerthrowne and taken by *Cyrus*. *Plin.l.36.c.4.*

Many patient and piercing braines haue laboured to finde out the certaine beginning of these *Olympiads*, namely, to set them in the true yeere of the World, and the reigne of such and such Kings: but seeing they all differ in the first accompt, that is, of the Worlds yeare, they can hardly iump in particulars thereon depending.

20 *Cyril* against *Iulian* and *Didymus*, begin the *Olympiads* the nine and fortieth of *Osias*, or *Azariah*.

Eusebius, who is contrary to himselfe in this reckoning, accounts with those that find the very first *Olympiad* in the beginning of the foure hundreth and sixth yeere after *Troy*; yet hee telleth vs, that it was in the fiftieth yeere of *Vzzia*, which is (as I finde it) two yeeres later. *Euseb. de Præp. Euang.l.10.c.3.*

Eratosthenes placeth the first *Olympiad* foure hundred and seuen yeeres after *Troy*, reckoning the yeeres that passed betweene; to whom *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Solinus*, and many others adhere. *Eratosth. apud Clem. Alex. Strom.l.1.*

The distance betweene the destruction of *Troy*, and the first *Olympiad*, is thus collected 30 by *Eratosthenes*. From the taking of *Troy*, to the descent of *Hercules* his Posterity into *Peloponnesus*, were fourescore yeeres; thence to the *Ionian* expedition, threescore yeares; from that expedition to the time of *Lycurgus* his gouernment in *Sparta*, one hundred fiftie nine; and thence to the first *Olympiad*, one hundred and eight yeeres. In this account the first yeare of the first *Olympiad* is not included.

But vaine labour it were, to seeke the beginning of the *Olympiads*, by numbring the yeares from the taking of *Troy*, which is of a date farre more vncertaine. Let it suffice, that by knowing the instauration of these games, to haue been in the foure hundreth and eight yeere current after *Troy*, wee may reckon backe to the taking of that City, setting that, and other accidents, which haue reference thereto, in their proper times. The cer- 40 tainty of things following the *Olympiads*, must needs teach vs how to finde when they began.

To this good vse, we haue the ensuing yeeres, vnto the death of *Alexander* the Great, thus diuided by the same *Eratosthenes*. From the beginning of the *Olympiads*, to the passage of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, two hundreth fourescore and seuenteene yeares; from thence to the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, eight and forty yeares; forwards to the victory of *Lysander*, seuen and twenty; to the battaile of *Leuctra*, thirty foure; to the death of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, fiue and thirty; and finally to the death of *Alexander*, twelue. The whole summe ariseth to 453. yeares; which number he otherwise also collecteth, and it is allowed by the most.

50 Now for placing the institution of the *Olympiads* in the one & fiftieth yeere of *Vzzia*, we haue arguments grounded vpon that which is certaine, concerning the beginning of *Cyrus* his reigne, and the death of *Alexander*; as also vpon the Astronomicall calculation of sundry Eclipses of the Sunne; as of that which happened when *Xerxes* set out of *Sardis* with his Army to inuade *Greece*; and of diuers other.

Touching *Cyrus*, it is generally agreed that his reigne as King, before he was Lord of the great Monarchy, began the first yeere of the fiue and fiftieth *Olympiad*, and that hee reigned thirty yeeres: they who giue him but twenty nine yeeres of reigne (following *Herodotus* rather than *Tully*, *Iustine*, *Eusebius*, and others) begin a yeere later, which comes all *Tul. de Div. l.1. Iust. l.1. Euseb. de Præp. Euang. l.10.c.3. & de Dem. Euang. l.8.c.2.*

all to one reckoning. So is the death of *Alexander* set by all good Writers, in the first yeer of the hundreth and fourteenth *Olympiad*. This later note of *Alexanders* death, serueth well to leade vs backe to the beginning of *Cyrus*; as many the like obseruations do. For if wee reckon vpwards from the time of *Alexander*, wee shall finde all to agree with the yeeres of the *Olympiads*, wherein *Cyrus* began his reigne, either as King, or (taking the word Monarch, to signifie a Lord of many Kingdomes) as a great Monarch. From the beginning of *Cyrus*, in the first yeer of the fiue and fiftieth *Olympiad*, vnto the end of the *Persian* Empire, which was in the third of the hundreth and twelfth *Olympiad*, wee finde two hundred and thirty yeeres compleat: from the beginning of *Cyrus* his Mornarchy, vvhich lasted but seuen yeeres, we finde compleat two hundred and seuen yeers, vvhich vvas the continuance of the *Persian* Empire.

Now therefore seeing that the first yeer of *Cyrus* his Monarchy (vvhich vvas the last of the sixtieth *Olympiad*, and the two hundreth and fortieth yeere from the institution of those games by *Iphitus*) followed the last of the seuenty yeers of the captiuity of *Iuda*, and desolation of the Land of *Israel*: manifest it is, that vve must reckon backe those seuenty yeers, and one hundred threescore and ten yeeres more, the last vvhich passed vnder the Kings of *Iuda*, to finde the first of these *Olympiads*; vvhich by this accompt is the one and fiftieth of *Vzziah*, as vve haue already noted.

The Eclipses vvhereof we made mention, serue vvell to the same purpose. For examples sake; that vvhich vvas seene when *Xerxes* mustered his Army at *Sardis*, in the two hundreth threescore, and seuenth yeere of *Nabonassar*, being the last of the threescore and fourteenth *Olympiad*; leades vs back vnto the beginning of *Xerxes*, and from him to *Cyrus*, whence we haue a faire way through the threescore and ten yeeres, vnto the destruction of *Ierusalem*; and so vpwards through the reignes of the last Kings of *Iuda*, to the one and fiftieth yeere of *Vzzia*.

Thus much may suffice, concerning the time wherein these *Olympiads* began.

To tell the great solemnity of them, and with what exceeding great concourse of all *Greece* they were celebrated, I hold it a superfluous labour. It is enough to say that all bodily exercises, or the most of them, were therein practised; as Running, Wrastling, Fighting, and the like. Neither did they onely contend for the Mastery in those feates, whereof there was good vse, but in running of Chariots, fighting with Whorle-bats, and other the like ancient kindes of exercises, that serued onely for ostentation. Thither also repaired Orators, Poets, Musicians, and all that thought themselues excellent in any laudable quality, to make triall of their skill. Yea the very Cryers which proclaimed the victories, contended which of them should get the honour of hauing plaid the best part.

The *Eleans* were Presidents of those Games; whose iustice, in pronouncing without partiality who did best, is highly commended. As for the rewards giuen to the Victors, they were none other than Garlands of Palme, or Oliue, without any other commodity following, than the reputation. Indeede there needed no more. For that was held so much, that when *Diagoras* had seene his three sonnes crowned for their seuerall victories in those games, one came running to him with this gratulation: *Morere*, Diagoras, *non enim in cœlum ascensurus es*; that is, *Die*, Diagoras, *for thou shalt not clime vp to heauen*: as if there could be no greater happinesse on earth, than what already had befallen him. In the like sense *Horace* speakes of these Victors, calling them,

Horat. Carm. 4. Ode. 2.

Quos Elæa domum reducit
Palma cœlestes.

Such as like heauenly wights doe come
With an Elæan Garland home.

Neither was it only the voice of the People, or songs of Poets, that so highly extolled them, which had wonne these *Olympian* prizes; but euen grane Historians thought it a matter worthy of their noting. Such was (as *Tully* counts it) the vanity of the *Greekes*, that they esteemed it almost as great an honour, to haue wonne the Victory at Running or Wrastling in those games, as to haue triumphed in *Rome* for some famous victorie, or conquest of a Prouince.

Tull. in Orat. pro Flacco.

That these *Olympian* games were celebrated at the full of the Moone, and vpon the fifteenth

fifteenth day of the Moneth *Hecatombæon*, which doth answer to our *Iune*; and what means they vsed to make the Moneth begin with the new Moone, that the fifteenth day might be the full; I haue shewed in another place. Wherefore I may now returne vnto the Kings of *Iuda*, & leaue the merrie *Greekes* at their games, whom I shall meet in more serious employments, when the *Persian* quarrells draw the bodie of this Historie into the coasts of *Ionia* and *Hellespont*.

§. VI.

Of Iotham *and his Contemporaries.*

Iotham the sonne of *Vzziah*, when he was fiue and twenty yeeres old, and in the second of *Pekah* King of *Israel*, was anointed King in *Ierusalem*, his Father yet liuing. He built an exceeding high Gate to the Temple, of threescore cubits vpright, and therefore called *Ophel*: besides diuers Cities in the Hills of *Iuda*, and in the Forrests, Towers and Palaces: he inforced the *Ammonites* to pay him Tribute, to wit, of Siluer an hundreth talents, and of Wheat and Barly two thousand measures: he reigned sixe and twentie yeares: of whom *Iosephus* giues this testimonie: *Eiusmodi verò Princeps hic fuit, vt nullum in eo virtutis genus desideres: vt qui Deum adeo piè coluerit, hominibus suis adeo iustè præfuerit, vrbem ipsam tantæ sibi curæ esse passus sit, & tantopere auxerit, vt vniuersum regnum hostibus quidem minimè contemnendum, domesticis autem eius incolis atque ciuibus fœlix, faustum & fortunatum sua virtute effecerit; Thus was such a Prince, as a man could finde no kinde of vertue wanting in him: hee worshipped God so religiously, he gouerned his men so righteously, he was so prouident for the Citie, and did so greatly amplifie it, that by his vertue and prowesse he made his whole Kingdome not contemptible to his enemies, but to his Seruants, Inhabitants and Citizens, prosperous and happie.* 2 King. 15. 33.

This is all that I find of *Iotham*: his reigne was not long, but as happie in all things, as he himselfe was deuout and vertuous.

Auchomenes about this time succeeded *Phelesteus* in *Corinth*: after whom, the *Corinthians* erected Magistrates, which gouerned from yeare to yeare. And yet *Pausanias* in his second Booke, with *Strabo* and *Plutarch*, in many places, are of opinion, That *Corinth* was gouerned by Kings of the race of the *Bacida*, to the time of *Cypselus*, who droue them out.

Teglathphalassar, or *Tiglathpeleser*, the son of *Phul*, the second of the *Babylonians* and *Assyrians* that was of this new race, about this time inuaded *Israel*, while *Pekah* (who murthered his Master *Pekaiah*) was King therof. In which Expedition he tooke most of the Cities of *Nephtali* and *Galile*, with those of *Gilead*, ouer *Iordan*, and carried the inhabitants captiue. This *Tiglath* reigned fiue and twenty years, according to *Metasthenes*. But *Krentzhemius* findes, that with his sonne *Salmanassar* he reigned yet two yeares longer: which yeares I would not ascribe to the sonne, because the *Aera* of *Nabonassar* begins with his single reigne, but reckon them to *Tiglath Phulassar* himselfe, who therewith reigned 27. yeares 2 King. 15.

Æschylus, the sonne of *Agamnestor*, about the same time, the twelfth *Archon* in *Athens*, ruled 25. years. *Alcamenes* gouerned *Sparta*: after whom, the Estate changed, according to *Eusebius*. But therein surely *Eusebius* is mistaken: for *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, *Pausanias*, and others witnesse the contrary. *Pausanias* affirmeth, That *Polydorus*, a Prince of eminent vertues, succeeded his father, and reigned 60. years, and out-liued the *Messeniack* warre: which was ended by *Theopompus*, the sonne of *Nicander*, his royall companion. Paus. l. 3.

At this time liued *Nahum* the Prophet, who fore-told the destruction of the *Assyrian* Empire, and of the Citie of *Nineue*; which succeeded (saith *Iosephus*) a hundred & fifteen yeares after. The Cities of *Cyrene* and of *Aradus* were built at this time, while in *Media*, *Sosarmus* and *Medidus* reigned, being the second and third Kings of those parts.

§. VII.

Of Achaz *and his Contemporaries.*

Ahas, or *Achaz*, succeeded vnto *Iotham* in the seuenteenth yeere of *Peka*, the son of *Remalia*: the same being also the last yeere of his fathers reigne, who began in the second of the same *Peka*, and reigned 16. but not compleat yeeres. This

Ahaz was an Idolater, exceeding all his predecessors. He made molten Images for *Baalim*, and burnt his son for sacrifice before the Idoll *Moloch*, or *Saturne*, which was re-
2 King.16.11. 2 Chron.28. presented by a man-like brazen bodie, bearing the head of a Calfe, set vp not far from *Ierusalem*, in a Valley shadowed with Woods, called *Gehinnem*, or *Tophet*, from whence the word *Gehenna* is vsed for Hell. The children offered, were inclosed within the carkasse of this Idoll, and as the fire encreased, so the sacrificers, with a noyse of Cimbals and other Instruments, filled the ayre, to the end the pittifull cries of the children might not be heard: which vnnaturall, cruell, and diuellish Oblation, *Ieremie* the Pro-
phet vehemently reprehendeth, and of which Saint *Hierome* vpon the tenth of *Mathew* c.7.19.32. hath written at large. By the prohibition in *Leuiticus* the eighteenth, it appeareth that to this horrible sinne was ancient: in the twelfth of *Deuteronomie*, it is called an abhomination which God hateth. That it was also practised elsewhere, and by many Nations remote from *Iudæa*, diuers Authors witnesse; as *Virgil* in the second of *Æneids*—— *Sanguine placastis, &c.* and *Siluius*,—— *Poscere cæde Deos. Saturne* is said to haue brought this custome into *Italie*, besides the casting of many soules into the Riuer of *Tyber*, in stead of which, *Herculus* commanded, that the waxen Images of men should be throwne in and drowned. The Deuill also taught the *Carthaginians* this kinde of butcherie, insomuch, that when their Citie was besieged, and in distresse, the Priest made them beleeue, that because they had spared their own children, and had bought and brought vp others to be offered, that therefore *Saturne* had stirred vp; and strengthened their Enemies against them: whereupon they presently caused two hundred of the noblest youths of their Citie to be slaine, and offered to *Saturne* or *Satan*, to appease him: who besides these forenamed Nations, had instructed the *Rhodians*, the people of *Crete*, and *Chios*, of *Messena*, of *Galatia*, with the *Massagets*, and others, in these his seruices. Further, as if he were not content to destroy the soules of many Nations in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, (as *Acosta* writeth) the *Mexicans* and other people of *America*, were brought by the Deuill vnder this fearefull seruitude, in which hee also holdeth the *Floridans* and *Virginians* at this day.

Euseb.de Prep. Euang.l.6. Dion.l.1. Diod.l.20. *Acost.de Hist. nat.& mer. Ind.*

For the wickednesse of this King *Ahaz*, God stirred vp *Rezin* of *Damascus*, and *Pekah* the Son of *Remaliah*, King of *Israel* against him, who inuaded *Iudæa*, and besieged *Ierusalem*, but entred it not.

The King of *Syria*, *Rezin*, possest himselfe of *Elah* by the Red Sea, and cast the *Iewes* out of it; and *Pekah* slaughtered in one day an hundred and twenty thousand *Iudæans*, of
2.Chron.28.6 the ablest of the kingdome, at which time *Maaseiah*, the Sonne of *Achaz* was also slaine by *Zichri*, with *Azrikam* the Gouernour of his house, and *Elcanath* the second person vnto the King. Besides all this, two hundred thousand prisoners of women & children, the *Israelites* led away to *Samaria*: but by the counsell of the Prophet *Oded*, they were returned and deliuered backe againe.

As *Israel* and *Aram* vexed *Iuda* on the North; so the *Edomites* and the *Philistims*, who euermore attended the ruine of *Iudæa*, entred vpon them from the South; and tooke
2 Chron.28. *Bethsemes*, *Aialon*, *Gederoth*, *Socho*, *Timnah*, and *Gemzo*, slew many people, & carried away many prisoners. Whereupon when *Achaz* saw himselfe enuironed on all sides, & that his Idols and dead gods gaue him no comfort, he sent to the *Assyrian Tiglatphileser*, to
2 Kings 16. desire some aide from him against the *Israelites* and *Aramites*, presenting him with the siluer and gold both of the Temple, and Kings House.

Tiglatphileser wanted not a good example to follow, in making profit of the troubles that rose in *Palæstina*. His Father hauing lately made himselfe from a Prouinciall Lieutenant, king of *Babylon* and *Assyria*, had a little before led him the way into *Iudæa*, inuited by *Menahem*, king of *Israel*. Wherefore now the Son willingly harkened to *Achaz*, and embraced the aduantage. As for *Belochus* himselfe, he was content to assigne some other time forgoing through with this enterprize: because (as I haue said before) he was not firmely setled at home, and the *Syrian* kings lay directly in his way, who were yet strong both in men and fame. But *Tiglath*, hauing now, with the treasures of *Ierusalem*, prepared his Armie, first inuaded the Territorie of *Damascus*, wanne the Citie, & killed *Rezin* the last of the race of the *Adads*, who began with *Dauid*, & ended with this *Achaz*. At *Damascus*, *Achaz* met *Tiglath*, and taking thence a patterne of the Altar, sent it to *Vriah* the Priest, commanding the like to be made at *Ierusalem*, whereon at his return he burnt Sacrifice to the gods of the *Syrians*. In the meane while *Tiglath* possest all *Rasin*, and

and the rest beyond *Iordan*, which belonged to the Tribes of *Reuben*, *Gad*, and *Manasse*. And then passing the Riuer, he mastered the Cities of *Galilee*, inuaded *Ephraim*, and the kingdome of *Israel*, and made them his Vassals. And notwithstanding that he was inuited and waged by *Achaz*, yet after the spoile of *Israel*, he possest himself of the greater part of *Iuda*, and as it seemeth, inforced *Achaz* to pay him Tribute. For in the second of *Kings*, the eighteenth, it is written of *Ezechia*, that he reuolted from *Ashur*, or rebelled against him, and therfore was inuaded by *Senacherib*. After *Ahaz* had beheld and borne these miseries, in the end of the sixteenth yeere of his reigne he died; but was not buried in the Sepulchers of the kings of *Iuda*.

10 With *Ahaz* liued *Medidus*, the third Prince in *Media*, who gouerned 40. yeares, saith *Eusebius*; *Diodorus* and *Ctesias* find *Anticarmus* in stead of this *Medidus*, to haue beene *Euseb.in Chrō.* *Sosarmus* his Successor, to whom they giue 50. yeares.

Tiglath Phileser held the Kingdome of *Assyria*, all the reigne of *Ahaz*: yet so, that *Salmanassar* his Son may seeme to haue reigned with him some part of the time. For we find that *Ahaz* did *send vnto the Kings of* Ashur *to helpe him*. The *Geneua* note saies, that these Kings of *Ashur*, were *Tiglath Pileser*, and those Kings that were vnder his Domini- 2 King 28.16.
on. But that he or his Father had hitherto made such conquests, as might giue him the Lordship ouer other Kings, I doe neither find any Historie, nor circumstance that proueth. Wherefore I thinke that these Kings of *Ashur*, were *Tiglath*, and *Salmanassar* his
20 Son, who reigned with his Father, as hath beene said before: though how long he reigned with his Father, it had beene hard to define.

At this time began the *Ephori* in *Lacedæmon*, a hundred and thirty years after *Lycurgus* according to *Plutarch*. *Eusebius* makes their beginning far later, namely, in the fifteenth *Olympiad*. Of these *Ephori*, *Elalus* was the first; *Theopompus* and *Polydorus* being then ioynt Kings. These *Ephori*, chosen euery yeare, were controllers, as well of their Senators as of their kings, nothing being done without their aduice and consent. For (saith *Cicero*) they were opposed against their kings, as the *Roman* Tribunes against the Consuls. In the time of *Ahaz* died *Æschylus*, who had ruled in *Athens* euer since the fiftieth yeare of *Vzzia*. *Alcamenon* the thirteenth of the *Medontidæ*, or Gouernours of the *A-* *Plut.in vita Solo.*
30 *thenians* (so called of *Medon* who followed *Codrus*) succeeded his Father *Æschylus*, and was the last of their Gouernors: he ruled onely two yeeres. For the *Athenians* changed first from kings (after *Codrus*) to Gouernors for life; which ending in this *Alcamenon*, they erected a Magistrate, whom they termed an *Archon*, who was a kinde of *Burghomaster*, or Gouernor of their City for ten yeares.

This alteration *Pausanias* in his fourth Booke begins, in the first yeere of the eighth *Olympiad*. *Eusebius* and *Halicarnassæus* in the first of the seuenth *Olympiad*: at which time indeed, *Carops* the first of these, began his ten yeares rule.

The kingdome of the *Latines*, gouerned about three hundred yeare by the *Syluij*, of the race of *Æneas*, tooke end in the same *Ahaz* time; the foundation of *Rome*, being
40 laide by *Romulus* & *Remus* in the eighth yeere of the same king. *Codoman* builds it in the eleuenth of *Achaz*, *Bucholzer* in the eighth, as I thinke he should; others somewhat later, and in the reigne of *Ezechias*. *Cicero*, *Eutropius*, *Orosius*, and others, square the time of the foundation to the third yeere of the sixth *Olympiad*. But *Halicarnassæus*, *Solinus*, *Antiochenus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Eusebius*, to the first yeare of the seuenth: who seeme not onely to me, but to many very learned Chronologers, to haue kept herein the best accompt.

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CHAP. XXIIII.

Of the Antiquities of Italie, and foundation of Rome in the time of Ahaz.

§.I.

Of the old Inhabitants, and of the name of Italie.

ANd here to speake of the more ancient times of *Italie*, and what Nations possest it before the arriuall of *Æneas*, the place may seeme to inuite vs: the rather because much fabulous matter hath beene mixed with the truth of those elder plantations. *Italie* before the fall of *Troy*, was knowne to the *Greekes* by diuers names: as first *Hesperia*, then *Ausonia*, the one name arising of the seate, the other of the *Ausones*, a people inhabiting part of it: one ancient name of it was also *Oenotria*, which it had of the *Oenotri*: whom *Halicarnasseus* thinkes to haue beene the first, that brought a Colonie of *Arcadians* into that Land. Afterward it was called *Italie* of *Italus*: concerning which changes of names, *Virgil* speakes thus:

Halicarn.l.1.

Est locus, Hesperiam Graij cognomine dicunt:
Terra antiqua, potens armis, atque vbere gleba:
Oenotrij coluêre viri, nunc fama, minores
Italiam dixisse, ducis de nomine, gentem.

There is a Land which *Greekes Hesperia* name,
Ancient, and strong, of much fertilitie:
Oenotrians held it, but we heare by fame,
That by late ages of Posteritie,
Tis from a Captaines name called *Italie*.

Who this Captaine or king may haue bin, it is very vncertaine. For *Virgil* speakes no more of him, and the opinions of others are many and repugnant. But like enough it is, that the name which hath continued so long vpon the whole Countrie, and worne out all other denominations, was not at the first accepted without good cause. Therefore to find out the originall of this name, and the first planters of this noble Countrie, *Reineccius* hath made a very painfull search, and not improble coniecture. And first of all he grounds vpon that of *Halicarnasseus*, who speakes of a Colonie which the *Eleans* did leade into *Italie*, before the name of *Italie* was giuen to it: Secondly, vpon that of *Iustine*, who saith, that *Brundusium* was a Colonie of the *Ætolians*: Thirdly, vpon that of *Strabo*, who affirmes the same of *Temesa* or *Tempsa*, a Citie of the *Brutij* in *Italie*: Lastly, vpon the authoritie of *Plinie*, who shewes that the *Italians* did inhabite only one Region of the Land, whence afterward the name was deriued ouer all. Concerning that which is said of the *Eleans* and *Ætolians*, who (as he shewes) had one originall; from them he brings the name of *Italie*. For the word *Italia*, differs in nothing from *Aitolia*, saue that the first Letter is cast away, which in the *Greeke* words is common; and the letter (*o*) is changed into (*a*) which change is found in the name of *Æthalia* an Island neere *Italie*, peopled by the *Ætholians*: and the like changes are very familiar in the *Æolic* Dialect; of which Dialect (being almost proper to the *Ætolians*) the accent and pronunciation, together with many words little altered, were retained by the *Latines*, as *Dionysius Halicarnasseus*, *Quintilian*, and *Priscian* the Grammarian teach.

Halicarn.l.1.
Iust.l.12.
Strabo.l.6.
Plin.l.3.c.5.

Heereunto appertaines that of *Iulian* the Apostata, who called the *Greekes* cousins of the *Latines*. Also the common Originall of the *Greekes* and *Latines* from *Iauan*; and the Fable of *Ianus*, whose Image had two faces, looking East aud West, as *Greece* and *Italie* lay, and was stamped on Coynes, with a Ship on the other side; all which is, by interpretation, referred to *Iauan*, father of the *Greekes* and *Latines*: who saylingouer the *Ionian* Sea, that lies betweene *Ætolia* and the Westerne parts of *Greece* and *Italie*, planted Colonies in both. Now whereas *Reineccius* thinkes, that the names of

of *Atlas* and *Italus* belonged both to one man, and thereto applyes that of *Berosus*, who called *Cethim*, *Italus*; though it may seeme strengthened by the marriage of *Dardanus*, whilest he abode in *Italie* with *Electra*, the daughter of *Atlas*, yet is it by arguments (in my valuation) greater and stronger, easily disproued. For they who make mention of *Atlas*, place him before the time of *Moses*: and if *Atlas* were *Cethim*, or *Kittim*, then was he the son of *Iauan*, and nephew of *Iapheth*, the eldest son of *Noah*: which antiquity far exceedes the name of *Italie*, that began after the departure of *Hercules* out of the Countrey, not long before the Warre of *Troy*.

Likewise *Virgil*, who speakes of *Atlas*, and of *Dardanus* his marriage with *Electra*, hath nothing of his meeting with her in *Italie*, but calleth *Electra* & her sister *Maia* (poetically) daughters of the Mountaine *Atlas* in *Africa*, naming *Italus* among the Kings of the *Aborigenes*; which he would not haue done, had *Atlas* and *Italus* beene one person.

As for the authoritie of *Berosus* in this case, we need the lesse to regard it, for that *Reyneccius* himselfe, whose coniectures are more to be valued than the dreames wherewith *Annius* hath filled *Berosus*, holds it but a figment.

That the name of *Italie* began long after *Atlas*, it appeares by the verses of *Virgil* last rehearsed, wherein he would not haue said, ——*Nunc fama minores Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem*, had that name beene heard of ere *Dardanus* left the Countrey. But seeing that, when *Hercules*, who died a few yeares before the Warre of *Troy*, had left in *Italie* a Colonie of the *Eleans* (who in a manner were one and the same Nation with the *Ætolians*, as *Strabo*, *Herodotus*, and *Pausanias* teach) then the name of *Italie* began: & seeing *Virgil* makes mention of *Italus* among the *Italian* Kings, it were no great boldnesse to say, that *Italus* was Commander of these *Eleans*. For though I remember not that I haue read of any such *Greeke* as was named *Italus*; yet the name of *Ætolus* written in *Greeke Aitolus*, was very famous among the *Ætolians*, and among the *Eleans*, he being son of a King of *Elis*, and founder of the *Ætolian* Kingdome. Neyther is it more hard to deriue the name of *Italus* from *Ætolus*, than *Italia* from *Ætolia*. So may *Virgils* authoritie stand well with the collections of *Reyneccius*; the name of *Italie* being taken both from a Captaine, and from the Nation, of which hee and his people were.

§.II.

Of the Aborigines, and other Inhabitants of Latium, and of the reason of the names of Latini and Latium.

IN *Italie* the *Latines* and *Hetrurians* were most famous; the *Hetrurians* hauing held the greatest part of it vnder their subiection; and the *Latines* by the vertue and felicity of the *Romans*, who were a branch of them, subduing all *Italie*, and in few ages whatsoeuer Nation was knowne in *Europe*: together with all the Westerne parts of *Asia*, and North of *Africk*.

The Region called *Latium*, was first inhabited by the *Aborigines*, whom *Halicarnasseus*, *Varro*, and *Reyneccius* (following them) thinke to haue bin *Arcadians*: and this name of *Aborigines* (to omit other significations that are strained) imports as much as original, or natiue of the place, which they possessed: which title the *Arcadians* are known in vaunting manner to haue alwaies vsurped, fetching their antiquity from beyond the Moone; because indeed, neither were the inhabitants of *Peloponnesus* inforced to forsake their seates so oft as other *Greekes* were, who did dwell without that halfe Island, neyther had the *Arcadians* so vnsure a dwelling as the rest of the *Peloponnesians*, because their Country was lesse fruitfull in land, mountainous, and hard of accesse, & they themselues (as in such places commonly are found) very warlike men. Some of these therefore hauing occupied a great part of *Latium*, & held it long, did according to the *Arcadian* manner, stile themselues *Aborigines*, in that language, which either their new Seate, or their Neighbours there by had taught them. How it might be that the *Arcadians*, who dwelt somwhat far from Sea, & are alwaies noted as vnapt men to proue good Mariners, should haue bin Authors of new discoueries, were a question not easie to be answered, were it not so, that both fruitfulnesse of children, in which those ages abounded, inforced the superfluous companie to seeke another seat, & that some expeditions of the *Arcadians*, as especially that of *Euander*, into the same parts of *Italie*, are generally acknowledged.

After the *Aborigines*, were the *Pelasgi*, an ancient Nation, vvho sometimes gaue name to all *Greece*: but their antiquities are long since dead, for lacke of good records. Neither was their glorie such in *Italie*, as could long sustaine the name of their own Tribe; for they were in short space accounted one people with the former inhabitants. The *Sicani*, *Ausones*, *Arunci*, *Rutili*, and other people, did in ages following disturbe the peace of *Latium*, which by *Saturne* vvas brought to some ciuiltie; and he therefore canonized as a god.

This *Saturne* S. *Augustine* calleth *Sterces* or *Sterculius*, others terme him *Stercutius*, and say, that he taught the people to dung their grounds. That *Latium* tooke his name of *Saturne*, because he did *latere*, that is, lie hidden there, when he fled from *Iupiter*, it is questionlesse a fable. For as in Heathenish superstition, it was great vanitie to think that any thing could be hidden from God, or that there were many gods of whom one fledde from another; so in the truth of Historie, it is well knowne, that no King reigning in those parts was so mighty, that it should be hard to find one Countrie or another, wherein a man might be safe from his pursuit. And yet, as most fables and poeticall fictions were occasioned by some ancient truth, which eyther by ambiguity of speech, or some allusion, they did maimedly and darkely expresse (for so they fained a passage ouer a Riuer in Heli, because death is a passage to another life; and because this passage is hatefull, lamentable, and painfull, therefore they named the Riuer *Styx* of Hate, *Cocytus* of Lamentation, and *Acheron* of Paine: so also because men are stonie-hearted, and because the *Greek* λαοὶ people, and λᾶες stones, are neere in sound, therefore they fained in the time of *Deucalion* stones conuerted into men, as at other times men into stones:) in like manner it may be, that the originall of *Saturnes* hiding himselfe, was some allusion to that old opinion of the wisest of the Heathen, that the true God was *ignotus Deus*, as it is noted in the *Acts*; whence also *Esay* of the true God saies, *tu Deus abdens te*. For it cannot be in vaine, that the word *Saturnus* should also haue this very signification, if it be deriued (as some thinke) from the *Hebrew Satar*, which is to hide: Howbeit I denie not but that the originall of this word, *Latium*, ought rather to be sought elsewhere.

See *lib.1.cap.6.* §.1. & *seq.*

Acts 7.2.3.
Esay 45.15.

Reyneccius doth coniecture that the *Cateans*, who descended of *Cethim*, the Son of *Iauan*, vvere the men who gaue the name to *Latium*. For these *Ceteans* are remembred by *Homer* as aiders of the *Troians* in their Warre. *Strabo* interpreting the place of *Homer*, calls them subiects to the Crowne of *Troy*. Heereupon *Reyneccius* gathers, that their abode was in *Asia*: viz. *in agro Elaitico*; *in the Elaitian Territorie*, which agreeth with *Strabo*. Of a City which the *Æolians* held in *Asia*, called *Elea*, or *Elaia*, *Pausanias* makes mention: *Stephanus* calls it *Cidæmu*, or (according to the *Greeke* writing) *Cidamis*, which name last rehearsed hath a very neere sound to *Cethim*, *Citim*, or *Cithim*; the *Greeke* Letter (*D*) hauing (as many teach) a pronunciation very like to (*TH*) differing onely in the strength or weakenesse of vtterance, which is found betweene many English words written with the same letters. Wherefore that these *Ceteans* being descended of *Cethim*, *Cittim*, or *Kittim*, the Sonne of *Iauan*, who was Pregenitor of the *Greekes*, might very well take a denomination from the Citie, and Region, which they inhabited, and from thence be called *Elaites*, or *Elaites*, it is very likely, considering that among the *Arcadians*, *Phocians*, *Ætolians*, and *Eleans*, who all were of the *Æolique* Tribe, are found the names of the Mountaine *Elæus*, the Hauen *Elæas*, the people *Elaitæ*, the Citie *Elæus*, *Elaia*, and *Elateia*; of which last it were somewhat harsh in the Latine tongue to call the Inhabitants by any other name then *Elatini*, from vvhence *Latini* may come. Now whereas both the *Cetei* and *Arcadians*, had their original from *Cethim*, it is nothing vnlikely, that agreeing in language and similitude of names, they might neuertheless differ in sound and pronunciation of one and the same word. So that as he is by many called *Sabinus*, to whom some (deriuing the *Sabines* from him) giue the name of *Sabus*: in the like manner might he whom the *Arcadians* would call *Elatus* (of which name they had a Prince that founded the Citie *Elateia*) be named of the *Ceteans Latinus*. *Reyneccius* pursuing this likelihood, thinkes, that when *Eurypilus*, Lord of the *Ceteans*, (being the Sonne of *Telephus*, whom *Hercules* begat vpon *Auge*, the daughter of *Aleus* king of *Arcadia*) was slaine by *Achilles* in the *Troian* Warre: then did *Telephus*, brother to *Eurypilus*, conduct the *Ceteans*; who (fearing what euill might befall themselues by the *Greeks*, if the affaires of *Troy* should goe ill) passed into that part of *Italie*, whereas the *Arcadians* were planted by *Oenotrius*. And *Reyneccius* farther thinkes, that *Telephus* being the more gracious among

among the *Oenotrian Arcadians*, by the memory of his Grand-mother *Auge*, an *Arcadian* Lady, was well contented to take an *Arcadian* name, and to be called *Elatus*, which in the dialect and pronunciation either of the *Ceteans*, or of the *Oenotrians*, was first *Elatinus*, and then *Latinus*. That this name of *Elatus* may haue bin taken or imposed by the *Arcadians*, it is the more easie to be thought, for that there were then two Families, the one of *Aphidas*, the other of *Elatus*, who were Sons of *Arcas* king of *Arcadia*, which gaue name to the Countrie: and betweene these two Families the succession in that kingdome did passe, almost enterchangeably, for many ages, till at the end of the *Troian* warre it fell into the hand of *Hippotheus* of the race of *Elatus*, in whose Posteritie it continued vntill the last. Againe, the name of *Latinus*, hauing a deriuatiue sound, agrees the better with the supposition of such an accident. This is the coniecture of *Reyneccius*, which if he made ouer-boldly, yet others may follow it with the lesse reproofe, considering that it is not easie to find either an apparant truth, or faire probability among these disagreeing Authors, vvhich haue vvritten the originals of *Latium*.

§.III.

Of the ancient Kings of the Latines vntill Æneas *his comming.*

THe kings which reigned in *Latium* before the arriuall of *Æneas*, were *Saturnus*, *Picus*, *Faunus* and *Latinus*. Of *Saturne* there is nothing remembred, saue what is mentioned already, and many fables of the *Greekes*, which whether they be appliable to this man, it is for him to iudge, who shall be able to determine, whether this were the *Saturne* of the *Greekes*, called by them κρόνος, or some other, stiled *Saturne* by the *Aborigines*. For the age wherein he liued, may very well admint him to haue bin the same: but the names of * *Sterces*, and *Stercutius* (for it may be, this name was not borrowed from the skill which he taught the people, but rather the soyle which they laid on their grounds, had that appellation from him) doe rather make him seeme some other man.

* *Ezekiel* often cals the Idols of the heathen *deos stercoreos*: and hence it may be that in the Euangelist we reade of *Belzebub*, *Belzebul*, which is interpreted *Dominus stercoreus*: and it may be that after that *Saturne* became the name of an Idol, it pleased God that in a like sense this name *Stercutius* should sticke vnto him. *Aeneid.7.*

Of *Picus* it is said, that he was a good Horse-man. The fable of his being changed into a Bird, which we call a Pie, may well seeme (as it is interpreted) to haue growne from the skill which he had in sooth-saying, or diuination, by the flight and chattering of Fowles. *Faunus*, the Son of *Picus*, reigned after his Father. He gaue to *Euander* the *Arcadian* (who hauing slaine by mischance his Father *Echemus* king of *Arcadia*, fled into *Italie*) the waste grounds on which *Rome* was afterward built.

Fauna, called *Fatua*, the sister of *Faunus*, who was also his Wife, as all Historians agree; she was held a Prophetesse, & highly commended for her chastitie; which praise in her must needs haue bin much blemished by her marriage, it selfe being meerly incestuous.

It is not mentioned that *Faunus* had by his sister any childe, neither doe we reade of any other Wife which he had, saue onely that *Virgil* giues vnto him *Latinus* as his Son, by a Nymph called *Marica*.

But who this *Marica* was, it is not found, saue only that her aboad was about the Riuer *Liris* neere *Minturnæ*.

Of the name *Latinus*, there are by *Pomponius Sabinus* recounted foure: one, the Son of *Faunus*, another of *Hercules*, a third of *Vlysses* by *Circe*, the fourth of *Telemachus*. *Suidas* takes notice onely of the second, of whom he saith, that his name was *Telephus*, and the people anciently named the *Cetij*, were from his surname called *Latini*. This agrees in effect with the opinion of *Reyneccius*, the difference consisting almost in this only, that *Suidas* calls *Telephus*, the son of *Hercules*, whereas *Reyneccius* makes him his Nephew, by a son of the same name. This *Latinus* hauing obtained the succession in that kingdome after *Faunus*, did promise his onely Daughter and Heire *Lauinia*, to *Turnus* the son of *Venilia*, who was sister to *Amata Latinus* his Wife.

Suidas in the word *Latini*.

But when *Æneas* arriued in those parts with fifteene ships, or perhaps fewer, wherein might be imbarked according to the rate vvhich *Thucydides* allowes to the Vessels then vsed, about one thousand & two hundred men: then *Latinus* finding that it would stand best with his assurance, to make alliance with the *Troian*, and moued vvith the great reputation of *Æneas*, vvhich himselfe had heard of in the Warre of *Troy*, gaue his Daughter to him, breaking off the former appointment with *Turnus*; who incensed here-

herewith, sought to auenge himselfe by warre: which vvas soone ended vvith his own death.

Of *Amata* the Wife of *Latinus*, it is very certaine, that were she an *Italian*, she could not haue borne a Daughter marriageable at the arriuall of *Æneas*; vnlesse we should vvholly follow *Suidas*, and rather giue the conduct of the *Cetei* into *Italy*, to *Telephus* the Father, than to his Son, vvho serued in the last yeare of the *Troian* Warre. But *Reynecius* holds her an *Asiatique*, and thinkes withall, that *Lauinia* vvas borne before *Telephus* came into *Italy*. That this name *Amata*, by which *Virgil* and *Halicarnassæus* call her, vvas not proper, but rather a surname, it may seeme by *Varro*; vvho calleth her *Palatia*: vvhich name very vvell might be deriued from the *Greek* name *Pallas*. *Amata*, which signifieth beloued, or deare, was the name by vvhich the High Priest called euery Virgin whom he tooke to serue as a Nunne of *Vesta*; vvherfore it is the more easie to be thought a surname, howsoeuer *Virgil* discourse of her and *Venilia* her sister.

Lauinia, the daughter of *Latinus*, being giuen in marriage to *Æneas*, the Kingdome of *Latium*, or the greatest part of that Countrie, was established in that race: wherin it continued vntill it vvas ouer-growne by the might and greatnesse of the *Romans*.

§. IIII.
Of Æneas, *and of the Kings and Gouernors of Alba.*

ÆNeas himselfe being of the royall bloud of *Troy*, had the command of the *Dardanians*: he was a valiant man, very rich, and highly honoured among the *Troians*. By his vvife *Creusa*, the daughter of *Priamus*, he had a sonne called *Ascanius*; vvhose surname vvas *Iulus*, hauing before the ruine of *Troy* (as *Virgil* notes) bin surnamed *Ilus*. But when *Æneas* vvas dead, his vvife *Lauinia*, the daughter of *Latinus*, being great vvith child by him, and fearing the power of this *Ascanius*, fled into the Woods, where she was deliuered of a son, called thereupon *Syluius*, & surnamed *Posthumus*, because he was borne after his fathers Funerall. This slight of *Lauinia* was so euill taken by the people, that *Ascanius* procured her returne, entreated her honourably, & vsing her as a Queene, did foster her young son, his halfe-brother *Syluius*. Yet afterwards, whether to auoid all occasions of disagreement, or delighted with the situation of the place; *Ascanius* leauing to his mother in law the Citie *Lauinium*, which *Æneas* had built and called after his new wiues name, founded the Cite *Alba Longa*, & therein reigned. The time of his reigne was, according to some, eight & twentie years: *Virgil* giues him thirtie; others fiue and thirty, & eight and thirty. After his deceasse, there arose contention betweene *Syluius*, the son of *Æneas*, and *Iulus* the sonne of *Ascanius*, about the Kingdome: but the people inclining to the sonne of *Lauinia*, *Iulus* was contented to hold the Priesthood, which he and his race enioyed, leauing the Kingdome to *Syluius Posthumus*, whose posteritie were afterwards called *Syluij*.

The reigne of the *Alba* Kings, with the continuance of each mans reigne, I find thus set downe:

1 *Syluius Posthumus.*	29	years.
2 *Syluius Æneas.*	31	
3 *Syluius Latinus.*	50	
4 *Syluius Alba.*	39	
5 *Syluius Atis.*	26	
6 *Syluius Capys.*	28	
7 *Syluius Capetus.*	13	
8 *Syluius Tiberinus.*	8	
9 *Syluius Agrippa.*	41	
10 *Syluius Alladius.*	19	
11 *Syluius Auentinus.*	37	
12 *Syluius Procas.*	23	
13 *Syluius Amulius.*	44	

Syluius Numitor.
Ilia, called also *Rhea* and *Syluia*.
Romulus. Remus.

The

The most of these Kings liued in peace, and did little or nothing worthy of remembrance.

Latinus founded many Townes in the borders of *Latium*: who standing much vpon the honour of their originall, grew thereby to be called *Prisce Latini*. Of *Tiberinus* some thinke that the Riuer *Tiber* had name, being formerly called *Albula*: but *Virgil* giues it that denomination of another called *Tibris*, before the comming of *Æneas* into *Italie*. The Mountaine *Auentinus* had name (as many write) from *Auentinus* king of the *Albanes*: who was buried therin: but *Virgil* hath it otherwise. *Iulius*, the brother of *Auentinus*, is named by *Eusebius* as father of another *Iulius*, and grandfather of *Iulius Proculus* who leauing *Alba*, dwelt with *Romulus* in *Rome*, *Numitor*, the elder son of *Procas*, was depriued of his kingdome by his brother *Amulius*; by whom also his son *Ægesthus*, was slaine, and *Ilia* his daughter made a Nunne of *Vesta*, that thereby the issue of *Numitor* might be cut off. But she conceiued two sonnes, either by her Vncle *Amulius*, as some thinke; or by *Mars*, as the Poets faine; or herhaps by some man of warre. Both the children, their Vncle commanded to be drowned, & the mother buried quicke, according to the law; which so ordained, when the Vestall Virgins brake their chastitie. Whether it was so, that the mother was pardoned at the entreatie of *Antho*, the daughter of *Amulius*, or punished as the Law required (for Authors herein doe varie) it is agreed by all, that the two children were preserued, who afterward reuenged the cruelty of their Vncle, with the slaughter of him and all his, and restored *Numitor* their grandfather to the kingdome: wherein how long he reigned, I find not, neither is it greatly materiall to know; for as much as the Estates of *Alba* and of *Latium* were presently eclipsed by the swift increase of *Rome*; vpon which the computation of Time following (as farre as concernes the things of *Italie*) is dependant. After the death of *Numitor*, the kingdome of *Alba* ceased; for *Numitor* left no male issue. *Romulus* chose rather to liue in *Rome*; and of the Line of *Syluius* none else remained. So the *Albanes* were gouerned by Magistrates; of whom onely two Dictators are mentioned, namely *Caius Cluilius* who in the dayes of *Tullus Hostilius*, king of the *Romanes*, making Warre vpon *Rome*, dyed in the Campe; and *Metius Suffetius*, the successor of *Cluilius*, who surrendred the Estate of *Alba* vnto the *Romanes*, hauing committed the hazzard of both Signories to the successe of three men of each side, who decided the quarrell by Combat: in which, the three brethren *Horatij*, the Campions of the *Romanes*, preuailed against the *Curiatij*, Champions of the *Albanes*. After this Combat, when *Metius* (following *Tullus Hostilius* with the *Albane* forces against the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*) withdrew his Companies out of the battaile, hoping thereby to leaue the *Romanes* to such an ouerthrow, as might make them weake enough for the *Albanes* to deale with; *Tullus*, who notwithstanding this falsehood, obtained the victorie, did reward *Metius* with a cruell death, causing him to be tyed to two Chariots, and so torne in pieces. Then was *Alba* destroyed and the Citizens carried to *Rome*, where they were made free Denizens, the noble Families being made *Patritians*; among vvhich vvere the *Iulij*: of vvhom *C. Iulius Cæsar* being descended, not onely gloried in his ancient, royall, and forgotten pedegree, in full assembly of the *Romanes*, then gouerned by a free Estate of the People: but by his rare industrie, valour, and iudgement, obtained the Soueraigntie of the *Romane* Empire (much by him enlarged) to himselfe and his posteritie; whereby the name of *Æneas*, and honour of the *Troian* and *Alban* Race, was so reuiued, that seldome, if euer, any one Familie hath attained to a proportionable height of glory.

§.V.
Of the beginning of Rome, and of Romulus *birth and death.*

OF *Rome*, vvhich deuoured the *Alban* kingdome, I may here best shew the beginnings, which (though somewhat vncertaine) depend much vpon the birth and education of *Romulus*, the grand-childe of *Numitor*, the last that reigned in *Alba*. For how not onely the bordering people, but all Nations betweene *Euphrates* and the Ocean were broken in pieces by the yron teeth of this fourth Beast, it is not to be described in one place, hauing beene the worke of many Ages; whereof I now doe handle onely the first, as incident vnto the discourse preceding. *Q. Fabius Pictor, Portius*

tim Cato, Calphurnius Piso, Sempronius, & others, seeke to deriue the *Romans* from *Ianus*: but *Herodotus, Marsylus*, and many others of equall credit, giue the *Græcians* for their ancestors: and as *Strabo* reporteth in his fifth Booke; Cæcilius *rerum Romanarum Scriptor eo argumento colligit, Romam à Græcis esse conditam, quod Romani Græco ritu, antiquo institute,* Herculi *rem sacram faciunt, matrem quoque* Euandri *venerantur Romani*; Cæcilius (saith he) *a Romane Historiographer, doth by this argument gather, that Rome was built by the Greeks, because the Romanes, after Greekish fashion, by ancient ordinance doe sacrifice to* Hercules: *the Romanes also worship the mother of* Euander.

Strab.f.159.

Plutarch in the life of *Romulus* remembred many founders of that Citie: as *Romanus* the son of *Vlysses* and *Circe*; *Romus* the son of *Emathion*, whom *Diomedes* sent thither from *Troy*; or that one *Romus*, a Tyrant of the *Latines*, who draue the *Tuscans* out of that Countrey, built it. *Solinus* bestowes the honour of building *Rome* vpon *Euander*, saying, That it was before times called *Valentia. Heraclides* giues the denomination to a captiue Lady, brought thither by the *Græcians*: others say, That it was anciently called *Febria*, after the name of *Februa*, the mother of *Mars*; witnesse Saint *Augustine* in his third Booke *de Ciuitate Dei*. But *Liuie* will haue it to be the worke of *Romulus*, euen from the foundation: of whom and his conforts, *Iuuenal* to a *Roman* Citizen, vaunting of their originall, answered in these Verses:

Attamen vt longe repetas, longeque reuoluas
Maiorum quisquis primus fuit ille tuorum,
Aut pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.

Yet though thou fetch thy pedegree so farre;
Thy first Progenitor, who ere he were,
Some Shepheard was, or else, that Ile forbeare.

meaning, either a Shepheard, or a Theefe.

Now of *Romulus* begetting, of his education and preseruation, it is said, That he had *Rhea* for his mother, and *Mars* supposed to be his father, that he was nurst by a Wolfe, found and taken away by *Faustula*, a Shepheards wife. The same vnnaturall nursing had *Cyrus*, the same incredible fostering had *Semiramis*; the one by a Bitch, the other by Birds. But, as *Plutarch* saith, it is like enough that *Amulius* came couered with armour, to *Rhea*, the mother of *Romulus*, when he begat her with child: and therein it seemeth to me that he might haue two purposes; the one, to destroy her, because she was the daughter and heire of his elder brother, from whom he iniuriously held the kingdome; the other to satisfie his appetite, because she was faire and goodly. For she being made a Nunne of the goddesse *Vesta*, it was death in her, by the Law, to breake her chastitie. I also find in *Fauchet* his *Antiquitez de Gaule*, that *Merouée*, king of the *Francs*, was begotten by a Monster of the Sea: but *Fauchet* sayes, *Let them beleeue it that list; Il le croira qui voudra*: Also of *Alexander*, and of *Scipio African*, there are poeticall inuentions: but to answer these imaginations in generall, It is true, that in those times, when the World was full of this barbarous Idolatry, and when there were as many gods as there were kings, or passions of the minde, or as there were of vices and vertues; then did many women greatly borne, couer such slips as they made, by protesting to be forced by more than humane power: so did *Oenone* confesse to *Paris*, that she had beene rauished by *Apollo*. And *Anchyses* boasted that he had knowne *Venus*. But *Rhea* was made with childe by some man of of Warre, or other, and therefore called *Mars*, the god of battell, according to the sense of the time. *Oenone* was ouercome by a strong wit, and by such a one as had those properties ascribed to *Apollo*. The Mother of *Merouée* might fancie a Sea Captaine, to be gotten with young by such a one: as the Daughter of *Inachus* fancied, according to *Herodotus*. *Æneas* was a bastard and begotten vpon some faire Harlot, called for her beautie *Venus*, and was therefore the child of lust, which is *Venus*. *Romulus* was nurst by a Wolfe, which was *Lupa*, or *Lupina*; for the Curtesans in those dayes were called Wolfes, *quæ nunc* (saith *Halicarnassæus*) *honestiori vocabulo amicæ appellantur; which are now by an honester name called friends*. It is also written, that *Romulus* was in the end of his life taken vp into heauen, or rather out of the world by his father *Mars*, in a great storme of thunder, and lightning: so was it said that *Æneas* vanished away by the Riuer *Numicus*; but

Fauchet.f.214.

but thereof *Liuie* also speaketh modestly; for he rehearseth the other opinion that the storme was the furie of the Senators, but seemeth to adhere partially to this taking vp; and many Authors agree, that there was an vnnaturall darkenesse, both at his birth and at his death; and that he might be slaine by thunder or lightning, it is not vnlikely. For the Emperour *Anastasius* was slaine with lightning; so was *Strabo* the Father of *Pompey* slaine with a thunder-bolt: so *Carus* the Emperour (who succeeded *Probus*) whilest he lodged with his Armie vpon the Riuer *Tygru*, was there slain with lightning. But a *Mars* of the same kinde might end him that began him; for he was begotten by a man of war, & by violence destroyed. And that he died by violence (which destinie followed most of the *Roman* Emperors) it appeareth by *Tarquinius Superbus*, who was the seuenth king after him: who when he had murthered his Father-in-law, commanded that he should not be buried, for (said he) *Romulus* himselfe died and was not buried. But let *Halicarnasseus* end this dispute; whose words are these: *They* (saith he) *who drew neerest to the truth, say that he was slaine by his owne Citizens; and that his cruelties in punishment of offendors, together with his arrogancie, were the cause of his slaughter. For it is reported, that both when his mother was rauished, whether by some man, or by a god, the whole body of the Sunne was eclipsed, and all the earth couered with darkenesse like vnto night, & that the same did happen at his death.*

Such were the birth and death of *Romulus*: whose life historified by *Plutarch*, doth containe (besides what is here already spoken of him) the conquest of a few miles which had soone bin forgotten, if the *Roman* greatnesse built vpon that foundation, had not giuen it memorie in all ages following, euen vnto this day. A valiant man he was, very strong of bodie, patient of trauell, and temperate in diet, as forbearing the vse of wine & delicacies: but his raging ambition he knew not how to temper, which caused him to slay his brother, & neglect to reuenge the death of *Tatius*, his companion in the Kingdome, that he himselfe might be Lord alone in those narrow Territories. He reigned 37. yeers first alone, then with *Tatius*, and after his death, single, till he was slaine, as is alreadie shewed: after which time, the Soueraignty fel into the hands of *Numa*, a man to him vnknown, & more Priest-like than King-like: wherein *Rome* it selfe in her later times hath somewhat resembled this King. For hauing long bin sole Gouernesse till *Constantinople* shared with her: afterwards, when as the *Greeke* Emperour was crushed by forraine enemies, and the *Latines* dispoyled of Imperiall power, she fell into the subiection of a Prelate, swelling by degrees from the Sheepe-hooke to the Sword, & therewith victorious to excessiue magnificence, from whence by the same degrees it fell, being driuen from luxurie to defensiue armes; and therein hauing bin vnfortunate, at length betakes her selfe againe to the Crosier staffe.

And thus much of *Rome* in this place by occasion of the Storie of the times of king *Ahaz*, during whose reigne in *Iurie*, the foundations of this famous Citie were laid.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Ezekia, *and his Contemporaries.*

§. I.

Of the beginning of Ezechias, *and of the agreeing of* Ptolomies, Nabonassar, Nabopolassar, *and* Mardocempadus, *with the historie of the Bible.*

AS the first yeere of *Ahaz* his Reigne was confounded with the last of his father *Iotham*, so was the later end of his sixteen yeares taken vp in the three first of *Ezekias* his son. This appeares by the Reigne of *Hosea*, ouer *Israel*, which began in the twelfth of *Ahaz*, and therefore the third thereof was concurrent with *Ahaz* his fourteenth. But the third of *Hosea* was the first of *Ezekia*; so it followes, that *Ezekia* began to reigne in his Fathers foureteenth yeere. Like enough it is, that the third yeere of *Hosea*, the same being the fourteenth of *Ahaz*, was almost spent when *Ezekia* began, and so

so the fifteenth yeere of *Ahaz* may haue beene concurrent, for the most part, with the first of *Ezekia*.

By supposing that *Hosea* began his kingdom, when the twelfth yeare of *Ahaz* was almost compleat, some would find the meanes how to dis-ioyne the first of *Hezekia* from the fifteenth of *Ahaz*, placing him yet one yeare later, of which yeare, *Ahaz* may perhaps haue liued not many dayes. But seeing that the foureteenth and fifteenth yeeres of *Ezekia*, may not be remoued out of their places; it is vaine labour to alter the first yeere.

1 Kin.19.35. In the fourteenth yeere of *Ezekia*, *Senacherib*, inuading *Iuda* and the Countries adioyning, lost his Armie by a miraculous stroake from Heauen, fled home, and was slaine. The yeare following it was that God added fifteene yeares to the life of *Ezekia*, when he had already reigned foureteen of his nine and twenty: and the same yeere was that miracle seene of the Sunnes going backe; of which wonder (as I heare) one *Bartholomew Scultet*, who is much commended for skill in Astronomie, hath by calculation found the very day which answered vnto the twenty fift of *April*, in the *Iulian* yeare, being then Thursday. I haue not seene any workes of *Scultet*; but surely to find a motion so irregular and miraculous, it is necessary that he produce some record of obseruation made at such a time. Howsoeuer it be, the fifteenth yeare of *Ezekia* agreed vpon; and therefore we may not alter the first. As for that saying, which is vsuall in like cases,

2 Chron.28.27. that Ahaz *sleept with his Fathers, and* Ezekia *his Sonne reigned in his stead*, it doth no more proue that *Ezekia* reigned not with his Father, than the like saying doth inferre the like at the death of *Iehosaphat*, and succession of *Iehoram*; whereof, as concerning the beginning of the Sonne to reigne whilest his Father liued, wee haue already said enough.

Of this godly king *Ezekias*, we find, that his very beginning testified his deuotion and zeale. For whether it were so, that his vnfortunate and vngracious Father (who had out-worne his reputation) gaue way to his Sons proceedings, which perpaps it lay not in him to hinder; or whether (as I rather thinke) the first yeare and first moneth of

2 Chro.29.v.3. his reigne, wherein *Ezekias* opened the doores of the Temple, were to be vnderstood as the beginning of his sole gouernment; we plainly find it to haue beene his first worke,

2 Chron.30. that he opened the doores of the house of the Lord, which *Achaz* had shut vp, cleansed the Citie and kingdome of the Idols, restored the Priests to their offices & estates, commanded the Sacrifices to be offered which had bin for many yeares neglected, & brake down the brasen Serpent of *Moses*, because the people burnt incense before it, & he called it *Nehushtan*,

2 King 18. which signifieth a lumpe of brasse. He did also celebrate the Passe-ouer with great magnificence, inuiting thereunto the *Israelites* of the ten Tribes: many there were, euen out of those Tribes, that came vp to *Ierusalem*, to this feast. But the generall multitude of *Israel* did laugh the Messengers of *Ezekia* to scorne.

It was not long ere they that scorned to solemnize the memoriall of their deliuerance out of the *Egyptian* seruitude, fell into a new seruitude, out of which they neuer were deliuered. For in the fourth of *Ezekia* his reigne, *Salmanassar* the Son of *Tiglath* the Son of *Belochus*, hearing that *Hosea* King of *Israel* had practised with *Soe* King of *Egypt*, against him, inuaded *Israel*, besieged *Samaria*, and in the third yeare (after the inhabitants had endured all sorts of miseries) forced it, and carried thence the ten Idolatrous Tribes into *Assyria* and *Media*: among whom *Tobias*, & his Son of the same name, with *Anna* his Wife, were sent to *Nineue*; in whose Seates and Places the *Assyrians* sent strangers of other Nations, and among them many of the ancient Enemies of the *Israelites*, as those of *Cutha*, *Ana*, *Hamah*, and *Sphernaim*, besides *Babylonians*: whose Places and Nations I haue formerly described in the Treatise of the Holy Land.

These later *Assyrian* Kings, and the *Persians*, which followed them, are the first, of whom we find mention made both in Prophane and Sacred bookes. These therefore serue most aptly to ioyne the times of the old World, (whereof none but the Prophets haue written otherwise than fabulously) with the Ages following that were better knowne, and described in course of History. True it is, that of *Cyrus* and some other *Persians*, we find in the Bible the same names by which other Authors haue recorded them: but of *Phul* and *Salmanassar*, with other *Assyrian*, *Chaldean* Kings, diuersity of name hath bred question of the persons. Therefore, whereas the Scriptures do speake of *Salmanassar*, King of *Assur*, who reigned in the time of *Ahaz* and *Ezekia*, kings of *Iuda*, and of *Hosea* king of *Israel*, whom he carried into captiuitie: and whereas *Ptolomie* makes mention

mention of *Nabonassar*, speaking precisely of the time wherin he liued; it is very pertinent to shew, that *Salmanassar* and *Nabonassar* were one and the same man. The like reason also requireth, that it be shewed of *Nabuchadnezzar*, that he was the same, whom *Ptolomy* calleth *Nabopolassar*.

Of both these points *Bucholerus* hath well collected sufficient proofe from the exact calculations of sundry good Mathematicians. For by them it appeares, that betweene *Nabonassar* and the birth of *Christ*, there passed seuen hundred forty and sixe yeares: at which distance of time the reigne of *Salmanassar* was. One great proofe hereof is this, which the same *Bucholerus* alleadgeth out of *Erasmus Reinholdus*, in the *Prutenick* Tables. *Mardocempadus* King of *Babylon* (whom *Ptolomy*, speaking of three Eclipses of the Moone, which were in his time, doth mention) was the same whom the Scriptures call *Merodach*, who sent Embassadours to *Hezekia* King of *Iuda*. So that if we reckon backwards to the difference of time, betweene *Merodach* and *Salmanassar*, we shall finde it the same which is betweene *Mardocempadus* and *Nabonassar*. Likewise *Functius* doth shew, that whereas from the destruction of *Samaria*, to the destruction of *Ierusalem*, in the nineteenth of *Nabuchadnezzar*, we collect out of the Scriptures, the distance of one hundred thirty and three yeares: the selfe-same distance of time is found in *Ptolomy*, betweene *Nabonassar* and *Nabopolassar*. For, whereas *Ptolomy* seemes to differ from this accompt, making *Nabonassar* more ancient by an hundred and forty yeares, than the destruction of *Ierusalem*, we are to vnderstand that he tooke *Samaria* in the eighth yeare of his reigne; so that the seuen foregoing yeares added to these one hundred thirty and three, make the accompts of the Scriptures fall euen with that of *Ptolomy*. *Ptolomies* computation is, that from the first of *Nabonassar*, to the fifth of *Nabopolassar*, there passed one hundred twenty and seuen yeares. Now if we adde to these one hundred twenty seuen, the thirteene ensuing of *Nabuchadnezzars* yeare, before the City and Temple were destroyed, we haue the summe of one hundred and forty yeares. In so plaine a case no more proofes are needelesse, though many are brought, of which this may serue for all, that *Ptolomy* placeth the first of *Nabopolassar* one hundred twenty and two yeares, after the first of *Nabonassar*, which agreeth exactly with the Scriptures. To these notes are added the consent of all Mathematicians: which in accompt of times I hold more sure than the authority of any History; and therefore I think it folly to make doubt, whereas Historians and Mathematicall obseruations doe so throughly concurre.

Yet forasmuch as that argument of the learned *Scaliger* doth rest vnanswered, wherebyhe proued *Baladan* the Father of *Merodach*, to haue beene this *Nabonassar*, I will not spare to lose a word or two in giuing the Reader satisfaction herein. It is true, that the next obseruations of the heauenly Bodies, which *Ptolomy* recorded, after the time of *Nabonassar*, were in the reigne of *Mardocempadus*; the second yeare of whose reigne, is according to *Ptolomy*, concurrent in part with the twenty seuen of *Nabonassar*. For the second of three ancient Eclipses which he calculates, being in the second yeare of *Mardocempadus*, was from the beginning of *Nabonassar* twenty seuen yeares, seuenteene dayes, and eleauen houres: the accompt from *Nabonassar*, beginning at high-noon the first day of the *Egyptian* Moneth *Thot*, then answering to the twenty sixt of *February*; and this Eclipse being fifty minutes before mid-night, on the eighteenth day of that Moneth, when the first day thereof agreed with the nineteenth of *February*; so that the difference of time betweene the two Kings *Nabonassar* and *Mardocempadus*, is noted by *Ptolomy*, according to the *Egyptian* yeares. But how does this proue, that *Mardocempadus* or *Merodach*, was the Sonne of *Nabonassar*? yea, how doth it proue, that he was his next Successour, or any way of his Linage? It was enough to satisfie me, in this argument, that *Scaliger* himselfe did afterwards beleeue *Mardocempadus* to haue beene rather the Nephew than the Sonne of *Baladan*, or *Nabonassar*. For if hee might be either the Nephew, or the Sonne; he might perhaps be neither the one, nor the other. But because our Countrie-man *Lidyat* hath reprehended *Scaliger* for changing his opinion; and that both *Torniellus*, who followes *Scaliger* herein, and *Sethus Caluisius*, who hath drawne into forme of Cronology, that learned worke, *De Emendatione Temporum*, doe hold vp the same assertion, confounding *Baladan* with *Nabonassar*: I haue taken the paines to search, as farre as my leisure and diligence could reach, after any sentence that might proue the Kindred or Succession of these two. Yet

Ptol. Almag. l.4.c.8.

cannot I finde in the Almagest (for the Scriptures are either silent in this point, or aduerse to *Scaliger*; and other good authority, I know none, in this businesse) any sentence more neerely prouing the succession of *Merodach* to *Nabonassar*, than the place now last rehearsed: which makes no more, to shew that the one of these was father to the other, than (that I may vse a like example) the as neere succession of *William* the *Conqueror*, declares him, to haue been Son, or Grand-child to *Edward* the *Confessor*. This considered, we may safely goe on with our accompt from *Nabonassar*, taking him for *Salmanassar*; and not fearing, that the Readers will be driuen from our Booke, when they find something in it, agreeing with *Annius*, forasmuch as these Kings mentioned in Scriptures, reigned in Babylon and Assyria, in those very times which by *Diodorus* and *Ptolomie* are assigned to *Belosus*, *Nabonassar*, and *Mardocempadus*, and the rest: no good Historie naming any others, that reigned there in those ages; and all Astronomicall obseruations, fitly concurring with the yeares that are attributed to these, or numbred from them.

§. II.

Of the danger and deliuerance of Iudæa from Sennacherib.

WHen *Salmanassar* was dead, and his son *Sennacherib* in possession of the Empire in the fourteenth yeare of *Ezekias*, he demanded of him such Tribute as was agreed on, at such time as *Tiglath*, the Grand-father of *Sennacherib*, and Father of *Salmanasser*, inuited by *Ahaz*, inuaded *Rezin* King of Damascus, and deliuered him from the dangerous Warre which Israel had vndertaken against him. This Tribute and acknowledgement when *Ezekias* denied, *Sennacherib*, hauing (as it seemes) a purpose to inuade Egypt, sent one part of his Army to lye before Ierusalem. Now though *Ezechias* (fearing this powerfull Prince) had acknowledged his fault, and purchased his peace, as he hoped, with thirty hundred talents of siluer, and thirty talents of gold: wherwith he presented *Sennacherib*, now set down before Lachis in Iudæa; yet vnder the colour of better assurance, and to force the King of Iudæa to deliuer hostages, the Assyrian enuironed Ierusalem with a grosse Army, and hauing his sword in his hand thought it the fittest time to write his owne conditions.

2 King. 18. 21.

Ezechias directed his three great Counsellers, to parly with *Rabsaces*, ouer the Wall; and to receiue his demands: who vsed three principall arguments to perswade the people to yeelde themselues to his Master *Sennacherib*. For though the Chancellor, Steward, and Secretary, sent by *Ezekias*, desired *Rabsaces* to speake vnto them in the Syrian tongue, & not in the Iewish, yet he with a louder voyce directed his speech to the multitude in their own language. And for the first, hee made them know, That if they continued obstinate, and adhered to their King, that they would, in a short time, be inforced to eate their own dung, and drinke their owne vrine: Secondly, he altogether disabled the King of Egypt, from whom the Iudæans hoped for succour; and compared him to a broken staffe, on which whosoeuer leaneth, pierceth his own hand: Thirdly, that the gods who should helpe them, *Ezechias* had formerly broken and defaced, meaning chiefely (as it is thought by some) the brasen Serpent, which had beene preserued euer since *Moses* time: and withall hee bade them remember the gods of other Nations, whom, notwithstanding any power of theirs, his Master had conquered and throwne downe; and for God himselfe, in whom they trusted, hee perswaded them by no meanes to relye on him, for hee would deceiue them. But finding the people silent (for so the King had commanded them) after a while, when he had vnderstood that the King of Arabia was marching on with a powerfull Army, hee himselfe left the Assyrian forces in charge to others, and sought *Sennacherib*, at Libna in Iudæa, either to informe him of their resolution in Ierusalem, or to conferre with him concerning the Army of *Tarhaca* the Arabian. Soone vpon this there came letters from *Sennacherib* to *Ezekias*, whom hee partly aduised, and partly threatned to submit himselfe: vsing the same blasphemous outrage against the all-powerfull God, as before. But *Ezekias* sending those Counsellers to the Prophet *Esay*, which had lately been sent to *Rabsaces*, receiued from him comfort, and assurance, that this heathen Idolater should not preuaile; against whom the King also besought aide from Almighty God, repeating the most insolent and blasphemous parts of *Sennacheribs* letter, before the Altar

2 King. 18. 17.

Altar of God in the Temple, confessing this part thereof to be true. *That the King of Assur had destroyed the Nations and their Lands, and had set fire on their gods, for they were no gods, but the worke of mans hands, euen wood and stone, &c.* 2. King. 19.

The reason that moued *Sennacherib* to desire to possesse himselfe in haste of Ierusalem, was, that he might thereinto haue retraited his Armie, which was departed as it seemeth from the siege of Pelusium in Egypt, for feare of *Terhaca*: and though the Scriptures are silent of that enterprise (which in these bookes of the Kings, and of the *Chronicles* or *Parilipomenon*, speake but of the affaires of the Iewes in effect) yet the ancient *Berosus*, and out of him *Iosephus*, and Saint *Hierome*, together with *Herodotus*, remember it as followeth. *Herodotus* calleth *Sennacherib* King of Arabia & Assyria: which he might iustly doe, because *Tiglath* his grand-father held a great part thereof, which he wrested from *Pekah* King of Israel: as *Gilead* ouer Iordan, and the rest of Arabia Petræa adioyning: the same *Herodotus* also maketh *Sethon* King of Egypt, to bee *Vulcans* Priest; and reporteth that the reason of *Sennacheribs* return from Pelusium in Egypt, which he also besieged, was, that an innumerable multitude of Rats had in one night eaten in sunder the Bow-strings of his Archers, and spoyled the rest of their weapons in that kinde, which no doubt might greatly amaze him: but the approach of *Tarhaca*, remembred by *Iosephus* and *Berosus*, was the more vrgent. Saint *Hierome* vpon the seauen and thirty of *Esay*, out of the same *Berosus*, as also in part out of *Herodotus*, whom *Iosephus* citeth somewhat otherwise than his words lye, reports *Senacheribs* retrait in these words. *Pugnasse autem* Senacherib *Regem Assyriorum contra Ægyptios, & obsedisse Pelusium, iamque extructis aggeribus vrbi capiendæ, venisse* Taracham *Regem Æthiopum in auxilium, & vna nocte iuxta Ierusalem, centum octoginta quinque millia exercitus Assyrij pestilentia corruisse, narrat* Herodotus: *& plenissimè* Berosus *Chaldaicæ scriptor Historiæ, quorum fides de proprijs libris petanda est; That* Senacherib *King of the Assyrians fought against the Ægyptians, and besieged Pelusium, and that when his Mounts were built for taking of the Citie,* Tarhacas *King of the Ethiopians came to helpe them, and that in one night, neere Ierusalem, one hundred eightie fiue thousand of the Assyrian Armie perished by pestilence; of these things* (saith Hierome) * Herodotus *reports: and more at large* Berosus *a writer of Chaldæan Storie, whose credit is to be taken from their owne Bookes.* Out of *Esay* it is gathered, that this destruction of the Assyrian Army vvas in this manner: *Thou shalt be visited of the Lord of Hoasts with thunder and shaking, and a great noyse, a whirlewinde and a tempest, and a flame of deuouring fire.* But *Iosephus* hath it more largely out of the same *Berosus*, an authority (because so well agreeing with the Scriptures) not to be omitted; Sennacheribus *autem ab Ægyptiaco bello reuertens, ostendit ibi exercitum, quem sub* Rabsacis *imperio reliquerat peste diuinitus immissâ deletum, primâ nocte posteaquam Vrbem oppugnare cœperat, absumptis cum Ducibus & Tribunis centum octoginta quinque millibus Militum; qua clade territus, & de reliquis copijs sollicitus, maximis itineribus in regnum suum contendit, ad regiam quæ Ninus dicitur. Vbi paulo post per insidias Seniorum è filijs suis,* Adramelechi, & Selennari, *vitam amisit: occisus in ipso Templo quod dicitur* Arasci; *quem præcipuo cultu dignabatur, quibus ob patricidium à popularibus pulsis & in Armeniam fugientibus,* Asaracoldas *minor filius in Regnum successit;* Sennacherib (*saith* Iosephus) *returning from the Egyptian Warre, found there his Armie, which hee had left vnder the command of* Rabsaces, *destroyed by a pestilence sent from God, the first night that hee had begunne to assault the Towne: one hundred fourescore and fiue thousand of the Souldiers beeing consumed with their Chieftaines and Coronels. With which destruction beeing terrified, and withall affraid what might become of the rest of his Armie, hee made great marches into his Kingdome, to his Royall Citie, which is called Ninus, where shortly after by the treason of two of the eldest of his Sonnes,* Adramelech *and* Selennar *or* Sharezer, *hee lost his life in the Temple dedicated to* Arasces, *or* Nesroth: *whom hee especially worshipped. These his Sonnes beeing for their parricide chased away by the people: and flying into* Armenia, Asaracoldas *his younger Sonne succeeded in the Kingdome.* Who in the beginning of his reigne sent new troupes out of Assyria and Samaria, to fortifie the Colonie therein planted by his Grand-father *Salmanassar*. What this Nesroth was, it is vncertaine: *Hierome* in his Hebrew traditions hath somewhat of him, but nothing positiuely. It is certaine, that *Venus Vrania* vvas worshipped by the Assyrians; and so was *Iupiter Belus*, as *Dion*, *Eusebius*, and *Cyrillus* witnesse. Many fancies there are, what cause his sonnes had to murther him; but the most

2. King. 19.

Herod. l. 2. p. 63.

Ios. ant. l. 10. c. 1.

Her. Euterp. l. 2.

* To wit in part, for Herodotus mentioneth nothing, neither of Tarhaca nor of Ierusalem, nor of the Army there.

Esay 29. 6.

Ios. ant. l. 10. c. 1.

Selennar otherwise Sharezer, who slew him, as he was praying to Nesroe his god. 2 Kings 19.

2 Kings 19. 37. Esdr. 1. c. 4. v. 2.

most likely it is, that hee had formerly dis-inherited those two, and conferred the Empire on *Assarhaddon*. *Tobit* tels vs, that it was fifty fiue dayes after *Sennacheribs* return, ere hee was murthered by his sonnes; during which time hee slew great numbers of the Israelites in Nineue, till the most iust God turned the sword against his owne brest.

§. III.

Of Ezekias *his sicknesse and recouery; and of the Babylonian King that congratulated him.*

After this maruellous deliuery, *Ezekias* sickned, and was told by *Isaiah*, that hee must dye: but after hee had besought God with teares for his deliuery, *Isaiah*, as hee was going from him, returned againe, and had warrant from the Spirit of God to promise him recouery after three dayes, and a prolongation of life for fifteene yeares. But *Ezekias* somewhat doubtfull of this exceeding grace, prayeth a
4 King 20. signe to confirme him: whereupon, at the prayer of *Isaiah*, the shadow of the Sunne cast it selfe the contrary way, and went backe tenne degrees, vpon the Dyall of *Achaz*. The cause that moued *Ezekias* to lament (saith Saint *Hierome*) was, because he had as yet no sonne, and then in despaire that the Messias should come out of the house of *Dauid*, or at least of his Seede. His disease seemeth to be the pestilence, by the medicine giuen him by the Prophet, to wit, a masse of Figges, layed to the Botch or Sore.

This wonder when the Wise-men of Chaldæa had told to *Merodach*, King of Babylon, the first of that house; he sent to *Ezekias*, to be informed of the cause: at which time *Ezekias* shewed him all the Treasure he had, both in the Court and in the Kingdome: for which he was reprehended by the Prophet *Isaiah*, vvho told him; *The dates*
Esay 39. *are at hand, that all that is in thine house, and whatsoeuer thy Eathers haue layed vp in store to this day, shall bee carried into Babel*; nothing shall be left, saith the Lord. It may seeme strange, how *Ezekia* should haue got any treasure worth the shewing: for *Senacherib* had robbed him of all, the yeare before. But the spoyle of the same *Senacherib* his Campe repayed all with aduantage, and made *Ezekia* richer vpon the suddaine than euer he had been: which vnexpected wealth was a strong temptation to boasting. After this time *Ezekia* had rest, and spending without noyse that addition which God had made vnto his life; he dyed hauing reigned nine and twenty years. One onely offensiue Warre hee made, vvhich was against the Philistims with good successe. A-
Eccles. 48. mong his other acts (shortly remembred in *Ecclesiasticus*) he deuised to bring water to Ierusalem.

In two respects they say that he offended God: the one, that he reioyced too much at the destruction and lamentable end of his enemie; the other, that he so much gloried in his riches, as he could not forbeare to shew them to strangers. But the reason which mooued *Ezekias* (speaking humanely) to entertaine the Embassadours of *Merodach* in this friendly and familiar manner, was, because he came to visit him, and brought him a present, congratulating the recouery of his health; as also in that *Merodach* had weakned the house of *Senacherib*, his fearefull enemy. For *Merodach*, who was Commander and Lieutenant vnder *Senacherib* in Babylon, vsurped that State himselfe, in the last year of that King, and held it by strong hand against his son *Assarhaddon*; who was not c[illegible] simple, but impaired in strength, by the molestation of his brothers. This aduantage *Merodach* espied, and remembring, that their ancestor *Phul Belochus* had set his own Master *Sardanapalus* besides the cushion, thought it as lawfull for himselfe to take the opportunity which this Kings weakenesse did offer, as it had been for *Belochus* to make vse of the others wickednesse: and so, finding himselfe beloued of the Babylonians, and sufficiently powerfull, he did put the matter to hazzard, and preuailed. The assertion of this history is made by the same arguments that were vsed in maintaining the common opinion of Writers, touching *Phul Belochus*; which I will not here again rehearse. So of this new race, which cut a-sunder the Line of *Ninus*, there were only fiue Kings.

Phul

Phul Belochus.	who reigned	48
Tiglath Philassar.		27
Salmanassar.		10
Senacherib.		7
Assarhaddon.		10

yeeres.

But forasmuch as the last yeere of *Salmanassar* was also the first of *Senacherib* his son, we reckon the time, wherin the house of *Phul* held the Assyrian Kingdome, to haue bin an hundred and one yeeres, of which, the last fiue and twenty were spent with *Ezechia*, vnder *Salmanassar*, *Senacherib*, and *Assarhaddon*.

§. IIII.

The Kings that were in Media during the reigne of Ezechia: *Of the difference found between sundry Authors, in rehearsing the Median Kings. Other contemporaries of* Ezechia: *of* Candaules, Gyges, *and the Kings descended from* Hercules.

In the time of *Ezechia*, *Medidus*, and after him *Cardiceas*, reigned in Media. Whether it were so, that variety of names, by which these Kings were called in seuerall Histories, hath caused them to seeme more than indeede they were; or whether the sons reigning with the fathers, haue caused not only the names of Kings, but the length of Time, wherein they gouerned Media, to exceede the due proportion: or whether the Copies themselues, of *Ctesias* and *Annius* his *Metasthenes*, haue been faulty, as neither of these two Authors is ouer-highly commended of trustinesse: so it is, that the names, number, and length of reigne, are all very diuersly reported of these Median Kings, that follow *Arbaces*: therefore it neede not seeme strange, that I reckon *Medidus* and *Cardiceas* as contemporaries with *Ezekia*. For to reconcile so great a difference, as is found in those Writers that vary from *Eusebius*, is more than I dare vndertake. I will only here set down the roll of Kings that reigned in Media, accordingly as sundry Authors haue deliuered it.

Annius his *Metasthenes* orders them and their reignes thus:

Arbaces.	who reigned	28
Mandanes.		50
Sosarmon.		30
Articarmin.		50
Arbianes.		22
Arteus.		40
Artines.		22
Astybarus, with his sonne *Apanda*		20
Apanda alone.		30
Darius with *Cyrus*		36

yeeres.

Diodorus Siculus following *Ctesias* (as perhaps *Annius* made his *Metasthenes* follow *Diodore*, with some little variation, that he might not seeme a borrower) placeth them thus.

Arbaces.	who reigned	28
Mandanes.		50
Sosarmus.		30
Articus.		50
Arbianes.		22
Arteus.		40
Artines.		22
Artabanus.		40

yeeres.

Astybara. } the continuance of these two he doth not mention.
Astyages. }

Mercator hath laboured with much diligence, to reconcile these Catalogues, and to make them also agree with *Eusebius*. But forasmuch as it seemes to me an impossible matter, to attaine vnto the truth of these forgotten times, by coniectures founded vpon

Ctesias

Cteſias and *Metaſthenes*, I will lay the burden vpon *Euſebius*, who liued in an age better furniſhed than ours, with bookes of this argument. Let it therefore ſuffice, that theſe two Kings (whom I haue reckoned as contemporaries with *Ezekia*) *Medidus* and *Cardiceas*, are found in *Euſebius*: for whether *Cardiceas* were *Diodorus* his *Arbianes*, I will not ſtay to ſearch. The Kings of Media, according to *Euſebius*, reigned in this order.

Arbaces.	reigned	28	yeeres.
Soſarmus.		30	
Medidus.		40	
Cardiceas.		15	
Deioces.		54	
Phraortes.		24	
Cyaxares.		32	
Aſtyages.		38	

These names, and this courſe of ſucceſſion I retaine; but adde vnto theſe, *Cyaxares* the ſon of *Aſtyages*, according to *Xenophon*; and ſometimes follow *Herodotus*, in ſetting down the length of a Kings reigne, otherwiſe than *Euſebius* hath it: of which variations, I will render my reaſons in due place.

The twentie nine yeeres of *Ezekia* were concurrent, in part, with the rule of the foure firſt that were choſen Gouernors of Athens for ten yeers, that is, of *Charops*, *Æſimedes*, *Eliadicus*, and *Hippones*. Touching the firſt of theſe I heare nothing, ſaue that Rome was built in his firſt yeere; of which perhaps himſelf did not heare. Of the ſecond and third I find only the names. The fourth made himſelf known by a ſtrange example of iuſtice, or rather of cruelty, that he ſhewed vpon his own Daughter. For he finding that ſhe had offended in vnchaſtity, cauſed her to be lockt vp with an Horſe, giuing to neither of them any foode: ſo the Horſe, conſtrained by hunger, deuoured the vnhappy Woman.

In Rome, the firſt King, and founder of that Citie *Romulus*, did reigne both before, and ſomewhat after *Ezekia*.

In Lydia, *Candaules* the laſt King, ruled in the ſame age.

This Region was firſt called Mæonia. *Lydus* the ſon of *Atys* reigning in it, gaue the name of Lydia, if we beleeue ſuch authority as we find. This Kingdome was afterward, by the appointment of an Oracle, conferred vpon *Argon*, who came of *Alcaus* the ſon of *Hercules*, by *Iardana*, a bond-woman. The race of theſe Heracſlidæ continued reigning fifty fiue yeeres (in which two and twenty Generations paſſed) the ſon continually ſucceeding the father. *Candaules* the ſon of *Myrſus* was the laſt of his race, who doated ſo much vpon the beauty of his owne wife, that he could not be content to enioy her, but would needs enforce one *Gyges*, the ſon of *Daſcylus*, to behold her naked body; & placed the vnwilling man ſecretly in her chamber, where he might ſee her preparing to bedward. This was not ſo cloſely carried, but that the Queen perceiued *Gyges* at his going forth, and vnderſtanding the matter, took it in ſuch high diſdain, that ſhe forced him the next day to requite the Kings folly with treaſon. So *Gyges* being brought againe into the ſame chamber by the Queen, ſlew *Candaules*, and was rewarded not only with his Wife, but with the Kingdome of Lydia. He reigned thirty eight yeeres, beginning in the laſt of *Ezekia*, one year before the death of *Romulus*.

After *Gyges*, his ſon *Ardys* reigned nine & forty years; then *Sadyattes*, twelue; *Haliattes*, fifty ſeuen; and finally *Cræſus*, the ſon of *Halyattes*, fourteen years: who loſt the Kingdome, and was taken by *Cyrus* of *Perſia*.

And here by the way we may note, that as the Lydian Kings, whom *Cræſus* his Progenitor diſpoſſeſt, are deduced from *Hercules*, ſo of the ſame *Hercules* there ſprang many other Kings, which gouerned ſeuerall Countries very long; as in Aſia, the Myſians; in Greece, the Lacedæmonians, Meſſenians, Rhodians, Corinthians, & Argiues; and from the Argiues, the Macedonians; as likewiſe from the Corinthians, the Syracuſanes: beſides many great and famous, though priuate, Families.

But of the Heraclidæ that reigned in Lydia, I haue not troubled my ſelf to take notice in the time of their ſeuerall reignes: for little is found of them, beſide the bare names, & the folly of this laſt king *Candaules*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Kings that reigned in Egypt, betweene the deliuerance of Iſrael *from thence, and the reigne of* Ezekiah *in Iuda, when Egypt and Iuda made a league againſt the Aſſyrians.*

§. I.

That many names of Egyptian Kings, found in Hiſtorie, are like to haue belonged onely to Viceroyes. An example prouing this out of William *of Tyre his Hiſtory of the holy Warre.*

THe emulation & quarrels ariſing in theſe times, betweene the mighty Kingdomes of Egypt and Aſſyria, do require our paines, in collecting the moſt memorable things in Egypt, and ſetting downe briefly the ſtate of that Country, which had continued long a flouriſhing Region, and was of great power, when it contended with Aſſyria for the Maſtrie. Of *Cham* the ſon of *Noah*, vvho firſt planted that Country, and of *Oſiris*, *Orus*, and other ancient Kings, that reigned there, vntill the Iſraelites were thence deliuered, more hath been ſaid already than I can ſtand to; though I hold it no ſhame to faile in ſuch coniectures. That which I haue deliuered, in ſpeaking mine opinion of the Egyptian Dynaſties, muſt here againe helpe me. For it may truly be affirmed, That the great number of Kings, which are ſaid to haue reigned in Egypt, were none other than Viceroyes or Stewards, ſuch as *Ioſeph* was; and ſuch as were the Soldanes in later ages. Therfore I will not only forbeare to ſeeke after thoſe, whom *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* haue reckoned vp, from the mouthes of Egyptian Prieſts, deliuering them by number, without rehearſing their names; but will ſaue the labour of marſhalling them in order, whoſe names only are found; the yeares of their reignes, and other circumſtances prouing them to haue been Kings in deed, being not recorded.

But that I may not ſeeme before hand, to lay an imaginary ground, wherupon after I may build what I liſt; it were not amiſſe, to giue vnto the Reader ſuch ſatisfaction in this point, as apparant reaſon, and truth of Hiſtory doth afford. Firſt therefore, we ought not to beleeue thoſe numbers of Generations, which the lying Prieſts haue reckoned vp, to magnifie their Antiquities. For we know, that from *Abraham*, our *Sauiour Chriſt* was remoued onely forty two deſcents; which makes it euident, that in farre ſhorter time namely before the Perſian Empire, there could not haue paſſed away twice as many ſucceſſions in Egypt: eſpecially conſidering, that many of theſe, whoſe continuance is expreſſed, hauing reigned longer than forty years. It followes that we ſhould ſquare the number of the Egyptian Kings in ſome euen proportion, to thoſe which did beare rule in other Countries. As for the reſt, whoſe names we finde ſcattered here and there; any man that will take the paines to reade the nineteenth booke of the holy War, written by *William* Archbiſhop of *Tyre*, may eaſily perſwade himſelfe, that it is not hard to finde names enow, of ſuch as might be thought to haue reigned in Epypt, being none other than Regents or Viceroyes. Yet will I here inſert, as briefly as I can, ſome things making to that purpoſe for the pleaſure and information of ſuch, as will not trouble themſelues with turning ouer many Authors.

When *Elahdeeb* the Caliph ruled in Egypt, one *Dargan*, a powerfull and a ſubtile man, made himſelfe Soldan, by force and cunning, chaſing away *Sanar* an Arabian, who was Soldan before and after him. This *Dargan* miniſtred matter of quarrel to *Amalrick* king of Ieruſalem; and ſuſtained, with little loſſe, an inuaſion, which *Amalrick* made vpon Egypt. Hereupon he grew ſo inſolent and proud, that *Sanar* the former Soldan hoped to make his party good againſt him, if he could get any forces wherwith to enter Egypt.

Briefly,

Briefly, *Sanar* sueth to *Noradine*, King of *Damasco*, for aide, who sends an Army of his Turkes, vnder the command of *Syracon*, against the *Soldan Dargan*. So *Dargan* and *Sanar* met, and fought: The victorie was *Dargans*; but hee enioyed it not: for in few daies after, he was slaine by treason, whereby *Sanar* did recouer his Dignitie: which to establish, he slew all the kindred and Friends of *Dargan*, that he could finde in the great City of *Cairo*.

To all these doings, the *Caliph Elhadech* gaue little regard; for he thought it little concerned him, which of them liued, and had the administration of the Kingdome, whilest he might haue the profit of it, and enioy his pleasure. But new troubles presently arise, which (one would thinke) do neerly touch the *Caliph* himselfe. *Syracon* with his Turkes, whom *Sanar* had gotten to come into Egypt, will not now be intreated there to leaue him, and quietly go their way home. They seize vpon the Town of Belbeis, which they fortifie, and there attend the arriuall of more company from Damasco, for the conquest of all Egypt. The *Soldan* perceiues their intent, and findes himselfe not strong enough to expell them; much lesse to repell the Turkish Army, that was likely to second them. He therefore sends Messengers to King *Almaricke* of Ierusalem, whom with large promises, he gets to bring him aide, and so driues out the Turkes. Of all this trouble, the great *Caliph* heares nothing, or not so much, as should make him looke to the playing of his own game.

A greater mischiefe ariseth, concerning the *Caliph Elhadech* particularly, in his owne Title. *Syracon*, Captaine of the Turkes that had been in Egypt, goes to the *Caliph* of Baldach (vvho was opposite to him of Egypt, each of them claiming as heire to *Mahomet* that false Prophet, the Soueraignty ouer all that vvere of the Saracen Law) and tels him the weakenesse of the Egyptian, with his own abilitie of doing seruice in those parts, offering his best means for the extirpation of the Schismaticall *Caliph*, and the reduction of all Egypt, vvith the Western parts, vnder the subiection of the Babylonian. This motion is readily and ioyfully entertained; all the Eastern Prouinces are vp in Armes, and *Syracon*, with a mighty power, descendeth into Egypt. The noyse of this great expedition so affrighteth King *Almaricke*, that vvith all his forces he hasteth into Egypt: vvell knowing how neerely it concerned him and his Kingdome of Ierusalem, to keepe the Saracens from ioyning all vnder one head. *Sanar* the Soldan perceiuing the faithful eare of the Christians his friends, welcomes them; and bestirs himselfe in giuing them all manner of content, as it behooued him: for by their admirable valour, he finally draue the enemies out of the Countrie. But this victory was not so soone gotten, as it is quickly told.

Strange it is (which most concernes our present purpose) that of so desperate a danger, the *Caliph*, as yet, seemes to know nothing. May we not thinke him to haue been King in title only, who medled so little in the Gouernment? The Soldan, finding that the Christians (without whose helpe, all was lost) could not well stay, so long as his necessities required; makes large offers to King *Almaricke*, vpon condition that he should abide by it. He promiseth a great Tribute (*William* of *Tyre* cals it a Tribute; the Saracens, perhaps, called it a Pension) which the Kings of Ierusalem should receiue out of Egypt, for this behouefull assistance. But the Christians vnderstanding that the Soldan (how much soeuer he tooke vpon him) was subiect to a higher Lord, would make no bargain of such importance, with any other than the *Caliph* himselfe. Hereupon *Hugh* Eare of Cæsarea, and a Knight of the Templars, are sent vnto *Elhadech* to ratifie the couenants. Now shall we see the greatnesse of the *Caliph* and his estate.

These Embassadors were conueighed by the Soldan to *Cairo*, where arriuing at the Palace, they found it guarded by great troupes of Souldiers. The first entrance was through dark Porches, that were kept by many armed bands of Ethiopians, vvhich with all diligence, did reuerence to the Soldan as he passed along. Through these sturdie Warders led them, into goodly open Courts, of such beauty and riches, that they could not retaine the gaudy of Embassadours, but were inforced to admire the things vvhich detained their eyes. For there they saw goodly Marble Pillars, gilded Beames, all vvrought ouer with embossed vvorkes, curious pauements, fish-ponds of marble vvith clear vvaters, and many sorts of strange birds, vnknown in those parts of the world, as comming perhaps from the East Indies, which then was vndiscouered. The further they went, the greater was the magnificence; for the *Caliph* his Eunuches conueyed them into other

other Courts within these; as far excelling the former, as the former did surpasse ordinarie houses. It were tedious perhaps to rehearse, how, the further they entred, the more high state they found, and cause of maruaile; suffice it, that the good Archbishop, who wrote these things, was neuer held a vaine Author. Finally they were brough into the Caliphs own lodgings, which were yet more stately, and better guarded; where entring the Presence, the Soldan hauing twice prostrated himself, did the third time cast off his Sword, that he wore about his necke, and throw himself on the ground, before the curtaine, behinde which the Caliph sate. Presently the trauerse, wrought with Gold and Pearles was opened, and the Caliph himself discouered, sitting vvith great maiestie on a throne of gold, hauing few of his most inward seruants and Eunuches about him. When the Soldan had humbly kissed his Masters feet, he briefly told the cause of his comming, the danger wherein the land stood, and the offers that he had made vnto King *Almerick*, desiring the Caliph himself to ratifie them, in presence of the Embassadors. The Caliph answered, That he vvould throughly perform all which vvas promised. But this contented not the Embassadors: They would haue him to giue his hand vpon the bargaine; vvhich the Egyptians, that stood by, thought an impudent request. Yet his greatnesse condescended at length, after much deliberation, at the earnest request of the Soldan, to reach out his hand. When the Eale of Cæsarea saw that the Caliph gaue his hand, neither vvillingly nor bare, hee told him roundly thus much in effect: Sir, Truth seekes no holes to hide it selfe; Princes, that vvill hold couenant, must deale openly, nakedly & sincerely; Giue vs therfore your bare hand, if you meane that we shall trust you, for we vvill make no bargaine vvith your Gloue. Much adoe there was about this: for it seemed against the Maiesty of such a Prince to yeeld so far. But, when it vvould none otherwise be, with a smiling cheare (though to the great griefe of his Seruants) he vouchsafed to let the Earle take him by the bare hand; and so reheasing the couenants vword by word, as the Earle spake them, he ratified all; dismissing finally the Embassadors, with such rewards as testified his Greatnesse.

In this Caliph and his Sultan, vve may discerne the Image of the ancient *Pharaoh*, and his Viceroy: we see a Prince of great estate, sitting in his Palace, and not vexing himself vvith the great preparations made against him, which terrifie his neighbour Countries: we see his Viceroy, in the meane season, vsing all Royall power; making war and peace; entertaining and repelling Armies of strangers; yea making the Land of Egypt tributary to a forrain Prince. What greater authority vvas giuen to *Ioseph*, vvhen *Pharaoh* said vnto him, *Thou shalt be ouer mine house, and at thy word shall all my people be armed, onely in the Kings throne will I be aboue thee, Behold, I haue set thee ouer all the Land of Egypt.*

I do not commend this forme of Gouernment; neither can I approue the coniecture of mine Author, where he thinkes, that the Egyptians, euer since *Iosephs* time, haue felt the burden of that seruitude which hee brought vpon them, when he bought them and their Lands for *Pharaoh*. Herein I finde his judgement good; that he affirmes this manner of the Egyptian Kings, in taking their ease, and ruling by a Viceroy, to be part of the ancient customes, practised by the *Pharaohs*. For we find, that euen the *Ptolomies* (excepting *Ptolomæus Lagi*, and his son *Philadelphus*, founder and establisher of that race) were giuen, all of them, wholly to please their own appetites, leauing the charge of the Kingdome to Women, Eunuches, and other ministers of their desires. The pleasures which that Country afforded, were indeed sufficient to inuite the Kings thereof vnto a voluptuous life; and the awfull regard wherin the Egyptians held their Princes, gaue them security, whereby they might the better trust their Officers, with so ample commission. But of this matter, I will not stand longer to dispute. It is enough to haue shewed, that the great and almost absolute power of the Viceroyes gouerning Egypt, is set down by *Moses*, and that a liuely example of the same is found in *William* of *Tyre*; who liued in the same age; was, in few yeares after, Chancellour of the Kingdome of Ierusalem; and had full discourse with *Hugh* Earle of Cæsarea, touching all these matters. Wherfore it remaines, that we be not carried away with a vaine opinion, to beleeue that all they were Kings, whom reports of the fabulous Egyptians haue honoured with that stile; but rest contented with a Catalogue of such, as we find by circumstance, likely to haue reigned in that Country; after whom it followes that we should make enquiry.

§.II. Of

§. II.

Of Acherres; *whether he were* Vchoreus *that was the eighth from* Osymandyas. *Of* Osymandyas *and his Tombe.*

IN this businesse I hold it vaine to bee too curious. For who can hope to attaine to the perfect knowledge of the truth, when as *Diodorus* varies from *Herodotus*, *Eusebius*, from both of them; and late Writers, that haue sought to gather the truth out of these and others, finde no one with whom they can agree? In this case *Annius* would doe good seruice, if a man could trust him. But it is enough to bee beholding to him, when others doe either say nothing, or that which may iustly be suspected. I will therefore hold my self contented, with the pleasure that he hath done me, in saying somewhat of *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Orus*, and those antiquities remoued so farre out of sight: as for the Kings following the departure of Israel out of Egypt, it shall suffice, that *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, and *Eusebius*, haue not beene silent, and that *Reineccius* hath taken paines, to range into some good order the names that are extant in these, or else found scattering in others.

From the departure of Israel out of Egypt, vnto the reigne of *Thuoris* (who is generally taken to be the same that the Greekes call *Proteus*) there is little or no disagreement about the Egyptian Kings. Wherefore I set down the same which are found in *Eusebius*, and giue to euery one the same length of reigne.

Acherres was the first of these, who succeeded vnto *Chencres*, that perished in the Red Sea. This king seemes to *Reineccius* to be the same whom *Diodorus* cals *Vchoreus*, the founder of Memphis. But whereas mention is found in *Diodorus* of a great king, named *Osymandyas*, from whom *Vchoreus* is said to be the eighth; it will either hardly follow, that *Timaus* (as *Reineccius* coniectures) was the great *Osymandyas*; or else that this *Acherres* was *Vchoreus*: for the distance betweene them was more than eight generations. *Mercator* iudgeth *Osymandyas* to haue bin the husband of *Ancheres*, *Orus* the seconds daughter; thinking that *Manethon* (cited by *Iosephus*) doth omit his name, and insert his wiues, into the Catologue of Kings, because he was King in his wiues right. As for *Vchoreus*, it troubles not *Mercator* to finde him the eighth from this man: for he takes *Ogdous*, not to signifie in this place of *Diodore* (as that Greeke word else doth) the eighth, but to be an Egyptian name, belonging also to *Vchoreus*, who might haue had two names, as many of the rest had. I will not vexe my braines in the vnprofitable search of this, and the like inextricable doubts. All that *Diodore* hath found of this *Osymandias*, was wrought vpon his monument; the most thereof in figures, which I thinke the Egyptians did fabulously expound. For whereas there was pourtraied a great Army with the siege of a Town, the captiuitie of the people, and the triumph of the Conqueror; all this, the Egyptians said to denote the conquest of Bactria made by that King: which how likely it was, let others iudge. I hold this goodly peece of worke, which *Diodore* so particularly describes, to haue beene erected for a common place of buriall, to the ancient Kings and Queenes of Egypt, and to their Viceroyes; whilest yet they were not so ambitious, as euery one to haue his owne particular monument, striuing therein to exceed all others. This appeares by the many statuaes, therein placed, by the Wars, the iudgement seate, the receiuing of Tribute, the offering Sacrifice to God, the account of Reuennues, and plenty of all Cattell and Foode; all which were there curiously wrought, shewing the seuerall Offices of a Gouernour. On the Tombe of *Osymandyas* was this inscription. *I am* Osymandyas *King of Kings*; *If any desire to know what I am, or where I lie, let him exceed some of my workes.* Let them that hope to exceede his workes, labour to know what he was. But since by those words, *Or where I lye*, it should seeme that hee lay not there interred, we may lawfully suspect that it was *Ioseph*, whose body was preserued among the Hebrewes, to be buried in the Land of Canaan, & this empty Monument might king *Orus*, who out-liued him, erect in honor of his high deserts, among the royal sepulchres. To which purpose, the plenty of Cattell, and all manner of viands, had good reference. The name of *Osymandyas* doth not hinder this coniecture; seeing *Ioseph* had one new name giuen to him by *Pharaoh*, for expounding the dream, and might, vpon further occasions, haue another, to his increase of honor. As for that stile, *King of Kings*, it was perhaps no more than *Beglerbeg*, as the *Turkish Bassaes* are called, that is, Great aboue the Great.

Now

Now although it be so, that the reckoning fals out right, between the times of *Ioseph* & *Acherres* (for *Acherres* was the eight in order, that reigned after the great *Orus*, whose Viceroy *Ioseph* was) yet will I hereby seeke, neither to fortifie mine owne coniecture, as touching *Ioseph*, nor to infer any likelihood of *Acherres* his being *Vchoreus*. For it might well be, that Memphis was built by some such King as was *Gehoar*, Lieutenant vnto the Caliph *Elcain*; who hauing to his Masters vse conquered Egypt, and many other Countries, did build, not far from old Memphis, the great City of Cairo (corruptely so pronounced) naming it El Cahira, that is, an enforcing, or an imperious Mistresse, though he himselfe were a Dalmatian staue. *Iohn Leo. Hist. Afric. l. 1. & l. 8.*

§. III.

Of Chertes, Armeus, Ramesses, *and* Amenophis. *Of* Myris, *and the Lake that beares his name.*

WHen *Acherres* had reigned eight years, *Cherres* succeeded & held the kingdome fifteene years: then reigned *Armeus* fiue years, & after him *Ramesses*, threescore and eight. Of *Armeus* and *Ramesses* is that Historie vnderstood by *Eusebius*, which is common among the Greekes, vnder the names of *Danaus* and *Ægyptus*. For it is said that *Danaus*, being expelled out of Egypt by his brother, fled into Greece, where he obtained the kingdome of Argos: that he had fifty Daughters, whom vpon seeming reconciliation, hee gaue in marriage to his brothers fifty sons, but commanded euery one of them to kill her husband the first night; that onely *Hypermnestra*, one of his Daughters, did saue her husband *Lynceus*, and suffered him to escape; finally, That for this fact, all the bloudy sisters, when they died, were enioyned this foolish punishment in Hell, to fill a leaking vessell with water.

The reigne of *Danaus* in Argos was indeed in this age; but that *Armeus*, was *Danaus*; & *Ramesses*, *Ægyptus*; is more than *Reineccius* beleeues: he rather takes *Armeus* to haue bin *Myris*, or *Meris*, who caused the great lake to bee made which beares his name. For my own part, as I can easily beleeue, that he which fled out of Egypt into Greece, was a man of such qualitie as the Soldan *Sanar*, of whom we spake before; so do I not find how in so short a reigne, as fiue years, a worke of that labour could be finished, which was required vnto the Lake of Myris, and the Monuments therin; wherof his own Sepulchre and his wiues being some part, it is manifest that he was not buried in Argos. Wherefore of *Myris*, and of all other Kings, whose age is vncertaine, and of whose reignes we haue no assurance, I may truly say, that their great workes are not enough to proue them of the house of *Pharaoh*, seeing that greater deeds or more absolute, than were those of *Ioseph*, who bought all the people of Egypt as bond-men, and all their land for bread; of *Gehoar*, who founded Cairo; and of *Sanar*, who made the Country Tributarie; were performed by none of them.

It shall therefore be enough to set down the length of their reignes, whom wee finde to haue followed one another in order of succession: but in rehearsing the great acts which were performed, I will not stand to examine, whether they that did them were Kings or no.

The Lake of Myris, is, by the report of *Diodore* and *Herodotus*, three thousand sixe hundred furlongs in compasse, and fifty fadomes deepe. It serued to receiue the waters of Nilus, when the ouer-flow, being too great, was harmefull to the Countrie: and to supply the defect, by letting out the waters of the Lake, when the Riuer did not rise high enough. In opening the sluces of this Lake, for the letting in or out of waters, were spent fifty talents; but the Lake it self defraied that cost; seeing the tribute imposed vpon Fish taken therein, was euery day one talent, which *Myris* gaue to his Wife to buy sweet oyntments, and other ornaments for her body. In the middest of it was left an Island, wherein were the Sepulchres of *Myris* and his Wife, and ouer each of them a Pyramis, that was a furlong, or (according to *Herodotus*) fiftie paces high; hauing on the tops their statues, sitting in Thrones. I finde not the description of this Lake in Maps, answerable to the report of Historians: yet is it very great. The yeeres of *Armeus* are by *Manethon* diuided, by inserting one *Armesis* (whom *Eusebius* omits) that should haue reigned one yeare and odde moneths of the time: but I hold not this difference worthy of examination.

After

After *Rameſſes*, his ſon *Amenophis* held the Kingdome forty years. Some giue him only nineteene yeeres; and *Mercator* thinkes him to haue been the king that was drowned in the Red Sea: wherof I haue already ſpoken in the firſt Book.

§. IIII.

Of the Kings that reigned in the Dynaſtie of the Larthes.

SEthoſis, or *Zethus*, reigned after his Father *Amenophis*, fifty fiue yeares. To him are aſcribed the famous acts of that ancient *Seſoſtris*. But the ſtate of the world vvas not ſuch at theſe times, that ſo great an expedition as the old *Seſoſtris* made, could haue been either eaſily performed, or forgotten in the Countries through which he paſſed, had it now been performed; as any man will perceiue, if he looke vpon my Chronologicall Table, and conſider who liued with this *Zethus*. With this King began the Dynaſty of the Larthes; which *Reineccius* coniectures to haue had the ſame ſignification, wherin the old Kings of Hetruria, were called Lartes, (the Hetrurians being iſſued out of Lydia, the Lydians out of Egypt) and to haue ſignified as much as *Imperator*, or *Generall*. The Wars in which theſe Kings were Generals, I take to haue been againſt the Æthiopians: for ſure I am, that they troubled not the Country of Palæſtina, that lay next vnto them on the one hand; nor is it likely that they trauelled ouer the deſart ſands, on the other hand; to ſeek matter of conqueſt, in the poore Countries of Africa. But theſe Generals (if the Larthes were ſuch) were not many. Fiue only had that title; and the laſt of theſe took it, perhaps, as hereditary from the firſt; in ſuch ſort as the Romane Emperours were proud for a while, to be called Antonini, till the moſt vnſuteable conditions of *Heliogabalus*, made his ſucceſſors forbeare the name.

Here it may be obiected, that the Dynaſties (as appeares by this particular) took name from the Kings; that the Kings alſo did adminiſter the gouernment themſelues, & that therefore I am deceiued in aſcribing ſo much vnto the Viceroyes. But it is to be conſidered, that what is ſaid of theſe Larthes, depends only vpon coniecture, and that the authory of the Regents, or Viceroyes, might be great enough, though ſome few kings
John Leo. 8. took the conduct of Armies into their own hands. For ſo we finde in *Iohn Leo*, that the Soldan of Egypt (after ſuch time as the Soldane Saladine, murdering the Caliph, got the Soueraignty to himſelfe) had vnder him a Viceroy, ſtiled *Eddaguadare*, who had authority to place, or diſplace, any Magiſtrates, or Officers; and that this mans Family was almoſt as great, as the Soldans own. Yet was there alſo the *Amir Cabir*, or Lord Generall of the Soldans forces, who had the charge of defending the Land, and might as he thought good, ſpend of the Soldans Treaſure. So might the office of the Viceroyes continue, though the Kings themſelues, taking the charge, or title of Generals vpon them, did ſomewhat abridge the greatnes of that ſecond place. As for the names of the Dynaſties, it skills not whence they were drawn; whether from their Country, as thoſe of the Thebans and Diapolitans, or from ſome eminent men, or man, who ruled in that time; as many think, that the ſeuenteenth Dynaſty was called of the Sheepheards, becauſe *Ioſeph* gouerned in part therof; or from the Kings themſelues that reigned; as this was ſaid to be of the Larthes or Generals. The next, as *Manetho* (but *Annius* his *Manetho*) hath it, was without any Larthes or Generals, yet was it not without Kings, foraſmuch as *Vaphres*, and *Seſac*, reigned therin, if many others did not. But let vs now return to the buſineſſe which we left.

Rameſes was King after *Zethus*, or *Sethoſis*, threeſcore and ſixe yeares. He is miſtaken for that ſecond *Seſoſtris*, of whom I haue ſpoken in the firſt books. I find nothing worth rehearſall of this *Rameſes*, or of *Ammenophis* and *Annemenes*, that followed him in order, the former of which reigned forty, the later ſixe and twenty years. Wherefore it may very well be, that the name which *Zethus* had from valour, was taken by theſe as hereditary.

Thuoris, the laſt of the Larthes, reigned only ſeuen years; yet is he thought to haue bin that *Proteus*, of whom *Herodotus* hath mention, ſaying, That he took *Helena* from Paris, and after the ſacke of Troy, reſtored her to *Menelaus*. I need ſay no more in refutation of this, than that the time of *Thuoris* his reigne, laſted not ſo long as from the Rape of *Helen* to her reſtitution.

This

This *Proteus* or *Cetes* (as he is named by ſome) together with *Thon*, and others, mentioned by *Greeke* Writers in this buſineſſe, or in other ſuch matters, may ſeeme to be vnder-Officers: for ſuch only are like to haue had their reſidencie about *Pharos*, and the Sea-coaſt, where *Menelaus* arriued.

Of *Proteus*, who detained *Helen*, it is ſaid, That he could foretell things to come, and that he could change himſelfe into all ſhapes: whereby is ſignified his craftie head, for which he is grown into a Prouerbe. The Poets fained him a Sea-God, and keeper of *Neptunes* Seale-fiſhes, for belike he was ſome vnder-Officer to the Admirall, hauing charge of the Fiſhing about the Iſle of *Pharos*, as was ſaid before.

Remphes, the Son of *Proteus*, is reckoned the next King, by *Diodore*, as alſo by *Herodotus*, who calls him *Ramſinitus*, & tells a long tale fit to pleaſe children, of his coueteouſneſſe, and how his treaſure-houſe was robbed by a cunning Theefe, that at laſt married his Daughter. But of this a man may beleeue what he liſt How long this king reigned I know not, nor thinke that either he, or his Father, did reigne at all.

§. V.

Of the Egyptian Kings whoſe names are found ſcattering in ſundrie Authors, their times being not recorded. The Kings of Egypt, according to Cedrenus. *Of* Vaphres *and* Seſac.

MAny other names of *Egyptian* Kings, are found ſcattered heere and there; as *Tonepherſobis*, of vvhom *Suidas* deliuers onely the bare name and title; *Senemures*, or *Senepos*, mentioned in *Macrobius*, vvho perhaps was the ſame that by *Suidas* is called *Senyes*, or *Euenes*, noted by occaſion of a great Phyſician that liued vnder him; *Banchyris*, recorded by the ſame *Suidas*, for his great iuſtice; and *Thulis*, of vvhom *Suidas* tells great matters; as, that his Empire extended to the Ocean Sea; that he gaue name to the Iſle of *Thule*, which ſome take to be Iſeland; and that he conſulted with the Deuill, or (which is all one) with *Seraphis*, deſiring to know, who before him had beene, or after him ſhould be ſo mighty as himſelfe. The anſwer or confeſſion of the Deuill was remarkeable; which I find Engliſhed in the tranſlation of *Pleſsis* his worke, *Of the truneſſe of Chriſtian religion*. The *Greeke* Verſes are ſomewhat otherwiſe, & much more imperfect in thoſe Copies that I haue of *Cedrenus* and *Suidas*, but the ſenſe is all one; which is this:

> First *God*, and next *The Word*, and then *The Spirit*,
> Which three be *One*, and ioyne in *One* all three:
> Whoſe force is endleſſe. Get thee hence fraile vvight,
> The Man of Life vnknowne excelleth thee.

I ſhould haue thought that *Suidas* had borrowed all this of *Cedrenus*, had I not found ſomewhat more in *Suidas*, than *Cedrenus* hath hereof; as the forme of inuocation which *Thulis* vſed, & that clauſe of his giuing name to the Iland: though in this laſt point I hold *Suidas* to be deceiued; as alſo *Cedrenus* is, or (at leaſt) ſeems to me, in giuing to this King ſuch profound antiquitie of reigne. Indeed the very name of that booke, cited often by *Cedrenus*, which he calls *Little Geneſis*, is alone enough to breed ſuſpition of ſome impoſture: but the Friarly ſtuffe that he alledgeth out of it, is ſuch as vvould ſerue to diſcredit himſelfe, were it not otherwiſe apparant, that he vvas a man both deuout, & of good iudgement, in matters that fell vvithin his compaſſe. I will here ſet down the Liſt of old *Egyptian* Kings deliuered by him, and leaue the cenſure to others.

The firſt king of *Egypt* that he ſets downe, is *Mizraim*, the ſonne of *Cham*. After him he finds many of a new race, deriuing their pedegree thus: *Nimrod*, the ſon of *Chus*, was also called *Orion*, & further tooke vpon him the name of the Planet *Saturne*, had to wife *Semiramis*, who was of his own Linage, & by her three ſonnes; *Picus*, furnamed *Iupiter*, *Belus* and *Ninus*. *Picus* chaſing his father out of *Aſſyria* into *Italie*, reigned in his ſtead thirtie yeares, and then gaue vp that Kingdome to *Iuno*, his ſiſter and wife, and to *Belus* his ſon: after which *Belus*, who reigned onely two yeares, *Ninus* had the Kingdome, and married his owne mother *Semiramis*. But *Picus* went into *Italie*, to viſit his olde father *Saturne*; *Saturne* forth-with reſigned the Kingdome vnto him. *Picus Iupiter* reigned in *Italie* threeſcore and two yeares, had threeſcore and ten Wiues or Concubines, and about as many children: finally died, and lyes buried in the *Iſle* of *Crete*.

The Principall of *Iupiters* sons were *Faunus*, *Perseus*, and *Apollo*. *Faunus* was called by the name of the Planet *Mercurie*: he reigned in *Italie*, after his father, fiue and thirtie yeares: and then (finding that all his brethren conspired against him) he went into *Egypt*, with abundance of Treasure; where, after the death of *Misraim*, he got the Kingdome, and held it nine and thirty yeares. After *Mercurie*, *Vulcan* reigned in *Egypt*, foure yeares and a halfe. Then *Sol*, the sonne of *Vulcan*, reigned twenty yeares and a halfe. There followed in order *Sosis*, *Osiris*, *Orus*, and *Thules*, of whom we spake before: the length of their seuerall reignes is not set downe. After *Thules*, was the great *Sesostris* king twenty yeares. His successor was *Pharao*, called *Narecho*, that held the Crowne fiftie yeares, with which there passed from him the surname of *Pharao*, to a very long posteritie.

These reports of *Cedrenus* I hold it enough to set downe as I find them: let their credit rest vpon the Author.

Others yet we find, that are said to haue reigned in *Egypt*, without any certaine note, when, or how long: about whom I will not labour, as fearing more to be reprehended of vaine curiositie, in the search made after these already rehearsed, than of negligence, in omitting such as might haue beene added.

Vaphres, the father in law to *Salomon*, and *Sesac*, the afflicter of *Rehoboam*, lead vs againe into faire way, but not farre. The name of *Vaphres* is not found in the Scriptures; but we are beholding to *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Eusebius* for it. These giue vs not the length of his reigne; but we know, that he liued in the times of *Danid* and of *Salomon*. He came into *Palestina* with an Armie, took *Gezar* from the *Canaanites*, & gaue it to his daughter, *Salomons* wife: though for her sake perhaps it was, that in time following either he, or (as I rather take it) *Sesac* his son did fauour the enemies of *Salomon*, who kept so many Wiues and Concubines, besides this *Egyptian* Princesse. In the life of *Rehoboam* all hath bin written that I find of *Sesac*, excepting the length of his reigne, which must haue bin sixe and twenty yeares, if he were that *Smendis* with whom *Eusebius* begins the one and twentieth *Dynastie*.

Clem. Strom. l. 1. Euseb. de Prep. Euang. l. 9. c. 4.

1 King. 9. 16. & 11. v. 18. 19. &c.

Now forasmuch as it would serue to no great purpose, that we knew the length of *Sesac* his reigne, and of theirs that followed him, vnlesse therewithall we knew the beginning of *Sesac*, vpon which the rest haue dependance; this course I take. From the fourth yeare of *Iehoiakim*, king of *Iuda*, in which *Pharao Neco* was slain, I reckon vpwards the yeares of the same *Neco*, and of his predecessors, vnto the beginning of *Sesac*: by which accompt, the first yeare of *Sesac* is found, concurrent with the twentieth of *Salomons* reigne, and the twenty sixe of *Sesac* with the fifth of *Rehoboam*: wherein *Sesac* spoyled the Temple, and died, enioying the fruits of his Sacriledge no longer, than *Ioas* the *Israelite*, & *Crassus* the *Romane* did; who after him, spoyled the Temple of *Ierusalem*.

To fill vp the time between *Sesac* and *Neco*, I haue rather taken those kings that I find in the *Greeke* Historians, than them which are in *Eusebius* his Catalogue. For of these that are deliuered by *Eusebius*, we find no Name nor Act recorded elsewhere, saue only of *Bocchoris*, who is remembred by *Diodore*, *Plutarch*, and others, much being spoken of him, that makes him appeare to haue bin a king. Hereunto I may adde, that the succession is often interrupted in *Eusebius* by *Æthiopians*, which got the kingdome often, and held it long: whereas contrariwise it appeares by the Prophet *Esay*, that the Counsellors of *Pharao* did vaunt of the long & flourishing continuance of that house, insomuch, that they said of *Pharaoh*, *I am the Sonne of the wise, I am the Sonne of the ancient King*. But that which ouerthrows the reckoning of *Eusebius*, is, the good agreement of it with his mistaken times of the kings of *Iuda*. For though it please him well to see how the reignes of *Iosias* and *Neco* meet by his computation, yet this indeed marres all; the reigne of *Iosias* being misplaced. This error growes from his omitting to compare the reignes of the kings of *Iuda* with theirs of *Israel*: by which occasion, *Ioram*, king of *Israel*, is made to reigne three yeares after *Ahazia* of *Iuda*; *Samaria* is taken by *Salmanassar* before *Hezekia* was king: and in a word, all, or most of the kings, haue their beginnings placed in some other yeere, of their collateralls, than the Scriptures haue determined.

Esai 19. 11.

§. VI. *Of*

§. VI.

Of Chemmis, Cheops, Cephrenes, *and other Kings recited by* Herodotus *and* Diodorus Siculus, *which reigned betweene the times of* Rehoboam *and* Ezekia.

FOllowing therefore the *Greeke* Historians, I place *Chemmis*, or (according to *Diodore*) *Chembis*, first in the ranke of those that were Kings after *Sesac*. He reigned fiftie yeares, and built the greatest of the three *Pyramides*, which was accounted one of this worlds Wonders. The *Pyramis* hath his name from the shape, in that it resembleth a flame of fire, growing from the bottome vpwards narrower and narrower to the top. This of *Chemmis* being foure-square, had a Base of seuen akers euerie way, and vvas aboue sixe akers high. It vvas of a very hard & dureable stone, which had lasted, when *Diodore* saw it, about a thousand yeares, vvithout complaining of any iniurie that it had suffered by vveather in so long space. From the reigne of *Chemmis*, vnto the age of *Augustus Cæsar*, vvherein *Diodore* liued, are indeede a thousand yeares; vvhich doth giue the better likelihood vnto this time wherein *Chemmis* is placed. As for this and other *Pyramides*, late Writers doe testifie, that they haue seene them yet standing.

After *Chemmis*, *Diodore* placeth *Cephrenes* his brother; but doubtfully, and enclining rather to the opinion, that his son *Chabreus* succeeded. *Herodotus* hath *Cheops* (who might be *Chabreus*) and *Cephrenes* after him. These are said to haue beene brethren; but the length of their reignes may argue the later to haue beene son to the former: for *Cheops* reigned fiftie yeares; *Cephrenes* fiftie sixe. These vvere, as *Chemmis* had beene builders of Pyramides, whereby they purchased great hatred of their people, who already had ouer-laboured themselues in erecting the first. These Pyramides were ordained to be Tombes for those that raised them; but the malice of the *Egyptians* is said to haue cast out their bodies; & to haue called their Monuments by the name of an Heardsman, that kept his Beasts thereabouts. It may be, that the robbing them of their honor, & entituling a poore fellow to their workes, was held to be the casting out of their bodies: otherwise, it is hard to conceiue, how it might be, that they, who had not power to auoid the like slauerie, laid vpon them by the younger brother or son, should haue power or leisure to take such reuenge vpon his Predecessor. To the like malice may be ascribed the tale deuised against *Cheops* his Daughter; That her Father, wanting money did prostitute her, & that she, getting of euery man that accompanied her, one stone, did build with them a fourth Pyramis, that stood in the middest of the other three. Belike she was an insolent Lady, and made them follow their drudgery, for her sake, longer a while than they thought to haue done, in raising a Monument, vvith the superfluitie of her Fathers prouisions.

Diodor. l. 1. Herod. l. 2.

Mycerinus, the son of *Cephrenes*, reigned after his Father sixe yeares. He vvould haue built as his fore-goers did, but preuented by death, finished not what he had begun. The people thought him a good King, for that he did set open the Temples, which *Cheops* and *Cephrenes* had kept shut. But an Oracle threatned him with a short life of sixe yeers only, because of this his deuotion; *For* (said the Oracle) *Egypt should haue beene afflicted an hundred and fiftie yeeres, which thy Predecessors knew, and performed for their parts; but thou hast released it, therefore shalt thou liue but sixe yeeres.* It is very strange, that the gods should be offended vvith a King for his pietie; or that they should decree to make a Countrie impious, vvhen the people were desirous to serue them; or that they hauing so decreed, it should lie in the power of a King, to alter destinie, and make the ordinance of the gods to faile in taking full effect. But these were *Egyptian* gods. The true God was, doubtlesse, more offended with the institution of such Idolatrie, than with the interruption. And who knowes, vvhether *Chemmis* did not learne somewhat at *Ierusalem*, in the last yeare of his Father *Sesac*, that made him perceiue, and deliuer to those that followed him, the vanity of his *Egyptian* superstition? Most sure it is that his reigne, and the reignes of *Cheops*, and *Cephrenes*, vvere more long and more happie, than that of *Mycerinus*, vvho, to delude the Oracle, reuelled away both dayes and nights, as if by keeping candles lighted, he had changed his nights into dayes, and so doubled the time appointed: a seruice more pleasing to the Deuil, than the restitution of Idolatrie durst then seeme, when it could speede no better. I find in *Reineccius* fiftie

yeares assigned to this King; which I verily beleeue to haue bin some error of the print, though I find it not corrected among other such ouersights: for I know no Author that giues him so many yeares, aud *Reineccius* himself takes notice of the Oracle, that threatned *Mycerinus* with a short life, as is before shewed.

Bocchorus is placed next vnto *Mycerinus*, by *Diodore*, who speakes no more of him than this, that he was a strong man of body, & excelling his predecessors in wit. He is spoken of by diuers Authors, as one that loued iustice; and may be taken for that *Banchyru*, whom *Suidas* commends in that kind: *Eusebius* reckons 44. yeeres of his reigne.

After *Bocchorus*, one *Sabacus* an *Æthiopian* followes, in the Catalogue of *Diodore*; but certaine ages after him. *Herodotus*, quite omitting *Bocchorus*, hath *Asychis*; who made a sharpe law (as it was then held) against bad debtors, that their dead bodies should be in the creditors disposition, till the debt were paied. This *Asychis* made a Pyramis of brick, more costly and faire, in his owne iudgement, than any of those that the former Kings had raised. Besides this *Asychis*, *Herodotus* placeth one *Anysis*, a blinde man, before the *Æthiopian*. The reignes of these two are perhaps those many ages, which the *Egyptians*, to magnifie their antiquities, accounted betweene *Bocchorus*, and him that followed them. But all this could make but sixe yeeres; and so long doth *Functius*, so long doth *Reineccius* hold, that these two kings, between them both did gouerne. If any man would lengthen this time, holding it vnprobable that the reignes of two kings should haue bin so soone spent; hee may doe it by taking some yeares from *Sethon* or *Psammiticus*, and adding them to either of these. To adde vnto these, without subtracting from some other, would breede a manifest inconuenience: forasmuch as part of *Sesac* his reigne, must haue beene in *the fifth of Rehoboam*, as also the last of *Pharao Neco* was the fourth of *Iehoiakim*, and the first of *Nabuchadnezzar*. For mine owne part I like it better to allow sixe yeares onely to these two kings, than to lose the witnesse of *Herodotus*, who, concurring herein with the Scriptures, doth speak of *Sennacheribs* warre: at which time *Sethon* was King of *Egypt*. I will not therefore adde yeares vnto these obscure names; for by adding vnto these men three years, we shall thrust the beginning of *Sethon* out of place, and make it later than the death of *Sennacherib*. In regard of this agreement of *Herodotus* with the Scriptures, I am the more willing to hold with him, in his *Egyptian* kings. Otherwise it were a matter of no great enuie, to leaue both *Asychis* and *Anysis* out of the roll; which were easily done, by placing *Sesac* lower, & extending his life yet sixe yeares further, or more, (if the like abridgement shall be required of *Psammiticus* his reigne) into the yeares of *Rehoboam*.

1. King. 14. 25. 2. Chron. 12. v. 2.

Of *Sabacus* the *Æthiopian*, who tooke the kingdome from *Anysis*, it is agreed by the most, that he reigned fiftie yeares. He was a mercifull Prince, not punishing all capitall offences with death, but imposing bondage and bodily labour vpon malefactors; by whose toyle he both got much wealth into his owne hands, letting out their seruice to hire, and performed many workes, of more vse than pompe, to the singular benefit of the Countrey. *Zonoras* calls this King *Sua*; the Scriptures call him *So*. *Hosea*, the last King of *Israel*, made a league with him against *Salmanassar*, little to his good: for the *Egyptian* vvas more rich than warlike, and therefore his friendship could not preserue the *Israelite* from destruction.

It seemes, that the encroching power of the *Assyrian*, grew terrible to *Egypt* about these times; the victories of *Tiglath Phulassar*, and *Salmanassar*, hauing eaten so farre into *Syria*, in the reigne of this one king *So* or *Sabacus*. Yea, perhaps it was in his dayes (for his reigne began in the fourth of *Menahem*) that *Phul* himself did make the first entrance into *Palæstina*. This caused *So* to animate the halfe subdued people, against their Conquerours; but the helpe which he and his Successor gaue them was so faint, that *Sennacheribs* Embassador compared the *Egyptian* succour to a broken staffe of Reede. Such indeed had *Hosea* found it, and such *Ezekia* might haue found it, had he not beene supported by the strong staffe of him, that ruleth all Nations with a rodde of yron. It appeareth by the words of *Rabsake*, that the opinion was great in *Iuda*, of the *Egyptian* forces, *for Charrets and Horse-men*; but this power, whatsoeuer it was, grew needfull, within a little while, for the defence of *Egypt* it selfe which *So* left vnto *Sethon* his successor, hauing now fulfilled the fiftie yeares of his reigne. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* haue both one tale, from the relation of *Egyptian* Priests, concerning the departure of this king; saying, that he left the Country, & willingly retired into *Æthiopia*,

2. King. 18. 24.

because

because it was often signified vnto him in his dreames, by the god which was worshipped at *Thebes*, that his reigne should be neither long nor prosperous, vnlesse he slew all the Priests in *Egypt*; which rather than to do, he resigned his kingdome. Surely, these *Egyptian* gods were of a strange qualitie, that so ill rewarded their seruants, and inuited kings to doe them wrong. Well might the *Egyptians* (as they likewise did) worship Dogs as gods, when their chiefe gods had the propertie of Dogs, which loue their Masters the better for beating them. Yet to what end the Priests should haue feigned this tale, I cannot tell; and therefore I thinke that it might be some deuice of the fearefull old man, who seeing his Realme in danger of an inuasion, sought an honest excuse for his departure out of it, and with-drawing himselfe into *Æthiopia*, where he had beene bred in his youth. What if one should say, that the *Æthiopia*, into which he went, was none other than *Arabia*, whereof *Tirhaka* the king (perhaps at the instigation of this man) raised an *Armie* against *Sennacherib*, when he meant to inuade *Egypt*, within two or three yeares after? But I will not trouble my self with such enquirie. This I hold, that *So*, or *Sabacus*, was not indeed an *Æthiopian* (for in his time liued the Prophet *Esay*, who mentioneth the antiquitie of *Pharaohs* house) but onely so surnamed for his education, and because issuing from thence, he got the kingdom from *Anysis*, who was his opposite. The quiet and milde forme of his gouernment; his holding the kingdome so long without an Armie; and many other circumstances argue no lesse. But whether finally hee betooke a priuate life, or whether he fore-went his life and kingdome at once, being now very old, it is time that we leaue him, and speake of *Sethon* his next Successor, who is omitted by *Diodore*, but remembred by *Herodotus*, by a sure token of his hauing beene king.

§. VII.

Of Sethon *who reigned with* Ezekia, *and sided with him against* Sennacherib.

THe first yeare of *Sethons* reigne falls into the twelfth of *Ezekia*, vvhich was the fift of *Sennacherib*. It was a troublesome age, and full of danger; the two great kingdomes of *Assyria* and *Egypt*, beeing then ingaged in a Warre, the issue whereof was to determine, whether of them should rule or serue. The *Assyrian* had the better men of Warre; the *Egyptian* better prouision of necessaries: the *Assyrian*, more Subiects; the *Egyptian*, more Friends; and among the new conquered halfe Subiects of *Assur*, many that were *Egyptian* in heart, though *Assyrian* in outward shew.

Of this last sort were *Ezekia*, and his people; who, knowing how much it concerned *Pharao*, to protect them against his owne great Enemy, preferred the friendship of so neare and mighty a Neighbour, before the seruice of a terrible, yet farre remoued King. But herein was great difference, between *Ezekia* and his Subiects: For the good King, fixing his especiall confidence in God, held that course of policy, which he thought most likely to turne to the benefit of his Country: the multitude of *Iudæa*, looking into the faire hopes which this *Egyptian* league promised, were puffed vp with vaine conceits, thinking that all was safe, and that now they should not need to feare any more of those iniuries, which they had suffered by the *Assyrians*; and so became forgetfull of God, *taking counsaile but not of him*. The Prophet *Esay* complained much of this presumption; giuing the people of *Iuda* to vnderstand, That *the Egyptians were men, and not God, and their Horses flesh, and not spirit*; that God himselfe should defend *Israel* vpon repentance, and that *Assur should fall by the sword, but not of man*. As for the *Egyptians* (said the Prophet) *they are vanity, and they shall helpe in vaine, their strength is to sit still*.

Esay. 30. 1.
Esay. 31. v. 3. & 8.
Esay. 30. 7.
Esay 3. 4.

According to the Prophets words it came to passe. For in the treaty of Confederacy that was *held at Zoan*, all maner of contentment and assurance was giuen to the *Iewes*, by *Sethon*, or his Agents, who filled them with such reports, of Horses and Charrets, that they did *not looke* (as *Esay* saith) *vnto the holy one of Israel, nor seeke vnto the Lord. But he yet is wiseft*.

Esay 31. 1.

After a while came *Sennacherib* with his Army, & wakened them out of these dreams; for *Sethon*, their good Neighbour, as neare as he was, did seem farre off, being vnready, when his helpe was most needfull. It may seem that he purposed, rather to make *Palestina* than *Egypt* the stage, whereon this great Warre should be acted, and was not without hope, that the *Assyrians* and *Iewes*, weakening one another, should yeeld vnto him a

faire

faire aduantage ouer both. Yet he fought with monie; for he sent Horses and Camels laden vvith treasure, to hire the *Arabians*, whom *Esay* calleth *a people that cannot profit.*
Esay 30.6. These *Arabians* did not profit indeede; for (besides that it seemes by the same place of *Esay*, that the rich treasures miscarried, and fell into the enemies hands before any helpe appeared from *Tirhaca*,) all the strong Cities of *Iuda* were taken by *Sennacherib*, except *Libna*, *Lachis*, and *Ierusalem* it selfe, which were in sore distresse, till the sword of God,
Esay 31.9. and not of Man, defeated the *Assyrian*, who did goe, *for feare, to his Tower*, that is, hee fled to *Nineue*, where he was slaine.

Concerning this expedition of *Sennacherib*, *Herodotus* takes this notice of it: That it was purposed against *Egypt*, where the men of warre, being offended with *Sethon* their King, who had taken away their allowance, refused to beare armes in defence of him & their Country; that *Sethon* being *Vulcans* Priest, bemoaned himselfe to his god, who by dreame promised to send him helpers; that hereupon *Sethon*, with such as would follow him, (which were crafts-men, shop-keepers, & the like) marched towards *Pelasium*; and that a great multitude of field-mice entring the Campe of *Sennacherib* by night, did so gnaw the bowes, quiuers, and straps of his mens armour, that they vvere faine the next day to flie away in all haste, finding themselues disarmed. In memorie hereof (saith *Herodotus*) the statue of this King is set vp in the Temple of *Vulcan*, holding a Mouse in his hand, with this inscription: *Let him, that holds me serue God.* Such was the relation of the *Egyptian* Priests, wherein how farre they swarued from the truth, being desirous to magnifie their own King, it may easily be perceiued. It seemes that this Image of *Sethon* was fallen down, and the tale forgotten in *Diodorus* his time, or else perhaps, the Priests did forbeare to tell it him (which caused him to omit it) for that the nation of the *Iewes* vvas then well knowne to the vvorld, whereof euery childe could haue told, how much falsehood had beene mingled with the truth.

We find this historie agreeable to the Scriptures, thus farre forth; That *Sennacherib* king of the *Assyrians* and *Arabians*, (so *Herodotus* calleth him: the *Syrians*, or peraduenture some borderers vpon *Syria*, being meant by the name of *Arabians*) liued in this age, made Warre vpon *Egypt*, and was miraculously driuen home. As for that exployt of the Mice, and the great pleasure that *Vulcan* did vnto his Priest; happy it vvas (if *Sethon* vvere a Priest) that he tooke his god now in so good a moode. For within three or foure yeares before this, all the Priests in *Egypt* should haue bin slaine, if a mercifull king had not spared their liues, as it vvere halfe against the gods will. Therfore this last good turne vvas not enough to serue as an exmple, that might stir vp the *Egyptians* to piety, seeing that their deuotion, vvhich had lasted so long before, did bring all the Priests into danger of such a bad reward. Rather I thinke, that this Image did represent *Sennacherib* himselfe, and that the Mouse in his hand, signified Hieroglyphically (as was the *Egyptian* manner of expressing things) the shamefull issue of his terrible expedition, or the destruction of his Armie, by meanes vvhich came, no man knew from vvhence. For the vengeance of God, shewed vpon this vngodly king, was indeed a very good motiue to pietie. But the Embleme, together vvith the Temple of *Vulcan* (being perhaps the chiefe Temple in that Towne vvherethis Image was erected) might giue occasion to such a fable; the Deuill helping to change the truth into a lie, that God might be roobed of his honour. Yet that vve may not bellie the Deuill, I hold it very likely, that *Sethon* finding himselfe in danger, did call vpon his gods, that is, vpon *Vulcan*, *Serapis*, or any to whom he had most deuotion. But so had other of his predecessors done in the like need: yet which of them had obtained succour by the like miracle? Surely the *Iewes* (euen such of them as most were giuen to Idolatrie) would haue bin ashamed of
Esay. 31.1. the confidence which they reposed *in the Charets of Egypt, because they were many, and in the Horsemen, because they were very strong*; had it bin told them, that *Sehon*, in stead of sending those Horse-men and Charets, was beseeching *Vulcan* to send him and them good lucke, or else (for these also were *Egyptian* gods) addressing his prayers to some Onyon or Cat. Howsoeuer it was, doubtlesse the prophecie of *Esay* tooke effect, which said, *They shall be all ashamed of the people that cannot profit them, nor helpe, nor do them good, but shall be a shame and also a reproach.* Such is commonly the issue of humane wisedome, when resting secure vpon prouision that it selfe hath made, it will no longer seeme to stand in need of God.

Some there are who take *Sethon* to haue bin set downe by *Eusebius*, vnder the name of *Tarachus*

Tarachus the *Æthiopian*; and therfore the twenty yeares which are giuen to *Tarachus*, they allow to the reigne of *Sethon*. These haue well obserued, that *Tarachus* the *Æthiopian* is mentioned in the Scriptures, not as a king of *Egypt*, but as a friend to that Countrie, or at least an enemy to *Sennacherib*, in the war last spoken of; the *Æthiopians* (as they are englished) ouer which he reigned, being indeede *Chusites* or *Arabians*. Hereupon they suppose aright, that *Eusebius* hath mistaken one King for another. But whereas they think, that this *Tarachus* or *Tirhaka*, is placed in the roome of *Sethon*, and therefore giue to *Sethon* the twentie yeares of *Tarachus*, I hold them to haue erred on the other hand. For this *Æthiopian* (as he is called) began his Reigne ouer *Egypt*, by *Eusebius* his
10 accompt, after the death of *Sennacherib* and of *Ezekia*, in the first yeere of *Manasses* King of *Iuda*. Therefore he, or his yeeres, haue no reference to *Sethon*.

Herodotus forgets to tell how long *Sethon* reigned; *Functius* peremptorily, citing no author, nor alleadging reason for it, sets him down thirty three yeares; many omit him quite; and they that name him, are not carefull to examine his continuance. In this case, I follow that rule which I propounded vnto my self at the first, for measuring the reigns of these *Egyptian* Kings. The yeares which passed from the fift of *Rehoboam*, vnto the fourth of *Iehoiakim*, I so diuide among the *Egyptians*, that giuing to euery one the proportion allowed vnto him by the Author in whom he is found, the rest is to be conferred vpon him whose length of reigne is vncertanie; that is, vpon this *Sethon*. By this ac-
20 compt I find the thirty three yeares, that are set downe by *Functius*, to agree very neerely, if not precisely, with the time of *Sethons* reigne; therefore I conforme my own reckoning to his, though I could be content to haue it one yeare lesse. The reason of this computation I shall render more at large, when I arriue at the time of *Psammiticus*, whereupon it hath much dependance, and whereinto the course of this History will shortly bring me, the *Egyptian* affaires growing now to be interlaced with the matters of *Iuda*, to which it is meete that I returne.

30

CHAP. XXVII.

Of Manasses *and his Contemporaries.*

§. I.

The wickednesse of Manasses. *His imprisonment, Repentance, and Death*

40 MAnasse, the Son of *Ezekias*, forgetting the pietie of his Father and the prosperitie which followed him, set vp, repaired, adorned and furnished, all the Altars, Temples, and high Places, in which the Diuell was by the *Heathen* vvorshipped. Besides, he himselfe esteemed the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres, with all the Hoste of Heauen, as gods, and worshipped them: and of all his acts the most abominable vvas, that he burnt his Sons for a Sacrifice to the Diuell *Moloch*, or *Melchor*, in the Valley of *Hinnon*, or *Benhinnon*: wherein was kindled the fire of Sacrifice to the Diuels.

He also gaue himselfe to all kinde of Witchcraft and Sorcerie, accompanied & maintained those that had familiar Spirits, and all sorts of Enchanters: besides, he shed so much innocent bloud, as *Ierusalem* was replenished therewith, from corner to corner. For all his vices and abominations, vvhen he was reprehended by that aged & reuerent
50 Prophet *Esay* (who was also of the kings race, & as the *Iewes* affirme, the Father-in-law of the King) he caused the Prophet neere vnto the Fountaine of *Siloe* to be sawne in sunder, with a woodden saw, in the eightieth yeere of his life: a cruelty more barbarous & monstrous than hath beene heard of. The Scriptures indeede are silent hereof, yet the same is confirmed by *Epiphanius*, *Isidore*, *Eusebius*, and others, too many to rehearse, and too good to be suspected. *Therefore the Lord brought vpon them the Captaines of the Hoast of the Kings of* Ashur, *which tooke* Manasse, *and put him in fetters, and bound him in chaines, and carried him to Babel*: Where after he had lien twenty yeeres as a captiue, and dispoyled of all honour and hope; yet to his hearty repentance and continuall

Iust Martyr. *Cedrenus c.91.* *Glycas pa.275* *Tertull. de Pat.*
2 Chron. 33.11.

tinuall prayer, the God of infinite mercie had respect, and moued the *Assyrians* heart to deliuer him.

It is also likely that *Merodach*, because he loued his father *Ezechias*, was the easilier perswaded to restore *Manasse* to his libertie and estate. After which, and when he was againe established, remembring the miseries which followed his wickednesse, & Gods great mercies toward him, he changed forme, detested his former foolish and deuillish Idolatry, and cast downe the Idols of his owne erecting, prepared the Altar of God, & sacrificed thereon. He repaired a great part of *Ierusalem*: and dyed after the long reigne of fiftie fiue yeares. *Glycas* and *Suidas* report, that *Manasse* was held in a cage of yron by the *Assyrians*: and therein fed with bread of bran and water, which men may beleeue as it shall please their fancies,

§. II.

Of troubles in Egypt following the death of Sethon. *The reigne of* Psammiticus.

THat the wickednesse of King *Manasses* was the cause of the euill, which fell vpon his Kingdome and Person, any Christian must needs beleeue: for it is affirmed in the Scriptures. Yet was the state of things, in those parts of the World, such, at that time, as would haue inuited any Prince (and did perhaps inuite *Merodach*, who fulfilled Gods pleasure, vpon respect borne to his owne ends) desirous to enlarge his Empire, to make attempt vpon *Iuda*. For the Kingdome of *Egypt*, which was become the pillar, whereon the state of *Iuda* leaned, about these times was miserably distracted with ciuill dissention, & after two yeeres, ill amended by a diuision of the gouernment betweene twelue Princes. After some good agreement betweene these, eleuen of them fell out with the twelfth of their colleagues, and were all finally subdued by him, who made himselfe absolute King of all. This *Inter-regnum*, or meere *Anarchie*, that was in *Egypt*, with the diuision of the Kingdome following it, is placed by *Diodore*, who omitteth *Sethon*, betweene the raigne of *Sabacus*, and *Psammiticus*: but *Herodotus* doth set the *Aristocratie*, or twelue Gouernors, immediatly before *Psammiticus*, vvho vvas one of them, and after *Sethon*.

The occasion of this dissension seemes to haue bin the vncertainty of title to that Kingdome (for that the crown of *Egypt* passed by succession of bloud, I haue often shewed) which ended, for a while, by the partition of all among twelue, though things were not setled, vntill one had obtained the Soueraignetie.

These twelue Rulers gouerned fifteene yeares, in good seeming agreement, which to preserue, they made strait couenant & alliances one with another, being iealous of their estate, because an Oracle had foretold, that one of them should depose all the rest, noting him by this token, that he should make a drink-offering in *Vulcans* Temple, out of a Copper goblet. Whilest this vnitie lasted, they ioyned together in raising a Monument of their Dominion, which was a Labyrinth, built neere vnto the Lake of *Meris*; a worke so admirable, that (as *Herodotus*, who beholding it, affirmes) no words could giue it commendation answerable to the statelinesse of the worke it self. I will not here set downe that vnperfect description, which *Herodotus* makes of it, but think enough to say, that he preferres it farre before the Pyramides, one of which (as he saith) excelled the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, or any of the fairest workes in *Greece*. *Diodorus* reports this Labyrinth to haue bin the worke of *Marus*, or *Menides*, a king which liued fiue generations before *Proteus*, that is, before the Warre of *Troy*; and from this Labyrinth (saith he) *Dedalus* took the patterne of that which he made for *Minos* in *Crete*. Who this *Marus*, or *Menides* was, I cannot tell. *Reineccius* takes him to haue bin *Annemenes*, which reigned immediately before *Thuoris*. But this agrees not with *Diodore*: for *Dædalus* & *Minos* were both dead long before *Annemenes* was King. Belike *Reineccius*, desiring to accommodate the fabulous relations of *Manethon*, *Chæremon*, & others, that are found in *Iosephus*, touching *Amenophis* and his children, to the storie of *Amasis*, and *Actisanes* the *Æthiopian*, mentioned by *Diodore*; held it consequent, after he had coniectured *Manethons Amenophis*, to be *Diodorus* his *Amasis*; that *Sethon* should be *Actisanes*, and that *Annemenes* should be *Marus*. If in this case I might intrude a coniecture; the times which we now handle are those, about which *Reineccius* hath erred in making search; *Amasis* was *Anysis*, *Actisanes* was *Sabacus*; and *Marus* was one of these twelue Princes, to whom *Herodotus* giues the

Iosf. cont. App. 1.

the honour of building this famous Labyrinth. For *Actisanes* the *Æthiopian* deposed *Amasis*; *Sabacus* the *Æthiopian* deposed *Anysis*; *Actisanes* gouerned well, and was milde in punishing offenders; so likewise vvas *Sabacus*; *Marus* the next king after *Actisanes* built this Labyrinth; and the next (sauing *Sethon*, whom *Diodore* omits, as hauing not heard of him) that ruled after *Sabacus*, performed the same work, according to *Herodotus*, who was more likely to heare the truth, as liuing neerer to the Age wherein it was performed. The varietie of names, and difference of times, wherein *Diodore* beleeued the Priests, might be a part of the *Egyptian* vanitie, which was familiar with them, in multiplying their kings, and boasting of their antiquities. Here I might adde, that the twelue great Hals, Parlours, and other circumstances remembred by *Herodotus*, in speaking of this building, doe helpe to proue, that it was the worke of these twelue Princes. But I hasten to their end.

At a solemne feast in *Vulcans* Temple, when they were to make their drinke-offerings the Priest, forgetting himselfe, brought forth no more than eleuen Cuppes. Hereupon *Psammiticus*, who standing last, had not a Cup, tooke off his brazen Helmet, and therewith supplyed the want. This caused all the rest to remember the Oracle, and to suspect him as a Traitor; yet, when they found that it was not done by him vpon set purpose, or ill intent, they forbare to kill him, but, being iealous of their estate, they banished him into the marish Countries by the Sea side. This Oracle, and the euent, is held by *Diodore* as a fable, which I beleeue to haue bin none other: In the rest *Herodotus* and *Diodore* agree, saying, that *Psammiticus* hyred Souldiers out of *Caria* and *Ionia*, by whose aide he vanquisht his Companions, and made himselfe sole King.

The yeeres of his reigne, according to *Herodotus*, were fiftie foure; according to *Eusebius*, fortie foure; *Mercator*, to reconcile these two, giues fortie foure yeares to his single reigne, and ten to his ruling, ioyntly with the Princes before spoken of. Indeede, he that was admitted, being a man growne (for he cannot in reason be supposed to haue beene then a young fellow) into the number of the twelue Gouernors, must be thought to haue liued vnto extreame age, if he ruled partly with others, partly alone, threescore & nine yeares. I therfore yeeld rather to *Eusebius*, but will not aduenture to cut fiue years from the *Aristocratie*: though peraduenture *Psammiticus* was not at first one of the twelue but succeeded (either by election, or as next of bloud) into the place of some Prince that dyed and was ten yeares companion in that gouernment.

Another scruple there is, though not great, which troubles this reckoning. The yeers of the *Egyptians*, as we find them set downe, are more by one, than serue to fill vp the time, between the fift of *Rehoboam*, & the fourth of *Iehoiakim*. This may not be. Wherefore either we must abate one yeare from *Sethons* reigne; that was of vncertaine length; or else (which I had rather doe; because *Functius* may haue followed better authority than I know, or than himselfe alleadgeth, in giuing to *Sethon* a time so neerely agreeing with the truth) we must confound the last yeere of one reigne, with the first of another. Such a supposition were not insolent. For no man can suppose, that all the Kings, or any great part of them, which are set downe in Chronologicall tables, reigned precisely so many yeeres as are prescribed vnto them, without any fractions: it is enough to thinke, that the surplusage of one mans time, supplyed the defect of anothers. Wherfore I confound the last yeare of those fifteene, wherein the twelue Princes ruled, with the first of *Psammiticus*; who surely did not fall out with his Companions, fight with them, & make himselfe Lord alone, all in one day.

Concerning this King, it is recorded, that he was the first in *Egypt*, vvho entertained any strait amitie with the *Greekes*; that he retained in pay his Mercenaries of *Caria*, *Ionia*, and *Arabia*, to whom he gaue large rewards and possessions; and that he greatly offended his *Egyptian* Souldiers, by bestowing them in the left wing of his Armie, whilest his Mercenaries held the right wing (which was the more honorable place) in an expedition that he made into *Syria*. Vpon this disgrace it is said, that his Souldiers, to the number of two hundred thousand, forsooke their naturall Countrey of *Egypt*, and went into *Æthiopia*, to dwell there: neither could they be reuoked by kinde Messages, nor by the King himselfe, who ouer-tooke them on the way; but when he told them of their Countrey, their Wiues, and Children, they answered, that their weapons should get them a Countrey, and that nature had enabled them to get other wiues and children.

It is also reported of him, That he caused two Infants to be brought vp in such sort, as they might not heare any word spoken; by which meanes, he hoped to find out, what nation or Language was most ancient; forasmuch as it seemed likely, that nature would teach the children to speake that language, which men spake at the first. The issue hereof was, that the children cried, *Beccus*, *Beccus*, which word being found to signifie Bread in the *Phrygian* tongue, serued greatly to magnifie the *Phrygian* antiquitie. *Goropius Becanus* makes no small matter of this, for the honour of his *Low-Dutch*; in which the word *Becker*, signifies (as Baker in English) a maker of bread. He that will turne ouer any part of *Goropius* his workes, may find enough of this kinde, to perswade a willing man, that *Adam* and all the Patriarks vsed none other tongue than the *Low-Dutch*, before the confusion of languages at *Babel*; the name it selfe of *Babel*, being also *Dutch*, and giuen by occasion of this confusion; for that there they began to babble, and talke, one knew not what.

But I will not insist vpon all that is written of *Psammiticus*. The most regardable of his acts was the siege of *Azotus* in *Palæstina*, about which he spent nine and twenty yeers. Neuer haue we heard (saith *Herodotus*) that any Citie endured so long a siege as this; yet *Psammiticus* carried it at the last. This Towne of *Azotus* had beene won by *Tartan*, a Captaine of *Sennacherib*, and was now, as it seemeth, relieued, but in vaine, by the *Babylonian*, which made it hold out so well.

§.III.

What reference these Egyptian matters might haue to the imprisonment and enlargement of Manasses. *In what part of his reigne* Manasses *was taken prisoner.*

WEre it certainely knowne, in what yeere of his reigne *Manasses* was taken prisoner, and how long it was before he obtained libertie; I thinke we should finde these *Egyptian* troubles to haue beene no small occasion, both of his captiuitie and enlargement: God so disposing of humane actions, that euen they, who intended onely their owne businesse, fulfilled onely his high pleasure. For either the ciuill vvarres in *Egypt* that followed vpon the death of *Sethon*; or the renting of the Kingdome, as it were, into twelue peeces; or the vvarre betweene *Psammiticus* and his Colleagues; or the expedition of *Psammiticus* into *Syria*; and the siege of *Azotus*, might minister vnto the *Babylonian*, either such cause of hope, to enlarge his Dominion in the South parts; or such necessity of sending an Armie into those parts, to defend his owne, as would greatly tempt him, to make sure vvorke vvith the King of *Iuda*. The same occasions sufficed also, to procure the deliuerie of *Manasses*, after he vvas taken. For he was taken (as *Iosephus* hath it) by subtiltie, not by open force, neither did they that apprehended him, vvinne his Countrey, but onely vvaste it. So that the *Iewes*, hauing learned vvit, by the ill successe of their folly, in redeeming *Amazia*, vvere like to be more circumspect, in making their bargaine vpon such another accident: and the *Babylonian* (to whom the *Egyptian* matters presented more weighty arguments of hope and feare, than the little kingdome of *Iuda* could afford) had no reason, to spend his forces, in pursuing a small conquest, but as full of difficultie as a greater, vvhereby he should compell his mightiest enemies to come to some good agreement; vvhen by quitting his present aduantage ouer the *Iewes*, he might make his way the fairer into *Egypt*.

Now concerning the yeere of *Manasses* his reigne, wherein he was taken prisoner; or concerning his captiuitie it selfe, how long it lasted; the Scriptures are silent, & *Iosephus* giues no information. Yet I find cited by *Torniellus* three opinions, the one of *Bellarmine*, vvho thinkes that *Manasses* was taken in the fifteenth yeare of his reigne; the other of the Author of the greater *Hebrew Chronologie*, vvho affirmes, that it vvas in his twentie seuenth yeare; the third, of *Rabbi Kimhi* vpon *Ezekiel*, vvho saith, that he vvas fortie yeares an Idolater, and liued fifteene yeares after his repentance. The first of these coniectures is vpheld by *Torniellus*, vvho reiects the second, as more vnprobable, and condemnes the third as most false. Yet the reasons alledged by *Torniellus* in defence of the first, and refutation of the last opinion, are such as may rather proue him to fauour the *Cardinall*, as farre as he may, (for where neede requires, hee doth freely dissent from him) than to haue vsed his accustomed diligence in examining the matter, before

before he gaue his iudgement. Two arguments he brings to maintaine the opinion of *Bellarmine*: the one, that *Ammon* the Sonne of *Manasses*, is said by *Iosephus*, to haue followed the workes of his Fathers youth; the other, that had *Manasses* growne old in his sinnes, *it is like that hee should haue continued, as hee did*, in his amendment vnto the end of his life. Touching the former of these arguments, I see no reason, why the sinnes of *Manasses* might not be distinguished from his repentance in his old age, by calling them *works of his youth*, which appeared when he was twelue yeares old; though it were granted that he continued in them (according to that of *Rabbi Kimhi*) vntill he was but fifteene yeares from death. Touching the second; howsoeuer it be a fearefull thing, to cast off vnto the last those good motions vnto repentance, which we know not whether euer God vvill offer vnto vs againe; yet were it a terrible hearing, That the sins which are not forsaken before the age of two & fiftie yeares, shall be punished with finall impenitency. But against these two collections of *Torniellus*, I wil lay two places of Scripture, whence it may be inferred, as not vnlikely, That *Manasses* continued longer in his vvickednesse, than *Ballarmine* hath intimated, if not as long as *Rabbi Kimhi* hath affirmed. In the second Booke of *Kings*, the euill which *Manasses* did, is remembred at large, and his repentance vtterly omitted; so that his amendment may seeme to haue taken vp no great part of his life; the story of him being thus concluded, in the one and twentieth Chapter: *Concerning the rest of the Acts of* Manasses, *and all that he did, and his sinne that he sinned, are they not written in the booke of the Chronicles of the kings of Iuda?* The other place is in the foure and twentieth Chapter of the same Booke, where in rehearsing the calamities with vvhich that Nation was punished in the time of *Ichoiakim*, the great Grand-childe of this *Manasses*, it is said; *Surely by the commandement of the Lord came this vpon Iuda, that he might put them out of his sight, for the sinnes of* Manasses, *according to all that he did, and for the innocent bloud that he shed (for he filled Ierusalem with innocent bloud) therfore the Lord would not pardon it.* Who so considers vvell these places, may find smal cause to pronounce it most false, That the repentance and amendment of *Manasses* was no earlier than fifteen yeares before his death; or most probable, That when he was twenty seuen yeare old, he repented, and becomming a new man, liued in the feare of God fortie yeares after. I will no longer dispute about this matter, seeing that the truth cannot be discouered. It sufficeth to say, that two yeares of ciuill dissension in *Egypt*; foureteene or fifteen yeares following, vvherein that kingdome was vveakened, by partition of the Soueraignty: the vvarre of *Psammiticus* against his Associates: and foure and twenty yeares, of the nine and twenty, wherein the siege of *Azotus* continued, being all vvithin the time of *Manasses*, did leaue no one part of his reigne (after the first fifteen yeares) free from the danger of being oppressed by the *Babylonian*, whose men of warre had continuall occasions of visiting his Countrey. All vvhich I will adde hereto, is this; that the fifteenth of *Manasses*, was the last yeare of *Sethon* in *Egypt*, and the one and thirtieth of *Merodach* his reigne, or (accounting from the death of *Asarhaddon*) the twentieth: The seuen and twentieth of *Manasses* was the tenth of the twelue Princes, and the three and fortieth of *Merodach*: his fortieth, was the twenty third of *Psammiticus*, and the fift of *Nabulassar*, the son of of *Merodach*, in *Babylon*: but vvhich of these was the yeare of his imprisonment, or vvhether any other, I forbeare to shew mine opinion, lest I should thereby seeme to draw all matters ouer-violently to mine owne computation.

This vvas the first great mastrie that the *Babylonians* had of the kingdome of *Iuda*. For though *Achaz* promised Tribute to *Salmanassar*, yet *Ezechias* neuer payed it. True it is, that he hoped to stay *Sennacheribs* enterprise against him, by presenting him with three hundred talents of siluer, and thirty of gold, besides the plate which couered the doores and pillars of the Temple.

But *Manasses* being pressed with greater necessity, could refuse no tollerable conditions, that the *Babylonian* would impose vpon him; among vvhich it seemes, that this was one, (which was indeed a point of seruitude) that he might not hold peace with the *Egyptians*, whilest they vvere enemies to *Babylon*. This appeares not onely by his fortifying with men of warre all the strong Cities of *Iuda* after his return (which was rather against *Psammiticus*, whose party he had forsaken, than against the *Babylonian*, with whom he had thenceforth no more controuersie) but likewise by that opposition, which *Iosias* made afterwards to *Pharao Neco*, in fauour of *Nabulassar*, which had beene against all reason

2 King.21.17.

2 King.24.3.4.

2 Kings 18.

reason and policie, if it had not bin his duty by couenant. Of this I will speake more in conuenient place.

§. IV.

Of the first and second Messenian Warres, which were in the reignes of Ezekia, *and* Manasses, *Kings of Iuda.*

NOw concerning such actions as were performed abroad in the world, about these times of *Manasses*, the most remarkeable were the *Messenian* Warres; which happened in this age, and being the greatest action performed in *Greece*, betweene the *Troian* and *Persian* Wars, deserue not to be passed ouer with silence.

The first *Messenian* Warre began and ended in the dayes of *Ezekia*; the second in the reign of *Manasses*: but to auoide the trouble of interrupting our History, I haue thought it best, to rehearse them both in this place. Other introduction is needlesse, than to say, that the posteritie of *Hercules*, driuing the issue of *Pelops* and the *Achæans* out of their seates, diuided their lands between themselues, and erected the Kingdomes of *Lacedæmon*, *Argos*, *Messene*, & *Corinth*; all which agreeing well together a while, did afterwards forget the bond of kindred, and sought one anothers ruine with bloudy Wars; whereof these *Messenian* were the greatest.

The pretended grounds of the *Messenian* Warre, are scarce worth remembrance, they vvere so sleight. Ambition was the true cause of it: wherewith the *Lacedæmonians* were so transported, that any thing serued them as a colour to accomplish their greedy desires. Yet other matter was alleaged; namely, that one *Polychares* a *Messenian* had slaine many *Lacedæmonians*, for which the Magistrates of *Sparta* desiring to haue him yeelded into their hands, could not obtaine it. The *Messenians* on the other side, excused *Polychares*, for that he was grown franticke, through iniuries receiued from *Euæphnes* a *Lacedæmonian*. This *Euæphnes* had bargained to giue pasture to the Cattell of *Polychares*, & was therfore to receiue part of the increase: but not contented with the gaine appointed, he sold the Cattaile, and slaues that kept them, to Merchants; which done, he came with a faire tale to his friend, saying, that they were stollen. Whilest the lye was yet scarce out of his mouth, one of the slaues that had escaped from the Merchants, came in with a true report of all. The *Lacedæmonian* being thus deprehended, confessed all, and promised large amends; which to receiue, he carried the Son of *Polychares* home with him; but hauing him at home, he villanously slew him. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians* hauing refused, after long suite made by the wretched Father, to do him right against this Theefe & Murderer, ought not to picke matter of quarrel, out of those things, which he did in that madnesse, whereinto they themselues had cast him. So said the *Messenians*, and further offered to put the matter to compromise, or to stand vnto the iudgement of the *Amphictyones*, who were as the generall Counsaile of *Greece*, or to any other faire course. But the *Lacedæmonians*, who had a great desire to occupie the faire Countrie of *Messene*, that lay close by them, were not content with such allegations. They thought it enough, to haue some shew for their doings; which the better to colour, they reckoned vp many old iniuries, & so without sending any defiance, secretly tooke an oath to hold warre with *Messene*, till they had mastered it: which done, they seized vpon *Amphia*, a frontier Towne of that Prouince, wherein they put all to the Sword without mercy, very few escaped.

Hereupon the *Messenians* tooke Armes, and vvere met by the Enemie. A furious battaile was fought between them, which ended not vntill darke night, with vncertaine victory. The *Messenians* did strongly encampe themselues; The *Lacedæmonians*, vnable to force their Campe, returned home. This Warre began in the second yeare of the ninth *Olympiad*, and ended in the first of the foureteenth *Olympiad*, hauing lasted twenty yeares. The two enemie Nations tried the matter, for a while, with their proper forces; the *Lacedæmonians* wasting the inland parts of *Messene*; and the *Messenians*, the Sea-coast of *Laconia*. But it was not long ere friends, on both sides, were called in to helpe. The *Arcadians*, *Argiues*, and *Sicyonians*, tooke part with *Messene*; the *Spartans* had, besides many Subiects of their owne, aide from *Corinth*, and hired Souldiers out of *Crete*. So a second, third and fourth battaile, were fought, with as great obstinacie as the first; sauing that in the fourth battaile the *Lacedæmonians* were enforced to turne their backs; in the other fights, the victory was still vncertain, though in one of them the Messenians lost *Euphaes* their king, in whose stead they chose *Aristodemus*.

Many yeares were spent ere all this bloud was shed; for pestilent diseases, and want of money to entertaine Souldiers, caused the Warre to linger. And for the same reasons, did the Messenians forsake all their inland towns, excepting Ithome, which was a mountaine with a towne vpon it, able to endure more than the enemies were likely to doe. But, as some Authors tell vs, the Lacedæmonians were so obstinate in this War, because of their vow, that hauing absented themselues ten yeares from Sparta, their wiues sent them word, that their City would grow vnpeopled, by reason that no children had been borne them in all that time: Whereupon they sent backe all their ablest young men, promiscuously to accompany the young women, who got so many of them with childe, as they became a great part of their Nation, and were called Parthenians. *Diodorus* referres the begetting of these Parthenians to a former time. But in processe of this Messenian Warre, when the Deuill in an Oracle had aduised the Messenians to sacrifice a Virgin of the stocke of * *Ægyptus*, that so they might be victorious against the Lacedæmonians; the lot falling vpon the Daughter of one *Lyciscus*; *Epibolus* the Priest, willing to saue her, said, she was onely a fostered childe, and not borne of the wife of *Lyciscus*: which answer giuing delay to the execution of the Maide, *Lyciscus* secretly fled away with her into Sparta. Then *Aristodemus*, which afterwards was King, voluntarily offered his owne Daughter: but a young Noble man, being in loue with the Maide, when otherwise he could not preuaile, said openly that she was no Virgin, but that he had defloured her, and got her with childe: whereupon the Father in a rage ripped vp his innocent Daughters belly, to disproue the Louers slander: at the graue of which Daughter of his, afterwards falling, by other superstitions, into despaire of preuailing against the Lacedæmonians, he slew himselfe, to the great hurt of his Country, which he loued most dearly. For after his death the Messenians lost their courage, and finding themselues distressed by many wants, especially of victuals, they craued peace; which they obtained in most rigorous conditions. Halfe the yearely fruits of their Land they were bound to send vnto Sparta; and they, with their Wiues, to make solemne lamentations, at the death of euery Spartan King; they were also sworne to liue in true subiection to the Lacedæmonians; and part of their Territory was taken from them, which was giuen to the Asmæi, and such as had followed the Spartans in this Warre.

Strabo l.8. Oros. l.1. c.21.

Diod. l.15.

* This *Ægyptus* was the youngest Son of *Cresphon* by *Merope*, the daughter of *Cypselus* King of *Arcadia*: of which *cresphon* the chiefe Nobility of the *Messenians* was propagated.

This peace being made vpon so vneuen tearmes, was not like to hold long. Yet nine and thirty yeares it continued (the Messenians not finding how to helpe themselues) and then brake out into a new and more furious Warre, than the former. The able young men, that were growne vp in the roome of those Messenians whom the former Warre had consumed, began to consider their owne strength and multitude, thinking themselues equall to the Lacedæmonians, and therefore scorned to serue such Masters, as had against all right, oppressed their Fathers. The chiefe of these was *Aristomenes*, a Noble Gentleman, of the house of *Ægyptus*; who perceiuing the vniforme desires of his Countrie-men, aduentured to become their Leader. He therefore sounding the affections of the Argiues & Arcadians, which he found throughly answerable to his purpose, began open warre vpon the State of Lacedæmon. This was in the fourth yeare of the three and twentieth Olympiad; when the Lacedæmonians, hasted to quench the fire before it should grow too hot, with such forces as they could raise of their owne, without troubling their friends, meaning to deale with their enemies, ere any succour were lent them. So a strong battaile was fought between them, & a doubtfull; saue that the Messenians were pleased with the issue, forasmuch as they had thereby taught their late proud Lords, to thinke them their equals. Particularly, the valour of *Aristomenes* appeared such in this fight, that his people would haue made him their King; but hee, refusing the honour of that name, accepted of the burthen, and became their Generall. Within one yeare another battaile was fought, whereunto each part came better prouided. The Lacedæmonians brought with them the Corinthians, and some other friends to helpe: the Messenians had the Argiues, Arcadians, & Sicyonians. This also was a long and bloudy fight; but *Aristomenes* did so behaue himselfe, that finally he made the Enemies runne for their liues. Of such importance was this victory, that the Lacedæmonians began to bethinke themselues, of making some good agreement.

But one *Tyrtæus* an Athenian Poet, whom by appointment of an Oracle they had gotten to direct them, re-enforced their spirits with his Verses. After this, *Aristomenes* took by surprise a Town in Laconia, and vanquished in fight *Anaxander* king of Sparta, who did set vpon him in hope to haue recouered the booty.

But all these victories of *Aristomenes* perished, in the losse of one battaile, whereof the honour (if it were honour) or surely the profit, fell vpon the Lacedæmonians, through the treason of *Aristocrates*, king of Arcadia, who being corrupted by the enemies with money, fled away, and left the Messenians exposed to a cruell butchery. The losse was so great, that together with Andania their principall Citie, all the townes of Messene, standing too far from the Sea, were abandoned, for lack of men to defend them, & the 10 Mount Era fortified, whither the multitude, that could not be safe abroad, was conueyed into a place of safety. Here the Lacedæmonians found a tedious work, that held them eleauen yeares. For besides that Era it selfe was a strong peece, *Aristomenes* with three hundred stout Souldiers, did many incredible exploits, that wearied them, and hindred their attendance on the siege. Hee wasted all the fields of Messene, that were in the enemies power, and brake into Laconia, taking away Corne, Wine, Cattell, and all prouisions, necessary for his owne people; the Slaues and houshold stuffe he changed into money, suffering the owners to redeeme them. To remedy this mischiefe the Lacedæmonians made an Edict, that neither Messene, nor the adioyning parts of their owne Country, should be tilled or husbanded; which bred a great tumult among priuate 20 men, that were almost vndone by it. Yet the Poet *Tyrtæus* appeased this vproare with pleasing Songs. But *Aristomenes* grew so bold, that he not only ranged ouer all the fields, but aduentured vpon the Towns, surprised, and sackt Amyclæ, & finally caused the enemies to encrease and strengthen their Companies; which done, there yet appeared no likelihood of taking Era.

In performing these and other seruices, thrice *Aristomenes* was taken prisoner; yet still he escaped. One escape of his deserues to be remembred, as a thing very strange and maruailous. He had with too much courage aduentured to set vpon both the Kings of Sparta; and being in that fight wounded, and felled to the ground, was taken vp senseIesse, and carried away prisoner, with fifty of his Companions. There was a deepe na- 30 turall Caue into which the Spartans vsed to cast head-long such as were condemned to dye for the greatest offences. To this punishment were *Aristomenes* and his companions adiudged. All the rest of these poore men dyed with their fals; *Aristomenes* (howsoeuer it came to passe) tooke no harme. Yet was it harme enough to be imprisoned in a deepe Dungeon, among dead carcasses, where he was like to perish through hunger and stench. But after a while he perceiued by some smal glimmering of light (which perhaps came in at the top) a Foxe that was gnawing vpon a dead body. Hereupon he bethought himselfe, that this beast must needes know some way, to enter the place and get out. For which cause he made shift to lay hold vpon it, and catching it by the taile with one hand, saued himselfe from biting with the other hand, by thrusting his coate into the 40 mouth of it. So letting it creepe whither it would, he followed, holding it as his guide, vntill the way was too strait for him; and then dismissed it. The Foxe being loose, ran through an hole at which came in a little light; and there did *Aristomenes* delue so long with his nailes, that at last he clawed out his passage. When some fugitiues of Messene brought word to Sparta, that *Aristomenes* was returned home, their tale sounded alike, as if they had said, that a dead man was reuiued. But when the Corinthian forces, that came to helpe the Lacedæmonians in the siege of Era, were cut in pieces, their Captaines slaine, and their Campe taken; then was it easily beleeued, that *Aristomenes* was aliue indeed.

Thus eleuen yeares passed whilest the enemies houering about Era, saw no likelihood 50 of getting it; and *Aristomenes* with small forces did them greater hurt than they knew how to requite. But at the last, a slaue, that had fled from Sparta, betrayed the place. This fellow had enticed to lewdnesse the wife of a Messenian, and was entertained by her, when her husband went forth to watch. It happened in a rainie-winter-night, that the husband came home vnlooked for, whilest the Adulterer was within. The Woman hid her Paramour, and made good countenance to her husband, asked him, by what good fortune he was returned so soone. He told her, that the storme of foule weather was such, as had made all his fellowes leaue their Stations, and that himselfe had done as the rest

rest did; as for *Aristomenes*, he was wounded of late in fight, and could not look abroad; neither was it to be feared, that the enemies would stirre, in such a darke rainie night as this was. The slaue that heard these tidings, rose vp secretly out of his lurking hole, and got him to the Lacedæmonian Campe with the newes. There he found *Emperamus* his Master, commanding in the Kings absence. To him he vttered all; and obtaining pardon for his running away, guided the Army into the Town. Little or nothing was done that night. For the Allarme was presently taken; and the extreame darknesse, together with the noise of winde and raine, hindered all directions. All the next day was spent in most cruell fight; one part being incited, by meere hope of ending a long worke; the 10 other enraged by meere desperation. The great aduantage that the Spartans had in numbers, was recompenced partly by the assistance, which women and children (to whom the hatred of seruitude had taught contempt of death) gaue to their husbands and fathers; partly by the narrownesse of the streetes and other passages, which admitted not many hands to fight at once. But the Messenians were in continuall toyle; their Enemies fought in course, refreshing themselues with meate and sleepe, and then returning supplyed the place of their weary fellowes with fresh Companions. *Aristomenes* therefore, perceiuing that his men for want of reliefe were no longer able to hold out, (as hauing beene three dayes, and three nights vexed with all miseries, of labour, watchings, fighting, hunger and thirst, besides continuall raine and cold) 20 gathered together all the weaker sort, whom he compassed round with armed men, and so attempted to breake out through the midst of the Enemies. *Emperamus* Generall of the Lacedæmonians vvas glad of this: and to further their departure, caused his Souldiers to giue an open way, leauing a faire passage to these desperate madmen. So they issued forth, and arriued safe in Arcadia, where they were most louingly entertained.

Vpon the first bruit of the taking of Era, the Arcadians had prepared themselues to the rescue: but *Aristocrates* their false-hearted King, said it was too late, for that all was already lost. When *Aristomenes* had placed his followers in safety, he chose out fiue hundred the lustiest of his men, with whom he resolued to march in all secret haste vnto 30 Sparta, hoping to finde the Towne secure, and ill manned, the people being runne forth to the spoile of Messene. In this enterprize, if he sped well, it was not doubted, that the Lacedæmonians would be glad to recouer their owne, by restitution of that which they had taken from others; if all failed, an honourable death was the worst that could happen. There were three hundred Arcadians that offered to ioyne with him; but *Aristocrates* marred all, by sending speedy aduertisement thereof to *Anaxander* King of Sparta. The Epistle which *Anaxander* sent back to *Aristocrates*, was intercepted by some that mistrusted him to whom it was directed. Therein was found all his falshood, which being published in open assembly, the Arcadians stoned him to death, and casting forth his body vnburied, erected a monument of his treachery, with a note: That the Periurer 40 cannot deceiue God.

Of *Aristomenes* no more is remaining to be said, than that committing his people to the charge of his Son *Gorgus* & other sufficient Gouernours, who should plant them in some new seate abroad, he resolued himselfe to make aboad in those parts, hoping to finde the Lacedæmonians work at home. His daughters he bestowed honorably in marriage. One of them *Demagetus*, who reigned in the Ile of Rhodes, tooke to wife, being willed by an Oracle, to marry the daughter of the best man in Greece. Finally, *Aristomenes* went with his daughter to Rhodes, whence he purposed to haue trauailed vnto *Ardys* the Sonne of *Gyges* King of Lydia, & to *Phraortes* King of Media: but death preuented him at Rhodes, where he was honourably buried.

50 The Messenians were inuited by *Anaxilas* (whose great Grandfather was a Messenian, and went into Italy after the former warre) being Lord of the Rhegians in Italy, to take his part against the Zanclæans in Sicily, on the other side of the Streights. They did so; and winning the Towne of Zancle, called it Messene, which name it keeps to this day.

This second Messenian warre ended in the first yeare of the twenty eight Olympiad. Long after which time, the rest of that Nation, who staying at home serued the Lacedæmonians, found meanes to rebell; but were soone vanquished, and being driuen to forsake Peloponnesus, they went into Acarnania; whence likewise, after few ages they

were expelled by the Lacedæmonians, and then followed their ancient Countrie-men into Italy and Sicily; some of them went into Africa, where they chose vnto themselues a seate.

It is very strange, that during two hundred & foure score years, this banished Nation retained their name, their ancient customes, language, hatred of Sparta, & Loue of their forsaken Country, with a desire to returne vnto it. In the third year of the hundred & second Olympiad, that great *Epaminondas*, hauing tamed the pride of the Lacedæmonians, reuoked the Messenians home, who came flocking out of all quarters where they dwelt abroad, into Peloponnesus. There did *Epaminondas* restore vnto them their old possession, & help them in building a faire City; which, by the name of the Prouince, was called Messene, and was held by them euer after, in despight of the Lacedæmonians, of whom they neuer from thenceforth stood in feare.

§. V.

Of the Kings that were in Lydia and Media, while Manasses *reigned. whether* Deioces *the Mede were that* Arphaxad *which is mentioned in the Booke of* Iudith. *Of the historie of* Iudith.

A*Rdys* King of Lydia, and *Phraortes* of the Medes, are spoken of by *Pausanias*, as reigning shortly after the Messenian war. *Ardys* succeeding vnto his father *Gyges*, began his reigne of nine and forty yeares, in the second of the fiue and twentieth Olympiad. He followed the steps of his father, who encroaching vpon the Ionians in Asia, had taken Colophon by force, and attempted Miletus & Smyrna. In like maner *Ardys* wan Priene, & assailed Miletus; but went away without it. In his reigne, the Cimmerians, being expelled out of their own country by the Scythians, ouerran a great part of Asia, which was not freed from them before the time of *Alyattes* this mans Grandchilde, by whom they were driuen out. They had not only broken into Lydia, but wan the City of *Sardes*; though the Castle or Citadell thereof was defended against them, and held still for King *Ardys*; whose long reigne was vnable, by reason of this great storme, to effect much.

Phraortes was not King vntill the third yeare of the nine and twentieth Olympiad, which was six years after the Messenian war ended; the same being the last yeare of *Manasses* his reigne ouer Iuda.

Deioces the father of this *Phraortes*, was King of Media, three and fifty of these fiue & fifty years in which *Manasses* reigned. This *Deioces* was the first that ruled the Medes in a strict forme, commanding more absolutely than his Predecessours had done. For they, following the example of *Arbaces*, had giuen to the people so much licence, as caused euery one to desire the wholesome seuerity of a more Lordly King. Herein *Deioces* answered their desires to the full. For he caused them to build for him a stately Palace; he tooke vnto him a Guard, for defence of his person; he seldome gaue presence, which also when he did, it was with such austerity; that no man durst presume to spit or cough in his sight. By these and the like ceremonies he bred in the people an awfull regard, and highly vpheld the Maiesty, which his predecessours had almost letten fall, through neglect of due comportiments. In execution of his Royall Office, he did vprightly and seuerely administer iustice, keeping secret spies to informe him of all that was done in the Kingdome. He cared not to enlarge the bounds of his Dominion, by encroaching vpon others; but studied how to gouerne well his owne. The difference found betweene this king, and such as were before him, seemes to haue bred that opinion which *Herodotus* deliuers, that *Deioces* was the first who reigned in Media.

Herod. lib. 1.

This was he that built the great City of Ecbatane, which now is called Tauris; and therefore he should be that king *Arphaxad*, mentioned in the story of *Iudith*, as also *Ben Merodach*, by the same accompt, should be *Nabuchodonosor* the Assyrian, by whom *Arphaxad* was slaine, and *Holofernes* sent to worke wonders vpon Phud and Lud, and I know not what other Countries. For I reckon the last yeare of *Deioces* to haue been the nineteenth of *Ben Merodach*; though others place it otherwise, some earlier in the time of *Merodach Baladan*, some later, in the reigne of *Nabulassar*, who is also called *Nabuchodonosor*.

In

In fitting this booke of *Iudith* to a certaine time, there hath much labour been spent with ill successe. The reignes of *Cambyses*, *Darius Hystaspis*, *Xerxes*, and *Ochus*, haue beene sought into; but afford no great matter of likelihood: & now of late, the times, foregoing the destruction of *Ierusalem*, haue beene thought vpon, and this age that we haue in hand, chosen by *Bellarmine*, as agreeing best with the story; though others herein cannot (I speak of such as faine would) agree with him. Whilest *Cambyses* reigned, the Temple was not rebuilt, which in the story of *Iudith*, is found standing and dedicated. The other two Persian Kings, *Darius* and *Xerxes* are acknowledged to haue beene very fauourable to the Iewes; therefore neither of them could be *Nabuchodonosor*, whose part they refused to take, & who sent to destroy them. Yet the time of *Xerxes* hath some conueniences, aptly fitting this History; and aboue all, the opinion of a few ancient Writers (without whose iudgement the authority of this Booke were of no value) hauing placed this argument in the Persian Monarchy, inclines the matter to the reigne of his vaineglorious King. As for *Ochus*, very few, and they faintly, entitle him to the businesse. Manifest it is, and granted, that in the time of this History, there must be a returne from captiuity lately foregoing; the Temple rebuilt; *Ioacim* High Priest; & a long peace of threescore and ten yeares or thereabout, ensuing. All these were to be among the Iewes. Likewise on the other side, we must finde a King that reigned in Nineue, eighteene yeares at the least; that vanquished & slew a King of the Medes; one whom the Iewes refused to assist; one that sought generally to be adored as God, and that therefore commanded all temples, of such as were accounted gods, to be destroyed; one whose Vice-roy or Captaine Generall knew not the Iewish Nation, but was faine to learne what they were of the bordering people.

Of all these circumstances; the Priesthood of *Ioacim*, with a returne from Captiuity, are found concurring, with either the time of *Manasses* before the destruction of Ierusalem, or of *Xerxes* afterward: the rebuilding of the Temple a while before, and the long peace following, agree with the reigne of *Xerxes*; the rest of circumstances requisite, are to be found all together, neither before, nor after the Captiuity of the Iewes, & desolation of the City. Wherefore the briefe decision of this controuersie is, *That the Book of Iudith is not Canonicall.* Yet hath *Torniellus* done as much, in fitting all to the time of *Xerxes*, as was possible in so desperate a case. For he supposeth, that vnder *Xerxes* there were other Kings, among which *Arphaxad* might be one (who perhaps restored and re-edified the City of Ecbatane, that had formerly been built by *Deioces*) and *Nabuchodonosor* might be another. This granted, he addes, that from the twelfth yeare to the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, that is fiue or sixe yeares, the absence and ill fortune of *Xerxes* in his Grecian expedition (which he supposeth to haue beene so long) might giue occasion vnto *Arphaxad*, of rebelling: and that *Nabuchodonosor* hauing vanquished and slaine *Arphaxad*, might then seeke to make himselfe Lord of all, by the Army which he sent forth vnto *Holofernes*. So should the Iewes haue done their duty, in adhering to *Xerxes* their Soueraigne Lord, and resisting one that rebelled against him; as also the other circumstances rehearsed before, be well applied to the argument. For in these times, the affaires of Iury were agreeable to the History of *Iudith*, and such a King as this supposed *Nabuchodonosor*, might well enough be ignorant of the Iewes, & as proud as we shall need to thinke him. But the silence of all Histories, takes away beliefe from this coniecture: and the supposition it selfe is very hard, that a Rebell, whose King was abroad, with an Army consisting of seuenteene hundred thousand men, should presume so farre, vpon the strength of twelue hundred thousand foot, and twelue thousand Archers on horsebacke, as to thinke that he might doe what he list, yea that there was none other God than himselfe. It is indeede easie to finde enough that might be said against this deuice of *Torniellus*: yet if there were any necessity of holding the booke of *Iudith*, to be Canonicall, I would rather choose to lay aside all regard of prophane Histories, and build some defence vpon this ground; than, by following the opinion of any other, to violate, as they all doe, the text it self. That *Iudith* liued vnder none of the Persian Kings, *Bellarmine* (whose workes I haue not read, but finde him cited by *Torniellus*) hath proued by many arguments. That she liued not in the Reigne of *Manasses*, *Torniellus* hath proued very substantially, shewing how the Cardinall is driuen, as it were to breake through a wall, in saying that the text was corrupted, where it spake of the destruction of the Temple foregoing her time. That the Kings *Arphaxad* and *Nabuchodonosor*,

chodonosor, found out by *Tornielius*, are the children of meere fantasie; it is so plaine that it needes no proofe at all. Wherefore we may truely say, that they, which haue contended about the time of this History, being well furnished of matter, wherewith to confute each other, but wanting wherewith to defend themselues (like naked men in a stony field) haue chased *Holofernes* out of all parts of time, and left him and his great expedition, *Extra anni solisque vias*, in an age that neuer was, and in places that were neuer known.

Iudith c.2. ver. 23.& 25. Surely, to finde out *the borders of* Iapheth, *which were towards the South, and ouer against Arabia*; or the Countries of *Phul* and *Lud*, that lay in *Holofernes* his way; I thinke it would as much trouble Cosmographers, as the former question hath done Chronologers. But I will not busie my selfe herewith; hauing already so farre digressed, in shewing who liued not with *Manasses*, that I thinke it high time, to returne vnto mine owne worke, and rehearse what others I finde, to haue had their part, in the long time of his Reigne.

§.VI.

Of other Princes and actions that were in these times.

THE first yeare of *Manasses* was the last of *Romulus*; after whose death, one yeare the *Romanes* wanted a King. Then was *Numa Pompilius* a *Sabyne* chosen; a peaceable man and seeming very religious in his kinde. He brought the rude people, which *Romulus* had employed onely in warres, to some good ciuility, and a more orderly fashion of life. This he effected by filling their heads with superstition; as perswading them, that he had familiarity with a Nymph called *Egeria*, who taught him a many of Ceremonies, which he deliuered vnto the Romanes as things of great importance. But all these deuices of *Numa* were, in his owne iudgement, no better than meere delusions that serued onely as rudiments to bring the sauage multitude of theeues and out-lawes, gathered into one body by *Romulus*, to some forme of milder discipline, than their boysterous and wilde natures was otherwise apt to entertaine. This appeared by the Books that were found in his graue, almost sixe hundred yeares after his death, wherein the Superstition taught by himselfe was condemned as vaine. His graue was opened by chance, in digging a piece of ground that belonged to one *L. Petilius* a Scribe. Two Coffines or Chests of stone were in it, with an inscription in Greeke and Latine letters, which said, That *Numa Pompilius* the son of *Pompo*, King of the Romanes lay there. In the one Coffin was nothing found; his body being vtterly consumed. In the other were his Bookes, wrapped vp in two bundels of waxe; of his owne constitutions seuen, and other seuen of Philosophy. They were not only vncorrupted, but in a manner fresh and new. The Pretour of the City desiring to haue a sight of these Books, when he perceiued whereunto they tended, refused to deliuer them backe to the owner, and offered to take a solemn oath that they were against the Religion then in vse. Hereupon the Senate, without more adoe, commanded them to be openly burnt. It seemes that *Numa* did meane to acquite himselfe vnto wiser ages, which he thought would follow, as one that had not beene so foolish as to beleeue the Doctrine wherein he instructed his owne barbarous times. But the poyson wherewith he had infected Rome, when hee sate in his Throne, had not left working, when he ministred the Antidote out of his graue. Had these Bookes not come to light, vntill the dayes of *Tully* and *Cæsar*, when the mist of ignorance was somewhat better discussed; likely it is that they had not only escaped the fire, but wrought some good (and peraduenture generall) effect. Being as it was, they serued as a confutation, without remedy, of Idolatry that was inueterate.

Numa reigned three and forty yeares in continuall peace. After him *Tullus Hostilius* the third King was chosen, in the sixe and fortieth of *Manasses*, and reigned two and thirty yeares, busied, for the most part in warre. Hee quarrelled with the Albanes, who met him in the field; but in regard of the danger, which both parts had cause to feare, that might grow vnto them from the Thuscanes, caused them to bethinke themselues of a course, whereby without effusion of so much bloud, as might make them too weake for a common enemy, it might be decided, who should command, and who obey.

There

There were in each Campe three Brethren, Twins borne at one birth (*Dionysius* saies that they were Cosen Germans) of equall yeares and strength, who were appointed to fight for their seuerall Countries. The end was, that the *Horatij*, Champions for the Romanes got the victory, though two of them first lost their liues. The three *Curatij* that fought for Alba (as *Liuie* tels it) were all aliue, and able to fight, yet wounded, when two of their opposites were slaine; but the third *Horatius*, pretending feare, did runne away, and thereby drew the others, who by reason of their hurts, could not follow him with equall speed, to follow him at such distance one from another, that returning vpon them, he slue them, as it had beene in single fight, man after man, ere they could ioyne together and set vpon him all at once. *Dionysius* reports it somewhat otherwise, telling very particularly, what wounds were giuen and taken, and saying, that first one of the *Horatij* was slaine, then one of the *Curatij*, then a second *Horatius*, and lastly the two *Curatij*, whom the third *Horatius* did cunningly seuer the one from the other, as is shewed before.

This is one of the most memorable things in the old Roman History, both in regard of the action it selfe, wherein Rome was laid, as it were in a wager, against Alba, and in respect of the great increase which therby the Roman State obtained. For the City of Alba did immediatly become subiect vnto her owne Colony, and was shortly after, vpon some treacherous dealing of their Gouernour, vtterly razed, the people being remoued vnto Rome, where they were made Citizens. The strong Nation of the Latines, whereof Alba, as the mother City, had been chiefe, became ere long dependant vpon Rome, though not subiect vnto it, & diuers petty States adiacent, were by little and little taken in: which additions, that were small, yet many, I will forbeare to rehearse (as being the works of sundry ages, & few of them remarkeable considered apart by themselues) vntill such time as this fourth Empire, that is now in the infancy, shall grow to be the main subiect of this History.

The seuenth yeare of *Hippomenes* in Athens, was current with the first of *Manasses*. Also the three last Gouernours for ten yeares, who followed *Hippomenes*, were in the same Kings time. Of these I finde only names; *Leocrates*, *Abfander*, and *Erizias*. After *Erizias* yearly Rulers were elected.

These Gouernours for ten yeares, were also of the race of *Medon* and *Codrus*, but their time of rule was shortned, & from terme of life reduced vnto ten years; it being thought likely that they would gouerne the better, when they knew that they were afterwards to liue priuate men vnder the command of others. I follow *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, in applying their times vnto those yeares of the Olympiads, wherein the Chronologicall Table, following this worke, doth set them. For he not only professeth himselfe to haue taken great care in ordering the reckoning of times; but hath noted alwaies the years of the Greeks, how they did answer vnto the things of Rome, throughout all the continuance of this History. Whereas therefore he placeth the building of Rome, in the first yeare of the seuenth Olympiad, and affirmes, that the same was the first yeare of *Charops* gouernment of Athens; I hope I shall not need excuse, for varying from *Pausanias*, who sets the beginning of these Athenians somewhat sooner.

Dion. Halic. l.x. fol.43.& 45.

In the reigne of *Manasses* it was, that *Midas*, whom the Poets fained to haue had Asses eares, held the kingdome of Phrygia. Many fables were deuised of him; especially that hee obtained of *Bacchus*, as a great gift, that all things which he should touch, might immediately be changed into Gold: by which meanes he had like to haue beene starued (his meate and drinke being subiect to the same transformation) had not *Bacchus* deliuered him from this miserable faculty, by causing him to wash himselfe in the Riuer Pactolus, the streame whereof hath euer since, forsooth, abounded in that precious Metall. Finally, it is said he dyed by drinking Buls bloud; being inuaded by the Scythians.

In this age flourished that *Antimachus*, who (saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Romulus*) obserued the Moones Eclipse at the foundation of Rome.

The Milesians, or, (as *Eusebius* hath it) the Athenians hauing obtained some power by Sea, founded Macicratis a City on the East of Egypt. *Psammiticus* herein seems to haue assisted them, who vsed all meanes of drawing the Greeks into Egypt, accounting them his surest strength. For neither Miletus nor Athens were now of power sufficient to plant a Colony in Egypt by force.

About

Plut. & Euseb. About this time *Archias* with his companion *Miscellus*, and other Corinthians founded Syracusæ in Sicily, a City in after-times exceeding famous.

* Whence in Strabo there is sinus Astacenus a part of Propontis where this City standeth. Paus. l.5. Hal. l.3. Strabo l.6. The City of Nicomedia sometime * Astacus, was enlarged and beautified in this age by *Zipartes* natiue of Thrace. *Sybilla* of Samus, according to *Pausanias*, liued much about this time.

About these times also was Croton founded vpon the Bay of Tarentum by *Miscellus*, the companion of *Archias* that built Syracusæ. *Strabo* makes it somewhat more ancient: and so doth *Pausanias*.

Justin. l.3. Paus. l.10. About the same time the Parthenians being of age, & banished Lacedæmon, were conducted by *Phalantus* into Italy; where it is said they founded Tarentum: but *Iustine* and *Pausanias* finde it built before, and by them conquered and amplified: and about the same time *Manasse* yet liuing, the city Phaselis was founded in Pamphylia, Gela in Sicily, Interamne in the region of the Vmbri, now Vrbin in Italy. About which time also Chalcedon in Asia, ouer against Byzantium (now Constantinople) was founded by the Megarenses: who therfore were vpbraided as blind, because they chose not the other side of Bosphorus. It were a long work to rehearse all that is said to haue bin done in the fiue and fifty yeares of *Manasses*: that which already hath been told is enough: the rest being not greatly worth remembrance, may well be omitted, reseruing only *Ben Merodach*, and *Nabulassar*, to the businesse that will shortly require more mention of them.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the times from the death of Manasses *to the destruction of Ierusalem.*

§. I.

Of Ammon *and* Iosias.

2 Kings 21. 2 Chron. 33. *Amon* the sonne of *Manasse*, a man no lesse wicked than was his Father before his conuersion, restored the exercise of all sorts of Idolatry: for which God hardened the hearts of his owne seruants against him: who slew him after he had reigned two years. *Philo*, *Eusebius*, and *Nicephorus* giue him ten yeares, following the Septuagint.

2 Kings 22. 2 Chron. 34. *Iosias* succeeded vnto *Ammon*, being but a childe of 8. yeares old, he began to seek after the God of *Dauid* his Father; and in his twelfth yeare he purged *Iuda* and *Ierusalem from the high places; and the groues, and the carued and molten Images: and they brake downe in his sight the Altars of Baalim*: He caused all the Images as well those which were grauen, as molten, to be stampt to powder, and strewed on their graues that had erected them, and this he commanded to be done throughout all his Dominions. He also slew those that sacrificed to the Sunne and Moone, and caused the Chariots and Horses of the Sunne to be burnt. Of *Iosias* it was prophecied in the time of *Ieroboam* the first, when he erected the Golden Calfe at Bethel, that a child should be born vnto the house of *Dauid*, *Iosias* by name, and vpon thee (said the Prophet speaking to the Altar) shall he sacrifice the Priests of the high places, that burne incense vpon thee: a prophecy very remarkeable. 1 Kings 13.

In the eighteenth yeare of his reigne, he rebuilt and repaired the Temple, at which time *Helkiah* the Priest found the Booke of *Moses*, called *Deuteronomy*, or, of the Law which he sent to the King: which when he had caused to be read before him, and considered of the seuere commandements therein written, the prosperity promised to those that obserue them, and the sorrow and extirpation to the rest, he rent his garments, and commanded *Helkiah*, and others, to aske counsell of the Prophetesse *Huldah*, or, *Olda*, concerning the Book, who answered the messengers in these words: *Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I will bring euill vpon this place, and vpon the inhabitants thereof, euen all the curses that are written in the Booke, which they haue read before the King of Iuda, because they haue* 2 Chro. 34. 24.

forsaken mee, and burnt incense to other gods. Only for the king himselfe, because he was a louer of God and his Lawes, it was promised that this euill should not fall on Iuda and Ierusalem in his daies, but that he himselfe should inherit his graue in peace. 2 Kings 22. 15. 2 Chron. 34.

Iosias assembled the Elders, caused the Booke to be read vnto them, made a couenant with the Lord, and caused all that were found in Ierusalem and Beniamin to doe the like, promising thereby to obserue the Lawes and Commandements in the Booke contained.

The execution done by *Iosias* vpon the Altar, idols, monuments, and bones of the false Prophets at Bethel, argueth his Dominion to haue extended vnto those Countries, that had beene part of the kingdome of the ten Tribes. Yet I doe not thinke, that any victory of *Iosias* in warre got possession of these places; but rather that *Ezekias*, after the flight & death of *Sennacherib*, when *Merodach* opposed himselfe against *Asarhaddon*, did vse the aduantage which the faction in the North presented vnto him, and laid hold vpon so much of the kingdome of Israel, as he was able to people. Otherwise also it is not improbable, that the Babylonian finding himself vnable to deale with *Psammiticus* in Syria (as wanting power to raise the siege of *Azotus*, though the Towne held out nine and twenty yeares) did giue vnto *Manasses*, together with his liberty, as much in Israel as himselfe could not easily defend. This was a good way to breake the amity that the kings of Iuda had so long held with those of Egypt, by casting a bone between them, & withall by this benefit of enlarging their Territories with addition of more than they could challenge, to redeem the friendship of the Iewes, which had been lost by iniuries done, in seeking to bereaue them of their owne. When it is said, that *Manasses* did after his deliuerance from imprisonment, *put Captaines of warre in all the strong Cities of Iuda*; it may be that some such businesse is intimated, as the taking possession, and fortifying of places deliuered into his hands. For though it be manifest that he took much paines, in making Ierusalem it selfe more defensible; yet I should rather beleeue, that he, hauing already compounded with the Babylonian, did fortifie himselfe against the Egyptians, whose side he had forsaken, than that he trauelled in making such prouisions, only for his mindes sake. The earnestnesse of *Iosias* in the king of Babel his quarrell, doth argue, that the composition which *Manasses* had made with that King or his Ancestor, was vpon such friendly tearmes, as required not only a faithfull obseruation, but a thankfull requitall. For no persuasions could suffice to make *Iosias* sit still, and hold himselfe quiet in good neutrality, when *Pharao Neco* king of Egypt passed along by him, to warre vpon the Countries about the Riuer of Euphrates. 2 Chron. 33. 14.

The last yeare of *Iosias* his reigne it was, when as *Neco* the sonne of *Psammiticus*, came with a powerfull Army towards the border of Iudæa, determining to passe that way, being the neareſt toward Euphrates, either to strengthen the passages of that Riuer about Carchemish, or Cercusium, for the defence of Syria (as long after this, *Diocletian* is said by *Ammianus Marcellinus* to haue done,) or perhaps to inuade Syria it self. For it seemeth that the trauaile of *Psammiticus* had not been idlely consumed about that one Towne of *Azotus*; but had put the Egyptians in possession of no small part of Syria, especially in those quarters, that had formerly belonged vnto the Adades Kings of Damasco. 2 Chron. 35. 20.

Neither was the industry of *Neco* lesse than his Fathers had beene, in pursuing the warre against Babel. In which war, two things may greatly haue auailed the Egyptians, & aduanced their affaires & hopes: the extraordinary valour of the mercenary Greeks, that were far better Souldiers than Egypt of it selfe could afford; and the danger wherin Assyria stood, by the force of the Medes, which vnder the command of more absolute Princes, began to feele it selfe better; and to shew what it could doe. These were great helpes, but of shorter endurance than was the warre; as in place more conuenient shall be noted. At the present it seems, that either some preparation of the Chaldæans to reconquer, did enforce, or some disability of theirs to make resistance, did inuite the King of Egypt, into the Countries bordering vpon Euphrates; whither *Pharao Neco* ascended with a mighty Army.

These two great Monarchs, hauing their swords drawne, and contending for the Empire of that part of the World, *Iosias* aduised with himselfe to which of these he might adhere, hauing his Territory set in the mid-way between both, so as the one could not inuade the other; but that they must of necessity tread vpon the very face and body of his Country. Now though it were so that *Neco* himselfe desired by his Embassadours,

2 *Chron.*35. leaue to passe along by Iudæa, protesting that he directed himselfe against the Assyrians only, without all harmefull purpose against *Iosias*; yet all sufficed not, but the King of Israel would needs fight with him.

Many examples there were, which taught, what little good the friendship of Egypt could bring to those that had affiance therein: as that of *Hosea* the last King of Israel, who when he fell from the dependance of the Assyrian, and wholly trusted to *Sabacus*, or *Sous* King of Egypt, was vtterly disappointed of his hopes, and in conclusion lost both his life & estate, which the Assyrian so rooted vp and tare in pieces, as it could neuer after be gathered together or replanted. The calamities also that fel vpon Iuda in the thirteenth and fourteenth yeares of *Ezekia*, whilest that good king and his people relied vpon *Sethon*; and more lately, the imprisonment of *Manasses*, were documents of sufficient proofe, to shew the ill assurance, that was in the help of the Egyptians, who (neare neighbors though they were) were alwaies vnready, when the necessities of their friends required their assistance. The remembrance hereof might be the reason why *Neco* did not seeke, to haue the Iewes renew their ancient league with him, but only craued that they would be contented to sit still, and behold the pastime between him and the Assyrians. This was an easie thing to grant; seeing that the countenance of such an Army, as did, soone after this, out-face *Nabulassar* vpon his owne borders, left vnto the Iewes, a lawfull excuse of feare, had they forborne to giue it any checke vpon the way. Wherefore I beleeue, that this religious and vertuous Prince *Iosias*, was not stirred vp only by politick respects, to stop the way of *Neco*; but thought himself bound in faith & honour, to do his best in defence of the Babylonian Crowne; wherunto his Kingdome was obliged, either by couenant made at the enlargement of *Manasses*, or by the gift of such part as he held in the Kingdome of the ten Tribes. As for the Princes and people of Iuda, they had now a good occasion to shew, both vnto the Babylonians, of what importance their friendship was, and to the Egyptians what a valiant Nation they had abandoned, and thereby made their Enemy.

Some thinke, that this action of *Iosias*, was contrary to the aduice of *Ieremy* the Prophet; which I doe not finde in the Prophecy of *Ieremy*, nor can finde reason to beleeue. Others hold opinion, that he forgat to aske the counsell of God: and this is very likely; seeing he might beleeue that an enterprize grounded vpon fidelity and thankfulnesse due to the king of Babel, could not but be displeasing vnto the Lord. But the wickednes of the people (in whom the corruptions of former times had taken such roote, as all the care of *Iosias* in reforming the Land, could not plucke vp) was questionlesse farre from harkening how the matter would stand with Gods pleasure, and much farther from enquiring into his secret will, wherein it was determined that their good King, whose life stood between them and their punishment, should now be taken from among them, and that in such sort, as his death should giue an entrance to the miseries ensuing. So *Iosias* leauying all the strength he could make neare vnto Megiddo, in the halfe Tribe of *Manasses*, encountered *Neco*: and there he receiued the stroake of death, which lingring about him till he came to Ierusalem, brought him to the Sepulchres of his Ancestors. His losse was greatly bewailed of all the People and Princes of Iuda, especially of *Ieremy* the Prophet: who inserted a sorrowfull remembrance thereof in his Booke of Lamentations. *Lam.*4.20.

§.II.

Of Pharao Neco *that fought with* Iosias: *Of* Iehoahaz *and* Iehoiakim *Kings of Israel.*

OF these warres, and particularly of this victory, *Herodotus* hath mention, among the acts of *Neco*. He tels vs of this King, that he went about to make a channell, whereby Ships might passe, out of Nilus into the Red Sea. It should haue reached aboue an hundred miles in length, and been wide enough for two Gallies to row in front. But in the middest of the worke, an Oracle foretold that the Barbarians should haue the benefit of it, which caused *Neco* to desist when halfe was done. There were consumed in this toylesome businesse twelue hundred thousand Egyptians; a losse great enough to make the King forsake his enterprize, without troubling the Oracle for admonition. Howsoeuer it were, he was not a man to be idle; therefore he built a Fleet, and

and leauied a great Army, wherewith he marched against the king of Babel. In this expedition he vsed the seruice, as well of his Nauy, as of his land-forces; but no particular exploits of his therein, are found recorded, saue only this victory against *Iosias*, where *Herodotus* cals the place Magdolus, and the Iewes Syrians; which is a small error, seeing that Iudæa was a Prouince of Syria, and Magdo lus or Magdala is taken to haue bin the same place (though diuersly named) in which this battell was fought. After this, *Necus* tooke the City of Cadytis, which was perhaps Charchemish, by Euphrates, and made himselfe Lord, in a maner, of all Syria, as *Iosephus* witnesseth. *Ios. Ant. Iud. lib.* 10. *cap.*7.

Particularly we find, that the Phœnicians, one of the most powerful Nations in Syria, were his Subiects, & that by his command they surrounded all Africa, setting saile from the gulfe of Arabia, & so passing along all the Coast, whereon they both landed, as need required, and sowed corne for their sustenance; in that long voyage which lasted three yeares. This was the first Nauigation about Africa, wherein that great Cape, now called *Of good hope*, was discouered; which after was forgotten, vntil *Vasco de Gama* the Portingall found it out, following a contrary course to that which the Phœnicians held; for they, beginning in the East, ranne the way of the Sun, South and then Westward, after which they returned home by the pillars & streights of *Hercules* (as the name was then) called now the streights of Gybraltar, hauing Africke still on the right hand: but the Portingals, beginning their voyage not farre from the same streights, leaue Africke on the Larboord, and bend their course vnto the East. That report of the Phœnicians, which *Herodotus* durst not beleeue, how the Sun in this iournie was on their right hand, that is, on the North side of them, is a matter of necessary truth; & the obseruation then made hereof, makes me the better to beleeue, that such a voyage was indeed performed. *Herod. l.*4.

But leauing these discourses of *Neco* his magnificence, let vs tell what he did, in matters more importing his Estate. The people of Iuda, while the Egyptians were busie at Carchemish, had made *Iehoahaz* their King, in the roome of his father *Iosias*. The Prophet *Ieremy* calls this new King *Shallum*, by the name of his younger brother; alluding perhaps to the short Reigne of *Shallum* King of the ten Tribes: for *Shallum* of Israel reigned but one moneth; *Iehoahaz* no more than three. He was not the eldest son of *Iosias*: *Ier.*22.32. Wherfore it may seem that he was set vp as the best affected vnto the King of Babel; the rest of his house being more inclined to the Egyptian, as appeares by the sequele. An Idolater he was, and thriued accordingly. For when as *Neco* had dispatched his busines in the North parts of Syria, then did he take order for the affaires of Iudæa. This Country was now so far from making any resistance, that the King himselfe came from Riblah in the land of Hamath, where the matter went so ill on his side, that *Neco* did cast him into bonds, and carry him prisoner into Egypt, giuing away his Kingdome to *Eliakim* his elder brother, to whom of right it did belong. The City of Riblath, in after times called Antiochia, was a place vnhappy to the Kings and Princes of Iuda, as may be obserued in diuers examples. Yet here *Iehoiakim*, together with his new name, got his Kingdome; an ill gaine, since hee could no better vse it. But how-euer *Iehoiakim* thriued by the bargaine, *Pharao* sped well, making that Kingdome Tributary, without any stroke stricken, which three moneths before was too stout to giue him peace, when hee desired it. Certaine it is, that in his march outward, *Neco* had a greater taske lying vpon his hands, than would permit him to waste his forces vpon Iudæa: but now the reputation of his good successe at Megiddo, and Carchemish, together with the dissention of the Princes *Iosias* his sonnes (of whom the eldest is probably thought to haue stormed at the preferment of his yonger brother) gaue him power to doe, euen what should please himselfe. Yet he did forbeare to make a conquest of the Land; perhaps vpon the same reason, which had made him so earnest, in seeking to hold peace with it. For the Iewes had suffered much, in the Egyptians quarrell, and being left by these their friends, in time of need, vnto all extremities, were driuen of necessity to forsake that party, and to ioyne with the enemies; to whom if they shewed themselues faithfull, who could blame them? It was therfore enough to reclaime them; seeing they were such a people as would not vpon euery occasion shift side, but endure more, than *Pharaoh*, in the pride of his victories, thought that any henceforth should lay vpon them: so good a Patron did he meane to be vnto them. Neuertheless he laid vpon them a Tribute, of an hundred Talents of siluer, and one Talent of gold; that so hee might both reape at the present some fruit of his paines taken, and leaue vnto them some document in the future, of 2 *Kings* 34.32.

greater

greater punishment than verball anger, due to them, if they should rebell. So he departed, carrying along with him into Egypt the vnfortunate king *Iehoahaz*, who died in his Captiuity.

The reigne of *Iehoahaz* was included in the end of his Fathers last yeare; otherwise it would hardly be found, that *Iehoiakim*, his successour, did reigne ten whole yeares; wheras the Scriptures giue him eleuen, that are current and incomplete. If any man will rather cast the three moneths of this short reigne, into the first yeare of the brother, than into the fathers last; the same arguments that shall maintaine his opinion, will also proue the matter to be vnworthy of disputation; and so I leaue it.

Iehoiakim in impiety was like his brother, in faction he was altogether Egyptian, as hauing receiued his Crowne at the hand of *Pharao*. The wickednesse of these last kings, being expressed in Scriptures none otherwise, than by generall words, with reference to all the euill that their Fathers had done; makes it apparant, that the poyson wherewith *Ahaz* and *Manasses* had infected the Land, was not so expelled by the zealous goodnes of *Iosias*, but that it still cleaued vnto the chiefe of the people, *Yea vnto the Priests also*; and therefore it was not strange, that the Kings had their parts therein. The Royall authority was much abased by the dangers wherein the Country stood, in this troublesome age: the Princes did in a manner what they listed; neither would the Kings forbeare to professe, that they could deny them nothing. Yet the beginning of *Iehoiakim* had the countenance of the Egyptian to grace it, which made him insolent and cruell; as we finde by that example of his dealing with *Vria* the Prophet: though herein also the Princes doe appeare to haue been instigators. This holy man denounced Gods iudgements against the City and Temple, in like sort as other Prophets had formerly done, and did in the same age. The King with all the men of power, and all the Princes, hearing of this, determined to put him to death. Hereupon the poore man fled into Egypt: but such regard was had vnto *Iehoiakim*, that *Vria* was deliuered vnto his Embassadour, and sent backe to the death; contrary to the custome vsed, both in those daies, & since among all ciuill Nations, of giuing refuge vnto strangers, that are not held guilty of such inhumane crimes, as for the generall good of mankinde should be exempted from all priuiledge.

2 Chron.36.14.

It concerned *Pharao* to giue all contentment possible to *Iehoiakim*: for the Assyrian Lyon, that had not stirred in many yeares, began about these times, to roare so loud vpon the bankes of Euphrates, that his voice was heard vnto Nilus, threatning to make himselfe Lord of all the Forrest. The causes that hitherto had withdrawne the house of *Merodach*, from opposing the Egyptian in his conquest of Syria, require our consideration in this place; before we proceed to commit them together at Charchemish, where shortly after this, the glory of Egypt is to fall.

§.III.

Of the Kings of Babylon and Media. How it came to passe that the Kings of Babel could not giue attendance on their businesse in Syria; which caused them to lose that Prouince.

MErodach the sonne of *Baladan*, who taking the aduentage that *Sennacheribs* misaduenture and death, together with the dissention betweene his children presented, made himselfe king of Babylon, was eleuen years troubled with a powerfull Enemy *Asarhaddon* the sonne of *Sennacherib*, reigning ouer the Assyrians in Nineue; from whom whilest he could not any other way diuert his cares, he was faine to omit all businesse in Syria, and (as hath beene formerly shewed) to make ouer vnto *Ezekia*, some part of the Kingdome of the ten Tribes. From this molestation, the death of *Asarhaddon* did not only set him free, but gaue vnto him some part of Assyria, if not (as is commonly, but lesse probably thought) the whole Kingdome. How greatly this was to the liking of the Assyrians, I will not here stand to enquire: his long reigne following, & his little intermeddling in matters of Syria, make it plain, that he had work enough at home, either in defending or in establishing that which he had gotten. *Iosephus* giues him the honour of hauing wonne Nineue it selfe; which we may beleeue; but surely he did not hold it long. For in the times soone following, that great City was free, and vanquished *Phraortes* the Median. Perhaps it yeelded vpon some capitulation: and

and refused afterwards to continue subiect, when the Kings, being of the Chaldæan race, preferred Babylon before it.

Some think that this was the Assyrian King, whose Captaines tooke *Manasses* prisoner; but I rather beleeue those that hold the contrary, for which I haue giuen my reasons in due place. To say truth, I finde little cause why *Merodach* should haue looked into those parts, as long as the Iewes were his friends, and the Egyptians, that maligned the Northerne Empire, held themselues quiet at home, which was vntill the time of *Psammiticus*, about the end of this Kings Reigne, or the beginning of his son.

Ben Merodach the son and successour of this King, is not mentioned in the Scriptures; yet is he named by good consent of Authors, and that speake little of his doings. The length of his Reigne is gathered by inference to haue beene one and twenty yeares; for so much remaineth of the time that passed betweene the beginning of his Fathers and his Nephewes Reignes (which is a knowne summe) deducting the yeares of his Father, and of his sonne *Nabulassar*. This (as I take it) was he that had *Manasses* Prisoner, and released him. He sped ill in Syria; where *Psammiticus*, by the vertue of his Mercenary Greekes, did much preuaile. This may haue been some cause that he released *Manasses*, and did put into his hands some part more of the Kingdome of Samaria: which is made probable by circumstances alleadged before.

Nabulassar that reigned in Babylon after his father *Ben Merodach*, had greater businesse in his owne Kingdome, than would permit him to looke abroad: insomuch as it may be thought to haue been a great negligence or ouer-sight of *Psammiticus* and *Neco*, that they did not occupy some good part of his Dominions beyond Euphrates. For it was in his time, that *Phraortes* King of the Medes inuaded Assyria, and besieged Nineue; from whence he was not repelled by any force of *Nabulassar*, but constrained to remoue by the comming of the Scythians, who in these ages did ouer-flow those parts of the world, laying hold vpon all that they could master by strong hand. Of these Scythians, and the Lordship that they held in Asia, it is conuenient that I speak in this place; shewing briefly afore-hand, how the Medes, vpon whom they first fell, were busied in the same times with hopes of conquering Assyria.

Phraortes, the sonne of *Deioces*, King of the Medes, hauing by many victories enlarged his Dominions, conceiued at length a faire possibility of making himselfe Lord of Nineue.

That City (as *Herodotus* reports it) hauing been a Soueraigne Lady, was not forsaken of all her dependants; yet remained in such case, that of her selfe she was well enough. Herod.l.1.

This makes it plain, that howsoeuer *Merodach* had gotten possession of this imperiall seat, and made it subiect as was the rest of the Country; yet it found the meanes to set it selfe at liberty: as after this againe he did, when it had been regained by *Nabulassar* his Grand-childe.

Sharpe warre, and the very nouelty of suddaine violence, vse to dismay any State or Country, not inured to the like: but custome of danger hardeneth euen those that are vnwarlike. Nineue had been the Palace of many valiant Kings lately reigning therein; it had suffered, and resisted, all the fury, wherewith either Domesticall tumults between the sons of *Sennacherib*, or forreigne war of the Babylonians, could afflict it: and therefore it is the lesse wonderfull, that *Phraortes* did speed so ill in his iourney against it. He and the most of his Army perished in that expedition: whereof I finde no particular circumstances (perhaps he vnderualued their forces, and brought a lesse power than was needfull). It is enough, that herein we may beleeue *Herodotus*.

Cyaxares the sonne of *Phraortes*, a brauer man of war than his Father, wan as much of Asia the lesse, as lay Eastward, from the Riuer of Halys; hee sought reuenge vpon the Assyrians for the death of his father, & besieged Nineue it selfe, hauing a purpose to destroy it. I rather beleeue *Eusebius*, *That hee tooke the City, and fulfilled his displeasure vpon it*, than *Herodotus*, *That the Scythian Army came vpon him whilest hee lay before it*. For where equall authorities are contradictory (as *Eusebius*, though far later than *Herodotus*, yet hauing seen other Authors that are now lost, it is to be valued according to his great reading) there do I hold it best, to yeeld vnto the best likelihoods.

To thinke that the Scythians came vpon *Cyaxares*, whilest he lay before Nineue, were to accuse him of greater improuidence, than ought to be suspected in one commended as a good Souldier. But to suppose that he was faine to leaue the Towne, when a Warre

so dangerous fell vpon his owne Country, doth well agree both with the condition of such businesse as that Scythian expedition brought into those parts, and with the State of the Chaldæan and Assyrian affaires ensuing.

The destruction of this great City is both foretold in the Booke of *Tobit*, and there set downe as happening about these times; of which booke whosoeuer was the Author, he was ancient enough to know the Story of those ages, and hath committed no such errour in reckoning of times, as should cause vs to distrust him in this. As for the Prophesie of *Nahum*, though it be not limited vnto any certaine terme, yet it appeares to haue taken effect, in the finall destruction of Nineue by *Nabuchodonosor*, according to the common opinion. For the Prophet hath mention of a Conquest of Egypt, foregoing this calamity, whereof we will speake in due place. Some that ascribe more authority than the reformed Churches yeeld, to the booke of *Tobit*, are carefull, as in a matter of necessity, to affirme, that about these times, Nineue was taken; but they attribute (coniecturally) the victory ouer it to *Ben Merodach*: a needlesse coniecture, if the place of *Eusebius* be well considered. Yet I hold it probable, that *Nabulassar* the son of *Ben Merodach*, did seize vpon it, & place a King or Vice-roy therin, about such time as the Country of Assyria was abandoned by *Cyaxares*, when the Scythian Warre ouer-whelmed Media. For then was the Conquest wrought out ready to his hand; the swelling spirits of the Nineuites were allayed, & their malice to Babylon so much asswaged, that it might be thought a great fauour, if *Nabulassar*, appointing vnto them a peculiar King, took him and them into protection: though afterwards to their confusion, this vnthankfull People and their King rebelled againe, as shall be shewed in the Reigne of *Nabuchodonosor*.

§.IIII.

The great expedition of the Scythians, who ruled in Asia eight and twenty yeeres.

†.I.

The time of this expedition.

NOW that I haue shewed what impediment was giuen by the Assyrians and the Medes, to the Babylonians, who thereby were much disabled to performe any action of worth vpon the Egyptians in Syria; it is time that I speake of that great Scythian expedition, which grieuously afflicted not only the Babylonians, but the Medes & Lydians, with the Countries adiacent, in such wise, that part of the trouble redounded euen to the Egyptians themselues. Of the Scythian people in generall, *Herodotus* makes very large discourse, but interlaced, as of matter ill knowne, with many Fables; of this expedition he tels many particulars, but ill agreeing with consent of time. Concerning his fabulous reports, it will be needlesse to recite them; for they are farre enough distant from the businesse in hand. The computation of times which by inference out of his relations, may seeme very strange, needeth some answer in this place: lest otherwise I should either seeme to make my selfe too bold with an Authour, in citing him after a manner different from his owne tale; or else to be too forgetfull of my selfe, in bringing to act vpon the Stage, those persons, which I had already buried. Eight and twenty yeares, he saith, that the Scythians reigned in Asia, before *Cyaxares* deliuered the Country from them. Yet hee reports a warre betweene *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* the Lydian, as foregoing the siege of Nineue; the siege of Nineue being ere the Scythians came. And further he tels, how the Scythians, hauing vanquished the Medes, did passe into Syria, and were encountred in Palestina by *Psammiticus* King of Egypt, who by gifts and entreaty procured them to depart from him. These narrations of *Herodotus* may, euery one of them, be true; though not in such order of time, as he hath marshalled them. For *Psammiticus* was dead before *Cyaxares* began to reigne: and *Cyaxares* had spent halfe of his forty yeares, ere *Haliattes* was King of Lydia; so that hee could not, after those Lydian Warres, reigne eight and twenty yeares together with the Scythians. It is true, that *Eusebius* doth also call *Psammis* the sonne of *Pharao Neco*, by the name of *Psammiticus*; and this King *Psammis* may, by some strained coniecture, be thought to haue beene he that met with the Scythians: for he liued with

with both *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes*. But *Eusebius* himselfe referres all that businesse of the Scythian irruption into Palæstina, to *Psammiticus* the Father of *Necho*, whom he leaues dead before the Reigne of *Halyattes*. Therefore I dare not relye vpon *Herodotus*, in this matter, otherwise than to beleeue him, that such things were in these ages, though not in such order as he sets them downe.

It remaines, that I collect as well as I can, those memorials which I finde of this expedition scattered in diuers places: a worke necessary, for that the greatnesse of this action was such, as ought not to be omitted in a generall History; yet not easie, the consent of those that haue written thereof, being nothing neare to vniformity.

I haue noted before, that in the reigne of *Ardys* King of Lydia, the Cimmerians ouer-ran that Kingdome, and were not expelled, vntill *Halyattes* the Nephew of *Ardys* got the vpper hand of them. In these times therefore of *Ardys*, *Sadiattes*, and *Halyattes*, are we to finde the eight and twenty years, wherein the Scythians reigned ouer Asia. Now forasmuch as *Psammiticus* the Egyptian had some dealings with the Scythians, euen in the height of their prosperity, we must needs allow more than one or two of his last yeares vnto this their Dominion. But the beginning of *Halyattes* his Reigne in Lydia, being three and twenty yeares compleat after the death of *Psammiticus*, leaues the space very scant, either for the great victories of the Scythians, necessarily supposed before they could meete the Egyptian in Syria, or for those many losses, which they must haue receiued ere they could be driuen quite away. To increase this difficulty, the victorious Reigne of *Nabuchodonosor* in Babylon, is of no small moment. For how may we thinke it possible, that he should haue aduentured the strength of his Kingdome against the Egyptians and Iewes, had he stood in daily feare of losing his owne, to a more mighty Nation, that lay vpon his necke? To speake simply as it appeares to me; the victories ascribed to *Cyaxares* and *Halyattes* ouer these warlike people, were not obtained against the whole body of their Army, but were the defeatures of some troopes, that infested their seuerall Kingdomes; other Princes, and among these, *Nabulassar* hauing the like successe, when the pleasures of Asia had mollified the courages of these hardy Northerne Laddes. Wherefore we may probably annexe the eight and twenty years of the Scythians rule, to as many almost the last of *Nabulassars* Reigne, in compasse whereof their power was at the greatest. This is all that I can say of the time, wherein Asia suffered the violence of their oppressors.

†. II.

What Nations they were that brake into Asia; with the cause of their Iournie.

TOuching the expedition it self, *Herodotus* tels vs, that the Cimmerians being driuen out of their Country by the Scythians, inuaded and wasted some part of Asia; and that the Scythians, not contended with hauing won the land of the Cimmerians, did follow them, I know not why, into farre remoued quarters of the world, so (as it were by chance) falling vpon Media and Egypt, in this pursuit of men that were gone another way into Lydia. Hereby we may gather that the Cimmerians were an odious and base people; the Scythians, as mischieuous and foolish; or else *Herodotus*, and some other of his Countri-men, great slanderers of those, by whom their Nation had beene beaten, and Ionia, more than once, grieuously ransackt. The great valour of the Cimmerians or Cimbrians is so well known, and their many Conquests so well testified in Histories of diuers Nations, that the malice of the Greekes is insufficient to staine them with the note of Cowards. These were the posterity of *Gomer*, who peopled the greatest part of our Westerne World; and whose re-flow did ouerwhelm no small portion of Greece & Asia, as well before and after, as in the age whereof we do now entreat. He that would more largely informe himselfe of their originall and actions, may peruse *Goropius Becanus* his *Amazonica*; of many things in which Booke, that may be verified, which the learned *Ortelius* is said to haue spoken, of all *Goropius* his workes, *that it is easie to laugh at them, but hard to confute them*: There we finde it proued, by such arguments and authorities, as are not lightly to be regarded, that the Cimmerians, Scythians and Sarmatians, were all of one Linage and Nation; howsoeuer distinguished in name, by reason of their diuers Tribes, professions, or perhaps dialect of speech. *Homer* indeed hath mention of the Cimmerians; whose Country whether he placeth in the West, as neare vnto the

Ocean and bounds of the Earth, or in the North, as being farre from the Sunne, and couered with eternall darknesse; certain it is that he would haue them near neighbours to Hell: for he had the same quarrell to them which *Herodotus* had, and therefore belike would haue made them seeme a kinde of Goblins. It was the manner of this great Poet (as *Herodotus* writing his life affirmes) to insert into his works the names of such as liued in his owne time, making such mention of them, as the good or ill done by them to himselfe deserued. And for this reason it is proued by *Eustathius*, that the Cimmerians were so disgraced by him, because they had wasted his Country, Perhaps that inuasion of Phrygia by the Amazons, wherof *Homer* puts a remembrance into *Priamus* his discourse with *Helen*, was the very same, which *Eusebius* noteth to haue happened somewhat before the age of *Homer*, at what time the Cimmerians with the Amazons, together inuaded Asia.

This is certain, that both the Amazons & the Cimmerii (who in after-times were called Cimbri) did often breake into Greece and Asia; which though it be not in expresse tearmes written, that they did with ioynt-forces, yet seeing they inuaded the selfe-same places, it may well be gathered, that they were companions. One iourney of the Amazons into Greece, mentioned also by *Eusebius*, was by the streights of the Cimmerians, as we finde in *Diodore*, who further telleth vs, that the Scythians therein gaue them assistance. The same Authour, before his entry into those discourses of the Amazons, which himselfe acknowledgeth to be fabulous, doth report them to haue beene wiues of the Scythians, and no lesse Warre-like than their Husbands; alledging the example of that Queen who is said to haue slaine the great Persian *Cyrus*. That it was the manner of the Cimbri to carry their wiues along with them to the Warres; and how desperate the courage was of those Women; the terrible descent of them into Italy, when *Marius* the Romane ouerthrew them, giues proofe sufficient. I will not here enter into a discourse of the Amazons; another place will giue me better leisure to speake of them: but seeing that they are noted by diuers Historians to haue belonged vnto the Cimmerians, to the Scythians, and to the Sarmatians, we may therefore the better approue *Goropius* his conclusion, That these three Nations were one, at least that they were neare allies.

Diod. l. 4. c. 2.
Diod. l. 2. c. 11.

Now as concerning the expulsion of the Cimmerians by the Scythians, it appears to haue beene none other than the sending a Colony of them forth into Asia, with an Army of Scythians to helpe them, in purchasing a new seate, and establishing the plantation.

The Sarmatians also were companions in this iourney. For the City of Nouograd in Russia (which Country is the same that was called Sarmatia) stood in their way homewards, as shall anon be further shewed. So that all the North was vp in Armes: and therefore it is no maruell though many Countries felt the weight of this great inundation. Such another voyage was that, which the same people made fiue hundred years and more after this, when they were encountred by the Romans. For they issued from the parts about the Lake Mæotis; they were then likewise assisted (saith *Plutarch* in the most likely report of them) by the Scythians their neighbours; they had in their Armie aboue three hundred thousand fighting men, besides a huge multitude of women and children; they wandered ouer many Countries, beating all downe before them; and finally, thinking to haue setled themselues in Italy, they diuided their Company, for the more easie passage thither, and were consumed in three terrible battailes by the Roman Consuls. Meere necessity enforced these poore Nations to trouble the World, in following such hard aduentures. For their Country being more fruitfull of men than of sustenance, and shut vp on the North side with intolerable cold, which denied issue that way to their ouer-swelling multitudes; they were compelled to discharge vpon the South, and by right or wrong to driue others out of possession, as hauing title to all that they had power to get, because they wanted all, that weaker, but more ciuill, people had. Their sturdy bodies, patient of hunger, cold, and all hardnesse, gaue them great aduantage ouer such as were accustomed vnto a more delicate life, and could not be without a thousand superfluities. Wherefore most commonly they preuailed very farre; their next neighbours giuing them free passage, that they might the sooner be ridde of them; others giuing them, besides passage, victuals and guides to conduct them to more wealthy places; others hiring them to depart with great presents; so as the

Plutarch in the life of Marius.

the farther they went on, the more pleasant Lands they found, and the more effeminate people.

†. III.

Of the Cimmerians warre in Lydia.

THe first Company of these, consisting for the most part of Cimmerians, held the way of the Euxine Seas, which they had still on the right hand; leauing on the other side, & behind them, the great Mountains of Caucasus. These hauing passed through the Land of Colchis, that is now called Mengrelli, entered the Country of Pontus, and being arriued in Paphlagonia, fortified the Promontory, whereon Sinope, a famous Hauen Towne of the Greekes, was after built. Here it seemes that they bestowed the weakest and most vnseruiceable of their traine, together with the heauiest part of their carriages, vnder some good guard: as drawing near to those Regions, in conquest whereof they were to trie the vtmost hazzard. For in like sort afterwards did the Cimbri (of whom I spake euen now) dispose of their impediments, leauing them in a place of strength, where Antwerpe now stands, when they drew neare vnto Gaule, vpon which they determined to aduenture themselues in the purchase. From Sinope, the way vnto Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia, was faire and open to the Cimmerians, without any ledge of Mountaines, or any deep Riuers at all to stay their march: for Iris and Halys they had already passed.

Herod. lib. 4.

What battels were fought between these inuaders and the Lydians, & with what variable successe the one or other part wanne and lost, I finde not written, nor am able to coniecture. This I find, that in the time of *Ardys*, the Cimmerians got possession of Sardes the capitall City of Lydia; only the Castle holding out against them. Further I obserue, that whereas *Herodotus* tells of the acts performed by *Gyges* and *Ardys* Kings of Lydia, before this inuasion, and by *Halyattes* and *Crœsus* in the times following; all that *Ardys* did against the Cimmerians, & all, saue burning the Milesians Corne fields, that was done in twelue years by *Sadyattes* his Son (who perhaps had his hands so full of this businesse, that he could turne them to nothing else) is quite omitted: whereby it may seeme, that neither of the two did any thing worthy of remembrance in those wars, but were glad enough that they did lose all.

Certainly the miseries of war are neuer so bitter and many, as when a whole Nation, or great part of it, forsaking their owne seats, labour to root out the established possessours of another Land, making roome for themselues, their wiues and children. They that fight for the mastery, are pacified with tribute, or with some other seruices and acknowledgements; which had they beene yeelded at the first, all had been quiet, and no sword bloudied. But in these migrations, the assailants bring so little with them, that they need all which the defendants haue, their Lands and Cattell, their houses and their goods, euen to the cradles of the sucking infants. The mercilesse tearmes of this controuersie arme both sides with desperate resolution: seeing the one part must either winne, or perish by famine; the other defend their goods, or lose their liues without redemption. Most of the Countries in Europe haue felt examples thereof; and the mighty Empire of Rome was ouerthrowne by such inuasions. But our Isle of Britaine can best witnesse the diuersity of Conquests; hauing by the happy victory of the Romans, gotten the knowledge of all Ciuill Arts, in exchange of liberty, that was but slenderly instructed therein before; whereas the issue of the Saxon and Danish Wars, was, as were the causes, quite contrary. For these did not seeke after the Dominion onely, but the entire possession of the Country, which the Saxons obtained, but with horrible cruelty, eradicating all of the British Race, & defacing all memoriall of the ancient inhabitants through the greater part of the Land. But the Danes (who are also of the Cimmerian bloud) found such end of their enterprize, as it may seem that the Cimmerians in Lydia, & Scythians in the higher Asia, did arriue vnto. So that by considering the processe of the one, we shall the better conceiue the fortune of the other. Many battailes the Danes wonne, yet none of such importance, as sufficed to make them absolute Conquerours: Many the Saxons won vpon the Danes, yet not so great, as could driue them quite away, and backe from hence, after they had gotten firme footing. But in course of time, the long continuance euen of vtter enmity, had bred such acquaintance

 between

between them, as bowing the natures of both these people, made the one more pliant vnto the other. So their disagreeable qualities, both ill and good, being reduced into one milde temper, no small number of the Danes became peaceable cohabitants with the Saxons in England, where great slaughter had made large roome; others returning home, found their owne Country wide enough to receiue them, as hauing disburthened it selfe of many thousands, that were sent to seeke their graues abroad. And such (as I thinke) was the end of the Cimmerian warre in Lydia; whereunto though some victory of *Halyattes* may haue hastened the conclusion, yet the wearisome length of time seems to haue done most, in compelling them to desire of rest. I know not why I should feare to adde hereunto my further coniecture; which is, that the matter was so compounded between the Cimmerians & *Halyattes*, that the Riuer of Halys should diuide their Territories. For Halys was henceforth the border of the Lydians, and on the Easterne side of the Riuer was the Country of the Amazons, that is indeed, of the Cimmerians and other Scythian people; whose wiues and daughters these warlike women are supposed to haue been.

And hereunto the quarrell ensuing betweene *Halyattes* and *Cyaxares* the Mede, hath very good reference. For *Halyattes* (as is said) fought in defence of certain Scythians, vpon whom the Median sought reuenge. And it stands with reason, that the Lydians and Cimmerians, being much weakened with mutuall slaughters, should haue ioyned in a league of mutuall defence for their common safety: though otherwise it had been dangerous to *Halyattes*, if he had permitted the Median to extend his Kingdome so farre Westward, whatsoeuer the pretences might be, of taking reuenge vpon such as had spoiled each of their Countries. As for that occasion of the Warre betweene these two Kings, which *Herodotus* relates, I finde it of little waight, and lesse probability. He tells of Scythians, that being chased out of their Country by faction, came vnto *Cyaxares*; who committed vnto them certaine Boyes, to bee instructed in the Scythian tongue, and feate of Archery. Now it so fell out (saith he) that these Scythians vsing much to hunt, and commonly bringing home somewhat with them, did neuertheless other-whiles misse of their game, and come home as they went. Hereupon the King being froward and cholericke, bitterly reuiled them; and they, as impatient as he, killed one of the Boyes that was vnder their charge, whom dressing like Venison, they presented vnto him; which done, they fledde vnto *Halyattes*. This *Herodotus* deliuers, as the ground of a Warre that lasted sixe yeares between the Medes and Lydians; the one King demanding these Fugitiues to be deliuered into his hand, the other refusing to betray such men as were become his suppliants. To this I will say no more, than that I see no cause that might induce the Scythians to betake themselues to either of these Kings, vnto whom their Nation had wrought so much displeasure. Particularly, they had reason to distrust *Cyaxares*, for the treachery that he shewed in the massacring of their Countri-men that were in his Kingdome; of whom it is now meet that we should speake.

Herod.lib.1.

†. IV.

The Warre of the Scythians in the higher Asia.

AS the Cimmerians held their course westerly, along the shores of the Euxine sea: so the Scythians and Sarmatians took the other way, and hauing the Caspian Sea on their left hand, passed between it and Caucasus through Albania, Colthene, & other obscure Nations, where now are the Countries of Seruan and Georgia, & so they entered into Media. The Medes encountred them in Armes; but were beaten, and thereupon glad to come to any agreement with them. This was in the time of *Phraortes*, whilest *Psammiticus* reigned in Egypt. If it were in the sixth yeare of *Nabulassars* Reigne ouer Babylon (supposing him to haue reigned fiue & thirty; otherwise we must allow to *Ben Merodach* what we take from him) then doe the eight and twenty yeares of their Dominion end, one year before the great *Nabuchodonosor* was King; so giuing him good leaue to prouide securely for the inuasion of Syria, which expedition he began while his Father yet liued, as *Iosephus* out of *Berosus* relates the History.

Now the Medes, desirous to saue themselues as well as they might, from this terrible nation, which when they had no lust to a second trial of the sword, refused not to vnder-

goe

goe the burthen of a Tribute, but thought nothing dishonourable, that would serue to remoue these troublesome guests into some other lodging. On the other part, the Scythians finding still the Countries pleasanter & better, the further that they marched into the South, did suffer themselues to be perswaded, that a little more trauaile would adde a great deale more to their content. For they relyed so much vpon their owne valour, that they feared no resistance; & being the braueſt men, they thought it reason that they should dwell in the best Region. That *Phraortes* perswaded them into Egypt, I doe not think: Babylon was neare enough; whither if he could send these Locusts to graze, then should not his vnfriendly Neighbours haue cause to laugh at his misfortune. What shift *Nabulassar* made with them, or that at all he had any dealings with them, I do not reade. But it is well known that his Dominions lay in the middest between Media and Egypt; as also, that they made all those parts of Asia Tributary; wherefore we may very well beleeue, that they watered their horses in his Riuers, and that he also was content to giue them prouender.

Psammiticus hearing of their progresse (like the iealous Husband of a faire Wife) took care that they might not looke vpon Egypt; lest the sight thereof should more easily detaine them there, than any force or perswasion that he could vse, would send them going. Therefore he met them in Syria, presuming more on the great gifts which he meant to bestow vpon them, than on his Army that should keepe them backe. Egypt was rich; and halfe the riches had not been ill spent in sauing all. Yet *Psammiticus* took the most likely course, whereby to make his part good against them by strong hand, in case they had been so obstinate as to refuse all indifferent composition. For he lay close vpon the edge of the Wildernesse in Gaza (as I take it) the Southermost border of Palæstina: whence he neuer aduanced to meete with the Scythians; but gaue them leaue to feele as much of the scalding Sunne-beames, ill agreeing with their temper, as all the length of Syria could beate vpon them. When they were come as farre as Ascalon, the next City to Gaza, then did he assay them with goodly words, accompanied with gifts, which were likely to worke so much the better, by how much the worse they were pleased with the heate of a Climate so farre different from their owne. *Psammiticus* had at his backe a vast wildernesse, ouer the scorching sands whereof, the Scythians more patient of cold and wet, than of the contrary distempers, could ill haue endured to pursue him through vnknowne waies, had they fought with him and preuailed: especially the Kingdome of Egypt being ready to entertaine him with reliefe, and them with new trouble at the end of their weary iourney. Wherefore they were content to be intreated, & taking in good part his courteous offers, returned back to visit their acquaintance in the high Countries. The Egyptian King (besides that he preserued his owne Estate from a dangerous aduenture, by hyring this great Army to depart from him) found all his Coast well repayed in the processe of his wars in Syria, where the Nations beyond Euphrates had no power to molest him, being more than euer troubled themselues with the returne of their oppressors. For the Scythians, resoluing now to seek no further, began to demand more than the Tribute formerly imposed. And not contented to fleece the Naturals with grieuous exactions, they presumed to liue at discretion vpon the Country, taking what they listed from the Owners; and many times (as it were to saue the labour of taking often) taking all at once. This Tyrannous Dominion they long vsed ouer the higher Asia, that is, ouer the Country lying between the Caspian and Red Seas; and betweene India and Asia the lesse. Happy it was for the poore people, that in so large a space of ground, there was room enough for these new comers; otherwise the calamity that fell, as it were by chance, vpon those priuate men, to whose wealth any Scythian did beare a fancy, would haue lighted in generall vpon all at one clap, leauing few aliue, and none able to relieue their fellowes. Yet it seemes that the heauiest burthen lay vpon Media; for it was a fruitfull Country not farre from their own home, and lay vnder a Climate well agreeing with the constitution of their bodies; there also it was that they had the fatall blow, by which their insolent Rule was taken from them.

Cyaxares King of the Medes, who in this extremity was no better than a Rent-gatherer for the Scythians, perceiuing that his Land lay vnmanured and waste, through the negligence of his people, that were out of heart by daily oppressions, and that the matter could not be remedied by open force, resolued to proue what might be done by stratagem. *Herod.lib.1.*

stratagem. The managing of the businesse is thus deliuered in briefe; That he, and his Medes, feasted the better part of the Scythians, made them drunk, and slew them; recouering hereby the possession of all that they had lost.

Such another slaughter was committed vpon the Danes in England; but it was reuenged by their Countrimen, with greater cruelty than euer they had practised before. That the Scythians which escaped this bloudy feast, made any stirre in Media, I do not find; neither do I reade that either in reuenge hereof, or vpon other pretence, the Medes were troubled by inuasion from Scythia in time following.

This is the more strange, for that the Army returning home out of Media, was very strong, & encountred with opposition (as *Herodotus* reports it) no lesse than it had found abroad. Wherefore it may be, that the deuice of *Cyaxares* to free his Country, tooke good effect, with lesse bloud-shed than hath been supposed. For if he surprised all the chief of them, it was no hard matter to make a good composition. Many of them doubtlesse in eight and twenty years had so well setled themselues, that they were desirous of rest, and might be permitted, without any danger, to remaine in the Country; many (of whom I shall speake anon) hauing done what they could in the businesse, for which they came forth, were willing to returne home with what they had gotten; such as were not pleased with either of these two courses, might goe ioyne with the Cimmerians in Lydia, or seeke their fortunes in other Prouinces among their owne Companions. Whereas all the Families of the North are said to haue bin with *Nabuchadnezzar*, it may be vnderstood, that a great part of the Scythians, vpon hope of gaine, or desire to keepe what they had already gained, were content to become subiect vnto *Nabulassar*: mens loue of their wealth being most effectuall, in taming the more vnquiet loue of inordinate liberty. This is certaine, that *Nabuchadnezzar*, as euer after, so in his first beginning of warre, did beate the Egyptians, who in ages foregoing had been accustomed to deale with the Babylonians after another fashion: & this new successe of that King may be imputed, in regard of humane meanes, to such addition as this of new forces.

Herod. lib. 4.

Ier. 25. 9.

Of the Scythian Army returning out of Media, diuers Authors report a Story, which confirmes me in the opinion, that this Company went forth to assist their kinred and friends, in acquiring a new seat, and establishing their plantation. For these had left their wiues behinde them; a good argument to proue that they meant to come againe. The Scythian women, to comfort themselues in their husbands absence, became bed-fellows to their slaues. These got a lusty brood of youths, that were loth to be troubled with Fathers-in-Law, and therfore prepared to fight with them at their returne. If they were onely the children of slaues, which compounded an Army (as *Herodotus* would haue it, who tels vs, that the Scythians were wont to pull out all their bond-mens eyes) it must needes be that they were very Boyes, or else that the Women did very little while continue chaste. Wherefore I rather beleeue that tale as it is told by the Russes themselues, who agreeing in the rest with the consent of Histories, make that report of their Ancestors returning homewards, which I will set down, as I finde it in Master *Doctor Fletcher* his exact discourse of the *Russe Common-wealth. They vnderstood by the way, that their Chrolopey, or Bond-slaues, whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their Townes, Lands, Houses, Wiues, and all. At which newes being somewhat amazed, and yet disdaining the Villany of their seruants, they made the more speede home: and so not farre from Nouograd met them in warlike manner marching against them. Whereupon aduising what was best to bee done, they agreed also to set vpon them with no other shew of weapon but with their horse-whips (which, as their manner is, euery man rideth withall) to put them in remembrance of their seruile condition, thereby to terrifie them, and abate their courage. And so marching on, and lashing all together with their whips in their hands, they gaue the onset: which seemed so terrible in the eares of their Villaines, and strooke such a sense into them of the smart of the whip, which they had felt before, that they fled altogether like Sheepe before the Driuers. In memory of this victory, the Nouogradians euer since haue stamped their Coine (which they call a Dingoe Nouogradskoy, currant through all Russia) with the figure of a Horseman shaking a whip aloft in his hand.* It may seeme, that all the women of that Country haue fared the worse euer since, in regard of their vniuersall fault: for such a Pudkey or whip, as terrified those slaues, curiously wrought by her selfe, is the first present that the Moscouian Wife, euen in time of wooing, sends to him that shall be her husband, in token of subiection; being well

Russ. commonw. Cap. 4.

well assured to feele it often on her own loines. But this was a Document vnto the Scythians; or rather Sarmatians (for Nouograd stands in the Country that was called Sarmatia) to beware of absenting themselues any more so long from their wiues; which after this, I finde not that they did.

Thus much I thought good to set down of the Scythian expedition; not only because it is the most memorable act performed abroad by that Nation, famous in Histories, and terrible to many Countries; but for that it appeares to haue been a great cause of the Egyptians preuailing hitherto in Syria, and about Iudæa, which continues yet a while the centre of our discourse.

§. V.

Of Princes liuing in diuers Countries, in these ages.

HAuing thus far digressed from the matters of Iuda, to auoide all further occasion of doing the like, I will here insert a note of such Kings and men of marke, as were betweene the death of *Manasses*, and the ruine of Ierusalem. Of the Egyptians, Babylonians, Medes, and Lydians, I haue spoken as much as I thought needfull. In Rome, *Tullus Hostilius* held the Kingdome, vntill the one and twentieth yeare of *Iosias*; at which time *Ancus Martius* succeeding, reigned foure and twenty yeares. After him *L. Tarquinius Priscus*, a new-come stranger, but very rich, preuailed so farre by his graciousnesse among the people, that he got the kingdome to himself; disappointing the sonnes of *Ancus*, ouer whom he was Tutor. He began in the fourth yeare of *Zedekia*, and reigned eight and thirty yeares. In this time it was, namely, in the second year of the thirtieth Olympiad, that the Lacedæmonians bethinking them how to be auenged of the Arcadians, who gaue succour to the Messenians against them in the former war, entred their Territory, took the City of Phigalia or Phialia, from whence their Garrisons were soone after beaten out. *Cypselus* expelling the race of the Bacidæ, made himselfe Lord of Corinth about these times, & gouerned it in peace thirty yeares; leauing for successour his sonne *Periander*, one of the seauen Sages, but a cruell Tyrant: who among other vile acts, slew his owne wife, & afterwards, as in her honour, stripped all the Corinthian women stark naked, burning their apparrell; as an acceptable offering to her Ghost. Hereby we may perceiue, that the wisedome of the Greekes was not excellent in those dayes; when such a one as this could be admired as excelling all the Country.

In these times also were *Zaleucus* & *Draco*, famous Lawgiuers, the one among the Locrians in Italy, the other in the City of Athens. The Lawes of *Draco* were so rigorous; that he was said to haue written them with bloud: for he rewarded euery small offence with death. Wherefore his Constitutions were soon abrogated, & power giuen to *Solon* by the Athenians, to make new in their stead. But the Lawes of *Zeleucus* were very mild: He forbad any Gentlewoman to walk abroad with more than one Bond-woman attending on her, *vnlesse it were when she was drunke*; or to goe forth of the Towne by night, vnlesse it were to some sweet-hearts bed; or to dresse her selfe vp in immodest brauery, vnlesse it were to inueigle a louer. By which pleasant Ordinances, he effected his desire: for none would seeme, in breaking the Statutes, to be in such case as challenged the dispensation. It is noted in this man as a singular example of iustice, that when his own son had committed adultery, and was therefore to lose both his eyes, he did not cause him to be pardoned, but gaue one eye of his owne to saue the young man (who also lost one) from vtter blindnesse.

I shall not henceforth neede so farre to wander, as hitherto I often haue done, in pursuing of actions collaterall to the History, for inserting them in their order of time. The Chaldæans will soon fall vnder the Persians; ere long, encounter with the Greeks; the Greeks, with the Romans; the Romans with many Nations. Concerning all these, as they shall successiuely present themselues, in their flourishing Estate; it will be enough to recapitulate the most memorable accidents, that befell them in their Minority. But in the long space of more than thirteene hundred yeares, which passed between the calling of *Abraham*, and the destruction of Ierusalem, wee finde little matter, wherin the History of Israel had any dealing with other Nations, than the very nearest borderers. Yet read we of many Kingdomes, that in these many ages were erected, and

and throwne downe; as likewise, many memorable acts were performed in Greece and elsewhere, though not following one another at any neare distance; all which must haue beene quite omitted, or else reserued vnto a very vnseasonable rehearsall, had they not beene disposed in this method, whereof he that will not allow the conueniency, may pardon the necessity.

§. VI.

The oppression of Iudæa, and destruction of Ierusalem by the Chaldæans.

NOw to returne to the Iewish Story, from whence we haue so farre digressed. In the third yeare of *Iehoiakim*, *Nabuchodonosor* the second, his Father yet liuing, entred Iudæa with a great Army, who besieging and forcing Ierusalem, made *Iehoiakim* his Vassall in despight of *Necho*, that had established him King, and tooke with him for pledges *Daniel*, being as yet a childe, with *Ananias*, *Misael*, and *Azarias*. Also he tooke a part of the Church treasures; but stayed not to search them throughly; for *Necho* hasted to the succour of *Iehoiakim*, hoping to find *Nabuchodonosor* in Iudæa: wherein this great Babylonian had no disposition to hazzard himselfe and his Army, it being a Country of an euill affection towards him, as also far off from any succour or sure place of retrait. If he had, as may be supposed, any great strength of Scythian horse-men in his Army; it was the more wisely done of him, to fall backe, out of the rough, mountainous, and ouer-hot Country, into places that were more euen and temperate. But besides all these reasons, the death of his father happening at the same time, gaue him iust occasion to returne home, and take possession of his owne Kingdome; before he proceeded further in the second care, of adding more vnto it. This he did at reasonable good leisure: for the Egyptian was not ready to follow him so farre and to bid him battaile, vntill the new yeare came in; which was the fourth of *Iehoiakim*, the first of *Nabuchodonosor*, and the last of *Necho*. In this yeare the Babylonian lying vpon the Bank Euphrates (his owne Territory bounding it on the North-side) attended the arriuall of *Necho*. There, after a resolued contention for victory, *Necho* was slaine, and his Army remaining forced to saue it selfe; which full ill it did, by a violent retrait. This victory *Nabuchodonosor* so well pursued, as he recouered all Syria, and whatsoeuer the Egyptians held out of their proper Territory towards the North. The Egyptians being in this conflict beaten, and altogether for the present discouraged, *Iehoiakim* held himself quiet, as being friend in heart vnto the Egyptian, yet hauing made his peace with the Chaldæan the year before; who contented with such profit as he could then readily make, had forborne to lay any Tribute vpon Iuda. But this coole reseruednesse of *Iehoiakim*, was, on both sides, taken in ill part. The Egyptian King *Psammis*, who succeeded vnto *Necho*, began to thinke vpon restoring *Iehoahaz*, taken Prisoner by his Father, and setting him vp as a Domesticall Enemy, against his vngratefull brother. Against all such accidents, the Iudæan had prepared the vsuall remedy, practised by his fore-fathers: for he had made his owne sonne *Iechonia* King with him long before, in the second yeare of his owne Reigne, when the Boy was but eight yeares old. As for this rumour of *Iehoahaz* his returne; the Prophet *Ieremy* foretold, that it should proue idle, saying: *He shall not returne thither, but he shall dye in the place whither they haue led him captiue, and shall see this Land no more.* The Egyptians indeede, hauing spent all their Mercenary forces, and receiued that heauy blow at Carchemish, had not remaining such proportion of sharpe steele, as of faire gold, which without other helpe, is of little effect. The valour of *Necho* was not in *Psammis Apries*, who reigning after *Psammis*, did once aduenture to shew his face in Syria; but after a bigge look, he was glad to retire, without aduenturing the hazzard of a battaile. Wherefore this decaying Nation fought onely with braue words, telling such friuolous tales, as men that meane to doe nothing, vse, of their glorious acts fore-passed, against *Iosias* & *Iehoahaz*. In this case it was easie for *Iehoiakim* to giue them satisfaction, by letting them vnderstand the sincerity of his affection towards them, which appeared in time following. But *Nabuchodonosor* went to worke more roundly. He sent a peremptory message to *Iehoiakim*, willing him not to stand vpon any nice points, but acknowledge himselfe a Subiect, and pay him Tribute: adding hereunto such fearefull threats, as made the poore Iudæan lay aside all thought of *Pharaoh*, and yeeld to doe, as the more mighty would haue him. So he continued in the

2 *Chron.* 36.9.

Ier. 22.11. & 12.

Ioseph. Antiq. lib. 10. *cap.* 7.

the obedience of *Nabuchodonosor* three yeares. At this time *Ieremy* the Prophet cried out against the Iewes, putting them in minde that he had now three and twenty yeares exhorted them to repentance, but because they had stopt their eares against him, and the rest of the Prophets, he now pronounced their captiuity at hand, and that they should endure the yoke of bondage full seauenty yeares. The same calamity he threatned to all the neighbouring Nations, to the Egyptians, Moabites, Ammonites, Idumæans, & the rest; foretelling that they should all drink out of the Babylonian Pitcher, the wine of his fury, whom they had forsaken; and after the seauenty yeares expired, that the Babylonians themselues should taste of the same Cup, and be vtterly subuerted by the Medes, and the Iudæans permitted to returne againe into their owne Fields and Cities. The first imprisonment of the Prophet *Ieremy* seemes to haue been in the fourth yeare of this *Iehoiakim*, at which time *Baruch* the Scribe wrote all his Prophecies out of his mouth, whom he sent to reade them vnto the People, and afterward to the Princes, who offered them to the King: but fearing the Kings fury, they had first set *Ieremie* at liberty, and aduised him and *Baruch* to hide themselues.

Ier. 25.

Iehoiakim, after he heard a part of it and perceiued the ill newes therin deliuered, made no more adoe, but did cut the Booke in pieces and cast it into the fire. All which *Ieremie* caused to be new written with this addition; that the dead body of *Iehoiakim*, should be cast out, exposed in the day to the heat, & in the night to the frost, and there should be none of his seed to sit on the Throne of *Dauid*.

Time thus running on, while *Iehoiakim* rested secure of all danger, as Tributary to the Babylonian, yet well thought of by the Egyptian; the mighty City of Tyre opposed it selfe against the Chaldæan forces; & vpon iust confidence of her own strength, despised all preparation that could be made against her. Now forasmuch as the terme of seuenty years was prescribed vnto the desolation, as wel of Tyre, as of Ierusalem, & other towns and countries; it is apparant, that they which referre the expugnation of this City vnto the nineteenth yeare of *Nabuchodonosor*, haue sure authority for their warrant. Whereupon likewise it followes of necessity, that the siege thereof began in the seauenth of his Reigne; as hauing lasted thirteen yeares.

Here I will take leaue to intrude a briefe note, concerning the seuerall beginnings that are reckoned of this great Prince his Rule, whereupon hath risen much disputation. The third year of *Iehoiakim*, was the last of *Nabulassar*, who being deliuered from other cares, tooke notice of such as had reuolted from him vnto *Pharao Necho*, and sent this Noble Prince his sonne, with an Army into Syria, to reclaime them. In this expedition was *Daniel* carried away, who therefore makes mention of the same yeare. The yeare next following, being the fourth of *Iehoiakim*, was the first of *Nebuchadnezzar*; which *Ieremie* affirmeth in expresse words; and from this we reckon all his time & actions that follow. In his three and twentieth yeare he conquered Egypt; and then began to reigne as a great Monarch, finding none that durst offend him. The second from this yeare it was, wherein he saw that vision, of the Image consisting of sundry Metals; which did prefigurate the succession of great Kingdomes, that should rule the Earth, before the comming of Christ. I will not stand to dispute about this, which is the best conclusion that I finde, of long disputations: but returne vnto the siege of Tyre, which began in the seauenth of his Reigne.

Dan. 1.1. *Ier.* 25.1.

The City of Tyre couered all the ground of an Island, that was diuided from the maine, by a deep and broad channell of the Sea. The Chaldæans had no Fleet, and were no Sea-men; the Tyrians, in multitude of goodly Ships, & skill to vse them, excelled all other Nations; and euery winde, from one part or other, brought needfull prouisions into the City. Wherefore neither force, nor famine could greatly hurt the place; wherof neuertheless the iudgements of God (denounced against it by *Esay*, *Ieremie*, *Ezekiel*) had threatned the destruction; and the obstinate resolution of *Nabuchodonosor*, had fully determined to performe it. This high-minded King, impatient of resistance, vndertook a vast piece of worke, euen to fill vp the Sea, that parted the Island from the Continent. The City of old *Tyrus*, that stood opposite to the new, vpon the firme Land, and the mountain of Libanus near adioyning that was loaden with Cedars, and aboundance of other trees, might furnish him with materials. Thirteene yeares were spent in this labourious, and almost hopelesse businesse. Which needeth not seeme strange: for *Alexander* working vpon that foundation which was remayning of *Nabuchodonosors* Peere; and being

Esay 23. *Ier.* 25. *Ezek.* 26.

being withall assisted by a strong Fleet, was yet seauen moneths ere he could make way into the City. Wherefore, if the raging of the Sea was able to carry away that wherewith *Alexander* laboured to couer a shelue; with much more violence could it ouerturn, and as it were consume, the worke of *Nabuchodonosor*, who laid his foundations in the bottome of the deep; striuing as it were, to fill the empty belly of this Cormorant, wherras the Macedonian did only stop the throat of it. Euery man knowes, God could haue furthered the accomplishment of his owne threats, against this place (though it had not pleased him to vse, either miracle, or such of his more immediate weapons, as are Earthquakes, and the like) by making at least the Seas calme, & adding the fauourable concurrence of all second helps. But so it pleaseth him oftentimes, in chastising the pride of man, to vse the hand of man; euen the hand of man striuing, as may seem, against all resistance of nature and fortune. So in this excessiue labour of the Chaldæans, *Euery head was made bald, and euery shoulder was made bare.* Yet *Nabuchodonosor* would not giue ouer till he was master of the Towne.

Ezek.29.

Ioseph. Antiq. Iud. l.10.c.7.

When he was entred vpon this desperate seruice; whether it were so, that some losses receiued, some mutiny in his Army, or (which is most likely; and so *Iosephus* reports it) some glorious rumours of the Egyptians, gaue courage to his euill willers; *Iehoiakim* renounced his subiection, & began to hope for the contrary of that which quickly fel out. For *Nabuchodonosor* gaue him no leisure to doe much hurt: but with part of his Army marched directly into Iudæa; where the amazed king made so little resistance (the Egyptians hauing left him, as it were in a dream) that he entred Ierusalem, & layed hands on *Iehoiakim*: whom he first bound & determined to send to Babylon, but changing counsell, he caused him to be slaine in the place, and gaue him the Sepulchre of an Asse, to be deuoured by beasts and rauenous birds, according to the former Prophecies: leauing in his place, *Iehoiakim* or *Iechonias* his sonne; whom, after three moneths and ten daies, *Nabuchodonosor* remoued, and sent prisoner to Babylon, with *Ezekiel*, *Mardocheus*, and *Iosedech*, the high Priest. The mother of *Iechonias*, together with his seruants, Eunuchs, and all the ablest men, and best Artificers of the Land, were also then carryed away Captiues. This *Iechonias*, following the counsell of *Ieremy* the Prophet, made no resistance, but submitted himselfe to the Kings will: wherein he both pleased God, and did that which was best for himselfe; though at the present it might seeme otherwise, to such as considered the euill that befell him, rather than the greater euill that he thereby auoided. This onely particular act of his is recorded; which was good. But it seems that he was partaker, at least of his Fathers faults, if not an instigator: which was the cause, that his submitting himselfe to Gods pleasure did not preserue his Estate: for so we reade in generall words, that *he did euill in the sight of the Lord, according to all that his Father had done.* In his stead *Nabuchodonosor* established *Mathania* his Vncle in the kingdome of Iuda, & called him *Zedechias*, which is as much to say, as *the Iustice of God.* For like as *Neco* king of Egypt, had formerly displaced *Iehoahaz*, after his Father *Iosias* was slaine, and set vp *Iehoiakim*, the son of another mother; so *Nabuchodonosor* slew *Iehoiakim*, who depended on the Egyptians, and carrying his son *Iechonias* Prisoner to Babel, gaue the Kingdome to this *Zedechias*, that was whole Brother to that *Iehoahaz*, whom *Neco* tooke with him into Egypt. From *Zedechias* he required an oath for his faithfull obedience, which *Zedechias* gaue him, and called the liuing God to witnesse in the same, that he would remaine assured to the kings of Chaldæa.

In the first yeare of *Zedechias*, *Ieremy* saw and expounded the Vision of the ripe and rotten Grapes, the one signifying those Iudæans that were carried away captiue, the other those that stayed, and were destroyed.

In the fourth of *Zedechias*, *Ieremy* wrote in a booke all the euill that should fall vpon Babylon, which book or scrole he gaue to *Sheraia*, when he went with the king *Zedekias* to Babylon, to visit *Nabuchodonosor*; willing him first to read it to the Captiue Iewes, and then to binde it to a stone, and cast it into Euphrates, pronouncing these words: *Thus shall Babel be drowned, and shall not rise from the euill that I will bring vpon her.* This iournie of *Zedechias* to Babel is probably thought to haue beene in way of visitation, carrying some presents. But I further thinke, that he had some suite there to make, which his Lordly Master refused to grant, and sent him away discontented. For at his return all the bordering Princes sent Messengers to him, inciting him (as it seemes) to those vnquiet courses, from which *Ieremy* dehorted both him and them. The Prophet, by Gods

Ier.27.

appoint-

appointment, made bonds and yokes, one of which he wore about his own neck, others he sent vnto the fiue Kings, of *Edom*, *Moab*, *Ammon*, *Tyre*, and *Zidon*, by those Messengers which came to visit *Zedechias*: making them know, that if they & the Kings of *Iuda* abode in the obedience of *Babylon*, they should then possesse and enioy their own Countries; if not, they should assuredly perish by the sword, by fire, and by pestilence.

He also fore-told them, that those Vessels, which as yet remained in *Ierusalem*, should also trauaile after the rest, and at length they should be restored againe.

The same yeare *Ananias*, the false Prophet, tooke off the woodden Chaine, which *Ieremy* wore, in signe of the Captiuity of the *Iewes*, and brake it: Vaunting, that in like manner, after two yeares, God would breake the strength of *Babel*, and the yoke which he layed on all Nations; restore *Iechonias*, and all the *Iewes*, with the Vessels and riches of the Temple, and giue an end to all these troubles. But *Ieremy* in stead of his woodden Yoke wore a Coller of yron: and in signe that *Ananias* had giuen a deceitfull and false hope to the people, he fore-told the death of this cold Prophet, which seized vpon him in the second Moneth. After this, when *Zedechias* had wauered long enough between Faith and Passion, in the eighth year of his Reigne he practised more seriously against *Nabuchodonosor*, with his Neighbours the *Edomites*, *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, *Tyrians*, and others that were promised great aides of the *Egyptians*: in confidence of whose resistance, he determined to shake off the *Babylonian* yoke. Hereof when *Nabuchodonosor* had knowledge, he marched with his Army in the dead of Winter, toward *Ierusalem*, and besieged it. *Ieremy* perswaded *Zedechias* to render the City and himselfe: but being confident of the helpe from *Egypt*, and being perswaded by his Counsellors, and false Prophets, that it was vnpossible that the Kingdome of *Iuda* should be extirpate, vntill the comming of *Silo* (according to the prophecy of *Iacob*) he despised the words of *Ieremy*, and imprisoned him. For *Ieremy* had told the King that the City should be taken and burnt; that the King should not escape, but be taken Prisoner, and brought to the presence of *Nabuchodonosor*; that he should not perish by the sword, but being carryed to *Babel*, die his naturall death.

Gen.49.10.

Ier.32.& 34.

Ierusalem, being the following yeare, surrounded by *Nabuchodonosors* Army; the King of *Egypt*, *Pharao Hophra*, according to *Ieremy* (*Herodotus* calleth him *Apries*) entred the border of *Iuda*, with his Army, to succour *Zedechias*, of whose reuolt he had beene the principall Author. But *Ieremy* gaue the *Iewes* faithfull counsell, willing them not to haue any trust in the succours of *Egypt*: for he assured them, that they should returne againe, and in no sort relieue them. And it fell out accordingly. For when the *Chaldæans* remoued from *Ierusalem* to encounter the *Egyptians*, these vaunting Patrons abandoned their enterprise, and taking *Gaza* in their way homeward, returned into *Egypt*, as if they had already done enough; leauing the poore people of *Ierusalem* to their destined miseries.

Ier.44.

Herod.lib.2.

In the meane while the *Iewes*, who, in their first extremity, had manumised their *Hebrew* Bond-men (as Gods Law required at the yeare of *Iubile*) and made them free thereby the better to encourage them to fight; did now vpon the breaking vp of the *Chaldæan* Army, repent them of their Charity: and thinking all had beene at an end, held them perforce to their former slauery. But the *Chaldees* being returned to the siege, the Prophet *Ieremy*, when the State of *Ierusalem* began now to grow to extremity, counselled *Zedechias* to render himselfe vnto them; assuring him of his owne life, and the safety of the City, if he would so doe. But his obstinate heart conducted him to that wretched end, which his neglect of God, and his infidelity and periury, had prouided for him.

Leuit.25.39. &c.

Ier.34.

Ier.39.

Three and twenty Moneths (as some doe reckon it) or according to *Iosephus* eighteen; the *Babylonian* Army lay before *Ierusalem*, and held it exceeding straightly besieged. For *they built Forts against it round about*, or (as *P. Martyr* hath it) *extruxerunt contra eam turrem ligneam per circuitum: They surrounded the City with woodden Towers*, so as the besieged could neither sally out, nor receiue into the City any supply of men or victuals. *Iosephus* reports, that they ouer-topped the Walls, with high Towres raised vpon Mounts; from which they did so beat vpon the Wall with their Engines, that the defendants were compelled to forsake their stations. Now although it were so that the besieged also raised Counter-buildings, like vnto these, yet the great King of *Babel*, who commanded all the Regions there-abouts, and had the Woods and Riuers

Ier.39.

2 Kings 25.1.

Ioseph. Ant. Iud. lib.10.cap.11.

to obey him, found means to ouer-throw all the Citizens endeuours; and to beat down as fast from without, as they raised from within; the body and foundation of his owne workes being guarded, by the Walls of *Ierusalem* interposed; and theirs within, layed open to their enemies disturbance. Besides, both Famine and Pestilence (which commonly accompany men streightly besieged) grew on fast vpon them, whereby, when the number, strength, and courage of the *Iewes* failed, the *Chaldæans* made a breach, and forcing an entry, their Princes did seat themselues, as Lords of the Towne, in the middle gate. *Zedechias* beholding this vncomfortable sight, and finding no remedy of the danger present, lost both his courage and his hope at once; and shifted himselfe, together with his Wiues, Children, Princes, and principall Seruants, out of the City, by a way vnder ground; leauing his amazed and guidelesse people, to the mercilesse swords of their enemies. Thus he, who, when *Ieremy* the Propet perswaded him to render himselfe, despised both the counsell of God, and the force of *Nabuchodonosor*; vsed now that remedy, which *Wolphius* truely tearmeth: *Triste, turpe & infœlix: Wofull, shamefull*, and *vnfortunate*.

By this secret subterrane vault, *Zedechias* making his stealth, recouered (by the helpe of the darke night) the Plaines or Desarts of *Iericho*: but by reason of the train, that followed him and his, (euery one leading with him those whom they held most deare vnto them) he was easily traced and pursued. How great soeuer the company was that attended on him, yet, as *Iosephus* reports it, they, on whose fidelity he most reposed himself, no sooner beheld the *Chaldæans* approach, but they all abandoned his defence, and shifted themselues into the Desarts as they could. For whom God had forsaken, no man followed, but the Ministers of his vengeance; by whom *Zedekias* being made Prisoner, with his Children, and Princes, he was conueighed to *Rebla* or *Reblath* a City (as some thinke) of *Nephtalim*, where *Nabuchodonosor* then lay, as a place indifferent betweene *Ierusalem* and *Tyre* with both which at one he had to doe.

Iosepb. Antiq. l.10.c.11.

Now after *Nabuchodonosor* had layed before *Zedekias* the many graces and benefits conferred vpon him, together with the notable falshood and periury, wherewith he had requited them; he commanded his Children, Princes, and Friends, to be slain before his face. This being done, to the end that so lamentable a spectacle should be the last, that euer he should behold in the World, he caused his eyes to be torne out of his head, and so carried him in a slauish maner to *Babel*, where he consumed the rest of his wretched life in perpetuall imprisonment. Herein this most maruailous Prophecy of *Ezekiel* was performed; *Adducam eum in Babyloniam, & ipsam non videbit. I will bring him into Babylon, and he shall not see it.*

Ezek.12.

Thus in the eleauenth and last yeare of *Zedekias*, which was the eighteenth of *Nabuchodonosor*, the *Chaldæans* entred the City by force, where sparing no sexe nor age, they committed all to the sword that they therein found.

3834. In the yeare next following, *Nabuzaradan*, Generall of the Army, burnt the Kings Palace, and the rest of *Ierusalem*: and after this fire had lasted from the seuenth to the tenth day, he also burnt the Temple of God to the ground, when it had stood foure hundred thirty and one years.

After this, vpon a second search, *Nabuzaradan* (not yet satiated with bloud) commanded seuenty and two others to be slaughtered, which had hidden themselues from the first fury, to wit, the chiefe and the second Priest, two Commanders of *Zedechias* his men of Warre, fiue of his House-hold seruants, and others to that number; carrying away to *Babylon* the ablest of the people throughout all *Iudæa*; and leauing the poorest labouring soules, with some that followed the party of *Nabuchodonosor*, to till the ground: ouer whom he left Gouernour, *Godolia* the Nephew of that *Saphan*, whom *Iosias* had formerly employed in the reformation of Religion, who is, for his iustice and equity, by *Iosephus* highly commended. This man, a *Iew* by Nation, left *Zedekias*, as it seemeth, in the beginning of the Warre: and by *Ieremies* desire to liue with him, it appeareth that he had embraced the same aduice, which the Prophet gaue vnto *Zedechias*; which was, to submit himselfe altogether to the *Babylonian*; who being ordained by God to exercise his iustice, was therefore resistlesse. The Prophet *Ieremy* being left to his owne choice, either to liue in *Chaldæa*, or elsewhere, he made election of *Godoliah*, to whom he was recommended; who not only embraced *Ieremy*, but gaue comfort to all the other *Iewes*, that were left vnder his charge, promising them fauour & liberty, so

4. Kings vii.

so long as they remained obedient Subiects to *Nabuchodonosor*, by whom he was established Prouinciall Gouernour of his owne Nation.

But ere that year was expired, a Prince of the late Kings house (who during the siege of *Ierusalem*, had kept himselfe out of the storme, with *Baalis* King of the *Ammonites*) being followed by ten other chosen men, while *Godoliah* feasted them in *Maspha* or *Mitspa*, the City of his residence, trayterously slew him, together with diuers *Chaldæans* & *Iewes* that accompanied him. This done, he made an escape, and in his way encountring with eighty persons, repairing towards *Godoliah* with presents, he slew the most of them, and spared the rest, because they promised to discouer vnto him some Treasures, hidden in the fields during the war. He also took with him a Daughter of *Zedechias*, committed to the care of *Godoliah* by *Nabuchodonosor*. This practice and intent of *Ismael* had been formerly discouered vnto *Godoliah* by *Iohanan*, one of the Leaders of the few remaining *Iewes*; but *Godoliah* was incredulous.

Iudæa being now left without a Gouernour (for *Ismael* durst not take it vpon him, but retired himselfe, or rather fled as fast as he could to the *Ammonites*) the residue of the *Iewes*, fearing the reuenge of the *Chaldæans*, resolued to flye away into *Egypt*, and besought *Ieremy* to aske counsell of God for them: who readily made them answer, that if they remained in *Iudæa*, God would prouide for them, and shew them mercy; but if they sought to saue themselues in *Egypt*, that they should then vndoubtedly perish. Notwithstanding this aduice, the *Iewes* held their determination; and despising the Oracle of God, and constraining *Ieremy* and *Baruch* to accompany them, they trauailed into *Egypt*, and inhabited by the permission of *Pharao*, neare vnto *Taphnes*: where when *Ieremy* often reprehended them for their Idolatry, foretelling both the destruction of themselues, and the *Egyptians* also, he was by these his owne hard-hearted and vngratefull Countri-men, stoned to death; and by the *Egyptians*, who greatly reuerenced him, buried neare the Sepulchre of their owne Kings.

Finis Libri secundi.

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

Intreating of the Times from the destruction of Ierusalem, *to the time of* PHILIP *of* MACEDON.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the time passing betweene the destruction of Ierusalem, and the fall of the Assyrian Empire.

§. I.

Of the connexion of sacred and prophane Historie.

THE course of Time; which in profane Histories might rather be discerned through the greatest part of his way, hitherto passed in some out-worne foot-steps, than in any beaten path, hauing once in *Greece* by the *Olympiads*, & in the Easterne Countries by the accompt from *Nabonassar*, left surer marks, & more appliable to actions concurrent, than were the war of *Troy*, or any other token of former date; begins at length in the ruine of *Ierusalem* to discouer the connexion of antiquity fore-spent, with the story of succeeding ages. Manifest it is, that the originall and progresse of things could ill be sought in those that were ignorant of the first creation: as likewise that the affaires of Kingdomes and Empire afterwards growne vp, are not to be found among those that haue now no state nor policy remaining of their owne. Hauing therefore pursued the story of the World vnto that age, from whence the memory of succeeding accidents is with little interruption of fabulous discourse deriued vnto vs, I hold it now conuenient briefly to shew, by what means & circumstances the History of the *Hebrews*, which of all other is the most ancient, may be conioyned with the following times, wherein that Image of sundry mettals, discouered by God vnto *Nebuchadnezzar*, did reigne ouer the earth, when *Israel* was either none, or an vnregarded Nation.

Herein I doe not hold it needfull, to insist vpon those authorities, which giue as it were by heare-say, a certaine year of some old *Assyrian* King vnto some action or euent, wherof the time is found expressed in Scripture: for together with the end of *Ninus* his line

line in *Sardanapalus*, if not before, all such computations were blotted out; the succession of *Belochus* & his issue that occupied the kingdome afterwards, depending vpon the vncertaine relations of such, as were neither constant in assigning the years of his beginning, nor of credit enough for others to relye vpon. Let it therefore suffice that the consent and harmony, which some haue found in the years of those ouer-worne Monarchs, doth preserue their names which otherwise might haue beene forgotten. Now concerning the latter Kings of that Nation, howsoeuer it be true that we finde the names of all or most of them in Scriptures, which are recorded by prophane Historians, yet hereby could we onely learne in what age each of them liued, but not in what yeare his reign began or ended, were it not that the reigne of *Nabuchadnezzar* is more precisely applyed to the times of *Iehoiakim* and *Zedekia*. Hence haue we the first light whereby to discouer the meanes of connecting the sacred and prophane Histories. For vnder *Nabuchadnezzar* was the beginning of the captiuity of *Iuda*, which ended when 70. yeares were expired; and these 70. yeares tooke end at the first of *Cyrus*, whose time being well knowne, affords vs meanes of looking back into the ages past, and forwards into the race of men succeeding. The first yeare of *Cyrus* his reigne in *Persia*, by generall consent, is ioyned with the first yeare of the 55. *Olympiad*, where, that he reigned three and twenty yeares before his Monarchy, and seuen yeares afterwards, it is apparant; and almost out of controuersie. Giuing therefore foure hundred and eight yeares vnto the distance betweene the fall of *Troy*, and the instauration of the *Olympiads* by *Iphitus*; we may easily arriue vnto those antiquities of *Greece*, which were not meerly fabulous. As for Princes ruling the whilest in sundry parts of the world, S. *Augustine* and others may be trusted in setting downe their times, which they had by Tradition from authors of wel-approued faith and industry.

From *Cyrus* forwards, how the times are reckoned vnto *Alexander*, and from him to the battaile of *Actium*, it were (peraduenture) in this place impertinent to set downe. But seeing that the beginning and end of the *Babylonian* captiuity are markes wherby we are chiefly directed, in passing from the first vnto the latest yeares of the world, through any story, with least interruption; it is very expedient that we take some paines to informe our selues truely of the 70. yeares, during which it continued, euen from *Nebuchadnezzar* vnto *Cyrus*.

§. II.

A briefe rehearsall of two opinions, touching the beginning of the captiuity: with an answer to the cauils of Porphyrie, *inueighing against* S. Matthew, *and* Daniel, *vpon whom the later of these opinions is founded.*

MAny Commentators, and other Historians, and Chronologers finde that the captiuity then began, when *Iechonias* was carried prisoner into *Babylon*, 11. years before the finall destruction of *Ierusalem* vnder *Zedekias*. This they proue out of diuers places in *Ezekiel*, especially out of the fourteenth chapter, where he makes a plain distinction between the beginning of the Captiuity, and vtter destruction of *Ierusalem* by *Nabuzaradan*, in these words: *In the fiue aad twentieth yeere of our being in Captiuitie, in the beginning of the yeere, in the tenth day of the moneth, in the foureteenth yeere after that the City was smitten.* In which words he beginneth the captiuity in plaine termes, eleuen yeares before the City was destroyed. *Beroaldus* is of opinion that it began in the first of *Nabuchodonosor*, and the fourth of *Ioakim*, which he endeauours to proue out of the second of *Chronicles*, but more especially out of Saint *Matthew*, and *Daniel*, whose words afford matter of disputation, but serue not to make good so much as *Beroaldus* would enforce. That place of S. *Matthew*, and the whole booke of *Daniel*, haue ministred occasion of scoffing & railing at the Christian Religion to that wretched man *Porphyrie*, who, not vnderstanding how the sons of King *Iosias* were called by diuers names, as *Epiphanius* hath shewed at large, thought that the Apostle had spoken he knew not what in reckoning the sonnes, or, according to some translations, the Sonne and Nephewes of that good King, begotten about the time of the Captiuity. Vpon *Daniel* also the same *Porphyrie* doth spend the twelfth of his malicious bookes written against the Christians, affirming that these prophecies and visions remembred by *Daniel*, were written long after his death, and at, or neare the time

Ezek. c. 1. v. 2. c. 3. v. 11. & 15.

of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. This fond supposition of his, *Eusebius*, *Apollonius*, and others, haue sufficiently answered. For the seuenty Interpreters, who conuerted the old Testament about an hundred yeares before *Epiphanes*, did also turne this booke of *Daniel* out of *Hebrew* into *Greeke*, as a part of Scripture receiued. And were there no other argument to confound *Porphyrie*, than that of *Alexander Macedon*, it were sufficient, who liued diuers yeares before *Antiochus Epiphanes*. For *Iaddus* the high Priest shewed that great Conquerour, when he came towards *Ierusalem* to haue destroyed it, this booke of *Daniel*, wherein he beheld his owne glory foretold, as the same was plainely expounded vnto him; which not onely stayed his hand from the harme of that City and people, but his assurance and resolution was so confirmed and strengthened thereby, as despising all future perill and resistance, he conquered *Darius*, and the Easterne Empire in a shorter time than *Nabuchodonosor* had done one City, to wit, *Tyre* in *Phœnicia*.

Mac.1.11.

Ioseph.ant.11.

It is true indeed that the *Iewes* themselues giue lesse authority to *Daniel*, than to *Moses*, and the *Prophets*, accompting his booke among those which they call *Cetaphim*, or *Hagiographa*, or holy Writings, which they say *Esdras* and the Seniors of the Synagogue compiled after their returne from *Babylon*. But first, that the booke of *Daniel* (I meane so much as is found in the *Hebrew*) is Canonicall: secondly, that it was written by *Daniel* himselfe, and not by *Esdras* and the Seniors; we may assure our selues by testimony of Councels, and Fathers. For in the Counsell of *Laodicæa* held about the year of our Lord 368. after the death of *Iouinian* the Emperour, and after the *Nicene* Councell three and forty yeares, this booke of *Daniel* was receiued, verified and confirmed among the other Canonicall Scriptures, as in the *Epitomy* of the same Councell it may be seene; and so doth *Meliton* the most ancient Bishop of *Sardis* number it, witnesse *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiasticall history, the fourth booke, and fiue and twentieth chapter: so doth the same Author in the Catalogue of Canonicall books vpon *Origen*: so doth *Hilarius* in his Preface vpon the Psalmes, and *Epiphanius* in his book of Waights and Measures, &c. To these I may adde Saint *Hierome*, *Gregory Nazianzene*, and others. For the *Hagiographa* bookes or holy Writings, the *Iewes* and *Rabbines* reckon to be these, *Daniel*, *Psalmes*, *Prouerbs*, *Iob*, *Canticles*, *Ruth*, *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Hester*, *Esra*, *Nehemiah*, and the *Chronicles*. And that it was *Daniel*, and not *Esdras*, that wrote this booke, Gods commandement vnto him by his Angell, to seale vp the same to the time appointed, is an vnanswerable testimony. Yea that which exceedeth all strength of other proofe, our Sauiour Christ who citeth no Apocryphall Scripture, in *Matthew* and *Mark* alleageth *Daniel* the Prophet, to wit, the last verse of his ninth chapter. Further, in the fifth of *Iohn*, Christ distributeth the risen from the dead, as in *Daniel* the twelfth, verse the second. Saint *Paul* describeth *Antichrist* out of *Daniel*, and the Reuelation is wholly an interpretation of *Daniels* visions.

Math.24.15.
Marke 13.14.

Dan.12.

§.III.

That the 70. yeeres of captiuity are to be numbred from the destruction of Ierusalem; not from the migration of Iechonia.

HAuing thus farre digressed, in maintaining that authority, which must often be cited in the present argument, it is now conuenient, that we returne vnto the differences of opinion, concerning the beginning of these 70. yeares. Neither will I stand to trouble my selfe and others with laying open the grounds or weaknesse of that which *Eusebius* and some few namelesse Authors, haue sometimes held in this point, which is lately reuiued by *Beroaldus*; but will forth-with enter into consideration of that opinion, which many both ancient and late Writers haue so earnestly maintained, that it wants not much of being common.

Foure Kings of *Iuda* were carried away captiues to *Babylon*: First, *Manasses*; then *Iehoiakim*, and with him among others, *Daniel* the Prophet: thirdly, *Iechonias*, and with him *Ezekiel*: lastly, *Zedekias*, at which time the City and Temple were destroyed. To the first of these captiuities the beginning of the 70. yeares is referred by none that I haue read; to the second, by few and with weak proofe; to the third, by very many and with much confidence. For besides those places of *Ezekiel* already cited, there is a strong argument gathered

gathered out of *Ieremy*, which may seeme to make the matter plaine. For the Prophet in comforting the people that were carried away with *Iechonias*, vseth these words: *Thus saith the Lord, After 70. yeers be accomplished at Babel, I will visit you, and performe my good promise towards you, and cause you to returne to this place.* *Ierem.29.10.*

But it stands indeed with little reason that we should seek the interpretation of a prophecy out of circumstances, when the prophecy is such as doth sufficiently expound it selfe. *Ieremy* had already, in the fourth yeare of *Iehoiakim*, denounced the iudgement of God against the Land, for the sinnes and impenitency of that obstinate people, in these words: *Behold, I will send and take to me all the families of the North, saith the Lord, and Nebuchadnezzar, the King of Babel, my seruant; and will bring them against this Land, and against the Inhabitants thereof, and against all these Nations round about, and I will destroy them, and make them an astonishment, and an hissing, and a continuall desolation. Moreouer, I will take from them the voyce of mirth, and the voyce of gladnesse, the voyce of the Bridegroome, and the voyce of the Bride, the noyse of the mill-stones, and the light of the candle, and this whole Land shall be desolate, and an astonishment, and these Nations shall serue the king of Babel 70. yeeres. And when 70. yeeres are expired, I will visit the king of Babel.* Here we see prescribed vnto the captiuity the terme of 70. yeares, which were to commence, neither when the prophecy was vttered; nor when *Iehoiakim*, who then reigned, was taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*; nor yet in the time of *Iechonia*; but with the vtter desolation of the City, whereof *Ieremy* did againe giue notice to those that were already in *Babylon*, at such time as he sent them the comfort of deliuerance before rehearsed. And so did the people vnderstand this prophecy, in those times when they saw it accomplished, beginning the 70. yeares at the time of the desolation, as manifestly appeares in the end of the History of *Iuda*, where it is said thus: *They burnt the house of God, and brake downe the wall of Ierusalem, and burnt all the Palaces thereof with fire, and all the precious vessels thereof to destroy all: And they that were left by the sword, carryed he away to Babel, and they were seruants to him and to his sonnes, vntill the kingdome of the Persians had rule, to fulfill the word of the Lord by the mouth of* Ieremia, *vntill the Land had her fill of her Sabbaths: for all the dayes that she lay desolate, shee kept Sabbath, to fulfill 70. yeeres. But in the first yeere of* Cyrus *king of Persia (when the word of the Lord, spoken by the mouth of* Ieremia, *was finished) the Lord stirred vp the spirit of Cyrus.* We seldome finde one piece of Scripture so precisely and plainly expounded by another, as in this prophecy, to haue afterwards been the subiect of altercation. For one can hardly deuise, how either the desolation could haue been expressed more sensibly than it was by the Prophet, or the euent of the prophecy haue been more exactly set downe, than it was in the place now last of all cited. If it be requisite that we bring more proof in so euident a case, the ninth Chapter of *Daniel* yeelds testimony sufficient, vnto this expedition of *Ieremia* his prophecy, that *Ierusalem* was to lie waste 70. yeares. For in the first yeare of *Darius* the *Mede*, which was the last of the 70. *Daniel* obtained of God the deliuerance that had been promised by prayer, which he made vpon consideration of the time that was expired: as he telleth in these words: *In the first yeere of his reigne, I* Daniel *vnderstood by bookes the number of the yeers, whereof the Lord hath spoken vnto* Ieremiah *the Prophet, that he would accomplish 70. yeeres in the desolation of Ierusalem.* So that howsoeuer the time of *Daniel* his owne captiuity be reckoned from the taking of *Iehoiakim*, and that the people carried away with *Iechonia*, did accompt, as well they might, the yeares of their owne captiuity; yet with the generall desolation of the Country, wherein were few or none of the *Israelites* left remaining to inhabite, began in the nineteenth yeare of *Nabuchodonosor* the great captiuity, which by Gods appointment continued vnto the end of seuenty yeares.

ierem.29.vers. 16.17.& 18.

2.Chron.36.19.

Dan.9.2.

This I will not further seeke to proue, by the authority of *Iosephus* and others affirming the same; for as much as that which already hath been produced, is enough to satisfie any man that hath not fully determined to hold the contrary.

§.IV.

§. IV.

Sundry opinions of the Kings which reigned in Babylon during the 70. yeeres.

THat Kings reigned in *Babylon*, during these seuenty yeares of the Captiuity, and how long each of them did weare the Diademe; it is a matter of no great importance to know, for as much as neither their acts were notable in the age wherein they liued, nor the length of their reigns, any way helpfull to the concordance of times, fore-going or succeeding. The conquests recounted by *Xenophon* of *Syria*, *Arabia*, (or rather some part of it) *Hyrcania*, *Bactria*, and perhaps of some other Countries, may seeme fruits of the victories obtained by *Nebuchadnezzar* the Great (or by some of his Ancestors) in the former part of his life, before he betooke himselfe to ease, and to the sumptuous building of his great *Babel*, for the house of his Kingdome, and for the honour of his Maiesty, where it may seeme that hee and his Heires kept a great state, and did very little. The idle behauiour of the *Assyrian* Souldiers, in such skirmishes as afterwards they had with the *Medes*, doth argue no lesse. For whereas vnder *Nebuchadnezzar*, they were so stout and industrious, that (to omit other proofes) they attempted, and finished, that hardy piece of worke, of winning the strong City of *Tyre*, by ioyning vnto it the continent, filling vp the deepe and broad channell of the Sea, diuiding it from the maine with a mole, or peere of earth, and other matter; the reparation whereof, when the Sea had washed it away, was the very greatest of *Alexanders* workes: in the times following, they became timorous, that they durst not approach nearer to the enemy than their bowes would carry, but were ready to turne their backs, as soone as any, though inferiour in numbers, aduenturing within the distance offered to charge them.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. 1.

Now as their actions from the end of *Nebuchadnezzars* warres, till the ruine of their Empire, were not worthy to be recorded; so was the distinction of their times, and reigne of their seuerall Kings, vnworthy of the great labour that hath in vaine beene taken in that businesse. For when it is granted, that the captiuity of *Iuda*, ending with that Empire, lasted 70. yeares, wee may as reasonably forbeare to search into the particular continuance of two or three slothfull Kings, as we are contented to be ignorant of the ages of the *Patriarchs*, and their children liuing in the *Egyptian* seruitude; resting satisfied in both with the generall assured summe.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1. & l. 3.

Yet for as much as many haue trauelled in this businesse, vpon desire (as I take it) to approue the beginning and end of the 70. years, not only by the reignes of other Princes, ruling else-where, but by the times of the *Assyrians* themselues: I will not refuse to take a little paines in collecting their opinions, and shewing what I thinke may best be held for likely, if the certaine truth cannot be found.

The opinions are many, and greatly repugnant, both in recounting the Kings themselues, and in setting downe the years of their seuerall reignes. The first (as I take it) the surest, is theirs, who meerely follow the authority of the Scriptures, without borrowing any helpe from others. These name onely three Kings, *Nabuchadnezzar*, *Euilmerodach*, and *Balthasar*. Neither haue they onely the silence of *Daniel*, who names none other to bee their warrant, but the prophecy of *Ieremy* precisely, and in a manner purposely teaching the very same. For God, by the mouth of that Prophet, shewing that he being absolute Lord of all, would dispose of all according to his owne will, and making it known that he had put some Countries here named, into the hands of the king of *Babel*, saith thus: *And all Nations shall serue him, and his Sonne, and his Sonnes Sonne, vntill the very time of his Land come also; then many Nations and great Kings shall serue themselues of him.* These words expressing the continuance of the *Chaldæan* Empire, and number of the Kings, will hardly be qualified with any distinction. But indeed I finde no other necessitie of qualification to be vsed herein, than such as may grow out of mens desire to reconcile the Scriptures vnto profane authors. And this desire were not vniust, if the consent of all histories were on the one side, and the letter of the holy Text were single on the other side.

Ierem. 27. 7.

But contrariwise, the Authors which are cited in this case, are so repugnant one to the other, & the proofes of their different reports are so slender & vnsufficient, that the succession of these *Princes*, had it not bin thus deliuered in Scriptures, but only set down by some

some Author of equall credit with the rest, might very well haue found and deserued as good beliefe, as any of those things which they haue deliuered in this point. For some there are, who following *Iosephus*, deriue that Empire, as by descent from father to son, through fiue generations; beginning with *Nabuchodonosor* the great, and giuing to him 43. yeares; to *Euilmerodach* 18. to *Niglisar* the sonne of *Euilmerodach* 40. to *Labosardach* the sonne of *Niglisar* 9. Moneths, and lastly to *Balthasar* (whom *Iosephus* intimates to be of the race of *Nabuchodonosor*, without naming his father) 17. yeares. And this opinion (saue that he forbeares to reckon the yeares, and plainly calls *Balthasar* the sonne of *Labosardach*) Saint *Hierome* doth follow, alledging *Berosus* and *Iosephus* as a sectator of *Berosus*, for his Authors; though *Berosus*, as he is cited by *Iosephus*, report the matter far otherwise. For he tells vs that *Euilmerodach* the sonne of *Nabuchodonosor* did reigne but two years, being for his wickednesse and lust, slaine by his sisters husband *Niziglissoroor*, who occupied the kingdome after him foure yeares, and left it to his owne sonne *Labosardach*; who being an ill-conditioned boy, was at the end of nine moneths slaine by such as were about him, and the kingdome giuen to one *Nabonidus*, who held it by the election of the Conspirators, and left it vnto *Cyrus* after 17. yeares. This relation ill agrees with that of *Iosephus*, and both of them as bad with the Scriptures, in number eyther of yeares, or of generations; yet the particularities which they handle, haue procured vnto them some authority, so that the names which they haue inserted, are taken as it were vpon trust. There is a third opinion which makes the three last kings brethren, and sonnes of *Euilmerodach*; and this may well enough agree with the Scripture: though I had rather beleeue *Xenophon*, who saith that the last King of *Babylon* was immediate successour to his father. But whereas the Author of the Scholasticall Historie, who is founder of this opinion, placeth betweene him that tooke *Ierusalem*, and *Euilmerodach*, another *Nabuchodonosor*: plaine enough it is that he hath, out of any Historie sacred or profane, as little warrant to guide him, as we haue reason to follow him. *Eusebius*, *Sulpitius Seuerus*, and *Theodoret*, vpon better ground haue supposed, that *Euilmerodach* and *Balthasar* were brethren and sonnes of the great *Nabuchodonosor*. This is built on the fifth Chapter of *Daniel*, wherein *Balthasar* (for of *Euilmerodach* there is none that euer doubted) is often called *Nabuchodonosor* his sonne. And so common grew this explication, that S. *Hierome* called it the vulgar opinion. But the place of *Ieremy* before cited, proues that *Balthasar* was not the sonne indeed, but the grand childe of that great Conquerour, though by the phrase very common in Scriptures, and familiar in those *Easterne* languages, he was called the son.

Ioseph. Antiq. lib. 10. cap. 12.

Ioseph. contr. Appian. lib.

Xenoph. Cyropæd. lib. 4.

Annius his *Metasthenes* hits very rightly the seuenty years of captiuity, giuing to *Nabuchodonosor* 45. yeares, to *Euilmerodach* 30. yeares, and to the three sonnes of *Euilmerodach*, Nephews of *Nabuchodonosor* fourteene years; that is, to *Reg-Assar* the eldest son three yeares, to *Lab-Assar Dach* the second sonne sixe yeares, and to *Balthasar* the third son fiue.

To this accompt agreeing with the Scriptures, both in the whole summe of yeares, and in the number of generations, I haue sometime subscribed, as not daring to reiect an appearance of truth, vpon no greater reason than because the Author was of *Annius* his edition. Yet could I not satisfie my selfe herein; both for that none of the Ancient, and few such of the moderne Writers as deserue to be regarded, haue consented with this *Metasthenes*; and for that in making *Balthasar* succeed vnto his brother in the kingdome, and not vnto his father, he is wholly against *Xenophon*, whose Historie of the elder *Cyrus* in his *Assyrian* warre I cannot slightly value in many respects, and especially because it is very agreeable to the Scriptures, in the taking of *Babylon*, while the king was at his drunken feast.

Seeking therefore diligently into all circumstances that might giue any light in this obscurity, I found manifest proofe, that the time allotted vnto *Balthasar*, by *Annius* his *Metasthenes*, was farre short of the truth, which is enough to render all suspected that he hath said in distributing what part of the 70. yeares he pleased amongst the rest. For in the third yeare of *Balthasar*, *Daniel* saw a vision, after which he was sicke certaine dayes, but when he rose vp, he did the Kings businesse: from which businesse, that he did afterwards withdraw himselfe, and liue retired, so long that he was forgotten in the Court, it appeares plainly, both by the many words which the old Queene vsed to set out his sufficiency, and by the Kings asking of him, when he came into his presence, whether he were

Dan. ch. 8. v. 1. & 27.

Dan.c.5.v.11. 12.& 13. Dan.2.49.

were *Daniel*. Now to thinke that a man of such account and place as *Daniel* had held, could in two yeares haue been worne out of remembrance, were in my iudgement a very strange conceit, which rather than I would entertaine, I can well be contented, to thinke the whole storie (thus related) a part of *Annius* his impostures.

Out of these reports of *Iosephus*, *Berosus*, and others, many new opinions are framed, by coniectures of late Writers. For the endurance of the captiuity being 70. yeares, and these yeares extending vnto the first of *Cyrus*, in which course of time *Nebuchadnezzar*, his son and grand-child, must haue reigned; it hath seemed needfull to supply the yeares of these three descents, by inserting some, whose reignes might fill vp the whole continuance of the captiuity; with which the time allotted by *Berosus* and others, to *Euilmerodach* and *Balthasar*, ioyned vnto the yeares following the nineteen of *Nebuchadnezzar*, (wherein *Ierusalem* was laid desolate) are nothing euen.

Therfore *Mercator*, and others following him, fashion the yeares of *Euilmerodach* in this sort. They say, that the 18. yeares giuen to him by *Iosephus* in the tenth of his Antiquities, should be read and numbred 28. yeares, and the two yeares that *Berosus* hath allowed to *Euilmerodach* should be written 23. in the first number the figure of (1) is mistaken for the figure of (2.) and in the later there should haue bin added the figure of (3) to that of (2:) this granted (to wit) that *Euilmerodach* regned 28. yeares, whereof fiue together with his father, and 23. after his death, and the same number of 23. added to the 25. which *Nabuchodonosor* liued after the destruction of *Ierusalem*, make 48; then 4. years of *Niglisar* according to *Berosus*, 9. moneths of *Labassardach* his son, and 17. years of *Labonidus*, or *Balthasar*, make vp the number of 70. yeares to the first of *Cyrus*. But whether by errour in figures, or in words, the numbers be vtterly mistaken in all copies extant; vpon how weak a foundation do they build, who hauing nothing to helpe them, saue onely the bare names of two vnknown Kings, found in Authors manifestly corrupted, and such as if they had been entirely extant, were not worthy to haue that place of *Ieremy* called into dispute, in regard of their authoritie?

§. V.

A more particular examination of one opinion touching the number, persons, and reignes of the Babylonian Kings.

OTher suppositions, little different in substance from this of *Mercator*, I purposely forbeare to rehearse, as falling vnder the same answer. That of *Ioseph Scaliger* I may not forget, as deseruing to be considered apart from the rest. Hee giues to *Nebuchadnezzar* 44. years, to *Euilmerodach* two, to *Belsazer* fiue: and to *Nabonidus* 17. So that from the 19. of *Nabuchadnezzar*, in which *Ierusalem* was destroyed, vnto the time of *Cyrus*, he accounteth only 59. years; beginning (as many do) the captiuity 11. years sooner, from the transportation of *Iechonia*. But hereof enough hath been said already. That which we are now to consider, is his distribution of the time running between the 19. of *Nabuchadnezzar*, and the fall of the *Caldæan* Empire: wherein if he haue erred, then is all further inquisition friuolous.

Concerning the length of *Nabuchadnezzars* reigne, I shall hereafter vpon better occasion deliuer my opinion. The time which he giues to *Euilmerodach*, is very short, and more precisely agreeing with *Berosus* than with the Scriptures. For we finde in *Ieremy*, that this *Euilmerodach* in the first of his reigne, shewing all fauour to *Iechonia*, did, among other things, take order for him at his table; and that he did continually eat bread before him all the dayes of his life. His portion was a continuall portion giuen him of the king of *Babel*, euery day a certaine, all the dayes of his life vntill he died. The very sound of these words (which is more to be esteemed, than the authority of *Berosus*, were he perfectly extant) imports a farre longer time than two yeares, wherein *Iechonia*, vnder this gentle Prince, enioyed the comfort sent by God, whose commandement he had obeyed in yeelding himselfe to *Nabuchadnezzar*. Indeed how long *Iechonia* did liue, it cannot be proued; but plaine it is hereby, that all his remaining dayes he did eate bread before this King. Now, that he liued not so short a while after this as 2. yeares, it is more than likely; for he was but 55. years old when he was set at liberty, hauing bin 37. yeares in the prison, whereinto he was cast at the age of 18. yeares; after which time it seemes plaine that he begat *Salathiel*, as well by the age of *Zorobabel*, who is said to haue beene but

Ierem.52.vers. 33.& 34.

but a young man, and one of *Darius* his Pages threescore years after this, as by other circumstances of his imprisonment it selfe.

Of *Belsazer*, to whom *Scaliger* giues the next fiue yeares, naming him also *Laborosoardoch*, I should wonder why he calls him *Nebuchadnezzars* daughters sonne, were it not that herein I find him very carefull to helpe out *Berosus*, by shifting in his *Niriglissoroor*, as husband to *Nebuchadnezzars* daughter, and Protector of his son foure of these yeares; by which meanes there remaines about one yeare to *Belsazer* alone, agreeing nearely with the nine moneths assigned by *Berosus* to the sonne of *Niglisar*. But *Ieremy* hath told vs that it was to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and to his son, and to his sons son (not to his daughters sonne) that the Empire was promised: which difficulty, if *Scaliger* could not helpe, it was well done of him to passe it ouer with silence.

Nabonidus the last of these, whom others (desirous to reconcile *Berosus* to the Scriptures) haue iudged to be all one with *Balthasar*, is by *Scaliger* thought to be *Darius* of the *Medes*. But herein *Scaliger* is no firme *Berosian*: for *Berosus* makes him of the same stocke or race a *Babylonian*. I speake not this to disgrace the trauaile of that most learned man (for it highly commends his diligence and iudgement, that he was not so wedded to any author, as affected with the loue of truth) but to shew that hee himselfe hauing in some points disliked those Writers, whom in generall he approueth, might with greater reason haue wholly reformed them by the Scriptures, wherin can be no error. Two things thereare which chiefly did breed or confirme this opinion in *Scaliger*, that he whom *Berosus* calls *Nabonidus*, was the same whom *Daniel* had called *Darius* of the *Medes*: First, the phrase of Scripture, which signifies vnto vs, that *Darius* took the kingdome, not saying that he wanne it by force of armes: Secondly, a fragment of *Megasthenes* found in *Eusebius*, wherein this *Nabonidus* is called the *Median*. Touching the word of the Originall, or of the Greek translation, which expressing no force of armes, doth only signifie that *Darius* tooke or receiued the kingdome; I see no reason why we should thereupon inferre, that the next King entred by Election: seeing *Daniel* relateth not the means and circumstances of *Balthasars* death, but onely the swift accomplishment of his owne prophecy. Neither could it indeed haue properly beene said (if *Daniel* had cared to vse the most expressiue termes) that *Darius* of the *Medes* breaking into the City, did winne the kingdome; seeing this was performed by *Cyrus* in the absence of *Darius*, though by his forces, and to his vse. Now concerning the fragment of *Megasthenes*, true it is, that in *Eusebius* his workes printed at *Basile*, in the yeare 1559. I finde only thus much of *Megasthenes*, cited out of *Alpheeus*; That *Nabuchodonosor* was more valiant than *Hercules*; that he subdued all *Lybia*, and the rest of *Asia* as farre as to the *Armenians*; and that, as the *Chaldæans* report, being returned into his kingdome, and rapt with a diuine fury, he cried with a loud voyce: *O* Babylonians, *I foretell ye of a great calamity that shall come vpon you, which neither* Bel, *nor any of the gods shall auert: There will come a* Persian, *halfe an Asse, that shall bring slauery vpon yee*: and that, this and the like when he had spoken, he vanished. Of all this I beleeue little or nothing, sauing that *Nebuchodonosor* knew beforehand, that his Empire should be translated, as *Daniel* had foretold, from the golden head, to the siluer brest. But that he wanne all *Africa* or *Lybia*, I doe hold it neither true nor probable.

If *Scaligers* copy of *Eusebius* were the more perfect, out of which *Megasthenes* tells vs that *Nebuchodonosor* wanne both *Africke* and *Spaine*, I beleeue the fragment so much the lesse: and am as little moued with the authority of it, where it calls a *Median* the pride and confidence of the *Assyrians*; as where it tells of *Nebuchadnezzar* his owne vanishing away. Indeede that same title of halfe an Asse, by which he calleth *Cyrus*, makes me to suspect the fable as cunningly forged out of *Apollo* his Oracle, wherein he termeth him a *Mule*, because his parentage was more noble on the mothers side, than on the fathers; as *Mules* are begotten by *Asses* vpon *Mares*. And thus much in answer of the two principall foundations whereon this opinion is built. As for the concinnity and coherence which it had within it selfe, I easily allow it. But this proues nothing; for meere fictions haue not wanted these commendations: neither can any man beleeue that one so iudicious, industrious and deepely learned as *Ioseph Scaliger*, would ouer-shoot himselfe in setting downe repugnancies.

It now remaineth to examine the agreement of this with the Scriptures, from which there is no appeale. And herein it seems that *Scaliger*, well knowing his own sufficiency, hath

hath beene little carefull to satisfie men that would frame Arguments against him. For if the prophecy of *Daniel* were true, that the Kingdome of *Balthasar* was diuided, and giuen to the *Medes* and *Persians*, either we must thinke that *Darius* of the *Medes* was not *Nabonidus*, or else we must bethinke our selues what *Persian* it might be that shared the kingdome with him. For it is not more certaine, that *Balthasar* lost his life and kingdome, than that his Kingdome was diuided and giuen to the *Medes* and *Persians*. Neither did the *Medes* and *Persians* fall out and fight for it, as by supposing *Nabonidus* to haue been *Darius*, they should be thought to haue done; but these two Nations did compound the body of that Empire, and were accounted as Lords ouer all the subiect Prouinces, insomuch that the Greek Historians did commonly call those warres which *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, made vpon *Greece*, The warres of the *Medes*. Yea to
Dan.8.20. cleare this point, euen *Daniel* himselfe resembles that King, with whom *Alexander* fought, vnto a Ramme with two hornes, calling him the King of the *Medes* and *Persians*. Wherefore the whole Nation of *Chronologers* were not to haue beene condemned by *Ioseph Scaliger*, for maintaining vpon such good grounds, that *Darius* of the *Medes*, was partner with *Cyrus* in his victories, and not a *Chaldæan King* by him subdued. Neither was *Iosephus* to be the lesse regarded, for affirming that *Balthasar* was destroyed by *Darius* of the *Medes*, and his Nephew *Cyrus*, though herein he varied from *Berosus*, and others, whose authority elsewhere he gladly citeth. For *Iosephus* had no reason to beleeue any mans faith or knowledge of those times, half so wel as *Daniels*, whom I beleeue that he vnderstood as farre as was needfull in this case. Lawfull it was for him to alleage all Authors that had any mention, though vnperfect, of the same things that were contained in the writings of the *Iewes*, to whose Histories thereby he procured reputation in the *Romane* world, where they were strangers, and might seeme fabulous. Euen so doe *Eusebius*, and other Writers, willingly embrace the testimonies of Heathen bookes making for the truth in some particulars, yet will they not therefore betrie in generall by the selfe same *Ethnicke* Philosophers, but leaue them where they are against the truth; as *Iosephus* in this case hath left *Berosus*. And thus much I thought it meet to say of *Scaligers* opinion in this point; holding neuertheless in due regard his learning and iudgement, which if in some things it had not failed, the miracle had then beene very great.

§.VI.

What may bee held as probable of the Persons and Times of Nabuchodonosor *his successors.*

IT now remaines that I freely acknowledge mine owne weakenesse, who cannot finde how the 70. years of captiuity are to be diuided among them which reigned in *Babylon*, though I finde that the distribution made of them, in such wise as already is rehearsed, be ill agreeable to the holy Scriptures. Wherefore I may truely say with *Pererius*, that we ought liberally to pardon those whose feet haue failed them in the slippery waies of *Chronology*, wherein both learning and diligence are subiect to take a fall at one time or other, by ignorance, forgetfulnesse, or heedlesse reckoning. Yet will I aduenture to deliuer my opinion, wherein the iudgement of *Lyra* and others (holding those only to haue reigned ouer the *Chaldeans*, whose names are found in the Scriptures) appeares more conformable to reason and account of time, than any of the other Sentences or Coniectures before rehearsed. Not that I will take vpon me to defend *Lyra* his Coniectures, when he supposeth by *Niglisar* and *Labosardach* to be meant the same persons which are called in Scriptures *Euilmerodach* and *Balthasar* (for this can by no good colour be maintained,) but only to shew that the Kings by him cited, are likely to haue occupied the whole time of seuenty years. First therefore let vs consider the reigne of *Nabuchadnezzar*, in whose eighteenth yeare *Ierusalem* was taken and sackt, but in his nineteenth laid vtterly desolate.

Most of Writers haue giuen to him 43. yeares of reigne, following therein *Berosus*. There are who haue added one yeare more; and some haue made it vp 45. To dispute about the certainty were needlesse: for in shewing by what length of time the Scriptures measure him, we shall shew the certaine truth.

Manifest

Manifest it is, that the 19. yeare of *Nebuchadnezzar*, is ioyned with the 11. of *Zedekia*; 2.King.25.8.
as also that his eight yeare, vvas the first yeare of *Iechonia* his captiuity; the reign of *Ze-* & Ier.51.12.
dekia occupied all the meane space, being of 11. years. This is generally agreed vpon, so 2 King.24.12.
that it needes no further proofes: As for the beginning of his successor *Euilmerodach*, it 2 King.25.27.
vvas in the seuen and thirtieth yeare of *Iechonia* his captiuitie; so that *Nebuchadnezzar* & Ier.52.31.
after his 8. yeare (vvhich was the first of *Iechonia* his bondage) reigned 35. vvhole years, and peraduenture a good part of the sixe and thirtieth, forasmuch as *Iechonia* was inlarged with so great fauour, not vntill the end of the year. Substracting therfore out of these foure and forty, which *Nebuchadnezzars* reigne did well neere occupie, those eigh-
10 teene yeares of his which passed away before the captiuity of Iuda, and ruine of the city, wee haue remaining sixe and twenty yeares of the seuenty, that were almost wholly spent when his son began to reigne.

It is now to be considered how the remainder of the seuentie yeares were diuided between the Kings ruling in Babylon vntill the first of *Cyrus*. A question more difficult (as I said before) than greatly needfull: the whole summe being certaine, and the distinction of times affording no benefit in knowledge of their actions, who were sloth full Princes. Neither can any man the more iustly suspect the beginning or end of the whole 70. years, for that the distribution of some part of them is only coniecturall; seeing that none who giues any other termes to their beginning or end, hath refused to follow both vnlikely
20 and desperate coniectures in diuiding them. I will therefore be bold to doe as others haue done; knowing well before-hand, that whosoeuer shall discouer my error, must do me the pleasure (which I could rather wish in a case more materiall) of making me to vnderstand the truth.

Of the foure and forty yeares remaining in accompt of *Nebuchadnezzars* death, we are to take away the last, which was the first of *Darius* the Mede, and then hauing authority good enough to warrant vs from blame of presumption, in giuing vs seuenteene years to *Balthasar*, we finde left in our hands to bestow vpon *Euilmerodach* sixe & twentie yeares. Of the yeare belonging vnto *Darius* the Mede, I haue already spoken what I thought sufficient, in deliuering my opinion of the beginning and continuance of this
30 captiuitie. That *Balthasar* did reigne seuenteen yeares, we haue the authority of *Iosephus*, before cited in expresse words; Wee haue also the generall consent of all, or the most late Writers, interpreting *Berosus* his *Nabonidus*, who reigned so long; and *Balthasar* to haue been one. But nothing moueth me so much to beleeue this Tradition, as first those euident places in *Daniel*, shewing that in the third yeare of *Balthasar* hee followed the Dan.8.1.
Kings busines, and yet was forgotten ere the end of his reigne, (a proofe sufficient of & 27.& c.5.
no few yeares, passing vnder this man, especially seeing it is no where found that *Daniels* v.11.12.& 13.
employments tooke end either that yeare or the next.) Secondly, the consideration of *Cyrus* his warres against the Assyrians, which beginning with the death of this mans father, & being alwaies prosperous, could hardly haue occupied any longer time, though
40 we make large allowance to his deeds in the lower Asia, which fell out in the middeway: I haue already shewed, that there appeares in the Scriptures likelihood enough to make it credible, that the reigne of *Euilmerodach* was not short, and that men of great iudgement haue found it most probable, that he was a King three and twenty years. More, I thinke, they would haue allowed him, had not the desire of satisfying *Berosus*, caused them to rest content with this. And surely it were greatly to bee wished, that bookes of such antiquitie, as those of *Berosus*, were extant without corruption; a great light (no doubt) they would yeeld in many darke passages of Antiquitie. I will yet confesse, that were his workes neuer so excellent, and in all things else vnquestionably true, I would not therfore condescend vnto him in some one point, wherein the Scrip-
50 tures were his open enemie: How much lesse ought I obey a broken fragment of his, containing onely seuen or eight lines, and part euen of the title corrupted, as they beleeue that follow him in the rest? The Scriptures haue told vs that God gaue the Empire to *Nebuchadnezzar*, to his sonne, and to his sonnes sonne: How long each of Ier.27.7.
them held it, wee finde not expressed; yet would we gladly know it of *Berosus*, or of any other that would teach vs; prouided alwaies, that helping vs in a particularitie, he destroyed not thereby the generall truth. More words are needlesse. It is enough to say with others, that *Berosus* or *Iosephus* who cited him, hath beene wronged by the carelesnesse of Scribes; and that it was as easie for those Scribes to erre in writing two

 for

for sixe and twenty, as for three and twenty, or perhaps more easie. For, the omission of the second figure, was as likely the one way as the other; and the Character 5. signifying 6. hath a neerer resemblance of β that stands for 2. than hath γ which is vsed for 3. So that the numerall notes β 5. expressing 26. were not safe enough from being mistaken in the true copie, and might be altered, as ill written, if some crooked hand, or other mischance not vnusuall, had omitted the first stroke of the former letter, or added a dash to the latter, which might cause them to seeme not two different figures, but the one a correction of the other; which how it could bee supposed in βγ standing for 23. I doe not well perceiue. As for the Arithmeticall figures now in vse, they were long after the time of *Iosephus* brought in by the Arabians, and therefore doe not appertaine vnto this businesse; vnlesse wee should ghesse that his workes were corrupted in that vnlearned age, which following the Saracen conquest, was little occupied in the studies of humanitie, but in a sort wholly giuen ouer to the doctrine of *Aristotle*. If this will serue to make *Berosus* our friend, so let it bee; if not, I will not purchase the fauour of his authority, by forsaking *Ieremie* and *Daniel*, when they seeme to be his opposites.

§. VII.

Of the victories which Nabuchodonosor *obtained betweene the destruction of Ierusalem and conquest of Egypt.*

WIth what actions this time of 70. years was entertained by the Babylonian kings, few haue written, or little is remaining in record. Which may peraduenture haue been some cause that the time it selfe was, and is yet sought to be abridged, as not hauing left sufficient matter to witnesse the length of it. But by such an argument we might as well deny to many people euen their being. For euery Nation (I know not whom I should except) betweene the beginning and last end of it, hath in some slothfull age rather dreamt away the time, than spent it. It is therefore no maruell, if the posteritie of *Nabuchodonosor*, finding all things ready to their hand, which their hearts could haue desired, betooke themselues to their ease and pleasures, thinking perhaps, like the prodigall sons of greedy fathers, their own wisedome greater, which knew how to enioy, than that of their Ancestors, which wearied away their daies in the restlesse trauell of purchasing: Though indeed the reigne of *Nabuchodonosor* was so diuided, that his youthfull and stronger yeares hauing been exercised in victorious armes, no small part of his life was remaining to be spent in establishing what was gotten, and gathering the fruit of his worthie labours past. The nineteenth yeare of his reigne it was, when destroying vtterly the great and mighty Citie of Ierusalem, hee enriched himselfe with abundance of spoyle, and terrified all that would offer to resist him, by that fearefull example. From that time forward, hee, vntill his three and twentieth yeare, laboured in the conquest of those adioyning Regions, which God had exposed vnto his sword, and commanded to weare his yoke; namely, the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, Tyrians, Sidonians, and Egyptians, though some of these were already become his followers, and serued vnder him, when Ierusalem was beaten down and burnt. But the Tyrians, whose Citie was founded on an Island, safe enough from any danger of a Land-armie, and whose fleet was so strong, that they needed not to feare any enemie at sea, were neither danted with the fall of their neighbour Cities, nor with the obstinate resolution of this mighty Prince, imploying all his power to their subuersion.

That the Citie of Tyre was rather well pleased, than any way discouraged with the fall of Ierusalem (which had held the same course that *Tyrus* did, and endured all that might bee in the same quarrell against the common enemie) it appeares by the wordes which *Ezekiel* condemneth as the common voyce of *Tyrus*; Aha, *the gate of the people is broken, it is turned vnto me; for seeing she is desolate, I shall be replenished.* Yet at length, euen in the nineteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor*, that great worke of his, wherof we haue already spoken, began to appeare aboue the waters, and threaten them with ineuitable mischiefe.

Ezek. 26. 2.

But those prophecies of *Ieremie* and of *Esay*, which appoint vnto this desolation of Tyre the same terme of 70. years, that was prescribed vnto the reign of the Chaldæans, doe plainly

Ier. 25.
Isai. 23. 15.

plainely shew, that she followed Ierusalem, the same nineteenth yeare of *Nabuchodonosor*, in the same, or a very like fortune. The particularities, which doubtlesse were memorable in the issue of so great and laborious a siege, are in a manner vtterly lost. Thus much we finde, That the Citizens perceiuing the Town vnable to hold out, embarked themselues, and fledde into the Isle of Cyprus. Neuertheless it seemes that this euasion serued only the principall men, who escaping with their goods, abandoned the poorer sort vnto the enemies furie. For, not onely such people of Tyre as dwelt on the Continent, (who are called her Daughters in the field) were put to the sword; but the like execution was done in the streets, into which, with excessiue labour, the Assyrian made way for his Horses and Chariots. Thus *Nabuchodonosor caused his Armie to serue a great seruice against* Tyrus, *wherein euery head was made bald, and euery shoulder was made bare, yet had hee no wages, nor his Armie*; but was faine to rest contented with the Honour of hauing destroyed that Citie, which in all mens iudgements had beene held inuincible.

Ezech. 29. 18.

The destruction of these two great and powerfull Cities, hauing made the name of the Chaldæans dreadfull in the eares of all the Nations thereabout, *Nabuchodonosor* vsed the aduantage of that reputation which he had obtained by victories already gotten, to the getting of more, and more profitable, with lesse paine. The Kingdome of Egypt vvas the marke at which he aimed; a Country so abounding in all riches and pleasures, that it might well haue tempted any Prince, finding himselfe strong enough to seek occasion of quarrell against it; and so farre an enemie to the Crown of Babylon, that had it bin poorer, yet either it must haue beene subdued, or the conquest of Syria could ill haue been established. Neuertheless it was needfull, that before hee entred into this busines, the Countries adiacent should be reduced into such termes, that either they should wholly stand at his deuotion, or at least be vnable to worke him any displeasure. And herein the decree of God concurred, as in all prosperous enterprises, with reason of state. For, the people of Moab, Ammon, Edom, Damascus, Kedar, Hazar, and other adioyning Regions, whom God for their sinnes had condemned to fall vnder the Babylonian swords, were such, as regarding only their owne gaine, had some of them, like Rauens, followed the Chaldæan Armie, to feed vpon the karcasses that fell by the crueltie thereof; others taking aduantage of their neighbours miseries, occupied the Countries which were by his victories belonging to *Nabuchodonosor*: all of them thinking, that when the Assyrian had satisfied his fury, he should be faine to forsake those desolate parts, and leaue the possession to those that could lay hand vpon it. Particularly the Edomites and Philistims had shewed much malice to the Iewes when their City was taken. What good seruice they had done to the Chaldæans, I finde not; if they did any, it is likely to haue been with reference to their owne purposes, wherein they were disappointed. The Ammonites were not contended to reioyce at the fall of Ierusalem, but presently they entered vpon the Country of Gad, and took possession, as if not the Assyrians, but they, had subdued Israel. Neither can I perceiue what other ground that practice had of *Baalis* king of the Ammonites, when he sent *Ismael*, a Prince of the bloud of Iuda, to murther *Gedalia*, whom the King of Babel had left Gouernour ouer those that remained in Israel, and to carry captiue into the Ammonites Country the people that abode in Mizpah, than a desire of embroiling *Nabuchodonozor* with so many labours at once, as should make him retire into his owne Countrey, and abandon those wasted Lands to himselfe and others, for whom they lay conueniently. Such or the like policy the Moabites did exercise; whose pride and wrath were made frustrate by God, & their dissimulation condemned, as not doing right.

Ezech. 25. 11. & 15.
Ezech. 25. 3.
Ier. 49. 1.
Ier. 40. 14. & 41. 2. & 10.
Ier. 28. 27. &c.

All these Nations had the art of rauening, which is familiar to such as liue or border vpon desarts; and now the time afforded them occasion to shew the vttermost cunning of their theeuish wits. But *Nebuchadnezzar* did cut asunder all their deuices by sharpe and suddaine warre, ouer-whelming them with vnexpected ruine, as it were in one night; according to the prophecies of *Esay*, *Ieremie*, and *Ezekiel*, who foretold, with little difference of words, the greatnesse and swiftnesse of the miserie that should come vpon them. With which of them he first began, I finde not; it seemes that *Moab* was the last which felt his hand: for so doe many good Authors interpret the prophesie of *Esay*, threatning Moab with destruction after three yeares, as hauing reference to the third year following the ruine of Ierusalem; the next year after it being spent in the Egyptian expedition.

Esay 16. 14.

expedition. This is manifest, that all the principal Townes in these Regions were burnt, and the people slaine, or made slaues, few excepted, who being preserued by flight, had not the courage to returne to their habitations ouer-hastily, much lesse to attempt any thing against *Nabuchodonosor*, but liued as miserable out-lawes, or at least oppressed wretches, vntill the end of the seuenty yeares, which God had prescribed vnto the desolation of their Countries, as well as of the Land of Iuda.

§. VIII.

That Egypt was conquered, and the King therein reigning slaine by Nabuchodonosor, *contrarie to the opinion of most Authors: who, following* Herodotus *and* Diodorus, *relate it otherwise.*

WHen by a long course of victory *Nabuchodonosor* had brought into subiection all the Nations of Syria, & the bordering Arabians, in such wise, that no enemy to himselfe, nor friend of the Egyptian, was left at his backe, that might giue impediment vnto his proceeding, or take aduantage of any misfortune; then did he forth-with take in hand the conquest of Egypt himselfe, vpon which those other Nations had formerly bin depending. Of this expedition, and the victorious issue thereof, the three great Prophets, *Esay*, *Ieremie*, and *Ezekiel*, haue written so plainely, that I hold it altogether needlesse to looke after more authoritie, or to cite for proofe halfe of that which may be alleaged out of these. Neuertheless, wee finde many and good Authors, who following *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, are well contented to straine these Prophecies with vnreasonable diligence vnto such a sense, as giues to *Nabuchodonosor* little more than the honour of hauing done some spoyle in Egypt, omitting the conquest of that Land by the Babylonian, and referring the death of *Apries* or *Hophra* to a chance long after following, which had no coherence with these times or affaires. So preposterous is the delight which many men take in the meanes and second helpes conducing to their purpose, that oftentimes they doe preferre the Commentator before the Authour; and to vphold a sentence, giuing testimony to one clause, doe carelesly ouerthrow the historie it selfe, which thereby they sought to haue maintained. The reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, concerning the Kings of Egypt, which reigned about these times, are already reheased in the former booke: but that which they haue spoken of *Apries*, was purposely reserued vnto this place. *Herodotus* doth affirme that he was a very fortunate King, but wherin he telleth not; (vnlesse we should vnderstand that he was victorious in the Warre, which he is said to haue made vpon Tyrus and Sidon) that he reigned fiue and twenty yeares, and was finally taken and put to death by his owne Subiects; who did set vp *Amasis*, as King, which preuailed against him. The rebellion of the Egyptians he imputeth to a great losse which they receiued in an expedition against the Cyrenians, by whom almost their whole Army was destroyed. This calamitie the people of Egypt thought to be well pleasing to their King, who had sent them on their dangerous expedition, with a purpose to haue them consumed, that so he might with greater securitie reigne ouer such as staied at home. So they who escaped, and the friends of such as were slaine, rebelled against *Apries*, vvho sent *Amasis* to appease the tumult; but *Amasis* became Captain of the rebels, and was by them chosen King. Finally, the whole Land consented vnto this new Election; whereby *Apries* was driuen to trust vnto his forraine Mercenaries, the Ionians and Carians, of whom he kept continually in readinesse thirty thousand good Souldiers that fought valiantly for him, but were at length vanquished by the great number of the Egyptian forces, amounting vnto two hundred and fiftie thousand, which were all by birth and education men of Warre. *Apries* himselfe being taken prisoner, was gently intreated by *Amasis* for a while, vntill the Egyptians, exclaiming vpon him, as an extreame enemie to the Land, got him deliuered into their hands, and strangled him, yet they gaue him honourable buriall. Such is the report of *Herodotus*, with whom *Diodorus Siculus* doth meerely agree, telling vs that *Apries* did vanquish the Cyprians and Phœnicians in battell at Sea, tooke by force and demolished Sidon, wanne the other townes of Phœnicia, and the Isle of Cyprus, and finally, perished as is before rehearsed, when he had

Herod. l. 2. & l. 4

Diod. Sic. l. 1. c. 2

had reigned two and twenty yeares. This authority were enough (yet not more than enough) to informe vs of *Apries* his history, if greater authority did not contradict it. But the destruction of Egypt by the Babylonian, foretold by the Prophets, which hath no coherence with these relations, hath greater force to compell our beliefe, than haue the traditions of Egyptian Priests (which the Greeke Historians followed) and greater probabilities to perswade those that looke onely into humane reasons. For *Esay* prophecied long before of the shamefull captiuity of the Egyptians, whom the King of Assur should carry away naked, young & old, in such wise, that the Iewes, who fled vnto them for deliuerance from the Assyrian, should be ashamed of their owne vaine confidence in men so vnable to defend themselues.

Esa. 20. ver. 4. & 6.

But *Ezekiel* & *Ieremy*, as their prophecies were neerer to the time of execution, so they handled this argument more precisely. For *Ezekiel* telleth plainly, that Egypt should be giuen to *Nebuchadnezzar*, as wages for the seruice which he had done at Tyre: Also hee recounteth particularly all the chiefe Cities in Egypt, saying, That these by name should be destroyed, and goe into captiuity, yea, that *Pharaoh and all his Army should be slaine by the sword*. Wherefore it must needes be a violent exposition of these Prophecies, which by applying the issue of such threatnings to an insurrection and rebellion, concludes all, without any other alteration in Egypt, than change of the Kings person, wherein *Amasis* did succeed vnto *Apries*, by force indeed, but by the vniforme consent of all the people. Certainely, if that notable place of *Ieremy*, wherein hee foretelleth how the Iewes in Egypt should see *Pharao Hophra* deliuered into the hand of his enemies, as *Zedekia* had beene, were to be referred vnto the time of that rebellion, whereof *Herodotus* hath spoken, as the generall opinion hath ouer-ruled it; then was it vainely done of the same Prophet (which God forbid that any Christian should thinke, seeing hee did it by the appointment of God himselfe) to hide in the clay of a Bricke-hill, those very stones, vpon which the Throne of *Nabuchodonosor* should bee set, and his Pauilion spred. Yea then was that prophecy no other than false, which expressed the end of *Pharaoh* thus: *Behold, I will visit the common people of No, and* Pharaoh, *and Egypt, with their gods and their kings, euen* Pharaoh, *and all that trust in him: and I will deliuer them into the hands of those that seek their liues, and into the hand of* Nebuchadnezzar, *King of Babel, and into the hands of his seruants*. The cleerenesse of this prophecy being such as could not but refute that interpretation of many other places, which referred all to the rebellion of *Amasis*, it caused me to wonder what those Commentators would say to it, who are elsewhere so diligent in fitting all to the Greeke Historians. Wherfore looking vpon *Iunius*, who had in another place taken the enemies of *Pharaoh Hophra* to bee *Amasis* and his followers, I found him here acknowledging that the Egyptian Priests had notably deluded *Herodotus* with lies, coyned vpon a vain-glorious purpose of hiding their owne disgrace and bondage. And surely it may well bee thought, that the history of *Nebuchadnezzar*, was better knowne to the Iewes, whom it concerned, than to the Greekes, that scarcely at any time heard of his name. Therefore I see no cause why we should not rather beleeue *Iosephus*, reporting that *Nabuchodonosor* in the three and twentieth yeare of his reigne, and the fift yeare of the destruction of Ierusalem, did conquer Egypt, kill the King thereof, and appoint another in his stead, than *Herodotus* or *Diodore*; who being meere strangers to this businesse, had no great reason to labour in searching out the truth, but might rest contented with any thing that the Priests would tell them. Now if setting aside all aduantage of authority, we should only consider the relations of *Iosephus*, and of the Greeke Historians, as either of them might be verified of it selfe by apparant circumstances, without reflecting vpon the Hebrew Prophets, or Egyptian Priests; me thinkes the death of *Apries* can no way be approued as hauing beene wrought by consent of the people, but affords great matter of suspition, yea, though no man had opposed the reports of *Herodotus* and *Diodore*. For the great loue & honor which the Egyptians did beare vnto their Kings, is notorious by the vniforme testimony of all others that haue handled the matters of that Countrey, as well as by the report of *Diodore* himselfe. How then can we thinke it probable, that *Apries* hauing wonne great victories, did for one onely losse fall into the hatred of all his people, or which may serue to perswade vs, that a King of Egypt would seeke, or so demeane himself, that he might be thought to seek the destruction of his naturall subiects? As for that Army of thirty thousand souldiers, Carians and Ionians, which the King of

Ieremi. 44. 30.
Ieremi. 43. 10.
Ieremi. 46. ver. 25. & 26.
Iun. in Ieremi. c. 44. vers. 30.
Ioseph. Antiq. Iud. l. 10. c. 11.

of Egypt, whom *Amasis* tooke prisoner, is said to haue kept for his defence: doth it not argue that he was a forrainer, and one that armed himselfe against the Egyptian, wishing them few and weake; rather than any of the *Pharaohs*, who accounted the force of the Country, as assuredly their owne, as the strength of their owne bodies? It were more tedious than any way needfull, to vse all Arguments that might be alledged in this case. The very death of this supposed *Apries*, which the clamours of the people obtained of *Amasis*, who sought to haue kept him aliue, doth intimate that hee was some forraine Gouernour, not a naturall Prince; otherwise the people would haue desired to saue his life, and *Amasis* to take it quickly from him. I will not labour any further to disproue that opinion, whereunto I should not haue yeelded, though it had stood vpon great apparance of truth, considering that the voice of Truth it selfe cries out against it; but leaue the circumstances, prouing the Conquest of Egypt by *Nabuchodonosor*, to bee obserued, where due occasion in course of the story following shall present them.

§. IX.

How Egypt *was subdued and held by* Nabuchadnezzar.

IT is a great losse, that the generall History of the World hath suffered, by the spoile and waste which Time hath made of those Monuments, that should haue preserued the memory of such famous actions as were accomplished by this mighty Prince *Nabuchodonosor*; wherein, whether his Vertue, or Fortune were greater, it is now vncertaine. That his Victories following the Conquest of Syria, and the Neighbour-Prouinces, were such as did more enlarge his Dominion, than all the former Warres had done, it may easily be gathered out of *Ezekiel*, who reckoneth vp in his thirtieth Chapter (besides the whole Countrey of Egypt) Phut and Lud, with other Nations that may seeme to haue reached out into Mauritania, as people subdued by this great Babylonian. The circumstances of these Warres are in a manner vterly lost; but that the victory was easie and swift, any man shall finde, who will take the paines to conferre the places, wherein the three great Prophets touch this Argument. Thus much I thinke worthy of more particular obseruation; that *Pharaoh*, who (as is already noted in the former Booke) thought himselfe most safe in Egypt by the well defenced situation of his Countrey, did very vnwisely in suffering his enemies to sweepe the way cleane vnto his owne doores, by consuming all his friends and adherents in Syria. For as the labour of this businesse did more harden than weary the Chaldæan Army, so the confidence and vaine security of the Egyptians, relying vpon the difficult passages which the enemy was to make thorow the Arabian desarts, and the much aduantage which the great riuer of Nilus would afford vnto themselues, did little auaile them in prouision for the war, and much astonish them (as may iustly be thought) in the time of execution: it being vsually seene, that the hearts of men faile, when those helpes faile, in which they had reposed more confidence than in their owne vertue. Hitherto the Kingdome of Egypt had flourished vnder the rule of the *Pharaohs*, about a thousand fiue hundred and fourescore yeares; but from this time forward it remained forty yeares without a King, vnder the subiection of the Babylonians; & then at length it began to recouer by little and little the former greatnesse, yet so, that it was neuer dreadfull vnto others, God hauing said of that people, *I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule the Nations*. For whereas it hath beene said of *Pharaoh*: *I am the sonne of the wise, I am the sonne of the ancient Kings*: and wheras he had vaunted, *The Riuer is mine, and I haue made it*; the Princes of Egypt now became fooles, the Riuer failed them, the King himselfe was taken & slaine, and that ancient lineage quite extinguished. This came to passe in the first yeare after the destruction of Ierusalem, and the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, at which time (saith *Iosephus*) *Hee slew the King then reigning, placed another in his roome, and carried captiues thence to* Babylon, *the* Iewes *whom hee found in that Country*. Now concerning the time which *Iosephus* giues vnto this businesse, and the businesse it selfe, I haue already shewed, that it is warranted by all the prophecies which insinuate the same. As likewise the last destruction of Ierusalem, and carrying away those vnto Babel, who inhabited the miserable ruines of that great city, which was in the same *three & twentieth yeere of Nebuchadnezzar*, is not vnprobably thought by

Ezek. 29. 13. 14. & 15.
Esay 19. 11.
Ezek. 29. 9.
Ioseph. Ant. Iud. lib. 10. cap. 11.
Ierem. 52. 30.

good authors to haue beene at the returne from this Egyptian expedition. But whereas *Iosephus* tels vs, that there was another King put in the roome of *Apries* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, we must vnderstand, that he was onely a Viceroy, and not (as some haue mistaken it) thinke that this was *Amasis*. For to place the beginning of *Amasis* his reigne in the three and twentieth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, were as well repugnant vnto the prophecies before alleadged, as to all Chronology and History. Some there are, which to help this inconuenience, imagine that there were two successiuely bearing the name of *Amasis*; others, that there were two *Apries*, the one slaine by *Nebuchadnezzar*, the other by *Amasis*: a question of small importance, because the difference is onely about a name, it being once granted that the person mentioned in Scriptures, was depriued of life & kingdome by the Assyrians. Yet for any thing that I can perceiue, that *Apries*, of whom the Greek Historians wrote, could not be the Deputy of *Nebuchadnezzar*, seeing that hee was the Grand-child of *Pharao Necho*, & made war (as they report) vpon the Phœnicians, who were before the Egyptians, become subiect vnto the Crowne of Babylon. I might adde, perhaps, that he whom *Nebuchadnezzar* left as Gouernour of Egypt, was more likely to haue had some Chaldæan or Assyrian, than Egyptian name; vnlesse wee should thinke that he had beene a traytor to his naturall Prince, and so rewarded by the Conquerour with Lieutenantship of the Countrey: about which it were but friuolous to dispute. Thus much in briefe we ought to beleeue, that *Nabuchodonosor* made an absolute Conquest of Egypt; that he was not so foolish as to giue it away, any man may guesse; that he appointed one to rule the Countrey, it is consequent vnto the former, and hath authority of *Iosephus*; that his Gouernour (or some Successour of his) was afterwards taken and slaine by *Amasis*, I see probability enough to perswade my selfe, and yet can well be content, that others vse their liberty, and beleeue what they list. As for the army which this Egyptian King *Apries* is supposed to haue kept of Ionians & Carians; I hold them to be none other than the garisons of mercenary souldiers which were left by the Assyrian for the guard of his Viceroy, and custody of the new subdued Prouince: as likewise the company returning from Cyrene & Barce, who together with the friends of such as were slaine in that expedition, remembred before out of the Greek Historians, deposed & slew *Apries*, I take them to haue been the Egyptian fugitiues, which then recouered their own Country. Sure it is that this Prophecy of *Ezekiel* was verified, *At the end of forty years will I gather the* Egyptians *from the people where they were scattered, and I will bring againe the captiuity of* Egypt, *and will cause them to returne into the land of* Pathros, *into the land of their habitation, and they shall be there a small kingdome.* If the Egyptian Priests alluded hereunto in the tale which they made of *Amasis* his obtaining the Kingdome, then are they to be helped with this or the like interpretation; if they deuised matter that had no shadow of truth, only to keepe the Greeks from knowledge of their Counties disgrace; then are they little to be regarded, since we know the truth with them.

Ezek. 30. v. 13. & 14.

§. X.

Of the sundry accounts drawne from sundry acts of Nebuchadnezzar, *and of the destruction of* Nineue, *by him; the time of which action is vncertaine.*

THese victories brought the greatnesse of the Assyrian Empire to the full, & from them was reckoned the time of *Nebuchadnezzars* reigne in sundry places of Scripture. To speake any more of the questions arising about the supputation of *Nebuchadnezzar* his times, might seeme to be the ouer-handling of one Argument: Yet thus much I will note; that whereas *Daniel* was carried captiue in the third yeare of *Ioiakims* reigne (which ran along with some part of *Nebuchadnezzars* first yeare) & was kept in diet three years more, before he was brought into the Kings presence: it could not be the second of *Nebuchadnezzars* Kingdome, wherein hee interpreted the forgotten dream of the great Image, foreshewing the successe of Monarchies, but the second of his Empire. The same or the like may be said of diuers places which referre sundry matters vnto their set years; as that of *Ezekiel* before cited, where he fore-tels, that Egypt should be giuen in reward for the seruice done before *Tyrus*, dating his prophecy in the seuen and twentieth yeare; and that of *Daniel*, placing the erection of the golden Image in the eighteenth yeare: for these yeares held no dependance vpon either the beginning of

Dan. 1. & 2.

Nebuchad-

Nebuchadnezzars kingdome, or of his Empire, nor yet vpon any of the captiuities, but had reference to some memorable actions, omitted in Scripture, and therefore not easie to be found, nor worth the labour of vncertaine search.

Of any warre made by *Nebuchadnezzar*, after such time as he returned from the Conquest of Egypt, I doe not reade: excepting that against Nineue, the destruction wherof was fore-told by the Prophet *Naum*. Nineue had long before been taken by *Merodach* (as in due place hath beene shewed) and together with the rest of Assyria made subiect to Babylon. Yet was it left vnder a peculiar king, who rebelling against the Chaldæan, as *Iehoiakim* and *Zedechias*, tributary kings of Iuda, had done, tasted likewise of the same fortune. That the destruction of Nineue followed the Conquest of Egypt, it appea-
Nahum 3.8. reth by the comparison which *Nahum* the Prophet made betweene this City, that was to fall, and the City of No in Egypt, that was fallen already. But how long after this came to passe, it is (me thinkes) vnpossible to finde out. For whereas it is found in an Hebrew Chronology, that it was in the first of *Nebuchadnezzars* reign; the place of *Nahum* last cited is enough to disproue it. Whereas it is referred by some vnto the first of his Monarchy, which began at the end of the Egyptian warres; the whole Prophecy of *Nahum* which went betweene the one and the other, argueth strongly, that there was a longer space of time intercurrent. So that to enquire into the very yeare of this destruction, or other circumstances of the Warre, whether managed by *Nabuchonodosor* in person, or by his Lieutenants, were somewhat like vnto the vaine curiosity of *Tyberius Cesar*, enquiring who was the Mother of *Hecuba*; or to the like idle paines which he should take, who would seek to learne what woman that *Huzzab* Queen of Nineue was, whose wofull captiuity the same Prophet *Nahum* likewise did fore-tell.

§. XI.

Of the later time of Nebuchadnezzar; *his buildings, madnesse, and death.*

OF the time which this great Monarch spent in quiet, I think there are no Monuments extant; saue those which we finde among the prophecies of *Daniel*. Among these we may reckon his great workes at Babylon, wherewith he pleased
Dan. 4.27. himselfe so well, that he brake out into these glorious words: *Is not this great Babel that I haue built for the house of the Kingdome, by the might of my power, and for the honour of my Maiesty?* Surely if those things bee true that are by *Iosephus* rehearsed of him out of *Berosus* and *Megasthenes*, hee might well delight himselfe with the contemplation of such goodly and magnificent buildings. For it is said, That he fortified Babylon with a triple wall; that besides other stately workes, he raised those huge arches wherewith were borne vp the high Orchards, hanging as it were in the ayre, and equalling the tops of Mountaines; which most sumptuous frame, that out-lasted all the remainder of the Assyrian, and all the Persian Empire, is said to haue beene reared, and finished in fifteene dayes.

But of all this, & other his magnificence, we find little else recorded, than that (which indeede is most profitable for vs to consider) his ouer-valuing of his owne greatnesse abased him vnto a condition, inferiour to the poorest of men. And not vndeseruedly fell these iudgements of God vpon him. For whereas God had honoured him, not onely with many victories, & much happinesse in his owne life, but with a discouery of things to come after him, yea and had approued the certainty of his dreame, by the miraculous reducing of it into his memory, and interpretation thereof by *Daniel* the Prophet: hee neuertheless became so forgetfull of God, whose wonderfull power he had seene and acknowledged, that he caused a golden Image to be set vp and worshipped: ordaining a cruell death as reward vnto them that should dare to disobey his Kingly will and pleasure, which was vtterly repugnant to the law of him that is *the King of kings*. Hereof S. *Hierome* hath well noted; *Velox obliuio veritatis, vt qui dudum seruum Dei quasi Deum adorauerat, nunc statuam sibi fieri iubeat, vt ipse quasi Deus in statua adoraretur: A hastie forgetfulnesse of the truth, that he who so lately had worshipped* (Daniel) *the seruant of God, as if hee had beene God himselfe, should now command a statua to bee erected vnto himselfe, wherein himselfe might bee worshipped as God.* From this impiety it pleased God to reclaime him, by the strange and wonderfull deliuery of those blessed Saints out of the fiery fornace; who being throwne into it bound, for refusing to commit Idolatry, were

assisted

assisted by an Angell; preserued from all harme of the fire; loosened from their bands; and finally called out with gracious words, and restored to their former honour, by the King: who amazed at the miracle, made a decree tending to the honour of God, which by erection of his Image he had violated. Yet this deuotion of *Nebuchadnezzar* was not so rooted in him, that it could bring forth fruit answerable to his hastie zeale. Therfore was he forewarned by God in a dreame of the terrible iudgement hanging ouer his head which *Daniel* expounding, aduised him to *breake off his sinne by rightcousnesse, and his iniquitie by mercy towards the poore, that there might be an healing of his errour.* Hereby it seemes that iniustice and crueltie were the faults, for which hee was threatned, but this threatning sufficed not vnto his information. For, that so great a Monarch should be driuen from among men; (according to the tenor of the dream & interpretation) yea, compelled to dwell with the beasts of the field, and made to eate grasse as the Oxen, was a thing so incredible in mans iudgement, that easily it might bee thought an idle dreame; and much more easily be forgotten at the yeares end. One whole yeares leasure to repent was giuen to this haughty Prince: which respite of the execution may seem to haue bred in him a forgetfulnesse of Gods sentence. For at the end of twelue monethes, walking in the royall Palace of Babel, he was so ouer-ioyed and transported with a vain contemplation of his owne seeming happinesse, that without all feare of Gods heauie iudgement pronounced against him, he vttered those loftie words before rehearsed, in vaunting of the Maiesticall workes which he had reared, as well beseeming his maiesticall person. But his high speeches were not fully ended, when a voyce from heauen, telling him that his kingdome was departed from him, rehearsed ouer vnto him the sentence againe, was fulfilled vpon him the very same houre.

That *Salomon*, and many other Princes, and great ones, haue taken delight in their own buildings, it cannot any way be doubted; yet I doe not remember that euer I haue read of any, that were punished for reioycing in workes of this kinde (though it is hard in ioy, or any passion of the minde, to keepe a iust measure) excepting onely this *Nebuchadnezzar*.

The like may be said of *Dauid*: for other (and some very godly) Kings haue mustred all their forces to the very last man; but few or none haue been knowne to haue beene punished as *Dauid* was. Surely I not only hold it lawfull to reioyce in those good things wherewith God hath blessed vs; but a note of much vnthankfulnesse to entertain them with a sullen and vnfeeling disposition. Yet as all humane affections, wherein due reference to God is wanting, are no better than obscure clouds, hindring the influence of that blessed light, which clarifies the soule of man, and predisposeth it vnto the brightnesse of eternall felicitie; so that insolent ioy, which man in the pride of his vaine imagination conceiueth of his own worth, doth aboue all other passions blast our mindes, as it were with lightning, & make vs to reflect our thoughts vpon our seeming inherent greatnesse, forgetting the whilest him, to whom we are indebted for our very being. Wherefore these *malamentis gaudia*; *The euill ioyes of the minde*, were not vnaptly, by the Prince of Latine Poets, bestowed in the entrance of Hell, and placed further inward than sorrowes, cares, and feares: not far from the yron Cabbins of the Furies. And certainely it is no vnlikely token of vengeance neere at hand, when these vnreasonable flushes of proud and vaine ioy, doe rage in a minde, that should haue been humbled with a iust repentance, and acknowledgement of ill deseruing.

This was verified vpon *Nebuchadnezzar*, whose punishment was singular and vnexampled. For he ran among beasts in the fields and woods, where for seuen yeares hee liued, not only as a saluage man, but as a saluage beast, for a beast he thought himselfe, *secundum suam imaginationem*, as *Thomas* noteth, and therefore fed himselfe in the same *L. 2. de Reg. pri.* manner, and with the same foode that beasts doe; Not that hee was changed in figure externall, according to *Mediana*, in so much as hee appeared a beast to other mens eyes, *Med. l. 2. de regia in Deum fide cap. 7.* as S. *Hierome* in the life of *Hilarius* (how true God knowes) speakes of a woman that appeared to all other mens sight a Cow, but to *Hilarius* onely a woman; neither was hee changed as *Iphigenia* the Daughter of *Agamemnon* was said to be, into a Hinde, nor made a Monster, as *Dorotheus* and *Epiphanius* dreamed: but according to S. *Ieromes* exposition of these words: *At the same time was my vnderstanding restored vnto me, &c. Quando dicit* (saith S. *Ierome*) *sensum sibi redditum, ostendit non formam se amisisse, sed mentem; when he saith that his sense was restored vnto him, hee shewed that hee had not lost his humane shape,* *Dor. in Synopsi. Ep. in vii. Dan.*

but

but his vnderstanding. Seuen yeares expired, it pleased God to restore *Nabuchodonosor*, both to his vnderstanding, and his estate, for which he acknowledged and praised God all the rest of his life, confessing his power, and euerlasting being; that he was the Lord
Dan.4.32.34. of heauen and earth, and wrought without resistance what he pleased in both; that his workes were all truth, and his waies righteous. Which gaue argument to many of the Fathers, and others, not to doubt of his saluation; namely, S. *Augustine, Theodoret, Lyra, Carthusianus*, and others. And for that place of *Esay* the fourteenth, out of which his perdition may be gathered, the aforenamed Authors apply the same to *Balthasar*, because *Isay*, both in the thirteenth and foureteenth Chapter, speaketh of the king, and the destruction of Babylon ioyntly. 10

§.XII.
Of Euilmerodach.

HAuing already spoken what I could of the succession and yeares of *Nebuchadnezzars* posterity; the most that may be said of him, is said of *Euilmerodach*, which I will not here againe rehearse.

He lost some part of that which his father had gotten; and left his kingdome burning in a warre that consumed it to ashes. Hee lost Egypt by rebellion of the people, in the nineteenth yeare of his reign, which was fortie yeares after his Father had conquered it. 20 But this agrees neither with the accompt of *Herodotus*, who allowes to *Amasis* foure and forty yeares of reigne; nor with that of *Diodorus*, who giues him fiue and fifty, saying, that he died in the third yeare of the threescore and third Olympiad, when *Cambyses* did conquer Egypt. There were indeed but seuen and thirty yeares, which passed between the second yeare of the foure and fiftieth Olympiad, (which was the nineteenth of *Euilmerodach*, and the first of *Amasis*) and the fift of *Cambyses* his reigne, wherein he wan Egypt; of which seuen and thirty yeares it is credibly held, that *Psamennitus*, the son of *Amasis*, reigned three: so that *Amasis* could bee no longer king than foure and thirtie yeares. But seeing that these two Greek Historians haue bin abused by Egyptian Priests, in the substance of that which was spoken of *Amasis*, it is no maruell though they were 30 also deceiued in the length of his reigne. This is the plaine answer to this obiection. For to say either that the numbers were mis-written, & foure & forty set down in stead of foure and thirtie, or that *Amasis* did temporize a while with the Assyrians, and not beare himselfe as absolute king of Egypt, vntill the nineteenth of *Euilmerodach* (at which time, and not before, it hath been proued out of *Ezekiel*, that Egypt became againe a kingdome) I hold it a superfluous excuse.

Whether these Egyptian troubles did animate the king of the Medes to deale with *Euilmerodach*, as with a Prince greater in fame and reputation, gotten by the decayed valour of his people, than in present forces; or whether (as I rather thinke) some foyle receiued by the Assyrian inuading Media, emboldned the Egyptians to rebel against him: 40
Xenoph. Cyrop. l.1. I will neither vndertake, nor seek to define. *Xenophon* tels, that the first seruice of yong *Cyrus* in warre, was vnder *Astyages* king of the Medes, his Grand-father, in a prosperous fight against the Assyrian Prince, who did set vpon him; at which time *Cyrus* was fifteene or sixteene yeares old. If therefore *Cyrus* liued threescore and three yeares (as
Xenoph. Cyrop. l.8. he is said to haue died well stricken in yeares) which is held to be the ordinary tearm of no short life, then was this encounter in the third yeare of *Euilmerodach* his reigne. Yet by the same reckoning it should follow, that the warre began more early between these Nations, for as much as the manner of their fight in former times, with other circumstances insinuating as much, are found in the same place of *Xenophon*. And it may well be, that the death or destruction of *Nabuchodonosor* gaue courage vnto those that had 50 felt him a troublesome neighbour, to stand vpon prouder tearmes with the Assyrians, than in his flourishing estate they durst haue vsed. Howsoeuer the quarrell beganne, we find that it ended not before the last ruine of the Assyrian Monarchie. For the Babylonian, being too proud to digest the losses which he receiued by the Medes and their Allies the Persians, drew vnto his partie the Lydians, and all the people of the lesser Asia, with gifts and strong perswasions, hoping so to ouer-whelme his enemies with a strong inuasion, vvhom in vaine hee had sought to wearie out with a lingring Warre.

This

This happened after the death of *Astyages*, who left the world in the nineteenth yeare of *Euilmerodach*, at which time *Amasis* took possession of Egypt. So that the Assyrian hauing his hands already full of businesse, which more earnestly did affect him, seemes thereby to haue giuen the better meanes vnto the Egyptians, of new erecting their kingdome, which by long distance of place did sundry times find occasion to rebell in afterages, and set vp a King within it selfe, against the far more mighty Persian.

The issue of these great preparations made by *Euilmerodach* against the Medes, was such as opened the way vnto the fulfilling of those prophecies, which were many years before vttered against Babel, by *Esay* and *Ieremie*.

10 For, the Assyrians and their Confederates, who, trusting in their numbers, thought to haue buried the Medes and Persians vnder their thicke showres of arrowes & darts, were encountred with an army of stout and wel-trained men, weightily armed for close fight, by whom they were beaten in open battell, wherein *Euilmerodach* was slaine. So that great frame of Empire which *Nabuchodonosor* had raised and vp-held, being shaken and grieuously crackt vnder his vnfortunate Son, was left to bee sustained by his vnworthy Nephew: a man more likely to haue ouerthrown it, when it was greatest and strongest, than to repaire it, when it was in way of falling.

§.XIII.
A priuate coniecture of the Author; seruing to make good those things, which are cited out of Berosus, *concerning the Successors of* Euilmerodach, *without wrong to the Truth. The qualitie, and death of* Balthasar.

20 THough I haue already (as it seemes to me) sufficiently proued that *Balthasar* was the Son, and immediate Successour to *Euilmerodach*, yet considering earnestly the coniectures of those Writers, which following *Berosus*, insert *Niglisar*, or *Niriglissoroor*, and his son *Labassardach* betweene them: as also that vvhich I finde in *Herodotus* of *Nitocris*, a famous Queene of Babylon, vvho greatly adorned and fortified that City; I haue thought it not superfluous here in this place to shew, by vvhat means
30 it vvas possible that some errour might haue crept into the Historie of those times, and thereby haue brought vs to a needlesse trouble of searching out the truth, as it vvere by candle-light, in the vncertaine fragments of lost Authors, which we might haue found by day-light, had we adhered only to the Scriptures. First therefore I obserue, that the time which *Berosus* diuides betwixt *Euilmerodach*, and the two next Kings, agrees vvith the yeares in vvhich *Nebuchadnezzar* liued vvilde among brute beasts in the open field: Secondly, that the suddennesse of this accident, vvhich came in one houre, could not but vvork much perturbation in that State, vvherin doubtlesse the honour of so noble a Prince was highly regarded, his calamitie pitied, and his restitution hoped; the prediction of *Daniel* finding reputation in that clause which promised his recouerie, as being ve-
40 rified in that which had bin more incredible. Now if we doe in common reason iudge, what course was like to be taken by the great ones of the Kingdome; for setling the gouernment, whilest the King was thus distracted, wee shall finde it most likely, that his Son and Heire did occupie the royall Throne, with condition to restore it vnto his Father, when God should enable him to repossesse it. In this his rule *Euilmerodach* beeing to supply the vtter want of vnderstanding in his Father, as Protectors do the vnripenes Herod.l.1. of it in young, but reasonable Kings, might easily either commit the insolencies, or fall into the troubles, incident to such an office. That he had in him very small abilitie of gouernment, it appeares by his ill maintaining the Empire, when hee held it in his owne right. That his sister *Nitocris* (if *Nitocris* were his sister) was a woman of an high spirit,
50 it appeares by that which *Herodotus* reports of her, saying that shee was more cunning than *Semiramis*, as appeared in her magnificent and vsefull workes about the Riuer of Euphrates, and her fortification of Babylon against the Medes, who had gotten many Townes from the Assyrians, and amongst them Nineue. Wherefore it were not vnreasonable to thinke, that such a woman, seeing how the Empire went to decay through her brothers misgouernment, vsed practices to get the rule into her owne hands, and afterwards, as a mother, to leaue it vnto her vngracious son. Other time than this, wherin *Nitocris* could haue reigned, wee doe not finde; but we finde in *Berosus* (as *Iosephus* hath cited him) that *Niglissar*, who got the Kingdome from *Euilmerodach*, was his sisters husband;

husband; which argues this to haue been the same woman. As for *Labassardach* the son of *Nigliſſar*, if at the end of nine moneths reigne he were for his lewd conditions slaine by the Nobilitie, as the same *Berosus* reporteth, it seemes that God prepared hereby the way for *Nebuchadnezzars* restitution (whose terme of punishment was then expired) by raising such trouble, as should make him the more desired, both of the Princes and the people. I will not here vse many words to confute that which *Berosus* hath further set down of *Euilmerodach*, telling vs that he was slaine by his sisters husband: for the plain words of the Scripture, named the yeare wherin he gaue liberty to *Ieconia*, doe plainly testifie that he out-liued the three or foure and fortieth yeare of his Fathers reign, which was the last of his life.

This may suffice to shew, that they who are said to haue succeeded *Euilmerodach* in the Kingdome, might indeed haue so done, though not when hee held it in his owne right. Of *Balthasar*, who was his Son and Heire, we finde, that he had such conditions, as God permitted to be in a King for the ruine of the people. Hee was from his young yeares of a mischieuous nature; hauing in his Fathers time slaine a Noble yong man that should haue married his sister, only for spight and enuy to see him kill two wilde beasts in hunting, at which himselfe hauing thrown his Iaueline had missed them. Another great Lord he had gelded, because a Gentlewoman cõmending his beauty, said it were a happie woman that should be his wife. Such barbarous villanies caused many which had loued his Father (as a good and gracious, though vnfortunate Prince) to reuolt from him vnto the enemie as soone as hee was King. Neither doe I finde that hee performed any thing worthy of record, but as a coward and a foole hee lost all; sitting still, and not once daring to giue battell to them that daily tooke somewhat from him. Yet carelesly feasting when danger had hemmed him in on euery side, and when death arrested him by the hands of those whom hee had wronged in his Fathers life. So the end of him was base and miserable; for he died as a foole taken in vnexcusable security, yet had not that happinesse, such as it is, of a death free from apprehension of feare, but was terrified with a dreadfull vision; which had shewed his ruine not in many houres before, euen whilest he was drinking in that vvine, which the swords of his insulting enemies drew out of him, together with his latest bloud. It is therefore in this place enough to say of him, That after a dishonourable reigne of seuenteene yeares, he perished like a beast, and was slaine as hee deserued. The rest that concerneth him in question of his time, hath been spoken heretofore; in matter of his affaires, shall be handled among the acts of *Cyrus*, to whose story that of *Balthasar* is but an appendix.

CHAP. II.

Of the originall and first greatnesse of the Persians.

§. I.

That the Medes were chiefe actors in the subuersion of the Babylonian Empire.

THE Line of *Belochus* being now extinguished in *Balthasar*, the Empire of Babylon, and of Assyria, was ioyned first to that of Media, which then was gouerned by *Cyaxares* or *Darius Medus*, after whom *Cyrus* became Lord and Monarch, both of Assyria and of Media it selfe.

Of the race of *Phul Belochus* there were tenne Kings besides himselfe, and of *Arbaces* as many are found by *Metasthenes*. These two Prouinciall Gouernours hauing cut downe the last branch of Ninus in *Sardanapalus*, diuided betweene them the Easterne Empire. *Cyaxares* (vvhom the Scriptures call *Darius Medus*) the last of the race of *Arbaces*, dying about two yeeres after that the line of *Belochus* vvas ended in *Balthasar*; the Dominions aswell of the Conqueror, as of the conquered, fell to a third Family, namely, to *Cyrus* of the house of *Achæmenes*, the Princes of which bloud reigning in Persia, had formerly

formerly been dependants on the Medes, and were of as little power at home, as of fame abroad in the World.

Of the Family of the Achæmenes, and Line of the Persian Kings, we shall hereafter find occasion in due place to intreat.

The Nation of the Medes descended from *Madai* the third sonne of *Iaphet*; that they had Kings soone after the Floud, *Lactantius* and *Diodorus* haue found record; For *Lactantius* remembreth an ancient King of the Medes called *Hydaspes*, and *Diodore* speaketh of *Pharnus* with his seauen sonnes, slaine by the Assyrian in the beginning of their Empire.

But of these who succeeded *Arbaces* the first, that freed his Nation from the Assyrians, I take the list and number from *Eusebius*, adding *Darius Medus*: of whom I haue spoken in their proper places heretofore; and they are these.

Arbaces.	who reigned	28. yeares.
Sosarmus.		30. yeares.
Medidus.		40. yeares.
Cardiceas.		13. yeares.
Diocles.		53. yeares.
Phraortes.		24. yeares.
Cyaxares.		32. yeares.
Astyages.		38. yeares.
Darius Medus.		

And though the Greeks ascribe the conquest of Babylon to *Cyrus* alone, yet the Scriptures teach vs, that *Darius* was not only king of Media, & had the Persians his followers, but that the Army victorious ouer *Balthazar* was his; as the Assyrian & Babylonian Empire also was during his owne life. For we finde in *Daniel*, that *Darius* of the Medes took the Kingdome being threescore & two years old: And further, what Officers it pleased him to set ouer the Kingdome. And so was it prophecied by *Isay* long before: *Behold, I will stirre vp the Medes against them, &c.* And by Ieremy; *The Lord hath raised vp the Spirit of the King of the Medes: for his purpose is against Babel to destroy it*; and in the eight & twentieth Verse, *Prepare against her the Nations, with the King of the Medes, the Dukes thereof, the Princes thereof, and all the Land of his Dominion.* These Scriptures *Iulius Affricanus* doth well open, who taking authority from *Diodore, Castor, Thallus*, & others, deliuereth that Babylon was taken before *Cyrus* began to reign; which also agreeth with *Strabo*, where he saith, That as the Medes were subiugated by the Persians, so before that, both the Babylonians & Assyrians were mastered by the Medes. And therfore the reports of *Iustine* and *Herodotus* are not to be receiued, who attribute the taking of Babylon to *Cyrus* alone.

Isa. 13. *v.* 17. 51. *v.* 11. & 28.

Lib 16.

§. II.

By what meanes the Empire was translated from the Medes to the Persians.

HOw the Kingdome of the Medes fell into the hands of *Cyrus*, it is a doubt not sufficiently cleared by Historians, but rather their different relations of his beginnings haue bred the former opinion of those who giue the conquest of Babel to the Persian only. For some there are who deny that *Astyages* had any other Successour than *Cyrus* his Grand-child by *Mandane*. Wheras *Ctesias* on the contrary side affirmeth, that *Cyrus* was no way descended from *Astyages* (whom he calleth *Asligas* or *Apania*) but only that hauing vanquished him in battaile, & confined him to Bactria, he married his Daughter *Amytis*. But I find the relations of *Ctesias* often cited and seldome followed, and himselfe sometimes very iustly reproued of wilfull vntruth.

Viginier a diligent & learned Historian of this age, produceth many probable reasons that *Astyages* had no such sonne as *Cyaxares*, or *Darius Medus*; and to confirme his opinion the more, he citeth *Diodore, Iustine, Strabo, Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates*, and before them *Castor, Thallus*, and *Phlegon*, who doe not finde any such Successor. Neither doe *Tatianus, Theophilus Antiochenus, Iulius Affricanus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Iustine Martyr, Lactantius, Eusebius*, S. *Hierome*, or S. *Augustine*, make report out of any faithfull Author by them read, that hath giuen other Son or Successour to *Astyages* than *Cyrus*,

Yet seeing that this manner of argument *ab authoritate negatiuè*, doth neuer inforce consent; we may be the bolder (all this great list of noble Writers by him alleaged notwithstanding) to affirme, that either *Astyages* himselfe must haue beene *Darius* of the Medes, which cannot agree with his place in the course of time; Or else to giue him some other Successour, according to *Iosephus* and *Xenophon*, the same whom *Daniel* calleth *Darius*. For it is manifest, and without dispute, that the King of the Medes commanded in chiefe, and was absolute Lord of that Conquest, *Cyrus* during his life, being no other than the Lieutenant of his Army, and subiect to his authority; The strength of both Nations, to wit, the Medes and Persians, with other the Vassals of *Darius*, being ioyned together to compound it.

Zon. l. 1. c. 19.
Ios. an. l. 10. c. 13.
Xen. l. 8. Ped.

But it is very certaine that the honour of that great victory ouer Babylon was wholly giuen to *Cyrus*, who was the instrument preordained and forenamed by God himselfe for this action, but for the deliuery of his Church; a greater worke not only in the eies of God, than the subuersion of any State or Monarchy, how powerfull soeuer.

And it may well be thought, that the Souldiers imployed in that seruice did rather ascribe the glory to him that was the best man of Warre, than to the Median, who was greatest in riches and power. All which also falling vpon *Cyrus* by succession, and continuing in his posterity, did much augment the fame of his vertue; which among profane Historians ouergrew altogether the honour due to *Cyaxares*, both because he was old, & did nothing in person; as also because he soon after quitted the world, and left all to *Cyrus*, who was possest of what soeuer belonged to *Darius*, before the fame of any such King or Conqueror was carried farre off.

And for the Greek Historians, they took all things from the relation of the Persians, who gaue to *Cyrus* all the praise of a most excellent Prince, making none his equal. Only *Daniel* in the first, fift, and sixt Chapters of his prophecie, makes it plaine, that himselfe not onely liued a great Officer vnder King *Darius*, but that he continued in that estate to the first of *Cyrus*; which being the year of *Daniels* death, could not haue bin distinguished from the reigne of *Darius*, if they had begun together and reigned ioyntly; Neither can it be imagined that *Darius* held the Kingdome by *Cyrus* permission, considering that *Cyrus* began after him.

§. III.

Xenophons *relation of the Warre with the Medes and Persians, made with ioynt forces vpon the Assyrians, and others.*

THese Testimonies of the Scriptures, which neede no other confirmation, yet made more open to our vnderstanding, by that which *Xenophon* hath written of these wars: The cause whereof, according to his report, was this.

When the Assyrian had enlarged his Empire with victories, & was become Lord of all Syria, & many other Countries, he began to hope that if the Medes could be brought vnder his subiection, there should not then be left any Nation adioyning able to make head against him. For the King of the Medes was able to bring into the field threescore thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, to which the forces of Persia being ioined, made an exceeding strong Army.

The Assyrian considering the strength of such a Neighbour, inuited *Cræsus* King of Lydia, a Prince very mighty both in men and treasure, and with him other Lords of Asia the lesse, to his assistance, alleaging, that those Easterne Nations were very powerfull, and so firmely conioyned by league and many alliances, that it would not be easie, no not possible for any one Nation to resist them. With these incitements, and strengthened with great presents, he drew to himselfe so many adherents, as he compounded an Army of two hundred thousand foot, and threescore thousand horse; of which, tenne thousand horse, and forty thousand foot were ledde by *Cræsus*, who had great cause of enmity with the Medes, in regard of the Warre made by them against his Father *Alyattes*; But this great Army was by *Cyaxares* King of the Medes, and by *Cyrus* Generall of the Persian forces, vtterly broken; Vpon which defeat the Assyrian King being also slaine, so many of the Assyrians reuolted, as Babylon it selfe could not longer be assured without the succours of Mercenaries, waged with great summes of money out of Asia the lesse, Egypt, and elsewhere. Which new gathered forces were

were also scattered by *Cyrus*, who following his aduantage, possest himselfe of a great part of the lesser Asia; at which time it was, as I take it, that *Cræsus* himselfe was also made prisoner.

The attempt of Babylon following soon after, the Army lying before it being paid by *Darius*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, and led by *Cyrus* his sisters son, preuailed against *Balthasar*, as in due time shall be set downe.

Those Persians which followed *Cyrus*, and by him leuied, are numbred thirty thousand foot-men, of which a thousand were armed Gentlemen, the rest of the common sort were Archers, or such as vsed the Dart or Sling. So far *Xenophon*. Of whom in this argument, as it is true, that he described in *Cyrus* the pattern of a most Heroicall Prince, with much Poeticall addition: so it cannot be denied, but that the bulke and grosse of his Narration was founded vpon meere Historicall truth.

Neither can it indeed be affirmed of any the like Writers, that in euery speech & circumstance he hath precisely tyed himselfe to the phrase of the speaker, or nature of the occasion, but borrowed in each out of his own inuention, appropriating the same to the times and persons of whom he treated. Putting therefore apart the Morall and Politick discourse, and examining but the History of things done, it will easily appear, that *Xenophon* hath handled his vnder-taken subiect in such sort, that by beautifying the face thereof, he hath not in any sort corrupted the body.

§. IV.

The estate of the Medes and Persians in times fore-going this great Warre.

FOr it is commonly agreed vpon, that *Achæmenes* the sonne of *Perses* being Gouernour of Persia, did associate himselfe with *Arbaces*, who commanded in Media in that rebellion against *Sardanapalus*, and that each of them after the victorie obtained, held for himselfe the Dominion of those Countries, which he had formerly ruled for the Assyrians; as also that they conueyed ouer the same honour & power to their posterity; which in Media was not absolutely Regall, but with some restraint limited, vntill such time as *Deioces* tooke vpon him the full authority and maiesty of a King. From the death of *Sardanapalus* to the reigne of *Deioces*, are vsually accounted about an hundred and forty yeares, in the last sixty wherof there reigned in Assyria mighty Princes, namely, *Salmanassar* and his Successours; whose great atchieuements in Syria and elsewhere, witnesse, that the Medes and Persians found it not for their aduantage to vndertake any offensiue warre against those victorious Kings, it being also probable that the league continued as yet between these the successours of *Belochus*, and *Arbaces*, who had formerly shared the Empire.

Now from the beginning of *Deioces* to the first of *Astyages*, there past aboue ninetie yeares, in which if *Herodotus* haue written truely, that *Phraortes* conquered Persia, and how he and other Kings of Media by many victories greatly enlarged their Dominions, and commanded many parts of Asia, it had beene but an vnaduised enterprise of the Assyrians & Babylonians, to haue wasted themselues against the Syrians and Egyptians, leauing so able and victorious a Nation on their backes. But that the Medes had done nothing vpon the South parts of Persia; and that the Persians themselues were not masters of Susiana in *Nabuchodonosors* time, it is manifest in *Daniel*, who was then Gouernour for the Babylonian in Susa or Susan, the chiefe City thereof. It is true indeede, that the Medians, either vnder *Cyaxares* or *Astyages*, or both, had quarrell with *Halyattes* the father of *Cræsus*, which after some sixe yeares dispute was compounded.

How the affaires of Persia stood in so many ages, I do not finde any memory. It seemeth that the roughnesse of the mountainous Countrey which they then possest, with the confederacy which they continued with the Medes, gaue them more security than fame: For if their Kings, being the posterity of *Achæmenes*, had done any memorable acts, the greatnesse which they afterward obtained would not haue suffered any forgetfulnesse thereof. But as we finde all *Xenophons* reports, both of these Warres and the state of those Countries to be very consonant & agreeable to the relation of many other good Authors, so it appeares, that the race of *Achæmenes* held the Principality of Persia from Father to Sonne for many descents. And therefore we may better giue credit

to *Xenophon*, who affirmeth, That *Cambyses* the father of *Cyrus* was King of Persia; than to those that make him a meane man, and say, that *Astyages* gaue him his daughter *Mandane* in marriage, to the end that her son (whose natiuity hee feared) might be disabled from any great vndertaking by his fathers ignobility.

For what cause of griefe could it be to *Astyages*, that the sonne of his daughter should become Lord of the best part of Asia? No, it was more likely, that vpon such a Prophecie his loue to his grand-childe should haue encreased, and his care been the greater to haue married her to some Prince of strength and eminent vertue.

Yea, the same *Herodotus*, who is the first Authour, and as I thinke the deuiser of the mischiefe intended against *Cyrus* by his Grandfather, doth confesse, That the line of the *Achæmenidæ* was so renowned, that the great King *Xerxes* in the height of his prosperity did thence deriue himselfe, and vaunt of it: which hee would neuer haue done, had they beene ignoble, or had they beene the vassals of any other King or Monarch.

For in this sort *Xerxes* in the seuenth of *Herodotus* deriueth himselfe.

Achæmenes.	*Teispeus.*	*Hystaspes.*
Cambyses.	*Ariaramnes.*	*Darius.*
Cyrus.	*Arsamnes.*	*Xerxes.*

Of the *Achæmenidæ* there were two races: of the first was *Cyrus* the great, whose issue male failed in his two sonnes, *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*. This royall family is thus set down by the learned *Reineccius*.

Achæmenes, the sonne of *Perses*, first King of Persia.
Darius.
Cyrus, the first of that name, had *Cambyses* and *Atossa*; who married to
Pharnaces, King of Cappadocia, had *Artystona* and other daughters.
Cambyses had
Cyrus the Great: *Cyrus* had
Cambyses, who succeeded him, and *Smerdis* slaine by his brother *Cambyses*.

Of the second were those seuen great Princes of Persia, who hauing onerthrowne the vsurped royalty of the *Magi*, chose from among themselues *Darius*, the sonne of *Hystaspes*, King.

This Kingdome of Persia was first known by the name of *Elam*, so called after *Elam* the sonne of *Sem*, and the people therein inhabiting, *Elamitæ*; by *Elianus*, *Elymæ*; by *Iosephus*, *Elymi*.

Euf.l.6.c.8.de Præp.Euang. *Suidas* deriues this Nation sometimes from *Assur*, sometime from *Magog*, of whom they were called *Magusei*; which *Magusæi*, according to *Eusebius*, are not to bee taken for the Nation in generall, but for those who were afterward called the *Magi* or Wise men. So do the Greeks, among many other their sayings of them, affirme, That the Persians were anciently written *Artæi*, & that they called themselues *Cephenes*. But that they were *Elamitæ*, *Moses* and the Prophets, *Esay*, *Ieremy*, *Ezechiel*, *Daniel* and *Esdras* in many places confirme: Which also S. *Hierome* vpon *Ieremy* the fiue and twentieth, vpon *Daniel* the eight, and also in his Hebrew questions, approueth, saying: *Elam à quo Elamitæ Principes Persidis*; Elam, *of whom were the Elamites Princes of Persia.*

Gen.10. Esay 11.21.22. Ier.25.& 29. Ezech.32. Dan.8. Esd.4.

And that City which the Author of the second booke of the *Maccabees* calleth *Persepolis*, is by the Author of the first called *Elimais*, but is now called *Siras*, being the same which *Antiochus*, for the great riches thereof, twice attempted in vaine, and to his great dishonour. And yet this City, now called *Siras*, was not the old *Persepolis*; for *Alexander* at the request of *Thais* the Harlot, burnt it.

2.Mac.9. 1.Mac.6.

The first King of Persia to vs known, if we follow the current of Authors interpreting the foureteenth chapter of *Genesis*, was *Chedorlaomer*, who liued with *Amraphel* or *Ninias*, and ioyned with him in the war against those Arabians; who was afterward extinguished by the forces of *Abraham*.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of Cyrus.

§. I.

Of Cyrus *his name, and first actions.*

AS touching the name of *Cyrus*, *Strabo* saith, That the same was taken from a riuer which watereth Persia; this great Prince hauing *Agradatus* for his proper name. But the great *Cyrus* was not the first of that name. *Herodotus* otherwise; and that *Cyrus* signifieth a father in the Persian Tongue, and therefore so intituled by the people. *Strab.l.15.*

It is true that for his Iustice and other excellent vertues he was indeed called a Father; but that the name of *Cyrus* had any such signification, I thinke it be mistaken.

Plutarch hath a third opinion, affirming, That *Cyrus* is as much to say as the Sunne, in the same Language. Howsoeuer it be, yet the Prophet *Esay*, almost two hundred yeares before *Cyrus* was borne, giues him that name, *Thus saith the Lord vnto* Cyrus *his Annointed, &c.* *Plut.in vit. Artax.*

Before the Conquest of Babylon, the victories which *Cyrus* obtained were many and great: among which, the Conquest of Lydia, & other Prouinces thereto subiect, together with the taking of *Cræsus* himselfe, are not recounted by *Eusebius*, *Orosius*, and others, but placed among his latter atchiuements: whose opinion for this difference of time is founded vpon two reasons; namely, That of the Median there is no mention in that last warre against *Cræsus*: and that the obtaining of Sardis is referred to the eight & fiftieth Olympiad, and the glorious victory which *Cyrus* had ouer Babylon, to the fiue and fiftieth Olympiad.

The former of which might haue bin vsed (and was by the Greekes) to exclude the Medes from the honor of hauing won Babylon it self, which in due place I haue answered. The latter seems to haue reference to the second War which *Cyrus* made vpon Lydia, when it rebelled; at which time he so established his former Conquest, as after that time these Nations neuer offered to reuolt. Wherefore I like better in this particular to beleeue with *Herodotus*, whom the most of Chronologers follow, and finde the enterprise of Sardis to precede that of Babylon.

§. II.

Of Crœsus *the King of Lydia, who made warre vpon* Cyrus.

IHaue in the last Booke spoken somewhat of *Cræsus*, of his race and predecessors, as also of those Kings which gouerned Lydia in more ancient times: of which the first (to prophane Authors knowne) was *Lydus* the sonne of *Atys*: Which Family extinguished, the Kingdome was by an Oracle conferred vpon *Argon*, descended from *Hercules*, whereof there were two and twenty generations, *Candaules* being the last, who by shewing his faire Wife naked to *Gyges* his Fauorite, he was by the same *Gyges* (thereto vrged vpon perill of his owne life by the Queene) the next day slaine. Which done, *Gyges* enioyed both the Queen and the Kingdome of Lydia, and left the same to *Atys* his son, who was father to *Sadyattes*, the father of *Halyattes* (who thrust the Cimmerians out of Asia) & *Halyattes* begat *Cræsus*: Which fiue Kings, of a third race, enioyed that kingdome an hundred and seauenty years. *Halyattes* the father of *Cræsus* was an vndertaking Prince, and after he had continued a warre against *Cyaxares* the Median, a Prince very powerfull, and maintained it sixe years: a peace was concluded vpon equall conditions between them. *Herod.l.1.4.3. 4.& 5.*

Astyages, the son of *Cyaxares*, and grandfather to *Cyrus*, thought himselfe greatly honoured by obtaining *Aryenes*, *Cræsus* sister, whom he married.

But *Cræsus* so farre enlarged his dominions after his fathers death, as he was nothing inferior in territory to any King or Monarch of that age: Of which, about that time there were foure in effect of equall strength; to wit, the Median, the Babylonian, the Egyptian and the Lydian: only *Nabuchodonosor*, after he had ioyned Phœnicia, Palæstina, and Egypt to his Empire, had thence-forward no Competitor during his owne life.

But *Cræsus*, notwithstanding the men & treasure spent in the quarrell of the Babylonians, he yet mastred Æolis, Doris, & Ionia, Prouinces possest by the Greekes in Asia the lesse, adioyning to Lydia; gaue law to the Phrygians, Bithynians, Carians, Mysians, Paphlagonians, & other Nations. And that he also inforc't the Ephesians to acknowledge him, notwithstanding they compassed their city with *Diana's* girdle, *Herodotus* witnesseth. Moreouer, *Athenæus* out of *Berosus* (which also *Strabo* confirmeth) makes report of a Signall victory which *Cræsus* obtained against the Sacæans, a Nation of the Scythians, in memory whereof the Babylonians his allies did yearly celebrate a Feast, which they called *Sacæa*: All which he performed in fourteen years.

Her.l.5.
Athe.l.14.c.17.

And being now confident in the continuance of his good fortune, and enuious of *Cyrus* fame, doubting also, that his prosperous vndertakings might in the end grow perillous to himselfe, he consulted with the Oracle of *Apollo*, whom he presented with maruellous rich gifts, what successe he might hope for against *Cyrus*, if he vndertooke him: from whom he receiued this riddle; Crœsus *passing ouer the Riuer Halys, shall dissolue a great Dominion*. For the diuell being doubtfull of the successe, payed him with merchandize of both sides like, and might be inuerted either way to the ruine of Persia, or of his owne Lydia.

§. III.
Crœsus *his Expedition against* Cyrus.

HEreupon *Cræsus* being resolued to stop the course of *Cyrus* fortunes, if he could, despised all the arguments vsed by *Sandanes* to the contrary, who desired him to fore-thinke, That he vrged a Nation inhabiting a barren & mountainous Region, a people not couered with the soft silke of wormes, but with the hard skins of beasts; not fed with such meat as they fancied, but content with what they found; drinkers of water, not of wine: and in a word, a Nation warlike, enduring, valiant and prosperous; ouer whom if he became victorious, hee could thereby enrich himselfe in nothing but fame, in which he already excelled: and if by them beaten, & subiected, so great would his losse appeare of all things which the world hath in account, as the same could neither hastily be told, nor readily conceiued.

Notwithstanding this solid counsaile, *Cræsus* hauing prepared a powerfull army, he led the same towards Media, but in his passage he was arrested at Pterium, a city of great strength in Cappadocia; which while he sought by all means to surprise or to force, *Cyrus* came on, & found the Lydians encamped before it. That each was inferior to other in strength or opinion, I do not find: for out of doubt, *Cræsus*, as he excelled any Prince of that age in riches and ability; so was he not vnder any in territory and fame that then liued.

But as *Cratippus* of Mitylene answered *Pompey* when he complained against the gods, because they fauoured a disturber and vsurper of the Common-weale against him who fought for the Romane liberty, That Kingdomes & Commonweales had their encrease and period from diuine Ordinance: so at this time was the Winter of *Cræsus* prosperity at hand, the leaues of his flourishing fortune ready to fall, and that of *Cyrus* but in the flower and first spring. The God of all power, and not *Admetis* Herdman, *Apollo*, had giuen a date to the one, and a beginning of glory to the other.

When these two Armies were in view of each other, after the entertainment of diuers skirmishes, the Persians & Lydians began to ioyne in grosse troupes: supplies from both Kings thrust on vpon the falling off, and aduancement of either Nations: & as the Persians had somewhat the better of the day, so when the darke vaile of night had hidden each Army from the others view, *Cræsus* doubting what successe the rising Sunne would bring with it, quitted the field to *Cyrus*, and with all speede possible retyred, and taking the next way into Lydia, recouered Sardis his first City and Regall Seat, without any pursuit made by *Cyrus* to retard him. Where being arriued, and nothing suspecting

suspecting *Cyrus* approach, or any other warre for that Winter, he dismissed the Souldiers, and sent the troupes of his sundry Nations to their owne Prouinces, appointing them to re-assemble at the end of fiue moneths, acquainting his Commanders with his intents for the renewing of the warre at the time appointed.

§. IV.
The Conquest of Lydia by Cyrus.

CYrus in the following morning finding the Lydians departed, put his Army in order to pursue them, yet not so hastily, and at their heeles, as to be discouered. But hauing good intelligence of *Cræsus* his proceeding, he so measured his marches, as he presented not himself before Sardis, till such time as *Cræsus* had disposed his Army to their Wintring garrisons: which being altogether vnlooked for, & vnfeared, hee surrounded Sardis with his Army: Wherein *Cræsus* hauing no other Companies than his Citizens & ordinary Guards, after fourteen dayes siege the same was entred by assault, and all executed that resisted. *Cræsus* hauing now neither armes to fight, nor wings to flye, Sardis being on all parts strongly encompassed, thrust himselfe into the heape and miserable multitude of his vassals, and had vndergone the common fortune of common persons vanquished, had not a sonne of his, who had beene dumbe all his life (by extremity of passion and feare enabled) cried out to the souldiers to spare *Cræsus*. Who thereupon being taken and imprisoned, despoiled of all things but the expectation of death, he was forthwith tied in fetters, and set on the top of a great and high heape of wood, to be consumed to ashes thereon. To which when the fire was set and kindled, remembring the discourse which hee had with the Athenian Law-giuer, he thrice cried out on his name, *Solon, Solon, Solon*: and being demanded what he meant by that inuocation, he first vsed silence: but vrged againe, he told them, That he had now found it true which *Solon* had long since told him, That many men in the race and courses of their liues might well be accounted fortunate, but no man could discerne himselfe for happy indeed, till his end.

In communi calamitate suam quisque habet fortunam, Curt.
Memoriam metus pevimit: timor vocis est incitamentum, &c. Solin.c.7.
Homo qui in homine calamitoso misericors est, meminit sui, Cass.

Of which answer *Cyrus* being speedily informed, remembring the changes of fortune and his owne mortality, he commanded his ministers of Iustice to withdraw the fire with all diligence, to saue *Cræsus*, and to conduct him to his presence: Which done, *Cyrus* demanded of him, Who it was that had perswaded him? or what selfe reason had conducted him to inuade his territory, & to make him of a friend an enemy? To whom he thus answered; It was thy prosperous, and my vnprosperous destiny (the Grecian god flattering therewith all my ambition) that were the inuenters and conductors of *Cræsus* warre against *Cyrus*.

Cyrus being pierc't with *Cræsus* answer, & bewailing his estate, though victorious ouer it, did not only spare his life, but entertained him euer after as a king and his companion, shewing therein a true effect of mercy indeed, *Quæ non causam, sed fortunam spectat.*

And herein is the reall difference discerned between that behauiour which we call *Beneficium latronis, & gratiam Principis*: A theefe sometime sparing the life of him which is in his power, but vniustly: A King that giueth breath, and a continuance of being, to him that was the cause and author of his owne euill.

The report made by *Xenophon*, is, That *Cyrus* did friendly entertaine *Cræsus* at the first sight, not mentioning that which *Herodotus* deliuers, and is here already set down, that hee should haue beene burnt aliue. It may very well be, that *Xenophon* pourtraying (in *Cyrus*) an heroycall Prince, thought an intent so cruell, fitter to bee forgotten than rehearsed, as too much mis-beseeming a generous nature. And it is very likely, that neerenesse of alliance might with-hold *Cyrus* (had hee beene otherwise vicious) from so cruell a purpose against his grandmothers brother. Howsoeuer it was, the Morall part of the Story hath giuen much credit and reputation to the report of *Herodotus* (as to many the like it often doth) and made it passe for currant, though the trust reposed in *Cræsus* afterwards may seeme to argue, that *Cyrus* did not vse him inhumanely at the first.

For as *Herodotus* himselfe telleth vs, when *Cyrus* past with his Army ouer Araxes into Scythia, he left *Cræsus* to accompany and aduise his sonne *Cambyses*, Gouernour of the Empire in his absence, with whom he liued all the time of *Cyrus*, & did afterward follow

Cambyses

Cambyses into Egypt, where he hardly escaped his tyrannous hand. What his end was, I doe not finde.

But in this time the races of three of the greatest Kings in that part of the world took end; to wit, of the Babylonians, Medians & Lydians; in *Balthasar*, *Cyaxares*, and *Crœsus*.

§. V.

How Cyrus *wonne Babylon.*

AFter this Lydian War ensued the great Conquest of Babylon, which gaue vnto *Cyrus* an Empire so large and mighty, that he was iustly reputed the greatest Monarch then liuing vpon earth. How long time the preparations for this great action tooke vp, it is vncertaine; onely it seemes, that ten whole yeares did passe betweene his taking those two Cities of Sardis and Babylon; which neuertheleſſe I doe not thinke to haue beene wholly occupied in prouision for the Assyrian warre, but rather to haue bin spent in setling the Estate which he had already purchased. And hereunto perhaps may be referred that which *Ctesias* hath in his fragments of a war made by *Cyrus* vpon the Scythians, though related as foregoing the victory obtained against *Crœsus*. He telleth vs, That *Cyrus* inuaded Scythia, and being victorious ouer that Nation, tooke *Amorges* their King prisoner: but being in a second battell ouerthrowne by the wife of *Amorges*, *Spareta*, and therein taken, the one King was deliuered for the other.

Likewise it may be thought, that no small part of those troubles which arose in the lower Asia, grew soone after the departure of the victorious army, before the Conquest was fully established.

For after *Cyrus* was returned out of Asia the lesse, many Nations, conquered formerly by *Crœsus*, and now by *Cyrus*, reuolted from him; against whom he imployed *Paltius*, and then *Harpagus*, who first reduced the Phocians vnder their former obedience: and then the rest of the Greeks inhabiting Asia the lesse, as the Ionians, Carians, Æolians, & Lycians, who resoluedly (according to the strength they had) defended themselues. But in the attempt vpon Babylon it selfe, it is not to be doubted, that *Cyrus* employed all his forces, hauing taken order before-hand, that nothing should be able to diuert him, or to raise that siege, & make frustrate the work vpon which he did set all his rest. And great reason there was, that he should bend all his care & strength vnto the taking of that City, which beside the fame & reputation that it held, as being head of an Empire thereon depending, was so strongly fenced with a treble wal of great height, & surrounded with waters vnfoordable, so plentifully victualled for many years, that the inhabitants were not only free from all doubt and feare of their estate, but despised and derided all purposes and power of their besiegers.

The onely hope of the Medes & Persians, who despaired of carrying by assault a City so well fortified and manned, was in cutting off all supplies of victuals and other necessaries; whereof though the Towne was said to be stored sufficiently for more than twenty years, yet might it well be deemed, that in such a world of people as dwelt within those gates, one great want or other would soone appeare, and vanquish the resolution of that vnwarlike multitude. In expecting the successe of this course, the besiegers were likely to endure much trauell, and all in vaine, if they did not keep streight watch and strong guards vpon all quarters.

This was hard to doe, in regard of the vast circuit of those walls which they were to gird in, with numbers neither great enough, nor of men sufficienly assured vnto their commander: The consideration wherof ministred vnto the Babylonians matter of good pastime, when they saw the Lydians, Phrygians, Cappadocians, and others, quartered about their Town to keep them in, who hauing bin their ancient friends & allies, were more likely to ioyne with them, if occasion were offered, than to vse much diligence on the behalfe of *Cyrus*, who had, as it were, yesterday laid vpon their neckes the galling yoake of seruitude. Whilest the besieged were pleasing themselues in this deceitfull and vaine gladnesse, that is the ordinary fore-runner of suddaine calamity; *Cyrus*, whom the Ordinance of God made strong, constant, and inuentiue, deuised by so many channels and trenches as were sufficient and capable of Euphrates, and so to draw the same from the walls of Babylon, thereby to make his approach the more facile and assured: which when by the labour of many hands hee had performed, he

Xenoph. Cyroped. lib. 7.

he stayed the time of his aduantage for the execution: for hee had left certaine bankes or heads vn-cut, betweene the maine riuer which surrounded the City, and his owne Trenches.

Now *Balthasar*, finding neither any want or weaknes within, nor any possibility of approach for his enemies without, prepared an exceeding sumptuous feast, publike Plaies and other Pastimes, and thereto inuited a thousand of his Princes or Nobility, besides his wiues, curtizans, & others of that trade. This he did either to let the besiegers know, that his prouisions were either sufficient, not onely for all needefull vses, but euen for iollity and excesse: Or because he hoped that his enemies, vnder the burthen of many distresses were well neere broken, or in honour of *Bel* his most reuerenced Idoll: Or that it was his birth or coronation day: Or for many or all these respects. And hee was not contented with such magnificence as no Prince else could equall, but (vsing *Daniels* words) *He lifted himselfe vp against the Lord of Heauen:* For he & his Princes, wiues & concubines, made carowsing cups of the Vessels of God, in contempt of whom he praised his owne puppets, made of Siluer & Gold, of Brasse, Iron, Wood, and Stone; *Quanta fuit stultitia in vasibus aureis bibentes, ligneos & lapideos deos laudare; How great a foolishnesse was it* (saith S. *Hierome*,) *drinking in golden Cups, to praise gods of Wood and Stone.* While *Balthasar* was in this sort triumphing, and his braines well filled with vapors, he beheld a hand, which by diuine power wrote on the wall opposite vnto him, certaine words which he vnderstood not: wherewith so great a feare and amazement seized him, as the ioynts of his loynes were loosed, and his knees smote one against the other. Which passion when he had in some part recouered, he cried out for his Caldæans, Astrologians, & Southsayers, promising them great rewards, & the third place of honour in the Kingdome to him that could reade and expound the writing; but it exceeded their Art. In this disturbance and astonishment the Queen hearing what had past, and of the Kings amazement, after reuerence done, vsed this speech: *There is a man in thy Kingdome, in whom is the spirit of the holy Gods, and in the dayes of thy father, light, and vnderstanding, and wisedome, like the wisedome of the Gods, was found in him, whom the King Nabuchodonosor thy father; the King (I say) thy father made chiefe of the Inchanters, Astrologians, Chaldeans, and Southsayers, because a more excellent spirit, and knowledge, and vnderstanding, &c. were found in him, euen in* Daniel, *&c. Now let* Daniel *be called, and he will declare the interpretation.* *Dan. 5. 6.*

This Queene, *Iosephus* takes for the grandmother; *Origen* and *Theodoret* for the mother of *Balthasar*; either of which may be true: for it appeareth, that she was not any of the Kings wiues, because absent from the feast; and being past the age of dancing and banquetting, she came in vpon the bruit of the miracle, & to comfort of the King in his distraction: And whereas *Daniel* was forgotten and neglected by others both of younger yeares and times, this old Queene remembred well what hee had done in the daies of *Nabuchodonosor*, grandfather to this *Balthasar*, and kept in minde both his religion and diuine gifts. *Orig. & Theod. in Dan. Ioseph. Antiq. 10.*

When *Daniel* was brought to the Kings presence, who acknowledged those excellent graces wherewith God had enriched him, he prayed him, together with promises of reward and honour, to reade and interpret those words miraculously written; to whom *Daniel* made answer in a farre different style from that hee vsed towards his Grandfather: for the euill which he foretold *Nabuchodonosor*, he wished that the same might befall his enemies; but to this King (whose neglect of God and vice he hated) he answered in these words, *Keepe thy rewards to thy selfe, and giue thy gifts to another, yet will I reade the writing vnto the King; and shew him the interpretation:* Which before he had performed, he gaue him first the cause of Gods iust iudgement against him, and the reason of this terrible sentence, whereof the King and all his Wise men were vtterly ignorant. Which being written at large in *Daniel*, hath this effect, That forgetting Gods goodnesse to his Father, whom all Nations feared and obeyed, and that for his pride and neglect of those benefits, as he depriued him of his estate and vnderstanding; so vpon the acknowledgement of Gods infinite power he restored him to both. This King notwithstanding lifted himselfe vp against the same God, and presuming both to abuse those vessels dedicated to holy vses, and neglecting the Lord of all power; praised and worshipped the dead Idols of Gold, Siluer, Brasse, Iron, Stone, and Wood: and therefore those words, from the Oracle of a true God deliuered, (to wit) *Mene, Tekel, Vpharsin*, gaue *Dan. 5. v. 18. 19. 20.*

gaue the King knowledge,that God had numbred the time of his Kingdome,& finished it: That he was weighed in the ballance of Gods iustice, and found too light; and that his Empire was diuided and giuen to the Medes and Persians.

The very euening or night of this day, wherein *Balthasar* feasted and perished, *Cyrus* either by his espiall,according to *Xenophon*,or inspired by God himselfe,whose ensigne he followed in this warre,found the time and opportunity to inuite him: and therefore while the Kings head,and the heads of his Nobility were no lesse filled with the vapors of wine,than their hearts with the feare of Gods iudgement,he caused all the banks and heads of his trenches to be opened and cut downe with that diligence, as by them hee drew the great Riuer of Euphrates dry for the present, by whose channell running, his Army made their entrance,finding none to disturbe them. All the Towne lay buried (as the Poet saith) in sleepe and wine: such as came in the Persians way, were put to the sword,vnlesse they saued themselues by flight,as some did,who ranne away crying,and filling the streets with an vncertaine tumult.

Such Assyrian Lords as had reuolted from *Balthazar*, and betaken themselues to the party of *Cyrus*,did now conduct a selected company to the Kings Palace; which hauing easily forced, they rushed into the chamber where the King with his Princes were banqueting, slew both him and them without any mercy, who strugled in vaine to keepe
Ier.27. Esa.47. those liues which God had newly threatned to take away. And now was the prophecy of *Ieremy* fulfilled, and that of *Esay*, two hundred yeares before this subuersion, who in his seuen and fortieth Chapter,and elsewhere,writeth this destruction so feelingly and liuely,as if he had beene present both at the terrible slaughter there committed,and had seene the great and vnfeared change and calamity of this great Empire; yea,and had also heard the sorrowes and bewailings of euery suruiuing soule thereunto subiect. His prophesie of this place he beginneth in these words: *Come downe, and sit in the dust, O virgine daughter of Babel: sit on the ground, there is no Throne,&c.* And againe, *Sit still and get thee into darkenesse, O daughter of the Chaldæans, for thou shalt no more be called the Ladie of Kingdomes.* For though it cannot be doubted, that God vsed *Nabuchodonosor* and the Chaldæans,to punish the idolatry of the Iudæans, yet *Esay* teacheth vs in this place, That he did not yet forget, that the execution of his iudgements was mixt with a rigo-
Cap.47. rous extremity. For (saith *Esay*) in the person of God, *I was wroth with my people, I haue polluted mine inheritance,and giuen them into thine hand: thou didst shew them no mercy, but thou diast lay thy very heauy yoake vpon the ancient. I will rise vp against them, saith the Lord of Hosts, and will cut off from Babel the name and the remnant, and the sonne and the nephew.*
Isai.14. To wit Euilmerodach and Balthasar. And in the thirteenth, *Euery one that is found, shall be striken thorow: and whosoeuer ioyneth himselfe shall fall by the sword, their children also shall be broken in pieces before their eies, their houses spoyled, and their wiues rauished.* So as there is no Historian who was either present at this victory of *Cyrus*,or that receiued the report from others truly as it was,that could better leaue the same to posterity after it happened, than *Esay* hath done in many places of his prophecies, which were written two hundred yeares before any thing attempted.

The greatnesse and magnificence of Babylon,were it not by diuers graue Authors set downe,might seeme altogether fabulous: for,besides the reports of Saint *Hierome, Solinus*, and *Orosius, Aristotle* in the third of his *Politikes*, the second Chapter, receiued the report for true, That one part of the City knew not that the rest was taken three daies
Diod.l.3. after. Which is not impossible, if the testimony of *Diodorus Siculus* may bee taken; who findes the compasse thereof at three hundred and threescore Stadia or Furlongs, which makes fiue and forty miles: the walls whereof had so great a breadth, that fixe chariots might passe in front thereon. And of height,according to *Ctesias* and *Clitracus*, three hundred threescore and fiue foot, garnished with an hundred and fifty Towers. *Strabo* in the beginning of his sixteenth Booke of Geography giues it a greater circuit, adding fiue and twenty furlongs more to the former compasse, reckoning the same at three hundred foure score and fiue furlongs, which makes eight and forty mile and one furlong; but finds the wall farre vnder that which *Diodore* reports: and so doth *Curtius* measure their thickenesse but at two and thirty foot, and their height at an hundred cubits, which is also very much; euery cubit containing a foot and halfe of the large measure, though to the whole circuit of the City he giues the same with *Siculus*, and eight furlongs more. *Herodotus* findes a greater content than *Strabo* doth, namely, foure hundred

dred and foure score furlongs circle; the thicknesse of the wall he measures at fifty cubits,and the height at two hundred of the same regall cubit. For entrance it had an hun- Her.l.1.
dred gates of Brasse, with posts and hookes to hang them on of the same mettall: and therfore did the Prophet *Esay* rightly intitle Babylon, The Princesse & Glory of King- Esa.47.& c.13.
domes.

But when *Cyrus* had wonne her, he stript her out of her Princely Robes, and made her a slaue, diuiding not onely all her goodly houses,and her whole Territory, with all the riches therein contained,among his Souldiers; but bestowing the inhabitants themselues as bond-slaues vpon those that had taken possession of their goods.

Touching the reigne of *Cyrus*, and the time which he enioyed in rest and pleasure, I can say no more of it, than that it is generally agreed by all Chronologers to haue lasted only seuen yeares: in which time he made such Constitutions,as differ little from the Ordinances of all wise Kings that are desirous to establish a Royall power to themselues and their posterity.

§. VI.
The end of Cyrus.

THe last warre, and the end of this great King *Cyrus*, is diuersly written. *Herodotus* and *Iustine* deliuer, That after the Conquest of Asia the lesse, *Cyrus* inuaded the Massagetes, a very warlike Nation of the Scythians, gouerned by *Tomyris* their Queene: and that in an incounter between the Persians and these Northerne Nomades, *Tomyris* lost her Army, and her Son *Spargapises* that commanded it: In reuenge whereof, this Queene making new leuies of men of Warre, and following the Warre against *Cyrus*, in a second battaile beat the Persian Army, and taking *Cyrus* prisoner, cut off his head from his body, and cast the same into a boule of bloud, vsing these words; *Thou that hast all thy life time thirsted for bloud, now drinke thy fill, and satiate thy selfe.*

It should heereby seeme, that *Cyrus* knowing the strength and multitude of those frozen Nations, was perswaded to abate their fury by some forcible inuasion and depopulation, because in the time of *Cyaxares*, father to *Astyages*, those Scythians inuaded Media and Asia the lesse,and held the same in a seruile subiection eight and twenty yeares.

This warre which *Metasthenes* calleth *Tomyrique*, lasted (saith he) sixe yeares, and took end at the death of *Cyrus*.

But in this particular I beleeue with *Viginer*, that this Scythian Warre was rather the same which *Cyrus* made against the Sacians, before the conquest of Lydia,according to *Ctesias* before cited,who calleth *Tomyris, Sparetha*,though he deliuer the successe of that warre otherwise than *Herodotus* doth: The rather (saith *Viginer*) because *Strabo* in his Vig.prim.part. Bib.
eleuenth booke reciteth, that *Cyrus* surprized the Sacians by the same stratageme by which *Iustine* saith, he defeated the sonne of *Tomyris*. And the same *Ctesias* also reporcte.l.5.bis. part.
teth, That the last warre which *Cyrus* made was against *Amorrhæus* king of the Derbicians, a Nation (as the rest) of Scythia; whom though he ouercame, yet he then receiued the wound of his death,which he suffered three daies after.

Strabo also affirmeth, That he was buried in his owne City of Pasagardes, which him- Strab.l.15.
selfe had built,& where his Epitaph was to be read in his time; which is said to haue bin this: *O vir quicunque es, & vndecunque aduenis, neque enim te aduenturum ignoraui: Ego sum* Cyrus *qui Persis imperium constitui, pusillum hoc terræ quo meum tegitur corpus mihi ne inuideas; O thou man, whosoeuer thou art, or whencesoeuer thou commest; for I was not ignorant that thou shouldest come: I am* Cyrus *that founded the Persian Empire, doe not enuy vnto me this little earth, with which my body is couered.*

This Tombe was opened by *Alexander*,as *Qu.Curtius* reporteth, either vpon hope of Q.Curt.l.
treasure,supposed to haue been buried with him,or vpon desire to honour his dead body with certaine ceremonies; in which there was found an old rotten Target,two Scythian Bowes,and a Sword. The Coffin wherein his body lay, *Alexander* caused to bee couered with his owne garment, and a Crowne of gold to be set vpon it. These things well considered,as they giue credit to the reports of *Xenophon* and *Zonaras*,so they dero- Xen.ped.8. Zon.l.1.c.20.
gate much from *Herodotus*,who leaues his body in the hands of *Tomyris*.

And

And surely, had *Cyrus* lost the Army of Persia in Scythia, it is not likely, that his son would so soone haue transported all his remaining forces into Egypt, so farre off from that quarter: the Scythian Nation then victorious, and bordering Media; neither had *Cambyses* beene able in such haste to haue vndertaken and performed so great a Conquest. Wherefore I rather beleeue *Xenophon*, saying, That *Cyrus* died aged & in peace: and that finding in himselfe that he could not long enioy the world, he called vnto him his Nobility, with his two sonnes, *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*; or after *Xenophon*, *Tanaoxares*: and after a long Oration, wherein he assured himselfe, and taught others of the immortality of the Soule, and of the punishments and rewards following the good and ill deseruing of euery man in this life; he exhorted his sonnes by the strongest arguments he had, to a perpetuall concord and agreement. Many other things he vttered, which make it probable, that he receiued the knowledge of the true God from *Daniel*, when he gouerned Susa in Persia; and that *Cyrus* himselfe had read the Prophecy of *Esay*, wherein he was expressely named, and by God (for the deliuery of his people) preordained. Which act of deliuering the Iewes from their Captiuity, and of restoring the holy Temple and City of Hierusalem, was in true consideration the noblest worke that euer *Cyrus* performed. For in other actions he was an instrument of Gods power, vsed for the chastising of many Nations, and the establishing of a Gouernment in those parts of the world, which was not long to continue. But herein he had the grace to be an instrument of Gods goodnesse, and a willing aduancer of his Kingdome vpon earth; which must last for euer, though heauen and earth shall perish.

§. VII.

Of Cyrus *his Decree for building the Temple of God in Ierusalem.*

HAuing therefore spoken of his great victories, mentioned by sundry Historians, the glory of all which was a reward of this his seruice done vnto him that was Author of them and of all goodnesse: I hold it meet at length to speake of the Decree made in the first of his Reigne, being perhaps the first that euer he made after his possession of the Babylonian Empire: That the captiue Iewes should returne againe into their own Territory, and re-build the House of God in Ierusalem, hauing now endured and finished the threescore and ten years captiuity, by the Prophets foretold. For the accomplishing whereof, hee gaue order to his Treasurers to furnish them with all things necessary and wanting. He also restored vnto them fiue thousand foure hundred threescore and nine Vessels of Gold and Siluer, whereof *Nabuchodonosor*, the grandfather of *Balthasar*, had formerly robbed the Temple.

1.Esd.2. 2.Esd.7. Phil.in bre. The number of the Iewes which returned out of Chaldæa vnder their Leader *Zorobabel*, the sonne of *Salathiel*, and Nephew to King *Ieconias*, and *Iesus* or *Iosua* the sonne of *Iosadak*, were about fifty thousand; where, as soone as they arriued, they built an Altar to the liuing God, and sacrificed thereon, according to their owne Law, and afterward bethought themselues how to prepare materialls for the re-building of the Temple. 1.Esd.3.3. Esd.5. Esd.c.4.&5. Ios.l.Ant.11.

But no sooner did the Iewes begin to lay any one stone, than the Samaritans & other idolatrous Nations adioyning, gaue all the impediment they could. So did the Gouernours of those Prouinces vnder *Cyrus* altogether countenance the disturbers, and in no sort fauoured the Iewes, nor the labours nor purposes they had in hand. And not only those which were but Prouinciall Lieutenants and other officers of lesse place, but *Cambyses* himselfe; who hauing the charge of the whole Empire, while *Cyrus* was busied otherwise, countermanded the building begun. And whereas some Authors make doubt, that whatsoeuer *Cambyses* did when himselfe had obtained the Empire, yet during the life of *Cyrus* there was no such impediment or prohibition: They may herein resolue themselues out of *Esdras*, That by the conspiracies of the neighbouring Nations, the building was hindered all the time of King *Cyrus* life, &c. And therfore it is true, that the Iewes themselues affirme, as it is written in the second of *Iohn*, That the Temple was 46. years in setting vp, hauing receiued so many hinderances from the first foundation to the second of *Darius*. Esd.1.c.2.v.16. Esd.2.v.16. Esd.1.c.5.v.33. Esd.1.c.4.v.5.

And if we seek the naturall and politique courses which moued *Cambyses* to withstand his fathers decree, as well while he gouerned vnder him, as when himselfe beeame sole and

and soueraigne Monarch, we shall find them in that Epistle remembred by *Esdras*, written by *Belemus*, *Mithridates*, & the rest, Presidents and Counsellors in *Phœnicia*, wherein they complaine, that the *Iewes* were euermore rebellious and troublers of Kings; that their Citie being once built, they would then refuse to pay Tribute, and fall from the obedience of the Empire, as they had formerly done in the times of other kings. Esd.1.c.4.

But that which for that present seemed the most forcible impediment was, that *Cambyses*, hauing it in his resolution to inuade *Egypt*, & that it vvas a common opinion, That the *Iewes* were descended of those Nations, because they issued thence vnder *Moses*, when they conquered *Iudæa*; their Citie being once repaired and fortified, they might no returne to their old vomit, and giue the same disturbance to *Cambyses* Conquest, which they did to *Sennacherib*, *Nabuchodonosor*, and other Kings of *Babylon*. For, as it is written in *Ezekiel*, *Egypt was the confidence of the house of* Israel. Ezek.c.29.

But it is to be vnderstood, as *Codoman* and others haue obserued, that *Artaxerxes*, to vvhom the Counsellors and Gouernors of *Phœnicia* complained against the *Iewes*, did not precede, but succeed *Darius Hystaspes*, as in the sixt and seuenth chapters of *Esdras* it is made plaine: and also that those Gouernors (whose Epistle sheweth as much) did not withstand the building of the Temple, but the fortifying and inclosing of the Citie, as by the reasons giuen in the said Epistle, and by the Kings answer, it is euident.

Also in the sixt of *Ezra*, the fourteenth verse, the kings are named in order as they gouerned, and *Artaxerxes* written after *Darius*; as: *And they built and finished it* (to wit, the Temple) *by the appointment of the God of Israel, and by the commandement of* Cyrus *and* Darius, *and* Artahshaste *Kings of Persia.* Lastly, in the seuenth of *Ezra* it is written; *Now after these things, in the reigne of* Artahshaste *King of Persia:* vvhich vvas as much to say, as after the finishing of the Temple in *Darius* time. And therefore *Artaxerxes* in the second of *Esdras* is there named by anticipation, not in his owne time and place.

And thus much concerning the rebuilding of the Citie and Temple of *Hierusalem*. Which action though prospered by the hand of God, was very slowly pursued by the men whom it most concerned, but first set on foot by *Cyrus*. The other ordinances of *Cyrus*, with his forme and manner of grouernment, are to be found in *Xenophon*. At his death he bequeathed the Empire vnto his eldest son *Cambyses*, appointing *Smerdis* or *Tanaoxares* his younger son to be *Satrapa* or Lieutenant of *Media*, *Armenia*, and *Cadusia*; and then died, after he had reigned (saith *Herodotus*) one & thirtie yeares, or (according to *Iustine*) but thirtie.

§. VIII.

Of Cyrus *his issue: and whether* Atossa *were his daughter, or (as some thinke) were the same with Queene* Hester.

CYrus had issue two sons, *Cambyses* and *Smerdis*, with three daughters, *Atossa*, *Meroe*, and *Artystona*: *Ctesias* addeth to these, *Amytis*. *Atossa* and *Meroe* their brother *Cambyses* married; *Artystona*, *Darius Hystaspes* obtained; so did he *Atossa*, *Cambyses* being dead: who (as some Writers haue supposed) inflamed both her husbands, *Darius*, and *Xerxes* after him, to inuade *Greece*, to be auenged of the whole Nation for the cruell intent that *Aman* (whom the old translation calleth a *Macædonian*) had against the *Iewes*, though the opinion of *Iosephus* be more probable, who findes *Aman* to be an *Amalekite*. But it is hard to be vnderstood, how *Atossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, should haue beene *Esther*; whose Historie seemes rather to appertaine to the time of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, than of *Darius* the son of *Hystaspes*, or of *Xerxes*. The desire of *Atossa* to haue *Greece* brought vnder the yoke of *Persia*, was partly gounded vpon the honour which thereby she thought her husband might obtaine, partly vpon a feminine humor of getting many braue Dames, *Corinthians*, *Athenians*, and others of that Nation to be her bond-women. Wherefore I cannot giue assent to the opinion of *Codoman*, who vpon the neere sound of the two names, *Atossa* and *Hadassa*, (by the latter of which *Esther* was also called) makes them to haue been one person. For though it be true, that *Esther* concerning her parentage, a while might be taken for a great Lady; yet *Codomans* inference is nothing probable, that she should therefore, and for

for the great affection which the king bare vnto her, be thought the daughter of *Cyrus*. Certaine it is, that *Esther* did at length discouer her Kindred and Nation; whereby if Histories could be kept free from this errour, yet the people, and especially the Nobility, must needes haue vnderstood the truth: who neuertheleſſe did ſo well know the parentage of *Atossa*, that for her ſake, as being daughter of *Cyrus*, her ſonne *Xerxes* was preferred to the kingdome before his elder brother, againſt whom alſo he could haue pretended a very weake clayme. But of theſe things more hereafter in fitter place.

CHAP. IV.

The eſtate of things from the death of CYRVS *to the reigne of* DARIVS.

§. I.

Of the number and names of the Perſian Kings.

OF the ſucceſſors of *Cyrus*, and the continuance of the *Perſian* Empire, there are many opinions; As that of *Metaſthenes*, who hath numbred the *Perſian* Kings and their times, as followeth.

Darius Medus, and *Cyrus* ioyntly	2	
Cyrus alone.	22	
Priſcus Artaxerxes.	20	
Darius Longimanus.	37	
Darius Nothus.	19	yeares.
Artaxerxes Mnemon.	55	
Artaxerxes Ochus.	26	
Arſes, or *Arſames.*	4	
Darius the laſt, conquered by *Alexander.*	6	

To which *Philo* agreeth; which number of yeares added, make in all an hundred nintie and one. But in this Catalogue *Metaſthenes* hath left out *Cambyſes* and *Xerxes*, and names *Artaxerxes Aſſuerus* for the immediate ſucceſſor of *Cyrus*; in place (ſaith *Melanction*) of *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*: for *Metaſthenes*, as *Melanchthon* coniectureth, doth not account *Cambyſes* in the Catalogue, becauſe his reigne was confounded with that of *Cyrus*.

There is a ſecond opinion, though ridiculous, of *Seder Olam*, who finds but foure *Perſian* Kings from the beginning to the end of that Empire.

Genebrard, Schubert, and *Beroaldus* haue alſo a differing account from the *Greekes*; whom neuertheleſſe *Euſebius* and moſt of the Latines follow, and ſo doth *Krentzheim*, who hath fully anſwered, and as I take it, refuted all the former Authors varying from that account. For in this ſort doe the *Greekes* marſhall the *Perſian* Kings with the times of their reignes.

Chron Krentz. fol. 135.

Melanction giues Cyrus but 29.	*Cyrus* in all.	
	Cambyſes, with the *Magi.*	30
	Darius Hyſtaſpes.	8
Melanct. but 20	*Xerxes.*	36
	Artaxerxes Longimanus.	21
	Darius Nothus.	40 yeeres.
Melanct. but 40	*Artaxerxes Mnemon.*	19
Melanct. 26.	*Artaxerxes Ochus.*	43
	Arſames.	23
Melanct. 4.	*Darius* the laſt.	3
		6

Which numbers, put together, make in all two hundred and thirtie.

This

This account (as I haue ſaid) the moſt Chronologers and the beſt learned approue. Theſe *Perſian* Princes being all warranted by the authority of the Scriptures, as *Peucer* in his hiſtoricall Animaduerſions hath gathered the places; finding firſt *Cyrus* in the ſecond of *Chronicles, chap. 36. verſ. 22. 23. Ezra 1. chap. 1. verſ. 1.* and often elſewhere.

Secondly *Cambyſes* in the eleauenth of *Daniel*, who may indeed be well eſteemed for one of thoſe three Kings in the ſecond verſe named, and ſo the marginall Commentor vpon the *Geneua* vnderſtands that place; but, vnder correction, miſtakes the matter greatly, when he ſaith in the ſame note, that *Darius Hyſtaſpes* was an enemie to the people of God, and ſtood againſt them: his great fauour and liberality to the *Iewes* being elſewhere proued.

Thirdly, is *Darius Hyſtaſpes* found in *Ezra* the firſt, *c. 4. v. 5.* who in the ſixt verſe is alſo named *Ahaſſuerus*.

Fourthly, in the eleuenth of *Daniel* verſe the ſecond, *Xerxes* is plainely foretold and deſcribed, and the great vvarre which he ſhould make againſt the *Greekes* by *Daniel* remembred.

Fiftly, *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in *Ezra* the fourth, verſe ſeuen, vvho is alſo called *Arthaſaſta, c. 4. lib. 1. Ezra. v. 7.* and *cap. 7. v. 7.*

Sixtly, *Darius Nothus, Ezra cap. 4. verſe 24.* and *cap. 5. verſe 6. Nehem. cap. 12. verſe 22.*

Seuenthly, *Artaxerxes Mnemon* in *Nehem. c. 2. v. 1.* who was father to *Artaxerxes Ochus*, and *Arſames*: for *Darius* the laſt, he was of another Family, the Line of *Cyrus* the Great ending in *Ochus*, who deſcended from *Xerxes* the ſon of *Atoſſa Cyrus* his daughter; and the iſſue male of *Cyrus* failing with his owne Sonnes.

But to proceede *Euſebius* with the *Latines*, following the *Greekes*, apply the beginnings and ends of euery *Perſian* King with their Acts, to ſome certaine Olympiad; As the war of *Aſtyages* (*Cyrus* his maternall Grand-father) and *Alyattes* (*Cræſus* his father) to the nine and fortieth Olympiad; The beginning of *Cyrus* reigne to the beginning of the fiue and fiftieth Olympiad; The taking of *Sardis* by *Cyrus* to the eight and fiftieth Olympiad; The inuaſion of *Egypt* by *Cambyſes* to the third yeare of the threeſcore and third Olympiad, and ſo of the reſt. Which reference with good agreement between ſeuerall formes of computation adde the more credit vnto both.

Againe, this hiſtoricall demonſtration is confirmed by the Aſtronomicall computation of *Ptolomie*, who refers the death of *Alexander* the Great, who died the 12. of Nouember, in the beginning of the hundred and fortieth Olympiad, to the foure hundred and foure and twentieth yeare after *Nabonaſſar*. And the *Æra* of *Nabonaſſar* began on the ſixe and twentieth of Februarie: which conferred with the Olympiad, was in the ninth Moneth of the firſt yeere of the eighth Olympiad; So that whether we follow the accounts of the Olympiads, as doe the *Greeke* Hiſtorians, or that of *Nabonaſſar* vvith *Ptolomie*, we ſhall finde euery memorable accident to fall out right with each computation.

Piol. in Alm. lib. 3. c. 8.

For *Ptolomie* reckons the time anſwerable to two hundred and foure and twenty *Iulian* yeares, and an hundred and fortie dayes from *Nabonaſſar*, to the ſixteenth of *Iulie* in the ſeuenth yeare of *Cambyſes*.

The *Greekes* and namely *Diodorus Siculus*, place the taking of *Egypt* by *Cambyſes* in the ſecond or third yeare of the threeſcore and third Olympiad, and the beginning of *Cambyſes* ſeuenth yeare in the firſt of the threeſcore and fourth Olympiad: which firſt of the threeſcore and fourth Olympiad runs along with part of the two and twentieth of *Nabonaſſar*. The like agreement is conſequently found about the beginning and end of *Cyrus*.

Likewiſe the twentieth of *Darius*, vvho ſucceeded *Cambyſes*, is according to *Ptolomie* the two hundred and ſixe and fortieth of *Nabonaſſar*, which (obſeruing the differences of *Nabonaſſars Æra* & the Olympiad, *viz.* eight and twentie yeares) it agrees with the third of the threeſcore and ninth Olympiad, wherein it is placed by the *Greekes*. In this *Ioſephus* agrees with the *Greekes* throughout, ſauing that he ioyneth *Darius Medus*, whom *Xenophon* calleth *Cyaxares*, with *Cyrus*, in the deſtruction of *Babylon*; which is true, and not contrary to the *Greeke* computation, but may very well ſtand with it.

Laſtly, the diſagreements & confuſed accompts of thoſe that follow the other Catalogue of the *Perſian* kings formerly rehearſed, doth giue the greater credit to this of the

Greekes, vvhich being constant in it selfe, accordeth also with the computation of other Historians, and Astronomers, and likewise vvith the holy Scriptures.

§. II.

Of Cambyses, *and the conquering of Egypt by him.*

WE will therefore according to the truth giue the Empire of *Persia* to *Cambyses*, the son of *Cyrus*, though degenerate in all things, sauing the desire to increase the greatnesse of his Empire: wherof he was possest in his Fathers time while *Cyrus* made warre in the north. *Ctesias* with others giue him a longer reigne than agreeth with the *Græcian* accompt before receiued.

Lib. 2. c. 2. Her. l. 3. pag. 83. 84. 85.

In the fifth yeare of his sole reigne, and in the third yeare of the threescore and third Olympiad, according to *Diodore* and *Eusebius* he inuaded *Egypt*, and hauing ouer-thrown the King thereof, *Psammeniticus*, he not onely caused him to be slaine, but also did put to death all his kindred and dependants, with the most of his children.

Herodotus and *Ctesias* giue for cause of this Warre (being no other indeed than the Ambition of *Cambyses*) that when he sent to *Amasis* king of *Egypt*, to haue his daughter in marriage, *Amasis* presented him with *Nitetis* the daughter of *Apries* his predecessor, which *Cambyses* disdained.

Howsoeuer it were; true it is, that *Cambyses* gathered an Armie fit for such an enterprise, and caused the same to march. But before they entred *Egypt*, *Amasis* died, and left *Psammeniticus*, whom *Ctesias* called *Amyrteus*, his successour; who enioyed *Egypt* after his father (according to the best copies of *Herodotus*) but sixe Moneths, though other Chronologers giue him sixe yeares.

But how long soeuer he held the Crowne, in one battell he lost it, and was himselfe taken prisoner.

It is said that *Cambyses* following therein the example of *Cyrus*, did not only spare life to the conquered king, but that he also trusted him with the gouernment of *Egypt*, and that vpon some reuolt, or suspition therof, he caused him to be slaughtered. But the race of this king was not so extirpated, if we may beleeue *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, but that he left a Son called *Inarus*, who caused the *Egyptian* to reuolt both from *Xerxes* and *Artaxerxes*.

That *Psammeniticus* was at the first entreated gently by *Cambyses*, I hold it very improbable, if it be true which is also written of him, That he so much hated *Amasis* the king of *Egypt*, who died before his arriuall, that he caused his body to be drawne out of the graue, and after diuers indignities vsed, commanded the same to be burnt, contrary to the custome both of the *Egyptians* and *Persians*. For the *Egyptians* vsed to powder their dead bodies with salt, and other drugs, to the end the wormes might not deuoure them. The * *Persians* durst not consume them with fire, which they esteemed as a God, and therefore feared to feede it with Carrion.

* Neither did the Romanes euer consume their dead to ashes, till the time of *Sylla* Dictator, who caused his owne to be deuoured by that element, fearing the Law called *Talionis*, or like for like, because himselfe had vntombed the carkasse of *Caius Marius* after his death, *Her. l. 3. Plin. l. 6. c. 54. Strab. & Iust. l. 1. Pag. 87. 88. Her. l. 3, Sen. l. 7.*

§. III.

The rest of Cambyses *his acts.*

AFter this victory obtained in *Egypt*, *Cambyses* sent an Armie into *Cyprus*, and constrained *Euelthon* king thereof to acknowledge him, who before held that Iland of the *Egyptians*.

While *Cambyses* yet busied himselfe in *Egypt*, he so much detested the Idolatry of that Nation, as he caused the Images themselues, with the Temples wherein they were worshipped, to be torne downe and defaced, This done, he directed a part of his Armie into *Lybia*, to ouer-turne the Temple of *Iupiter Ammon*; but the Diuell in defence of his *Oratorie* raised such a tempest of Sand, wherewith the greatest part of that Country is couered, as the *Persians* were there-with choked and ouer-whelmed.

Notwithstanding which misaduenture, *Herodotus* and *Seneca* report, that disdaining to be resisted, he prepared the rest of his Armie, vvhich himselfe meant to conduct into those parts, but that finding a beginning of those incommodities, which his first-sent troupe had tried, he changed his purpose. For though conquering Kings haue power ouer men, yet the Elements do not obey them, according to that old *English* prouerbe, *Goe, saith the King, Stay, saith the Tide.*

After

After his returne from the attempt of *Æthiopia*, he caused *Apis* the *Egyptian Bull*, vvorshipped by that Nation as God, to be slaine: a deed very commendable, had it proceeded from true zeale, and bin executed as in seruice of him that onely is, and liueth. But soone afterwards, when in a dreame it seemed vnto him that *Smerdis* did sit in the royall Throne of *Persia* (which apparition was verified in *Smerdis* the *Magus*) he gaue it in charge to his fauourite *Praxaspes*, to murther *Smerdis* his brother. And hauing married his own sisters, contrary to the *Persian* Lawes, he committed a most causelesse and most detestable murder vpon the one of them, called *Meroe*, then by himselfe, with child, because she bewailed the death of her brother *Smerdis*. I finde it written of this *Cambyses*, That because his predecessors obserued religiously the ordinances of their Empire, he assembled his Iudges, and enquired of them, whether there were any law among the *Persians* that did permit the brother to marry his owne sister: it being his own intent so to doe. The Iudges (vvho had alwayes either lawes or distinctions in store to satisfie Kings and times) made answer, That there was not any thing written allowing any such coniunction, but they notwithstanding found it in their customes, that it was alwaies left to the will of the *Persian* Kings to doe what best pleased themselues; & so, as *Nauclerus* termes it, *inuenerant occasionem*: That is as much to say, as the Iudges found a shift to please the King, and to secure themselues. And yet, where it concerned not the Kings priuate satisfaction, he caused *Sisamnus* one of his Iudges, and perchance one of those which fauoured his incestuous match, to be flayed a-liue, for an vniust iudgement giuen, and the same his hide to be hung vp ouer the iudgement seate. After which, bestowing the fathers Office on his son, he willed him to remember, that the same partialitie deserued the same punishment.

Her. p. 89. 90.

Among other his cruelties, that which he exercised against the sonne of his beloued *Praxaspes* was very strange & vngratefull. For when he desired to be truly informed by him what the *Persians* thought of his conditions, *Praxaspes* answered, That his vertues were followed with abundant praise from all men; onely it was by many obserued, that he tooke more than vsuall delight in the taste of Wine. With which taxation inflamed, he vsed this replication: And are the *Persians* double-tongued, who also tell me that I haue in all things excelled my Father *Cyrus*? thou *Praxaspes* shalt then witnesse, whether in this report they haue done me right: for if at the first shot I pierce thy sonnes heart with an arrow, then is it false that hath bin spoken; but if I misse the marke, I am then pleased that the same be accounted true, and my subiects beleeued. This being spoken, hee immediately directed an arrow towards the innocent childe, who falling downe dead vvith the stroke, *Cambyses* commanded his body to be opened, and his heart being broched on the arrow, this monstrous Tyrant greatly reioycing, shewed it to the Father, with this saying in stead of an Epitaph: *Now Praxaspes, thou maist resolue thy selfe that I haue not lost my wittes with Wine, but the Persians theirs, who make such report.*

Many other barbarous cruelties he exercised, til at the last, according to the phrase of our Law, he became *felon de soy*. For when he was informed that *Patizites*, and *Smerdis* the *Magi*, (*Cedrenus* writeth them *Sphendanes* and *Cimerdius*) Ministers of his domestical affaires, taking aduantage of the great resemblance between *Smerdis* the Kings brother, and *Smerdis* the *Magus*, possest themselues of the Empire, he made all haste towards *Persia*, and in mounting hastily on horseback, his sword dis-sheathing, pierced his owne thigh, where-with deadly wounded, falling into an ouer-late, & remediless repentance of the slaughter vvhich he had executed vpon his own brother, he soone after gaue vp his wicked ghost, when he had reigned eight yeeres, accounting therein those seuen Moneths in which the *Magi* gouerned, while he was absent.

In *Cambyses* the Male line of *Cyrus* failed. For he had no issue either by *Atossa* or *Meroe*: yet *Zonaras* out of *Hierome* giues him a daughter called *Pantaptes*, and a son called *Orontes*, who being drowned in the Riuer *Ophites* by *Antioch*, the same was afterward in memorie of the Princes death called *Orontes*.

Zonaras Com. 2. p. 117.

He built the Citie of *Babylon* in *Egypt*, in the place where *Latopolis* was formerly seated, and that of *Meroe* in the Iland of *Nilus*, calling it by the name of his sister *Meroe*,

§. IIII.

Of the inter-regnum *betweene* Cambyses *and* Darius.

CYrus and his two sons being now dead, and the Kingdome in the possession of one of the *Magi*, the counterfait of *Smerdis*, the Princes, or *Satrapes*, or Prouinciall Gouernours of the Empire (to wit, *Otanes*, *Intaphernes*, *Gobrias*, *Megabysus*, *Asphatines*, *Hidarnes*, and *Darius*, who were all descended from *Achæmenes* the first *Persian* King, hauing discouered the fraud of this imposture, ioyned their forces together, surprised and rooted out the Conspirator with his Companions, and assistants. In which action (saith *Iustine*) *Intaphernes* and *Asphatines* were slaine: but *Herodotus* otherwise, that they were onely vvounded, for he auoweth, that all the seuen Princes were present at the election following.

For the Empire being now vvithout a Gouernour, these Princes grew into consultation how the same might be ordered from thence-forth. *Otanes* one of the seuen did not fancie any election of Kings, but that the Nobilitie and Cities should confederate, and by iust lawes defend their liberty in equalitie, giuing diuers reasons for his opinion, being as it seemed greatly terrified, by the cruelties of *Cambyses*; As first, that it was not safe to giue all power to any one, seeing greatnesse it selfe, euen in good men, doth often infect the minde with many vices, & the libertie and freedome in all things is most apt to insult, and to commit all manner of vvicked outrage. Againe, that tyrants doe commonly vse the seruices of wicked men, and fauour them most; they vsurp vpon the lawes of their Countrey; take other mens wiues by force, and destroy whom they please without iudgement.

Megabysus vvas of another opinion, affirming that the tyrannie of a multitude vvas thrice more intolerable, than that of one. For the multitude doe all things without indgement, runne into businesse and affaires with precipitation, like raging and ouerbearing floods.

He therefore thought it safest to make election of a few, and those of the best, wisest, and most vertuous; because it is euer found, that excellent Counsailes are euer had from excelent men.

Darius gaue the third iudgement, who perswaded the creation of a king, because euen among few diuurnitie of concord is seldome found, and in great Empires it doth euer happen that the discord of many Rulers hath inforc't the election of one Supreme. It vvere therefore, saith *Darius*, farre safer to obserue the lawes of our Countrie, by which Kingly gouernment hath beene ordained.

The other foure Princes adhered to *Darius*, and agreed to continue the same Imperiall gouernment by God established, and made prosperous. And to auoid partialitie, it vvas accorded, that the morning following these seuen Princes should mount on Horsbacke, and on him the kingdome should be conferred, whose horse after the Sun-rising should first hey or bray. In the euening after this appointment vvas made, it is said that *Darius* consulted with the Master of his horse *Oebarus*, who in the Suburbs of the Citie where the election was resolued of, caused the same Horse, whereon in the morning *Darius* was mounted, to couer a Mare, who as soone as he came into the same place was the first horse that brayed. Whereupon the other sixe Princes descended from their horses, and acknowledged *Darius* for their Lord and King.

Her. l. 3. p. 100. 101.

Plato in the third of his Lawes affirmeth, that in memorie of the seuen Princes, whereof *Darius* himselfe was one, that deliuered the Empire from the vsurpation of the *Magi*, he diuided the whole into seuen gouernments; *Herodotus* saith, into twenty *Satrapies*.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of Darius *the sonne of* Hystaspes.

§. I.

Of Darius *his Linage.*

DArius was descended of the ancient *Persian* Kings, to wit, of the *Achæmenidæ*, of which, *Cyrus* the Great was the lineall Successor. For in this sort *Herodotus* deriues him as before.

Cyrus the first, who had
Teispius, who begat
Ariaramnes, who was father of
Arsamnes, the father of
Hystaspes, the father of
Darius, surnamed *Celes*, the father of *Xerxes*. *Curt. l. 4.*

Hystaspes accompanied *Cyrus* the Great, in the warres against the *Scythians*, at vvhich time *Cyrus* being made iealous of *Darius* by a dreame of his owne, caused him to be sent into *Persia*, others say to be imprisoned, from whence by the death of *Cyrus* he was deliuered, and made Gouernor of the *Persian Magi*. He afterward followed *Cambyses* into *Egypt*; he then ioyned with the rest of the Princes against the *Magi*, and either by the neying of his horse, or, as others affirme, by strong hand he obtained the Empire, which he the more assured to himselfe by taking two of *Cyrus* Daughters, and as many of his Neeces for his wiues. *Her. l. 1. & 3.*

Hystaspes, according to * *Herodotus*, had besides *Darius* these three sonnes, who were great Commanders in the warre which *Darius* made in *Asia* the lesse, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Greece*; *Atarnes*, *Artahernes*, and *Artabanus*, who dissuaded *Xerxes* from the second *Gracian* warre. *Hystaspes* had also a daughter married to *Gobryas* the Father of *Mardonius*, who commanded the Armie of *Darius* in *Macedon*, and married the daughter of *Darius*, *Artozostre* his Cosen germaine.

Reineccius giues to *Hystaspes* fiue sonnes, *Darius* who succeeded *Cambyses*, *Artabanus*, *Artaphernes*, *Otanes*, and *Atarnes*, with two daughters.

Her pag. 237. Pag. 154. Pag. 130. Pa. 101 & 202 Pag. 180. 190. Her. l. 6. p. 180. Pag. 180. 190. Pag. 199. Pag. 200. 204. & pa. 213. 285. 286. Pag. 214. 254. De Reg. Persar. Fol. 32.

§. II.

Of Darius *his Gouernment, and suppressing the rebellion of Babylon.*

DArius deuised equall lawes whereby his subiects might be gouerned, the same being formerly promised by *Cyrus*. He gaue accesse to all his subiects, and behaued himselfe so mildly to all men, that many Nations desired and offered themselues to become his Vassals: Only he layed diuers payments and taxes on the people, which had not beene accustomed in *Cyrus* time, to the value of fourteene thousand fiue hundred and threescore talents, saith *Herodotus*.

The warre which *Cambyses* made a farre off in *Egypt*, and the contention betweene the *Magi*, and the Princes of *Persia*, for the Empire, gaue heart to the *Babylonians* to recouer their libertie, and to shake off the *Persian* yoake; whereof *Darius* being aduertised, he prepared an Armie to recouer that Citie and State reuolted. But finding the same a difficult worke, he vsed the seruice of *Zopirus*, who for the loue he bare *Darius*, did cut off his owne Eares and Nose, and with other wounds yet fresh bleeding, he seemed to flye to the *Babylonians* for succour, to whom he accused the cruelty of *Darius*: who, for hauing giuen him aduice to giue ouer the siege of their Citie, had in this sort dismembred and deformed him; whereupon the *Babylonians* gaue him that Credit, as they trusted him with the disposition and commandement of their greatest forces: which when *Zopirus* had obtained, after some small colourable ouer-throwes giuen to the *Persians* vpon sallies, he deliuered the Citie into *Darius* his hands, who had lyen before it twentie Moneths. *Her. l. 3.*

§ III. *Of*

§. III.

Of Darius *his fauour to the Iewes in building the Temple.*

IN the second yeare of *Darius*, he gaue order that the building of the Temple at *Hierusalem* should goe on, and commanded that the same should be finished at his owne charge, and out of the reuenues of the Crowne. And whereas the Gouernours of those Prouinces which are situate betweene *Euphrates*, and the *Phœnician*, & mid-land Sea, (whom *Ezra* calleth the Captaines beyond the Riuer) had hindred the work in *Cambyses* his time, *Darius* gaue commandement that they should not thence-forth come neere vnto *Ierusalem*, to giue any impediment to the building, but that they should with-draw themselues, and get them farre off till all were finished, and at an end. In the old *Latine* it is written, *Procul recedite ab illis; with-draw your selues farre from them*; In our *English*, *Be yee farre from thence*, to wit, from the Citie, and Temple, now in building.

Ezra.6.

He also made a decree, vvhich concerned his owne Subiects, That whosoeuer should thenceforth hinder the setting vp of the Temple of God, that his house should be torne downe, and the disturber hanged on a Gallowes made of the timber thereof. He also in the same decree maketh inuocation to God; *That hath caused his name to dwell there (to) destroy all Kings and People that put their hands to alter, and to destroy this house of God which is in Ierusalem, &c.* In foure yeares after which decree (the *Iewes* being really furnished vvith money and all things necessary from *Darius*) the Temple was in all finished, to vvit, in the beginning of the Spring, in the sixth yeare of *Darius Hiſtaspes*, and in the two and fortieth after their first returne.

Ezr.5.11.

Ezr.6.

§. IIII.

Of Darius *his Scythian Warre.*

AFter the recouery of *Babylon* he inuaded the *Scythians*, whose King *Iustine* calleth *Lanthinus*; and saith, that *Darius* vndertooke this warre against him, because he refused him his daughter in marriage. The better to conuoy his Armie into *Scythia*, he built a Bridge of small Vessels ouer the Riuer *Ister* or *Danubius*, & gaue the custody of the same in charge (among others of *Asia* the lesse) to the *Ionians*, & *Æolians*, among whom vvas *Miltiades*, vvho perswaded the *Asian Græcians* to breake downe the bridge, to the end *Darius* might not returne thereby, and if by any other way, then not without great difficultie; but the same was resisted by *Histiæus* Prince of *Milet*, a Citie of *Ionia*, which Nation being a *Colonie* of the *Greekes*, *Diodorus* calleth Traitors to their Countrey, because they ioyned themselues to *Darius*. But the *Scythians* more elegantly tearmed them good slaues, for as much as they would not run away from their Master, but were more mindfull of doing their duties, than of shaking off their bondage, vvhen they were presented with as faire an occasion of liberty as could haue been desired. For the great Armie of *Darius* entring the desart Countrie called *Bessarabia*, found in it neither people to resist them, nor any sustenance to relieue them. For the *Scythians* vvere then, as are the *Chrim Tartars*, their posteritie, at this day, all horse-men, vsing the Bow and Sword. They vvere not Plough-men, but Grasiers, driuing their Heards from one place to another, as opportunitie of pasture led them. Standing Townes they had none, but vsed for Houses the Waggons vvherin they carried their wiues and children. These Waggons they place at euery Station in very good order, making Streets, and Lanes in the manner of a great Towne, remoueable at their pleasure. Neither hath the Emperour himselfe, called now the great *Chrim*, any other Citie than such as *Agora*, (as they name it) or Towne of Carts. When as therefore *Darius* had wearied himselfe, and vvasted his prouision in those desolate Regions, wherein he found neither waies to direct him, victuals to refresh him, nor any houses, fruitfull trees, or liuing creatures, nor any thing at all, vvhich either he himselfe might make vse of, or by destroying it might grieue his enemies; he began to perceiue his owne folly, and the danger into vvhich he had brought him. Yet setting a good face vpon a bad game, he sent braue messages to the *Scythian*, bidding him to cease his flight, and either to make triall of his valour & fortune in plaine battaile: Or if he acknowledged himselfe the weaker, then to yeelde by

Her.l.4.
Iust.l.2.

Diod.l.11.

by faire meanes, and become his Subiect, giuing him Earth and Water, which the *Persians* vsed to demand as a signe, that all was yeelded vnto them. To this challenge the *Scythian* returned an *Hieroglyphicall* answer; sending a *Bird*, a *Frog*, a *Mouse*, and fiue *Arrowes*: which dumbe shew *Darius* interpreting by his owne wish, thought that he did yeelde all the Elements wherein those creatures liue, and his weapons withall into his hands. But *Gobryas*, one of the seuen Princes, who had slaine the *Magi*, construed their meaning a right, which was thus; *O ye Persians, get ye wings like Birds, or dipe vnder the water, or creepe into holes in the earth, for else ye shall not escape our arrowes*. And this interpretation was soone verified by the *Scythians* themselues, who assailed the *Persian* campe, draue the horse-men into the trenches, and vexed the Armie with continuall Alarums day and night; were so feareless of this great Monarch, and so litle regarded him, that within his hearing, and euen in his sight, they did not forbeare the pastime of coursing a Hare, which they had started by chance. By this boldnesse of theirs, *Darius* was so discouraged, that he forsooke his Campe by night, making many fires, & leauing all that were sicke and weake behinde him, & so with all speede marched away towards the Riuer *Ister*. He was pursued hardly by the *Scythians*, who mist him, yet arriuing at the Bridge before him, perswaded the *Ionians* to depart, assuring them that the *Persian* king should neuer more be able to do them either good or harm. Which words had certainly bin proued true, had not *Hystiæus* the *Milesian* preuailed with his people, to attend the comming of *Darius*, whom the *Scythians* did likewise faile to meete, when they returned from *Ister* to seeke him out.

§. V.

Some actions of the Persians in Europe, after the Scythian warre.

DArius hauing thus escaped out of *Scythia*, determined the inuasion of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, in which Warre he imployed *Megabasus*, who mastered the *Pæonians*, and transplanted them, and possest *Perinthus*, *Chalcedon*, *Bizantium*, and other places, being also soone after subiected, and added to the *Persian* Empire by *Otanes*, the son of *Sysamnes*, whom *Cambyses* had excoriated for false iudgement. So were the Cities of * *Selybria* and ª *Cardia* likewise taken in for the *Persian*, who hauing now reduced vnder his obeysance the best part of *Thrace*, did send his Embassadors to *Amintas* King of *Macedon* adioyning, demanding of him by the Earth and Water, the Souerainty ouer that kingdome. *Amintas* doubting his owne strength, entertained the Embassadours with gentle words, and afterward inuited them to a solemne & magnificent feast; the *Persians* greatly desired that the *Macedonian* Ladies might be present: which being granted, the Embassadours who were well filled with wine, and presumed vpon their greatnesse, & many victories, began to vse such imbrancings, and other lasciuious behauiour towards those Noble Ladies, as *Alexander* the kings Sonne, great Grand-father to *Alexander* the Great, disdaining the *Persians* barbarous presumption, besought his father to withdraw himselfe from the assembly, continuing notwithstanding all honourable respect towards the Embassadours, whom withall he entreated that the Ladies might refresh themselues for a while, promising their speedy return. This being obtained, *Alexander* caused the like number of well-fauoured young-men to clothe themselues in the same garments, & to vse the same attires which the Ladies had worne at the feast, giuing them in charge, That when the *Persians* offered to abuse them, they should forthwith transpierce them with their long kniues, of which they were prouided for that purpose, which was accordingly performed. Charge was soone after giuen by *Darius* for a seuere reuenge of this murder. But *Alexander*, somwhat before the death of *Amintas*, gaue his sister *Gygea* in marriage to *Bubaris*, a principall Commander of *Darius* forces on that side, who perswading her husband how helpfull the Alliance of *Macedon* would proue for the inuasion of *Attica* intended, so preuailed, as *Alexander* escaped that tempest, which threatned to fall vpon him very suddenly, the war of *Asia* the lesse, called *Ionick*, falling out at the same time.

Her.l.5.

* Amaritimate City of *Thrace* to the South of *Constantinople*.
ª *Cardia*, a City vpon the *Chersonesus* of *Thrace*, afterward *Lysimachia*. *Pto. Pans.*

The

§. VI.

The first occasion of the warre which Darius *made vpon Greece, with a rehearsall of the gouernment in Athens, whence the quarrell grew.*

NOw the better to vnderstand the reason and motiues of that great War, vvhich followed soone after, betweene the *Persians* and *Græcians*, it is necessary to make a short repetition of the state of *Athens*, which Citie endured the hardest and worst brunt of *Darius* inuasion on that side the Sea with admirable successe. Neither do I hold it any impertinency, to be large in vnfolding euery circumstance of so great a businesse as gaue fire to those wars, which neuer could be throughly quenched, vntill in the ruine of this great *Persian* Monarchie, *Persepolis* the capitall Citie of the Empire, was at the request of an *Athenian* Harlot consumed with a flame, as dreadfull as in the pride of their greatnesse, the *Persians* had raised in *Athens*.

Now therefore as out of the former bookes it may be gathered, how *Athens*, & other parts of *Greece*, were anciently gouerned, the same being already set down, though scatteringly, & in seuerall times, among other the Contemporary occurrents of the Eastern Emperors, and the Kings of *Iudæa*, so I thought it very pertinent in this place to remember againe the two last changes in the State of *Athens*. As for the *Lacedæmonians*, they maintained still their ancient policie vnder Kings, though these also after some fifteene descents bridled by the *Ephori*.

Codrus King of the *Athenians* in the former bookes remembred, who willingly died for the safetie of his people, was therefore so honored by them, as (thinking none worthy to succeed him) they changed their former gouernement from Monarchicall to Princes for tearme of life, of which *Medon* the son of *Codrus* was the first, after whom they were called *Medontidæ*; and of these there were twelue Generations besides *Medon*, to wit.

Agestus.
Archippus, in whose times the *Greekes* transported themselues into *Ionia*, after *Troy* an hundred and fourescore yeares, according to *Eusebius*: which migration all other Chronologers (such as follow *Eusebius* herein excepted) finde in the yeere after *Troy* fallen one hundred and fortie.
Thersippus.
Phorbas.
Mezades.
Diogenetus, in whose time *Lycurgus* gaue Lawes to the *Spartans*.
Pheredus.
Ariphron.
Theispius, in whose time the *Assyrian* Empire was ouer-throwne by *Belochus*, and *Arbaces*.
Agamnestor.
Æschylus, in whose time the *Ephori* (according to *Eusebius*) were erected in *Lacedæmon*.
Alcamenon, the last Prince for life, after whose death the *Athenians* elected *Decennall* Gouernours: the former Princes for life hauing continued in all three hundred and sixteene years. The first of those that gouerned for ten years, or the first *Archon*, was
Charops, then
Æsymedes.
Elydicus.
Hyppomenes.
Leocrates.
Absander.
Erixias was the last *Archon* of the *decennal* Gouernours, vvhich forme continuing threescore and tenne yeares, was then changed into *annuall* Magistrates, Maiors, or Burg-masters, of vvhich *Theseus* was the first, according to *Pausanias*: others finde *Leostratus*; and then
Anthosthenes.
Archimedes.
Miltiades.
Damasias.
Draco.
Megacles.
Solon, & others, who are the lesse to be regarded, by reason of the yearely change.

Pauf.pag.159. Dionys.l.3. Pauf.p.169. Pausan.170. Pag.331.

This *Solon* being a man of excellent wisedome, gaue lawes to the *Athenians*, which were published according to *Gellius*, in the three & thirtieth yeere of *Tarquinius Priscus*, and were in after ages deriued vnto the *Romanes*, and by the *Decem viri* (Magistrates in *Rome* created for that purpose) reduced into twelue Tables, which were the ground of the *Romane* lawes. But these goodly ordinances of *Solon*, were in his owne dayes violated, and for a while almost quite extinguished. For whereas they were framed vnto the practice

practice and maintenance of a popular gouernment; the state of *Athens* was very soone changed into a Monarchie by *Pisistratus* the son of *Hippocrates*: who finding the Citizens distracted into two factions, whereof *Megacles* & *Lycurgus*, two Citizens of noble Families, were become the heads, tooke occasion by their contention and insolencie to raise a third faction more powerfull than the other two, and more plausible, for that he seemed a Protector of the Citizens in generall. Hauing by this meanes obtained loue and credit, he wounded himselfe, & fained that by malice of his enemies he had like to haue beene slaine for his loue to the good Citizens; he procured aguard for his defence, and with that band of men surprising the State-house, or Cittadell of *Athens*, he made himselfe Lord of the towne; *Hegesistratus* being then Gouernour. But the Citizens, who in euery change of gouernment had sought to remoue themselues further and further from the forme of a Monarchie, could so ill brooke this vsurpation of *Pisistratus*, that he was driuen for lacke of helpe to flye the towne, as soone as *Megacles* and *Lycurgus* (ioyning their forces) attempted his expulsion. Yet as the building of his tyranny founded vpon the dissension of the Citizens, was ruined by their good agreement; so was it soone after wel reedified by the new breaking out of the old factiõs. For when *Megacles* found the power of *Lycurgus* to grow greater than his own, he did (as is the vsuall practice of the weaker side) call in the common enemy *Pisistratus*; to whom he gaue his Daughter in marriage; by which alliance the Family of the *Alcmæonidæ*, vvherof *Megacles* was chiefe, became very powerfull, yet so, that *Pisistratus* by their power was made Master both of them and all the rest. But this agreement held not long; the *Alcmæonidæ*, and especially *Megacles* being incensed against *Pisistratus* for his misdemeanor towards his Wife. Wherfore they practised with the Souldiers of the Towne, proceeding in their treason so secretly, and so farre, that *Pisistratus* vpon the first discouery of their intent, perceiued no other remedy for his affaires, than to with-draw himself to *Eretria*, where he remained eleauen yeares. Which time being expired, hauing hired Souldiers out of many parts of *Greece*, he againe recouered the principality of *Athens*: after which third obtaining his estate, he gouerned *Athens* seuenteene yeares, according to *Aristotle*, and reigned in all thirty and three yeares, saith *Elianus*, but as *Iustine* hath it, foure and thirty, accounting the time belike as well before as after his seuerall expulsions. *Herodotus* giues the Father and the Son sixe and thirtie yeares; *Aristotle* fiue and thirty. But *Thucidides* affirmeth, that he died very old, leauing for his Successours his two sons *Hippias* and *Hipparchus*, who gouerned the *Athenians* with such moderation, as they rather seemed the Lineall successors of a naturall Prince than of a Tyrant. But in the end, & some three yeares before *Hippias* was expelled out of *Athens*, his brother *Hipparchus* was murdered by *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. The cause why, and the manner how performed, *Thucidides* hath written at large. And though *Hipparchus* were charged with vnnaturall lust after *Harmodius*, yet *Plato* in his Dialogue, intituled *Hipparchus*, doth greatly magnifie him, affirming that he was a Prince of as many eminent vertues as that Age had any, altogether condemning the murderers & authors of that scandall. *Hippias* fearing that this enterprise vpon his brother had more & deeper rootes than were apparant, first sought to discouer the further intents of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, by a Harlot of theirs called *Lemnia*: who because she would not reueale her Companions, did cut out her owne tongue. Then did *Hippias*, the better to strengthen himselfe, enter into a strait amity with *Æantides*, Tyrant of the City *Lampsacus*, whom he knew to be greatly fauoured by *Darius*, to whose son *Hypoclus* he gaue one of his Daughters in marriage. But some three yeares after the death of his brother, doubting I know not what strong practise against himselfe, he began to vse the Citizens with great seuerity, which neither *Pisistratus* the Father, nor *Hippias* himselfe had euer exercised, during their vsurpation till this time. And therefore the *Athenians* fearing lest that this disease might rather increase, than diminish in *Hippias*, they stirred vp *Clistines* one of the noblest and best able of their Citie, to practice their deliuery: who calling to his assistance the banished *Alcmænidæ*, together with an Armie of the *Lacedæmonians* led by *Cleomenes* their King, so affrighted *Hippias* as by composition he gaue ouer his estate, and the possession of *Athens*, and from thence imbarking himselfe, tooke land at **Sigeum*, whence he went to *Lampsacus* in *Mysia* gouerned by *Æantides*, who presented him to *Darius*. He was depriued of his estate, as *Herodotus* and *Thucidides* agree, twenty yeares before the battell of *Marathon*: all which time he continued, partly with *Æantides*, at other times with *Artaphernes* Lieutenant for

Her.l.12. *Eretria* a Citie of *Eubœa*, by others called *Melane*, by *Stephanus Erotria*.
Pol.5. *Heraclid.apud Elian.pag.262.* *Iust.pag.28.* Her.l.6. Thucid.l.6.c.10
Lampsacus a citie of *Mysia* vpon the *Hellespont*.
Her.l.5. Thucid.l.6.c.1.
**Sigeum* a promontorie opposite to the Ile of *Tenedos*, which *Arist.mir.5.Animal.* calls *Idæ promontorium*.

Darius,

Darius in *Sardis*, the *Metropolis* of *Lydia*; perswading and practising the enterprise vpon *Athens*, which *Darius* in the end to his great dishonour vndertooke, twenty yeares after *Hippias* had resigned his estate.

Thus farre I haue digressed from *Darius*, to the end the Reader may conceiue the better the causes and motiues of this warre: whereof the hope that *Hippias* had to be restored to *Athens* by the helpe of *Darius*, which made him solicite & perswade the *Persians* to conquer *Greece*; was one, but not the most vrgent.

§. VII.

Of the Ionian Rebellion, which was the principall cause of the warres ensuing betweene Greece and Persia.

ANother, and a strong motiue to this expedition, was the *Ionick* warre, breaking out in *Asia* about the same time. The Colonies transported out of *Greece* into *Asia*, which occupied the greatest part of the Sea-coast, hauing enioyed their libertie about 500. yeares, euen from the *Ionick* migration, to the time of *Cræsus*, were by this *Lydian* King made Tributaries, and afterwards as parcell of his Dominions, were taken in by *Cyrus*, and left as hereditary Seruants to the Crowne of *Persia*.

But as it is the custome of Nations halfe conquered (witnesse *Ireland*) to rebell againe vpon euery aduantage and opportunity: so did the *Ionians*, and other *Græcians*, both in *Cyrus* his life, and after him, seeke by all meanes possible to free themselues.

At this time they found such men ready to spurre them into Rebellion, as had by the *Persian* bin giuen vnto them for bridles to hold them in subiection. Euery one of those Townes had a Lord to rule it, whom they (abhorring the gouernment of one man) called their Tyrants. These Lords were very true to the *Persian*, by whose onely might they held the people in subiection. And this their duitful affection they had well declared, when, *Darius* being in great extremity, they vsed all meanes to deliuer him and his Armie (that otherwise had bin lost) out of the *Scythians* hand. Of this great piece of seruice *Histiæus* the tyrant of *Miletus* expected the chiefe thankes, as hauing beene chiefe Author of their expecting *Darius*, when the rest, either perswaded by the *Scythians*, or carried away with their owne desires, were ready to haue abandoned him. But it came so to passe, that *Darius* being more fearefull of the harme that *Histiæus* (being powerfull and crafty) might doe to him in the future, than mindfull of the good which he had already receiued at his hand, found meanes to carry him a-long to *Susa*, where hee detained him with all kinde vsage of a friend, yet kept such good espiall vpon him, as an enemie, he could not start away. *Histiæus* had subtilty enough to discouer the kings purpose, which ill agreed with his owne desires. For he thought it more pleasant, and more honourable to rule as Prince in one faire Citie, hauing a small Territory, than to sit & feast at the great Kings table, & heare the counsailes by which a large Empire was managed; being himselfe an idle beholder, and enioying with much restraint of liberty, none other pleasures than a priuate man might bestow vpon himselfe.

Wherefore he bethought himselfe of raising of some tumults in the lower *Asia*, to pacifie which if he might be sent, as one that had great experience and authoritie in those quarters, it would afterwards be in his power to stay at home, and either satisfie the King with excuses, or deale as occasion shall require. Resoluing vpon this course, he sent very secret instructions to *Aristagoras* his kinsman, whom he had left his Deputie at *Miletus*, aduising him to stirre vp some Rebellion. These directions came seasonably to *Aristagoras*, who hauing failed in an enterprise vpon the Isle of *Naxos*, through the false dealing of a *Persian* his Associate, stood in feare of disgrace, if not of some further ill that might befall him, as one that had wasted the kings treasures to no good purpose.

Therefore he readily embraced the counsaile: & the better to draw the whole Countrie of *Ionia* into the same course which he determined to run, he abandoned his tyrannie, and did set *Miletus* at liberty. This plausible beginning wan vnto him the hearts of the *Milesians*: and his proceeding with other *Ionian* Tyrants (of whom some he tooke and sold as slaues to their Citizens, others he chased away) caused the whole Nation to be at his command. The *Persian* fleet, whereof he lately had beene Admirall in the enterprise of *Naxos*, he had surprised in his first breaking out, together with the principall Officers,

Officers and Captaines, so that now he thought himselfe able to deale with the great Kings forces, lying thereabout, either by Land or Sea. But likely it was that the power of all Asia would shortly be vpon his neck, and crush both him and his assistants to pieces, vnlesse he were able to raise an Army that might hold the field, which the Ionians alone were insufficient to performe. Therefore he tooke a iourny to Sparta, where hauing assayed in vaine with many arguments, and the offer of fifty talents, to win to his party *Cleomenes* King of the Lacedæmonians: he went from thence to Athens, and with better successe besought the people to lend him their assistance. The Athenian Embassadors which had beene sent to the Persian Kings Lieutenants in the lower Asia, desiring them not to giue countenance to *Hippias*, now a banished man, and lately their Tyrant, were a while before this returned with ill answers, hauing found very churlish entertainment. So that the euill which they were to expect in all likelihood from the Persian, made them willing to begin with him. To which purpose, their consanguinity with the Ionians, & the perswasions of *Aristagoras*, drew them on a-pace, if perhaps his treasure were not helping. Twenty ships the Athenians furnished for this voyage; to which the Erætrians furnished fiue more, in regard of the ancient kindnes that had passed between the Ionians & them. With these and their owne forces ioyned, the Ionians entered the Riuer Caistrus, which falleth into the Sea by Ephesus; by which aduantage they surprised Sardis when no enemy was heard of or suspected; insomuch, as *Artaphernes*, who ruled as Vice-roy in those parts, had no other hope of safety, than by retreating himself into the castle, which the Grecians could not force: from whence he beheld the slaughter of the Citizens, and the City flaming.

The Persians at length, mixt with the Burgers, began to encourage them to defence, and recouered the Market place, strengthened by the riuer Pactolus, which ran through it; and borrowing courage from desperation, they both defended themselues, and charged their enemies; who well aduising themselues, made all the haste they could toward the sea side. But *Artaphernes* hauing gathered all the strength he could, pursued the Grecians, & found them neere Ephesus; where setting resoluedly vpon them, he slaughtered a great part of their Army, the rest sauing themselues in Ephesus. In this fight *Euallcides*, Captaine of the Erætrians perished: but his fame and memory was by that excellent Poet *Simonides* preserued. After this ouerthrow, the Athenians, which were before sent vnto *Aristagoras* and to the Ionians, could by no arguments of theirs, no not by their tears, be perswaded to make any second triall of their fortunes on that side the Sea.

Yet the burning of Sardis made a greater noise in the world, than the late good successe which the Persians had in one or two skirmishes, could rayse. Wherefore the Ionians brauely proceeding, won a great part of Caria; and sending their Fleet into the Hellespont, got Bizantium and other Townes into their hands. Yea, the Cyprians, lately subdued by *Cambyses*, beganne hereupon to take heart; and entring into confederacy with the Ionians, who were able to giue them aide by Sea, rebelled against the Persians.

These newes comming to the eare of *Darius*, filled him with great indignation, and with an extreme hatred of the Athenians, vpon whom he vowed to take sharp reuenge. As for the Ionians, his contempt of them, & their knowledge of his power, made him to thinke, that they would not haue dared to attempt such things, but by the instigation of those, to whom the ignorance of his great might had afforded the courage to prouoke him. This was the maine ground of the Warre commenced by *Darius*, and pursued by *Xerxes* against Athens: To which, the solicitation of *Hippias*, before remembred, gaue onely some forme and assistance: the businesse, when once it was thus farre on foot, being like enough to haue proceeded, though he had perished ere it were aduanced any further.

Some other occurrents in this Ionian commotion extended the quarrell of *Darius* against many of the Ilanders, if not against the whole Nation of the Greekes; for all of them gaue to his Rebels free harbour: the Ilanders moreouer did helpe to furnish out a Naue of three hundred and sixty saile against him. These prouocations did rather breede in him a desire to abate their pride, than any feare of harme that they were like to doe him. For what they had done at Sardis, was but by surprize. In euery fight they were beaten by the Persians, who had not yet lost the fruits of their discipline, wherein

wherein *Cyrus* had trained them, nor all their ancient Captaines. In one sea-fight by the Isle of Cyprus, the Ionians indeed had the vpper hand; but they were Phœnicians, Egyptians, and Cilicians, whom they vanquished: neyther was that victory of any vse to them; the Cyprians, in whose aide they came, being vtterly beaten by the Persian Army at Land, and reduced into their old subiection. So had the Persians likewise by open warre and faire force ouerthrowne the Carians in two battailes, and reclaimed that Nation; as also they had recouered the Townes vpon Hellespont, with some Æolian and Ionian Cities: when *Aristagoras* with his friends quitting Miletus, fled into Thrace, desirous to seat himselfe in Amphipolis, a Colony of the Athenians. But the Edonians, on whose Territory belike he landed, ouerthrew him, & cut his troups in pieces.

About the same time, *Histiæus* the first mouer of this insurrection came downe into those quarters; who hauing vndertaken the performance of great matters to *Darius*, was glad to flye from his Lieutenants, by whom his double dealing was detected.

But this euasion preserued him not long. For after many vaine attempts that he made, he was taken in fight by the Persians, and hastily beheaded, left the King should pardon him vpon remembrance of old good turnes; as it seems that he would haue done, by the buriall which he commanded to be giuen to his dead body that was crucified, and by his heauie taking of his death.

Histiæus had sought to put himselfe into Miletus; but the Citizens doubting his conditions, chose rather to keepe him out, and make shift for themselues, without his helpe. The strength of their City by land, which had in old time withstood the Lydian Kings, and their good Fleet, which promised vnto them the liberty of an open Sea, emboldened them to try the vttermost, when very few friends were left vpon that Continent to take their part. But their Nauy was broken as much by threatnings as by force; many of their companions and fellow-rebels forsaking him vpon hope of pardon; and many being daunted with the causelesse flight of those that should haue assisted them. Neither was it long before the Towne it selfe being assaulted both by Land and Sea, was taken by force, the Citizens slaine, their wiues and children made slaues, and their goods a booty to the Persians, whom for sixe years space they had put to so much trouble.

§.VIII.

The Warre which Darius *made vpon Greece, with the battaile of* Marathon, *and* Darius *his death.*

THis Warre with good successe finished by the Persians, and some attempts made on Europe side with variable successe: *Darius* obstinate in the enterprise and conquest of Greece (though at first he pretended to make the Warre but against the Athenians and Eritræans, who ioyntly assisted the Ionians against him, and burnt Sardis in Lydia) did now by his Embassadours demand an acknowledgement from them all: among whom, some of them not so well resolued as the rest, submitted themselues; as the Æginets and others. Against these, the Athenians being inflamed, (by the assistance of the Lacedæmonians) after diuers encounters forc't them to giue pledges, and to relinquish the party of the Persians. *Cleomenes* led the Lacedæmonians in this warre, and caused his companion-King *Demantus* to bee deposed: who thereupon fled to *Darius*, farre the more confident of victory, by reason of these discords, alienations, and ciuill warres among the Greekes. He therefore gaue order to *Hippagoras* to prepare a Fleete of shippes fit to transport his Army ouer the Hellespont: the same consisting of an hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. The charge in chiefe of his Army he committed to *Datis*, accompanied and assisted by *Hippias*, the son of *Pisistratus*, expelled out of Athens twenty yeares before, and by *Artaphernes* his brother, Gouernour of Sardis, and the Sea-coast of Asia the lesse. These Commanders hauing their Companies brought down to the Sea-side,

Herod. lib.6. Whether this Citie or People were of *Peloponnesus* in *Sicyonia*, or of *Aegæa*, between *Thessalia* and *Macedon*, I doe not know: but those borderers, and next the enemie, were more likely to compound than the rest farre off.

There is also a City called *Aegium*, not farre from *Aegæa*, *Liuie* 32.33, &c.

imbarked themselues in sixe hundred Gallies and other Vessels; and first of all attempted the Islands called Cyclades, which lay in the mid-way between Asia the lesse, and Greece. For (obtaining those places) the Persians had then nothing to hinder the transportation of their forces ouer the Ægean Sea; but on the contrary they might alwayes both relieue themselues in their passage, and shrowd themselues from all suddaine tempests and outrage.

To this end they first possest themselues of Samos, secondly, they attempted Naxos: Which Island, the inhabitants despairing of their owne forces, abandoned. So did the people of Delos, of which *Apollo* was natiue: Which Island *Darius* did not only forbear to sacke, but recalling the inhabitants, he gaue order to beautifie the places and Altars of Sacrifice, to *Apollo* erected. And hauing recouered these and other Islands, the Persians directed their course for Eretria in Euboea: for that citie, (as already hath beene shewed) had assisted the Ionians at the taking & firing of Sardis. In this Island the Persians tooke ground, and besieged Eretria very straitly, and after sixe daies assault, partly by force, & in part by the treason of *Euphabus* and *Philagrus*; they tooke it, sackt it, and burnt it to the ground. Thus far the winds of prosperous fortune filled their sayles. From Euboea the Persians past their Army into Attica, conducted and guided by *Hippias*, late Prince of Athens, and marching towards it, they encamped at Marathon, in the way from the Sea, where they landed, towards Athens. *In Herod.*

The Athenians finding the time arriued, wherin they were to dispute with their own vertues against Fortune, and to cast lots for their liberty, for their wiues, their children, and their liues, put themselues in the best order they could to make resistance, and withall sent away with speed to the Lacedæmonians for succour, imploying in that Negotiation one *Phidippides*; who passing through Arcadia, encountred in the way a familiar Diuell, which he supposed to be *Pan*, who willed him to assure the Athenians of victory, promising that some one of the gods should be present at the battaile to assist them & defend them against the multitude of their enemies. *Phidippides* at his returne seeing hee could not bring with him any present succours from Sparta, yet he thought it greatly auailing to bring newes from the gods, and promise of assistance from Heauen, which no doubt (though the deuice was somewhat likely to be his owne) yet it greatly encouraged the multitude and common people, who in all ages haue bin more stirred vp with fond Prophecies and other like superstitious fooleries, than by any iust cause or solide reason.

The Athenians being now left to themselues, with one thousand onely of the Plataeans (who hauing beene formerly defended by the Athenians against the Thebans, did in this extremity witnesse their thankefulnesse and gratefull disposition) began to dispute, Whether it were most for their aduantage to defend the walls of Athens, or to put themselues into the field with such forces as they had, the same consisting of ten thousand Athenians, and one thousand of the Plataeans. In the end, after great diuersity of opinions, *Miltiades*, who perswaded the triall by battell, preuailed.

The Armies being now in view, and within a mile of each other, the Athenians disposed themselues into three troupes: two wings or hornes, as they tearme them, and the body of a battaile. The Persians when they perceiued so small a troupe aduancing towards them, thought the Athenians rather dispossest of their vnderstanding, than possest with the resolution whereof they made shew. So inuincible and resistlesse the Persians esteemed their owne numbers to be, and that small troupe of their enemies then in view, rather to be despised than to be fought withall: But in conclusion, the victory being doubtfully ballanced for a while, sometime the vertue of the Grecians, and sometimes the number of the Persians preuailed, the Grecians fighting for all that they had, the Persians for that they needed not, these great forces of *Darius* were disordered & put in rout; the Athenians following their victory euen to the Sea-shore; where the Persians, so many of them as lost not their wits with their courage, saued themselues in their ships.

The Persian Army consisted of an hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse; of which there were slaine in the place sixe thousand three hundred, and of the Grecians an hundred fourescore and twelue. For howsoeuer it came to passe, eyther by strange visions, which were afterward called *Panici terrores*, or by some other affright, it

it seemeth, that the inuading Army, after the first encounter, fought with their backes towards their enemy, and lost that number, by *Herodotus* set downe, in their disorderly retrait, or rather in their flat running away. As for *Iustines* report, That two hundred thousand of the Persian Army were slaine, the same hath no apparance nor possibility of truth. In this fight *Hippias* the perswader of the enterprise was slaine, *Ad Att.* saith *Iustine* and *Cicero*; but *Suidas* tels vs, That he escaped, and died most miserably in Lemnos.

The greatest honour of this victory was cast vpon *Miltiades*, who both perswaded the triall by battaile, and behaued himselfe therein answerably to the counsell which hee gaue. *Themistocles* had his first reputation in this fight, being but young and of the first beard. Those of the Grecians, of marke and commandement, that fell in the first encounter, were *Callimachus* & *Stesileus*. It is also said, That *Cynegyrus* following the Persians to their embarking, laid hands on one of their Gallies, to haue held it from putting off the shore, & hauing his right hand cut off, he yet offered to arrest it with his left; of which also being depriued, he tooke hold of it with his teeth. This encounter happened in the first yeare of the threescore and twelfth Olympiad, about the time of the war made by *Coriolanus* against his fellow-Romans: *Alexander* the son of *Amyntas* being then *In vita Arist.* King of Macedon, and *Phanippus* then Gouernour of Athens, according to *Plutarch*, or *Hybilides*, after *Halycarnassæus*.

This great fray thus parted, and the Persians returned backe into the lesser Asia, *Miltiades* sought and obtained an imployment against the Ilanders of Paros, one of the Cyclades, and passing ouer his Companies in threescore and ten Gallies, after sixe and twenty dayes assault hee brake his thigh, in seeking to enter it by the Temple of *Ceres*, wherewith himselfe being made vnable, and his Companies discouraged, he returned to Athens; where those vngratefull Citizens forgetting all his seruices past, and that of all other the most renowned at the battaile of Marathon, did by the perswasion of *Xantippus*, the father of *Pericles* (who enuied his fame) cast him into prison, and set on him a fine of fifty Talents; where his weake and wounded body being not able to endure the one, nor his estate to pay the other, he after a few daies ended his life.

Which enuy of the better sort to each other, with their priuate Factions, assisted by the vnthankfull and witlesse people, brought them, not many yeares after, from a victorious and famous Nation, to base subiection and slauery. *Miltiades* left behinde him one son called *Cymon*, begotten on *Hegesipila*, daughter of *Olorus* King of Thrace, who (saith *Plutarch*) was neither inferior to his father in valour, nor to *Themistocles* in vnderstanding, but exceeded them both in iustice and good gouernment.

Now *Darius* taking greater care how to recouer his honour, than sorrow for the losse receiued in Greece, gaue order for new leuies of men, & all other warlike prouisions. But the Egyptians reuolting from his obedience (a Kingdome of great strength & reuenue) greatly distracted his resolution for the reinuasion of Greece. The dissension also among his sons; of whom, the younger being borne after he was King, and by so great a mother as *Atossa*, disdained to giue place to his elder brother, borne before *Darius* obtained the Empire, greatly vexed him. And lastly, death, who hath no respect of any mans affaires, gaue end to all his consultations and enterprises, and ioyned him to the earth of his ancestors, about a yeare after the battaile of Marathon, and after that he had reigned sixe and thirty yeares. He left behinde him fiue sons, namely *Artabasanes*, borne before he obtained the Kingdome, *Xerxes* who succeeded him, *Achæmenes* Gouernour of Egypt, *Masistes* and *Anabignes*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of Xerxes.

§. I.

The preparation of Xerxes *against Greece.*

Xerxes receiued from his father, as hereditary, a double Warre; one to be made against the Egyptians, which he finished so speedily, that there is nothing remaining in writing how the same was performed: the other against the Græcians; of which it is hard to iudge, whether the preparations were more terrible, or the successe ridiculous. In the consultation for the prosecution of this Warre, which was chiefely bent against the Athenians, the Princes of Persia were diuided in opinion. *Mardonius*, who had formerly commanded in Thrace and Macedon, vnder *Darius*, and had also *Hystaspes* for his grandfather, as *Xerxes* had, and married *Xerxes* his sister *Artozostres*, perswaded by many arguments the Europæan warre. But *Artabanus*, brother to the late *Darius*, and vncle to *Xerxes*, maintained the contrary counsell, laying before *Xerxes* the lamentable and ridiculous successe of the two late inuasions, which *Darius* had made contrary to his counsell: The one in person vpon the Scythians, the other by his Lieutenants vpon the Greeks; in each of which *Darius* left to his enemies both his Army and his Honour,

He therfore besought *Xerxes* to be right well aduised before he did too farre imbarke himselfe in this businesse. For whatsoeuer vndertaking hath deliberate and sound counsell for conductor, though the successe doe not alwaies answer the probability, yet hath Fortune nothing else thereof to vaunt, than the variablenesse of his owne nature, which only the diuine Prouidence, and not any humane power, can constraine.

But so obstinate was the resolution of *Xerxes* in prosecution of his former intent, that *Artabanus*, whether terrified by Visions (as it is written of him) or fearing the Kings hatred, which he made knowne to all those that opposed his desire to this Warre (changing opinion and counsell) assisted the Græcian Expedition with all the power he had.

After the Warre of Egypt was ended, foure yeares were consumed in describing and gathering an Army for this inuasion: which being compounded of all Nations subiect to the Persian Empire, consisted of seuenteene hundred thousand foot, and eighty thousand horsemen, besides Chariots, Camels, and other Beasts for Carriage, if we may beleeue *Herodotus*: for of this multitude, *Trogus* findes the number lesse by seuen hundred *Her. l. 7.* thousand footmen.

The Commanders of the seuerall Nations were the Princes of the bloud of Persia, either by marriage in the kings house, or otherwise: for to these were all commandements of this nature giuen, some few people excepted, who had of their owne Leaders.

The charge of the whole Army was bestowed on *Mardonius*, the son of *Gobryas* by a sister of *Darius*, to whom were ioyned some others of *Xerxes* his neerest kinred, as Generals ouer all; sauing that the charge of ten thousand select Persians, called the immortall Regiment (because if any one of the whole number died, or were slaine, there was another presently chosen in his stead) was giuen to *Hydarnes*; the eighty thousand horsemen were led by the sons of *Datis*, who commanded the late Army of *Darius* in Greece.

The Fleete of Gallies were 2200. and eight, furnished by the Phœnicians, who had Commanders of their owne Nation, and by the Cypriotes, Cilicians, Pamphilians, Lycians, Dorians, Carians, Ionians, Æolians, and Hellespontines; who were trusted with the furnishing of their owne Vessels, though commanded by the Princes of Persia, as by *Ariabignes*, the son of *Darius*, and others. The rest of the Vessels for transportation were three thousand. There were also certaine Gallies furnished by *Artemisia*, the daughter of *Lygdames*, Princesse of *Halycarnassæus*, and the Ilands adioyning, which her selfe commanded. Those Gallies by her prepared and furnished, exceeded all

all the rest of the Fleet, excepting those of Zidon, in which *Xerxes* himselfe was imbarked.

§. II.

Xerxes *Army entertained by* Pythius: *his cutting off Mount Athos from the Continent: his bridge of Boates ouer the Hellespont: and the discourse betweene him and* Artabanus *vpon the view of the Army.*

WHen this world of an Army was throughly furnished, he caused all the Nations of which it was compounded, to make their *Rendez-vous*, & repaire at Sardis in Lydia. And when he had assembled to the number of seuenteene hundred thousand foot, as he entred the body of Celænas, he was by one *Pythius* the Lydian entertained, who out of his Flocks and Heards of Cattell gaue food to *Xerxes* & his whole Army. The Feast ended, he also presented him with two thousand Talents of siluer, and in Gold foure Millions, wanting seuen thousand of the Persian *Darici*, which make so many of our Markes.

The King ouercome with the exceeding liberality of *Pythius*, did not onely refuse his treasure offered, but cõmanded that seuen thousand *Darici* should be giuen him to make vp his foure Millions; of which, so many thousands were wanting when he made the present. But soone after, when *Pythius* besought him to spare one of his fiue sonnes from his attendance into Greece (because himselfe was old, and had none whom he could so well trust as his owne son) *Xerxes* most barbarously caused the young man, for whom his father sought exemption, to be sundered into two parts, commanding, that the one halfe of his carkasse should be layed on the right, and the other halfe on the left hand of the common way by which the Army marched.

Two things he commanded to be done before he came to the Sea-side. The one was a passage for Gallies to be cut behinde Mount Athos, making the same (with the halfe Island or Headland, whereon it stood) to be an entire Island, sundring thereby from the Continent of Trace fiue Cities, besides the Mountaine & the *Chersonesus* or Necke of Land it selfe: a worke of more ostentation than of vse, and yet an enterprise of no great wonder, the Valley which held it to the Continent hauing but twelue furlongs (which make about a mile and halfe) to cut through, and the ditch being broad enough only for two Gallies to passe in front. The Cities so seuered from the maine, were Dion, Olophyxus, Acrothoon, Thysus, and Cleonæ.

He also gaue order, that a Bridge vpon Boats should be made ouer the Hellespont between Abidus & Sestos, the Sea there hauing a myle of breadth, wanting an eight part; which after the finishing, was by a Tempest torne asunder and disseuered: wherewith *Xerxes* being more enraged than discouraged, commanded those to bee slaine that were masters of the worke, and caused sixe hundred threescore and foureteene Gallies to be coupled together, thereon to frame a new Bridge; which by the art and industry of the Phœnicians was so well anchored to resist both winds blowing into & from the Euxine Sea, as the same being well boorded and rayled, the whole Army of seuenteen hundred thousand foot, and fourescore thousand Horse, with all the Moyles and Carriages, past ouer it into Europe in seuen dayes & seuen nights, without intermission. This transportation of Armies did *Cæsar* afterward vse. And *Caligula* that mad Emperour, in imitation of *Xerxes* his Bridge, did build the like.

The Bridge finished, and the Army brought neere to the Sea-side, *Xerxes* tooke a view of all his Troupes, assembled in the Plains of Abidus, being carried vp, and seated on a place ouer-topping the Land round about it, and the Sea adioyning: and after hee had gloried in his owne happinesse, to behold and command so many Nations, and so powerfull an Army and Fleet, hee suddenly (notwithstanding) burst out into teares, moued with this contemplation, That in one hundred yeares there should not any one suruiue of that maruellous multitude: the cause of which sudden change of passion when he vttered to *Artabanus* his Vncle, *Artabanus* spake to the King to this effect: That which is more lamentable than the dissolution of this great Troupe within that number of yeares by the King remembred, is, That the life it selfe which we enioy is yet more miserable than the end thereof: for in those few dayes giuen vs in the world, there

there is no man among all these, nor elsewhere, that euer found himselfe so accompanied with happines, but that he oftentimes pleased himselfe better with the desire & hope of death, than of liuing; the incident calamities, diseases, and sorrowes whereto mankinde is subiect, being so many and ineuitable, that the shortest life doth oftentimes appear vnto vs ouer-long; to auoid all which, there is neither refuge nor rest, but in desired death alone.

With this melancholy discourse, *Xerxes* being not much pleased, prayed *Artabanus* not to ouer-cast those ioyes which they had now in pursuit with sad remembrances. And holding still a doubtfull conceit, that *Artabanus* vtterly condemned the inuasion of Greece, against which he had formerly giuen many strong reasons, desired him to deale freely with him, Whether he were returned to his first resolution, that the enterprise of Greece could not be prosperous? Or whether, according to the change of mind put into him by his late Vision, he was confident of good successe? *Artabanus*, notwithstanding that hee assured himselfe of the Kings resolution to goe on, aud dared not by any new Arguments to batter the great purpose it selfe, yet hee told the King, That there were two things which maruellously affrighted him, and which the King should finde, as he feared, to be most aduerse; to wit, the Sea and the Land: The Sea, because it had no where in that part of the world any Port capable of so great a Fleet: insomuch, as if any tempest should arise, all the Continent of Greece could hardly receiue them, nor all the Hauens thereof afford them any safety: and therefore when any such shelter shall be wanting vnto them, hee prayed him to vnderstand, that in such a case of extremity, men are left to the will and disposition of Fortune, and not Fortune to the will and disposition of men. The Land, besides other incommodities, will be found by so much the more an enemy, by how much the vnsatiate desire of man to obtaine more and more thereof, doth leade him forward: for were there no man found to giue resistance, yet the want of meanes to feede such an Army, and the Famine, which cannot be preuented, will without any other violence offered dis-inable and consume it. By these Arguments *Artabanus* hoped to haue diuerted *Xerxes*, not daring perchance to vtter what indeede he most feared; to wit, the ouerthrow of the Army it selfe both by Sea and Land, which soone after followed. These Cautions were exceeding weighty, if *Xerxes* his obstinacie had not mis-prised them. For, to inuade by Sea vpon a perillous Coast, being neither in possession of any Port, nor succoured by any party, may better fit a Prince presuming on his fortune, than enriched with vnderstanding. Such was the enterprise of *Philip* the second vpon England in the year 1588. who had belike neuer heard of this Counsell of *Artabanus* to *Xerxes*, or forgotten it.

Now concerning the second point, it was very likely, that *Xerxes* his Army, which could not haue in it lesse than two millions of Soules, besides his beasts for Seruice and Carriage, should after a few dayes suffer famine, and vsing *Machiauels* words, *Mourire sans coustea; die without a knife.* For it was impossible for Greece, being a ragged, strait and mountainous Countrey, to yeeld food (besides what serued themselues) for twenty hundred thousand strangers, whom they neuer meant to entertaine, but with the sharpened points of their weapons, destroying withall what soeuer they could not well inclose and defend. Nay, if we may beleeue *Herodotus*, the Army of *Xerxes*, being reuiewed at Thermopylæ, consisted of fiue millions, two hundred eighty three thousand, two hundred twenty men, besides Laundresses, Harlots, and Horses, and was therefore likely to endure a speedy famine.

The effect of *Xerxes* his answer was, That it was impossible to prouide for all things; and that whosoeuer should enterprise any great matter, if he gaue the hearing to all that could be obiected of accidentall inconueniences, he should neuer pursue the same farther, than the dispute and consultation: which if his Predecessors, the Persian Kings, had done, they had neuer growne to that greatnesse, or posseft so many Kingdomes and Nations as now they did; and therefore concluded, That great enterprises were neuer vndertaken without great perils. Which resolution of *Xerxes* was not to bee condemned, if any necessity had enforc't him to that warre. But seeing the many Nations newly conquered, which he already commanded, were more than could bee constrained to obedience any longer than the powerfull prosperity of the Persians endured, and that Greece was separated by the Sea from the rest of *Xerxes* Dominions (of whose resolution his Father *Darius* had made a deare experience) the fruit of this warre was answe-

answerable to the plantation, and the successe and end agreeable to the weake counsell whereon it was grounded. Furthermore, those millions of men which he transported, and yet in his owne iudgement not sufficient, (for he gathered in marching on, all the strength of Thrace & Macedon) were an argument, that hee rather hoped to feare the Greeks by the fame of his numbers, than that he had any confidence in their valour and resolution, whom he conducted. For it is wisely said of those vncountable multitudes: *Non vires habent, sed pondus, & impedimenta potiùs sunt quàm auxilium; They are great in bulke, but weake in forces, and rather a luggage than an aide.*

Besides, as it was impossible to marshall such a world of men in one Army, so the diuers Nations, speaking diuers languages, bred the same confusion among the Persian commanders when they came to fight, as it did to the builders of Babel, when they came to worke. Whereas if *Xerxes* had of his fiue millions compounded ten Armies of fifty thousand chosen souldiers in each, and sent them yearly into Greece well victualled & furnished, he had either preuailed by the sword, or forced them to forsake their territory, or brought them into obedience by necessity and famine, which cannot bee resisted. But while *Xerxes* resolued to cut downe the bankes of Greece, and to let in a sea of men vpon them, he was deceiued both of his owne hopes, and in their hearts whom hee imployed, and beaten by the Greekes, both by Land and Sea; yea, hee himselfe, conducted by his feare, fled shamefully into Asia. A great part of his Army was buried in Greece: the remainder whereof, which wintred in Thessaly, and led by *Mardonius*, who perswaded the enterprise, was in the Summer following vtterly defeated, and himselfe slaine.

§. III.

Of the fights at Thermopylæ and Artemisium.

After such time as *Xerxes* had transported the Army ouer the Hellespont, and landed in Thrace, (leauing the description of his passage alongst that Coast, and how the Riuer of Lissus was drunke dry by his multitudes, and the Lake neere to Pissyrus by his cattell, with other accidents in his marches towards Greece) I will speake of the encounters he had, & the shamefull & incredible ouerthrowes which he receiued. As first at Thermopylæ, a narrow passage of halfe an acre of ground, lying between the Mountains which diuide Thessaly from Greece, where sometime the Phocians had raised a wall with gates, which was then for the most part ruined. At this entrance *Leonidas*, one of the Kings of Sparta, with three hundred Lacedæmonians, assisted with one thousand Tegeatæ & Mantineans, one thousand Arcadians, & other Peloponnesians, to the number of three thousand one hundred in the whole; besides one thousand Phocians, foure hundred Thebans, seuen hundred Thespians, and all the forces (such as they were) of the bordering Locrians, defended the passage two whole daies together against that huge Army of the Persians. The valour of the Greeks appeared so excellent in this defence, that in the first daies fight, *Xerxes* is said to haue three times leaped out of his Throne, fearing the destruction of his Army by one handfull of those men, whom not long before he had vtterly despised: and when the second dayes attempt vpon the Greekes had proued vaine, he was altogether ignorant how to proceede further, and so might haue continued, had not a run-agate Græcian taught him a secret way, by which part of his Army might ascend the ledge of Mountains, and set vpon the backs of those who kept the Straits. But when the most valiant of the Persian Army had almost inclosed the small forces of the Greeks, then did *Leonidas*, King of the Lacedæmonians, with his three hundred, & seuen hundred Thespians, which were all that abode by him, refuse to quit the place which they had vndertaken to make good, & with admirable courage not onely resist that world of men which charged them on all sides; but issuing out of their strength, made so great a slaughter of their enemies, that they might well be called vanquishers, though all of them were slaine vpon the place. *Xerxes* hauing lost in this last fight, together with twenty thousand other Souldiers & Captaines, two of his owne brethren, began to doubt what inconuenience might befall him by the vertue of such as had not bin present at these battailes, with whom he knew that he shortly was to deale. Especially of the Spartans he stood in great feare, whose manhood had appeared singular in this tryall, which caused him very carefully to enquire what numbers they could bring

bring into the field. It is reported of *Dieneces* the Spartan, that when one thought to haue terrified him by saying, That the flight of the Persian arrowes was so thicke as would hide the Sun: he answered thus; It is very good newes: for then shall wee fight in the coole shade. Such notable resolution hauing as freely been expressed in deeds, as it was vttered in words, caused the Persian to stand in great doubt, when he heard that the city of Sparta could arme well-nigh eight thousand men of the like temper, & that the other Lacedæmonians, though inferior to those, were very valiant men. Wherefore he asked counsell of *Demaratus*, a banished king of the Spartans, who had alwaies well aduised and instructed him in the things of Greece, what course were fittest to be taken in his further proceedings. The opinion of *Demaratus* was, That all the Land-forces would assemble together to defend the *Isthmus*, that streight neck of ground which ioineth Peloponnesus to the Continent. For which cause he aduised, That three hundred ships well manned should be sent vnto the Coast of Laconia, to spoile the country, & to hold the Lacedæmonians & their neighbours busied at home; whilest *Xerxes* at his leasure hauing subdued the rest, might afterward bring his whole power vpon them, who remaining destitute of succour, would be too weake alone to make resistance. To this purpose also the same *Demaratus* further aduised, that the said Fleet of three hundred ships should seize vpon the Iland then called Cythera, now Cerigo, which lying neer to the Coast of Laconia, might serue as a fit place of *Rendez-vous* vpon all occasions, either of their owne defence, or endamaging the enemy: whereby that ancient speech of *Chilon* the Lacedæmonian should bee verified, that it were better for his Country-men to haue that Ile drowned in the sea, than stand so inconueniently as for them it did. What effect this counsell might haue taken, had it bin followed, it is not easie to ghesse. But a contrary opinion of *Achæmenes* brother to King *Xerxes* was preferred as the safer. For the Persian fleet had been sorely vexed with a grieuous tempest which continued three whole dayes together, wherein were lost vpon the coast of Magnesia foure hundred ships of war, besides other vessels innumerable, accordingly as *Artabanus* had foreseen, that if any such calamity should ouertake them, there would not be found any Harbor wide enough to giue them succour. Therfore *Achæmenes* perswaded his brother not to disperse his fleet; for if (said he) after the losse of foure hundred ships we shall send away other three hundred to seek aduentures, then will the Greeks be strong enough by sea to encounter the rest of the Nauy, which holding altogether is inuincible. To this counsell *Xerxes* yeelded, hoping that his Land-army and fleet should each of them stand the other in good stead, whilest both held one course, & lay not far asunder. But herein he was far deceiued; for about the same time that his army had felt the valour of the Greeks by land, his Nauie likewise made a sorrowfull proofe of their skill & courage at sea. The Grecians fleet lay at that time at Artemisium in the straits of Eubœa, where the Persians thinking to incompasse them, sent two hundred sayle about the Iland to fall vpon them behinde, vsing a like stratagem to that which their King did practise against *Leonidas* in a case not vnlike, but with far different successe. For that narrow channell of the sea which diuideth Eubœa from the maine, was in the same sort held by a Nauy of two hundred threescore & eleuen saile against the huge Persian Armada, as the straits of Thermopylæ had formerly bin maintained by *Leonidas*, till he was circumuented, as this Nauy might haue bin, but was not. The departure of those two hundred ships that were sent about the Iland, & the cause of their voyage, was too well knowne in the Persian fleet, and soone enough disclosed to the Greeks, who setting saile by night, met them with a counter-surprise, taking & sinking thirty vessels, inforcing the rest to take the Sea, where being ouertaken with foule weather, they were driuen vpon the rocks and cast all away. Contrariwise, the Nauy of the Greeks was increased by the arriuall of fifty three Athenian ships, and one *Lemnian*, which came to their party in the last fight. As these new forces incouraged the one side: so the feare of *Xerxes* his displeasure stirred vp the other to redeeme their losse with some notable exploit. Wherefore setting aside their vnfortunate policy, they resolued in plaine fight to repaire their honour, & casting themselues into the form of a Crescent, thought so to inclose the Greeks, who readily did present them battell at Artemisium.

The fight endured from noone till night, and ended with equall losse to both parts. For though more of the Persian ships were sunke and taken, yet the lesser losse fell altogether

gether as heauie vpon the Greekish fleet, which being small, could worse beare it. Herein only the Barbarians may seeme to haue had the worse, that they forsook the place of fight, leauing the wrack & spoils to the enemy, who neuertheless were fain to abandon presently euen the passage which they had vndertaken to defend, both for that many of their ships were sorely crusht in the battaile, & especially because they had receiued aduertisement of the death of *Leonidas* at Thermopylæ. Before they wayed anchors, *Themistocles*, General of the Athenians, engraued vpon stone at the watering place an exhortation to the Ionians, that either they should reuolt vnto the Greekes, or stand neutrall; which perswasion, he hoped would either take some place with them, or at the least make them suspected by the Persians.

§. IV.

The attempt of Xerxes *vpon* Apollo's *Temple: and his taking of Athens.*

WHen *Xerxes* had passed the straits of Thermopylæ, he wasted the country of the Phocians, & the regions adioyning: as for the inhabitants they chose rather to flye, and reserue themselues to a day of battell, than to aduenture their liues into his hands, vpon hope of sauing their wealth, by making proffer vnto him of their seruice. Part of his army he sent to spoyle the Temple of *Delphi*; which was exceeding rich by meanes of many offerings that had there beene made by diuers Kings and great personages; of all which riches it was thought that *Xerxes* had a better Inuentory than of the goods left in his owne Palace. To make relation of a great astonishment that fell vpon the companies which arriued at the Temple to haue sacked it, and of two Rockes that breaking from the Mount Parnassus, ouerwhelmed many of the Barbarians, it were peraduenture somewhat superstitious. Yet *Herodotus*, who liued not long after, saith, That the broken Rockes remained euen to his memory in the Temple of *Minerua*, whither they rowled in their fall. And surely this attempt of *Xerxes* was impious; for seeing he beleeued that *Apollo* was a god, he should not haue dared to entertaine a couetous desire of inriching himselfe by committing sacriledge vpon his Temple. Wherfore it may possibly be true, that licence to chastise his impiety, in such manner as is reported, was granted vnto the Diuell, by that Holy one, who saith, *Will a man spoile his gods?* and elsewhere; *Hath any nation changed their gods, which yet are no gods? Goe to the Iles of Kittim, and behold, and send to Kedar, and take diligent heede, and see whether there be any such things.* Now this impiety of *Xerxes* was the more inexcusable, for that the Persians alleadged the burning of *Cybeles* Temple by the Athenians, when they set fire on the City of Sardis in Asia, to be the ground & cause of the waste which they made in burning of Cities and Temples in Greece. Whereas indeede, in the enterprise against *Delphos*, this Vizzor of holy and zealous reuenge falling off, discouered the face of couetousnesse so much the more vgly, by how much the more themselues had professed a detestation of the offence which the Athenians had committed in that kinde by meere mischance.

Malac. 3. 8.
Ierem. c. 2. v. 9. & 10.

The remainder of that which *Xerxes* did, may be expressed briefly thus: *Hee came to Athens, which finding forsaken, hee tooke and burnt the Cittadel and Temple which was therein.* The Cittadel indeede was defended a while by some of more courage than wisedome, who litterally interpreting *Apollo's* Oracle; *that Athens should be safe in woodden wals*, had fortified that place with Boords and Palissadoes: too weake to hold out long, though by their desperate valour so well maintained at the first assault, that they might haue yeelded it vpon tolerable conditions, had they not vainly relied vpon the prophecy: whereof (being somewhat obscure) it was wisely done of *Themistocles*, to make discretion the interpreter, applying rather the words to the present neede, than fashioning the businesse to words.

§. V.

How Themistocles *the Athenian drew the Greekes to fight at Salamis.*

THe Athenians had before the comming of *Xerxes* remoued their wiues and children into Trœzene, Ægina, and Salamis, not so highly prizing their houses and lands, as their freedome, & the common liberty of Greece. Neuertheless, this great

great zeale, which the Athenians did shew for the generall good of their Country, was ill requited by the other Greeks, who with much labour were hardly intreated to stay for them at Salamis, whilest they remoued their wiues & children out of the City. But when the city of Athens was taken, it was presently resolued vpon, that they should forsake the Ile of Salamis, and withdraw the fleet to *Isthmus*: which necke of land they did purpose to fortifie against the Persians, & so to defend Peloponnesus by land & sea, leauing the rest of Greece as indefensible, to the fury of the enemy. So should the Ilands of Salamis and Ægina haue been abandoned, and the Families of the Athenians (which were there bestowed as in places of security) haue beene giuen ouer into mercilesse bondage. Against this resolution *Themistocles*, Admirall of the Athenian Fleet, very strongly made opposition; but in vaine. For the Peloponnesians were so possessed with feare of losing their owne, which they would not hazzard, that no perswasions could obtaine of them, to regard the estate of their distressed Friends and Allies. Many remonstrances *Themistocles* made vnto them, to allure them to abide the enemy at Salamis; As first in priuate vnto *Eurybiades* the Lacedæmonian, Admiral of the whole Fleet; That the self-same feare which made them forsake those coasts of Greece, vpon which they then anchored, would afterward (if it found no checke at the first) cause them also to disseuer the Fleet, and euery one of the Confederates to with-draw himself to the defence of his owne City and Estate: Then to the Councell of Warre, which *Eurybiades* vpon this motion did call together (forbearing to obiect what want of courage might worke in them hereafter) he shewed that the fight at *Isthmus* would be in an open Sea, whereas it was more expedient for them, hauing the fewer ships, to determine the matter in the streights; and that, besides the safeguard of Ægina, Megara, and Salamis, they should by abiding where they then were, sufficiently defend *Isthmus*, which the Barbarians should not so much as once look vpon, if the Greeks obtained victory by sea; which they could not so well hope for elswhere, as in that present place which gaue him so good aduantage. All this would not serue to retaine the Peloponnesians, of whom one, vnworthy of memory, vpbraided *Themistocles* with the losse of Athens, blaming *Eurybiades* for suffering one to speake in the Councell, that had no Country of his owne to inhabite. A base and shamefull obiection it was, to lay as a reproach that losse, which being voluntarily sustained for the common good, was in true estimation by so much the more honourable, by how much it was the greater. But this indignity did exasperate *Themistocles*, and put into his mouth a reply so sharpe, as auailed more than all his former perswasions. He told them all plainely, That the Athenians wanted not a fairer City, than any Nation of Greece could boast of; hauing well-neere two hundred good shippes of Warre, the better part of the Grecian Fleet, with which it was easie for them to transport their Families and substance into any part of the World, and settle themselues in a more secure habitation, leauing those to shift as well as they might, who in their extremity had refused to stand by them. Herewithall he mentioned a Towne in Italy belonging of old to the State of Athens, of which Towne he said an Oracle had foretold, That the Athenians in processe of time should build it a-new, & there (quoth he) will we plant our selues, leauing vnto you a sorrowfull remembrance of my words, and of your own vnthankfulnesse. The Peloponnesians hearing thus much, began to enter into better consideration of the Athenians, whose affaires depended not, as they well perceiued, vpon so weak termes, that they should be driuen to crouch to others; but rather were such, as might inforce the rest to yeeld to them, and condescend euen to the vttermost of their owne demands.

For the Athenians, when they first embraced that Heroicall resolution of leauing their grounds and houses to fire and ruine, if necessity should inforce them so farre, for the preseruation of their liberty; did imploy the most of their priuate wealth, and all the common treasure, in building a great Nauie. By these meanes they hoped (which accordingly fell out) that no such calamity should befall them by Land, as might not well be counterpoised by great aduantages at Sea: Knowing wel, that a strong fleet would either procure victory at home, or a secure passage to any other Country. The other States of Greece held it sufficient, if building a few new ships, they did somwhat amend their Nauie. Wherby it came to passe, that, had they bin vanquished, they could not haue expected any other fortune than either present death or perpetual slauery; neither could they hope to be victorious without the assistance of the Athenians, whose forces by sea

sea did equall all theirs together; the whole consisting of more than three hundred and foureſcore bottomes. Wherefore theſe Peloponnesians beginning to suspect their own condition, which would haue stood vpon desperate points, if the fleet of Athens had forsaken them, were soon perswaded, by the greater feare of such a bad euent, to forget the lesser, which they had conceiued of the Persians: and laying aside their insolent brauery, they yeelded to that most profitable counsaile of abiding at Salamis.

§. VI.

How the Persians consulted about giuing battaile: and how Themistocles *by policy held the Greekes to their resolution; with the victory at Salamis thereupon ensuing.*

IN the meane season the Persians had entred into consultation, whether it were conuenient to offer battell to the Greekes, or no. The rest of the Captaines giuing such aduice as they thought would best please the King their Master, had soon agreed vpon the fight; but *Artemisia* Queen of *Halicarnassus*, who followed *Xerxes* to this warre in person, was of contrary opinion: Her counsell was, that the King himselfe directly should march toward Peloponnesus, whereby it would come to passe, that the Greek Nauie (vnable otherwise to continue long at Salamis for want of prouision) should presently be disseuered, and euery one seeking to preserue his owne City and goods, they should, being diuided, proue vnable to resist him, who had won so far vpon them when they held together. And as the profit will be great in forbearing to giue battell; so on the other side, the danger will be more (said she) which we shall vndergoe, than any need requireth vs to aduenture vpon; and the losse in case it fall vpon vs, greater than the profit of the victory which we desire. For if we compell the enemies to flie, it is more than they would haue done, we sitting still: but if they, as better Sea-men than ours, put vs to the worst, the iourny to Peloponnesus is vtterly dasht, and many that now declare for vs, will soon reuolt vnto the Greekes. *Mardonius*, whom *Xerxes* had sent for that purpose to the Fleet, related vnto his Master the common consent of the other Captaines, and withall this disagreeing opinion of *Artemisia*. The King well pleased with her aduice, yet resolued vpon following the more generall, but farre-worse counsaile of the rest; which would questionlesse haue beene the same which *Artemisia* gaue, had not feare and flattery made all the Captaines vtter that, as out of their owne judgement; which they thought to be most conformable to their Princes determination. So it was indeed that *Xerxes* had entertained a vaine perswasion of much good, that his owne presence vpon the shore to behold the conflict, would worke among the Souldiers. Therefore he encamped vpon the Sea-side, pitching his owne Tent on the moune Ægalæus; which is opposite vnto the Isle of Salamis, whence at ease he might safely view all which might happen in that action, hauing Scribes about him to write downe the acts and behauiour of euery Captaine. The neere approach of the Barbarians, together with the newes of that timorous diligence, which their Countri-men shewed in fortifying the *Isthmus*, and of a Persian Army, marching a-pace thither; did now againe so terrifie and amaze the Peloponnesians, that no intreaty, nor contestation would suffice to hold them together. For they thought it meere madnesse to fight for a Country already lost, when they rather should endeuour to saue that which remained vnconquered; propounding chiefly to themselues what misery would befall them, if losing the victory, they should be driuen into Salamis, there to be shut vp, and besieged round in a poore desolate Iland.

Hereupon they resolued forth-with to set saile for *Isthmus*: which had presently been done, if the wisedome of *Themistocles* had not preuented it. For he perceiuing what a violent feare had stopt vp their eares against all good counsaile, did practise another course, and forth-with labour to preuent the execution of this vnwholesome decree; not suffering the very houre of performance to finde him busie in wrangling alteration. As soon as the Councell brake vp, he dispatched secretly a trusty Gentleman to the Persian Captaines; informing them truely of the intended flight, and exhorting them to send part of their Nauie about the Iland, which incompassing the Greekes, might preuent their escape; giuing them withall a false hope of his assistance. The Persians no sooner heard than beleeued these good newes, well knowing that the victory was their owne

assured, if the *Athenian* fleet ioyned with them; which they might easily hope, considering what abilitie their Master had to recompence for so doing, both the Captaines with rich rewards, and the People with restitution of their Citie, and Territories. By these meanes it fell out, that when the *Greekes* very early in the morning were about to waigh Anchor, they found themselues inclosed round with *Persians*, who had laboured hard all that night, sending many of their ships about the Isle of *Salamis*, to charge the enemie in reare, and landing many of their men in the Isle of *Psittalea*, which lyeth ouer against *Salamis*, to saue such of their owne, and kill such of the *Græcian* partie, as by any misfortune should bee cast vpon the shore. Thus did meere necessity enforce the *Græcians* to vndertake the battaile in the Straights of *Salamis*, where they obtained a memorable victory, stemming the foremost of their enemies, and chasing the rest, who falling foule one vpon another, could neither conueniently fight nor flie. I doe not finde any particular occurrences in this great battaile to be much remarkeable. Sure it is, that the Scribes of *Xerxes* had a wearisome taske of writing downe many disasters that befell the *Persian* fleet; which ill acquitted it selfe that day, doing no one piece of seruice worthy the presence of their King, or the registring of his Notaries. As for the *Greekes*, they might well seeme to haue wrought out that victory with equall courage, were it not that the principall honour of that day was ascribed to those of *Ægina*, and to the *Athenians*, of whom it is recorded, That when the *Barbarians* did flie towards *Phalerus*, where the Land-armie of *Xerxes* lay, the ships of *Aegina* hauing possessed the Straights, did sinke or take them, whilest the *Athenians* did valiantly giue charge vpon those that kept the Sea, and made any countenance of resisting.

§. VII.

Of things following after the battaile of Salamis: and of the flight of Xerxes.

AFter this victore, the *Greeks* intending by way of scrutinie, to determine which of the Captaines had best merited of them, in all this great seruice; euery Captain, being ambitious of that honour, did in the first place write down his own name, but in the second place, as best deseruing next vnto himselfe, almost euery Saffrage did concur vpon *Themistocles*. Thus priuate affection yeelded vnto verture, as soone as her owne turne was serued. The *Persian* King, as not amazed with this calamitie, began to make new preparation for continuance of warre; but in such fashion, that they which were best acquainted with his temper, might easily discerne his faint heart, through his painted lookes. Especially *Mardonius*, Author of the warre, beganne to cast a wary eye vpon his Master, fearing lest his counsell should bee rewarded according to the euent. Wherefore purposing rather to aduenture his life in pursuite of the victorie, than to cast it away by vndergoing his Princes indignation; hee aduised the King to leaue vnto him three hundred thousand men, with which forces hee promised to reduce all *Greece* vnder the subiection of the *Persian* Scepter. Herewithall he forgot not to sooth *Xerxes* with many faire words; telling him, That the cowardise of those *Aegyptians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Cilicians*, with others of the like mettall, nothing better than slaues, who had so ill behaued themselues in the late Sea-seruice, did not concerne his honour, who had alwaies beene victorious, and had already subdued the better part of *Greece*, yea taken *Athens* it self, against which the Warre was principally intended. These words found very good acceptance in the Kings eare, who presently betooke himselfe to his iourney homewards, making the more hast, for that he vnderstood, how the *Greekes* had a purpose to saile to *Hellespont*, and there to breake downe his bridge, and intercept his passage. True it was that the *Greekes* had no such intent, but rather wished his hasty departure, knowing that hee would leaue his Armie not so strong, as it should haue beene, had he in person remained with it. And for this cause did *Eurybiades* giue counsell, that by no meanes they should attempt the breaking of that bridge, lest necessitie should inforce the *Persians* to take more courage; and rather to fight like men, than die like beasts. Wherefore *Themistocles* did, vnder pretence of friendship, send a false aduertisment vnto this timorous Prince, aduising him to conuay himselfe into *Asia* with all speed, before his bridge were dissolued: which counsel *Xerxes* tooke very kindly, and hastily followed, as before is shewed. Whether it were so that hee found the bridge whole, and thereby repassed into *Asia*; or whether it were torne in sunder by tempests,

and he thereby driuin to imbarke himselfe in some obscure vessell, it is not greatly materiall; though the *Greekes* did most willingly imbrace the later of these reports. Howsoeuer it were, this flight of his did well ease the Country; that was thereby disburdened of that huge throng of people, which, as Locusts, had before ouerwhelmed it.

§. VIII.

The negotiations between Mardonius *and the Athenians, as also betweene the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians; after the flight of* Xerxes.

MArdonius with his three hundred thousand had withdrawne himselfe into *Thessalie*, whence he sent *Alexander*, the sonne of *Amyntas* King of *Macedon*, as Embassador to the *Athenians*, with promise of large amends for all their losses receiued; and of extending their Territories as farre as their owne desires; allowing them to retaine their libertie and lawes, if they would make peace with *Xerxes*, and assist him in that warre.

The *Athenians* had now reentred their Citie, but not as yet brought backe their wiues and children; for as much as they well perceiued that the place could not be secure, till the Armie of *Mardonius* were broken and defeated. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians*, vnderstanding what faire conditions this Embassadour would propound, were perplexed with very great feare, lest he should finde good and ready acceptance. Hereupon, they likewise very speedily dispatched their Embassadors for *Athens*, who arriuing before the *Macedonian* had audience, vsed the best of their persuasion to retaine the *Athenians* firm. They alledged, that neither *Xerxes* nor *Darius* had any pretence of Warre against the rest of *Greece*, but had onely threatned the subuersion of *Athens*, till they and all their Confederates arming themselues in defence of that Citie, were drawne into the quarrell, wherein the *Athenians* without much crueltie of injustice could not leaue them. Wee know, said they, that yee haue endured great calamities, losing the fruit of the grounds, and being driuen to forsake the Towne, the houses thereof beeruined, and vnfit for your habitation; in regard whereof, wee vndertake to maintaine as our owne, your wiues and children amongst vs, as long as the warre shall continue, hoping that yee, who haue alwdies procured libertie to others, will not now goe about to bring all *Greece* into slauery and bondage. As for the *Barbarians*, their promises are large, but their words and oathes are of no assurance. It was needlesse to vse many arguments to the *Athenians*, who gaue answer to *Alexander* in presence of the *Spartan* Embassadors; That whilest the Sunne continued his course, they would be enemies to *Xerxes*, regarding neither Gold nor any riches, with which hee might seeke to make purchase of their libertie. Concerning the maintenance of their wiues and children, it was a burden which they promised to sustaine themselues, onely desiring the Lacedemonians, that with all speed they would cause their Armie to march, forasmuch as it was not likely, that *Mardonius* would long sit still in Thessalie, hauing once receiued such a peremptorie answer. In this their opinion of *Mardonius* his readinesse to inuade Attica, they found themselues nothing deceiued. For hee, as soone as *Alexander* had returned their obstinate purpose of resistance, did forthwith leade his armie towards them, and their Citie: they hauing now the second time quitted it, and conueyed themselues into places of more securitie abroad in the Countrie, where they expected the arriuall of their confederates. From Athens he sent his Agent vnto them with instructions, not onely to perswade them to acceptance of the conditions before to them propounded, but with great promises to allure the principall of them to his partie. His hope was, that either the people, wearied with forsaking their houses so often, would be desirous to preserue them from fire, and to haue those which were already laid waste, reedified at the kings charges: Or if this affection tooke no place with them, but that needs they would relie vpon their old confederates, whose succors did very slowly aduance forwards, yet perhaps the Leaders might be wonne with great rewards, to draw them to this purpose; all which proiects, if they should faile, the destruction of Athens would be a good meane to please his Master, King *Xerxes*, who must thereby needes vnderstand, that *Mardonius* kept his ground, and feared not to confront the whole power of Greece, in the strongest part of their owne Countrie. But his expectation was beguiled in all these. For the Athenians so little regarded his offers, that when one *Lycidas*, or (as *Demosthenes* calls him) *Cyrcilus*

Cyrcilus, aduised the *Senate* to accept the conditions, and propounded them to the people; all the *Senators*, & as many as abiding without the Counsaile-house, heard what he had said, immediately set vpon him, and stoned him to death; not examining whether it were feare or mony, that had moued him to vtter such a vile sentence. Yea, the women of *Athens*, in the Ile of *Salamis*, hearing of his bad counsaile, and bad end, assembling together did enter his house there, and put his wife and children to the like execution. All this brauery notwithstanding, when they perceiued the slacknesse of the *Peloponnesians* in giuing them aide, they were faine to betake themselues to *Salamis* againe, the old place of their security. Remaining there, and seeing little forwardnes in those whom it most concerned to assist them, they sent very seuere messages to *Sparta*, complaining of their slacknes, & threatning withal, to take such course as might stand best with their own good, seeing that the common estate of all was so little regarded. These messengers were at the first entertained with dilatory answers, which euery day grew colder, when as the *Peloponnesian* Wall, builded a-thwart the *Isthmus*, was almost finished. But as the *Lacedæmonians* waxed careless & dull, so the *Athenians* hotely pressed them to a quick resolution, giuing them plainly to vnderstand, that if they should hold on in those dilatory courses, it would not be long ere the City of *Athens* took a new course, that should little please them. All this while the *Persian* fleet lay vpon the coast of *Asia*, not daring to draw nearer vnto *Greece*, as being now too weak at Sea. Likewise the *Greekish* Nauie contained it selfe within the Harbours vpon *Europe* side; both to doe seruice where need should require at home; and withall to shunne the danger which might haue befallen any part of it, that being distracted from the rest, had aduentured ouer-farre. So mutuall feare preserued in quiet the Ilands lying in the midst of the *Ægean* Seas. But it was well and seasonably obserued by a Counsellor of *Sparta*, that the Wall vpon *Isthmus* would serue to little purpose for the defence of *Peloponnesus*, if once the *Athenians* gaue eare to *Mardonius*: considering that many doores would be opened into that Demie-Iland, as soone as the Enemy should by winning the friendship of *Athens*, become the Master of the Seas about it. The *Lacedæmonians* vpon this admonition, making better perusall of their owne dangers, were very carefull to giue satisfaction to the *Athenian* Embassadors, who not brooking their delaies, were vpon point of taking leaue, yea, as it seemed, of renouncing their alliance. Wherfore dispatching away fiue thousand *Spartans* in the euening, vnder conduct of *Pausanias*; they gaue audience the next day to the Embassadors, whose complaints they answered with vehement protestations of their readinesse; deeply swearing that the Army of *Sparta* was already farre vpon the iourney; and giuing them leaue to take vp other fiue thousand *Lacedæmonians*, out of the Region adioyning, to follow after them.

The *Athenians*, though distasting such want of grauity, in a matter so important, were neuertheless contented with the finall conclusion; & leuying the number appointed of *Lacedæmonian* Souldiers, made what haste they could to incampe in *Attica*. The other *Grecians* were nothing slacke in sending forth Companies, whose neare approach caused *Mardonius* to forsake *Attica* as a rough Country, and therefore of much disaduantage to Horse, wherein consisted the best of his power. Before his departure he burnt the City of *Athens*, beating downe the Walls of it, and ruining all that had formerly escaped the fury of War.

§. IX.

The great battaile of Platæa.

IT were too long a rehearsall to shew all that happened in many skirmishes between the *Greekes* and him, in the Country of *Bœotia*, which *Mardonius* had chosen to bee the seate of that Warre. Much time was spent before the quarrell was decided by the triall of one maine battaile: for both parties did stand vpon their guard, each expecting when the other should assaile them.

The Army of *Mardonius* contained about three hundred thousand, which were by him chosen out of *Xerxes* his Army; to whom were adioyned the forces of *Thebes*, *Macedony*, *Thessaly*, and other parts of *Greece*, that now siding with the *Persian*, furnished his Campe with fifty thousand men. Against these the *Lacedæmonians*, *Athenians*, and their Confederates, had leauied an Army of one hundred and ten thousand, of which forty thousand

ſand were weightily armed, the reſt were only aſſiſtants to theſe forty thouſand, being armed more ſlightly, as rather to make excurſions and giue chaſe, than to ſuſtaine any ſtrong charges.

Theſe two Armies hauing eleuen daies confronted one the other, without performing any memorable piece of ſeruice; *Mardonius*, whoſe victuals began to faile, reſolued to begin the fray. The *Greekes* were promiſed victory by an *Oracle*, if they fought in the Land of the *Athenians*, and in the plaine of *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, making praiers vnto certaine gods, Demi-gods, and Nymphes. But it was hard to find the certaine place which the *Oracle* deſigned. For the plaine of *Ceres* was indeed in the Territory of *Athens*; but there was alſo an old Temple of *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, neare vnto the place where they lay at that time encamped, as likewiſe the memorialls of thoſe Nymphes and Demi-gods, were in the ſame place, vpon Mount *Citheron*, and the ground ſerued well for foot-men againſt horſe; onely the Land belonged vnto the *Plataeans*, and not vnto the *Athenians*.

Whileſt the *Greeks* were perplexed about the interpretation of this doubtfull *Oracle*; the *Plataeans* to make all cleere, did freely beſtow their land on that ſide the Towne vpon the *Athenians*.

This magnificence of the *Plataeans* cauſed *Alexander* the Great, many ages after, to re-edifie their City, which was ruined in the *Peloponneſian* wars.

All things being ready for battaile; the *Lacedaemonian* Generall thought it moſt meet, that the *Athenians* ſhould ſtand oppoſite that day to the *Medes* and *Perſians*, whom they had formerly vanquiſhed at *Marathon*; and that he, with his *Spartans*, ſhould entertaine the *Thebans* and other *Greekes* which followed *Mardonius*, as better acquainted with their fight, and hauing beaten them often-times before. This being agreed vpon, the *Athenians* changed place with the *Lacedaemonians*; which *Mardonius* vnderſtanding (whether fearing the *Athenians*, of whoſe valour the *Medes* & *Perſians* had felt heauie proofe, or deſiring to encounter the *Spartans*, as thinking them the braueſt Souldiers in *Greece*) he did alſo change the order of his battaile. and oppoſe himſelfe to *Pauſanias*. All the *Greekes* might well perceiue how the Enemy did ſhift his wings, and *Pauſanias* thereupon returned to his former Station; which *Mardonius* noting, did alſo the like. So one whole day was ſpent in changing to and fro. Some attempt the *Perſians* made that day with their Archers on horſe-back, who did ſo moleſt the *Greeks* at their watering place, that they were faine to enter into conſultation of retiring; becauſe they could not without much loſſe to themſelues, and none to the enemy, lie neare to that fountaine which did ſerue all the Campe. Hauing therefore concluded among themſelues to diſlodge; and part of the Army being ſent away before day-light: *Mardonius* perceiued their departure in the morning, and thereupon being encouraged by their flight, (which to him ſeemed to proceed out of meer cowardiſe) he charged them in the reare with great violence. It may well be recorded as a notable example of patient valour, That the *Lacedaemonians* being ouer-taken by the enemies horſe, and ouer-whelmed with great flights of Arrowes, did quietly ſit ſtill, not making any reſiſtance or defence, till the Sacrifices for victory were happily ended, though many of them were hurt and ſlaine, and ſome of eſpeciall marke loſt, before any ſigne of good ſucceſſe appeared in the entrailes.

But as ſoone as *Pauſanias* had found in the Sacrifice thoſe tokens, which the ſuperſtition of that Age and Country accounted fortunate; he gaue the Signall of battaile: and thereupon the Souldiers, who till then did ſit vpon the ground, as was their manner, aroſe altogether, and with excellent courage receiued the charge of the *Barbarians*, that came thronging vpon them without any feare of ſuch notable reſiſtance. The reſt of the *Greeke* Army that was in march, being reuoked by *Pauſanias*, came in a-pace to ſuccour the *Lacedaemonians*: only that part of the Army which was led by the *Athenians*, could not arriue vnto the place of the great battaile, becauſe the *Thebans*, and other *Greekes* confederated with the *Perſians*, gaue them checke by the way. Neuertheleſſe, the *Spartans* with other their aſſiſtants, did ſo well acquite themſelues, that the *Perſians* were vanquiſhed, and *Mardonius* with many thouſands more ſlaine in the field; the reſt fled into the Campe, which they had fortified with woodden Walls, and there defended themſelues with ſuch courage as deſperate neceſſity inforced them vnto, holding out the longer, becauſe the *Lacedaemonians* were not acquainted with the manner of aſſaulting Fortreſſes, and Walls. In the meane time the *Athenians* hauing found ſtrong oppoſition of

of the *Thebanes* and *Theſſalians*, did with much labour & courage obtain victory, which hauing not long purſued, they came to help the *Lacedaemonians*, whom they found wearily buſied in aſſaulting the Campe, with more valour than skill. Wherefore they themſelues vnder-took it; & in ſhort ſpace forced a paſſage through the Wall; at which breach firſt, and then on all ſides, the *Greekes* entred with ſuch fury, and iuſt deſire of vengeance, that of three hundred thouſand they are ſaid not to haue left three thouſand aliue, excepting thoſe who fledde away with *Artabazus*, when as the *Perſian* Army firſt fell to rout.

If the execution were ſo great, as is reported, an eſpeciall cauſe of it was the fooliſh retrait, or rather flight into the Campe. For though it were ſo, that the place was well fortified, and the number of thoſe who caſt themſelues into it greater than any of the Aſſailants; yet they being of ſeuerall Nations and Languages and hauing loſt their Generall with other principall Commanders, it was impoſſible that they in ſuch a terrour and aſtoniſhment ſhould make good that piece of ground, lying in the heart of an Enemy Country, againſt an Army of men, farre more valiant than themſelues, and enflamed with preſent victory. Therefore the ſame wall which for a few houres had preſerued their liues, by holding out the Enemy, did now impale them, and leaue them to the ſlaughtering fury of vnpitifull Victors. *Artabazus* fled into *Thrace*, telling the people of *Theſſaly*, and other Countries in his way, that hee was ſent by *Mardonius* vpon ſome piece of ſeruice: For he well knew, that had they vnderſtood any thing of that great diſcomfiture, all places would haue beene hoſtile vnto him, and ſought with his ruine to purchaſe fauour of the vanquiſhers. Therefore making ſo large marches, that many of his Souldiers being feeble were left behinde and loſt, he came to *Byzantium*, whence he ſhipped his men ouer into *Aſia*. Such was the end of the vaine-glorious expedition, vndertaken by *Xerxes* againſt the *Greekes*, vpon hope of Honour, and Conqueſt, though ſorting otherwiſe, accordingly as *Artabazus* had fore-ſeene, and rather worſe, for as much as it began the quarrell, which neuer ended before the ruine of the *Perſian* Empire was effected by that Nation of the *Greekes*, deſpiſed and ſought to haue beene brought into ſlauery. Hereby it may ſeeme, that the viſion appearing to *Xerxes*, was from God himſelfe, who had formerly diſpoſed of thoſe things, ordaining the ſubuerſion of the *Perſian* Monarchie by the *Greeks*, who thus prouoked, entred into greater conſideration of their owne ſtrength, and the weakneſſe of their Enemies.

§. X.

The battaile of Mycale, with a ſtrange accident that fell out in the beginning of it: and examples of the like.

THe ſame day on which the battaile was fought at *Plataea*, there was another battaile fought at *Mycale*, a Promontory, or Head-land in *Aſia*, where the *Perſian* fleet rode.

Leutychides the *Spartan*, with *Xantippus* the *Athenian*, Admirals of the *Greeke* Nauy, at the requeſt of ſome Ilanders & *Ionians*, did ſaile into thoſe parts, to deliuer the *Samians*, & procure the *Ionians* to reuolt from the *Perſian*. *Xerxes* himſelf at this time lay at *Sardis*, a City in *Lidia*, not farre from the Sea-ſide, hauing left threeſcore thouſand vnder the command of *Tigranes*, for defence of *Ionia* and the Sea-coaſt. Therfore when *Artayntes* and *Ithramitres*, Admirals of the *Perſian* fleete, vnderſtood that the *Greekes* bent their courſe towards them; they did forth-with draw their ſhips a ground, fortifying with *Paliſſadoes* & otherwiſe, as much ground as was needful for the encamping of all their land & ſea-forces. *Leutychides* at his arriuall, perceiuing that they meant to keep within their ſtrength, & reſoluing to force them out of it, rowed with his gally cloſe aboord the ſhore, and called vpon the *Ionians* (who more for feare than good will were encamped among the *Perſians*) exhorting them in the *Greek* tongue to remember liberty, & vſe the faire occaſion which they now had to recouer it. Herein he did imitate *Themiſtocles*, who had done the like at *Euboea*, truſting that either theſe perſwaſions would preuaile, or if the *Perſians* did happen to vnderſtand them, that it would breed ſome iealouſie in them, cauſing them to fight in feare of their own companions. It need not ſeeme ſtrange, that this very

very ſame ſtratageme, which little or nothing auailed *Themiſtocles*, did now very happily ſucceed. For *Xerxes* being in his full ſtrength, it was a matter of much difficulty, to perſwade thoſe Inhabitants of *Aſia* to reuolt; who now in his declining eſtate, gaue a willing eare to the ſweet ſound of liberty. The *Perſians* likewiſe, who in their former brauery, little regarded and leſſe feared any treaſon to be contriued by their ſubiects, were now ſo wary, that from the *Samians* which were amongſt them, they took away their armes; the *Mileſians* whom they did ſuſpect, but would not ſeeme to miſtruſt, they placed far from them, as it were for defence of the ſtreight paſſages of *Mycale*; pretending that theſe *Mileſians* did beſt of all others know thoſe places. But theſe deuices little auailed them. For the *Samians* perceiuing that they were held as Traitors, took courage in the heat of the fight, and laying hold vpon ſuch weapons as came to hand, aſſailed the *Perſians* manfully within the Campe; which example the *Ionians* preſently followed, being very glad to haue found ſome that durſt beginne. It is ſaid that while the *Greekes* were yet in a march towards the Enemies Campe, a rumour ſuddenly ranne in the Army, that *Mardonius* was ouerthrowne in *Greece*, which (though perhaps it was giuen out by the Captaines to encourage the Souldiers) was very true. For the battaile of *Plataa* was fought in the morning, and this of *Mycale* in the euening of the ſame day.

The like report of that great battaile, wherein *Paulus Æmilius* ouerthrew *Perſeus* the laſt King of *Macedon*, was brought to *Rome* in foure dayes, as *Liuie* with others doe record. And *Plutarch* hath many other examples of this kinde. As that of the battaile by the Riuer *Sagra* in *Italy*, which was heard of the ſame day in *Peloponneſus*: That of the battell againſt the *Tarquinians* and the *Latines*, preſently noyſed at *Rome*: And (which is moſt remarkeable) the victory obtained againſt *Lucius Antonius*, who was Rebell to *Domitian* the Emperour. This *Lucius Antonius* being Lieutenant of the higher *Germanie*, had corrupted his Army with gifts and promiſes, drawing the barbarous people to follow him, with great hope to make himſelfe Emperour; which newes much troubling the City of *Rome*, with feare of a dangerous Warre; it was ſodainly reported that *Antonius* was ſlaine, and his Army defeated.

Hereupon many did offer ſacrifice to the gods, and ſhew all manner of publique ioy, as in ſuch caſes was accuſtomed. But when better inquiry was made, and the Authour of theſe tidings could not bee found; the Emperour *Domitian* betooke himſelfe to his iourney againſt the Rebell; and being now with his Army in march, hee receiued aduertiſement by Poſte, of the Victory obtained, and the death of *Antonius*: whereupon remembring the rumour noiſed before in *Rome*, of the ſelfe-ſame victory, he found that the report and victory were borne vpon one day, though twenty thouſand furlongs (which make about fiue and twenty hundred miles) a-ſunder. It is truely ſaid of *Plutarch*, that this laſt example giues credit vnto many the like. And indeed it were very ſtrange, if among ſo many rumours, begotten by forgery or miſtakings, and foſtered by credulous imagination, there ſhould not bee found (as happens in dreames among many thouſand vaine and friuolous) a few preciſely true. Howbeit we may finde, that God himſelfe doth ſometimes vſe to terrifie thoſe who preſume vpon their owne ſtrength, by theſe light meanes of tumultuous noyſes; as hee raiſed the ſiege of *Samaria*, by cauſing a ſound of Horſes and Chariots to affright the *Aramites*; and as hee threatned *Senacherib*, ſaying: *Behold, I will ſend a blaſt vpon him, and he ſhall heare a noyſe, and returne to his owne Land.* Wherefore it may well haue beene true, that God was pleaſed by ſuch a meane as this, to animate the *Greekes*; who (as *Herodotus* notes) went towards the Enemies with heauy hearts, being in great feare, leſt their owne aduenture ſhould by no meanes fall out well; conſidering in what danger they had left their owne Country of *Greece*, which was ready to be ſubdued by *Mardonius* whileſt they went wandring to ſeeke out enemies a-farre-off, vpon the coaſt of *Aſia*. But the fame of the battaile fought at *Plataa* being noyſed among them, euery man deſired that his own valour in the preſent fight, might be ſome help to work out the full deliuerance of *Greece*. In this alacrity of ſpirit, they diuided themſelues into two Battalians, whereof the *Athenians* led the one, by the way of the plaine, directly towards the enemies Campe; the *Lacedæmonians* conducted the other, by the Mountaines and ſtreight paſſages, to winne the higher ground. The *Athenians* did firſt ſet vpon the Campe (ere the *Lacedæmonians* could arriue on the other part) & being deſirous to get all the honour of

Eſay 37.7.

of the day to themſelues, did ſo forcibly aſſault it, that they brake way through the Paliſſadoes and Gabions, and made themſelues Maſters of the place, ſlaying all that could not ſaue themſelues by flight. In this fight the *Samians* did good ſeruice; as is formerly mentioned.

But the *Mileſians*, who vpon the like iealouſie, were placed by the *Perſians* on the tops of *Mycale*, to defend the paſſages; did now (as if they had bin ſet of purpoſe to keep them from running away) put as many to the ſword as fel into their hands, letting none eſcape, except very few, that fled through by-pathes. The *Lacedæmonians* that day did little ſeruice, for the buſineſs was diſpatched ere they came in: Only they broke ſuch companies as retired in whole troopes; making them flie diſperſed in very much diſorder, whereby the *Mileſians* were enabled to doe the greater execution vpon them. This was the laſt fight of that huge Army leauied againſt *Greece*, which was now vtterly broken, and had no meanes left to make offenſiue Warre.

§. XI.

Of the barbarous qualities of Xerxes: *with a tranſition from the Perſian affaires to matters of Greece, which from this time grew more worthy of regard.*

Xerxes lay at *Sardis*, not farre from the place of this battaile; but little mind had he to reuenge either this or other his great loſſes, being wholly giuen ouer to the loue of his Brothers Wife: with whom he could not preuaile by intreaty, nor would obtaine his deſire by force, becauſe he reſpected much his Brother her husband: he thought it beſt to make a match between his owne Son *Darius*, and the Daughter of this Woman; hoping by that means to finde occaſion of ſuch familiarity as might worke out his deſire. But whether it were ſo, that the chaſtity of the Mother did ſtill reiect him, or the beauty of the Daughter allure him; he ſoone after fell in loue with his owne Sonnes wife, being a vicious Prince, and as ill able to gouerne himſelfe in peace, as to guide his Army in war. This yong Lady hauing once deſired the King to giue her the Garment which he then wore, being wrought by his owne Wife; caused the Queene thereby to perceiue her husbands conuerſation with her; which ſhe imputed not ſo much to the beauty of her Daughter-in-law, as to the cunning of the Mother, againſt whom thereupon ſhe conceiued extreame hatred. Therefore at a Royall feaſt, wherein the cuſtome was that the King ſhould grant their requeſt, ſhe craued that the Wife of *Maſiſtes*, her husbands brother, the yong Ladies Mother, might be giuen into her diſpoſition. The barbarous King, who might either haue reformed the abuſe of ſuch a cuſtome, or haue deluded the importunate cruelty of his Wife, by threatning her ſelfe with the like, to whatſoeuer ſhe ſhould inflict vpon the innocent Lady, granted the requeſt; & ſending for his brother, perſwaded him to put away the Wife which he had, and take one of his Daughters in her ſtead. Hereby it ſeemes, that he vnderſtood how villainouſly that poore Lady ſhould be intreated, whom hee knew to be vertuous, and whom himſelfe had loued. *Maſiſtes* refuſed to put her away; alleadging his owne loue, her deſeruing, and their common Children, one of which was married to the Kings Sonne, as reaſons important to moue him to keepe her. But in moſt wicked manner *Xerxes* reuiled him; ſaying, That hee now ſhould neither keepe the Wife which he had, nor haue his Daughter whom he had promiſed vnto him. *Maſiſtes* was much grieued with theſe words, but much more, when he returned home, hee found his Wife moſt butcherly mangled by the Queene *Ameſtris*, who had cauſed her Noſe, Lips, Eares, and Tongue to be cut off, and her Breſts in like manner, which were caſt vnto Dogs. *Maſiſtes* enraged with this villany, took his way with his children, & ſome Friends, towards *Bactria*, of which Prouince he was Gouernor, intending to rebell & auenge himſelfe. But *Xerxes* vnderſtanding his purpoſe, cauſed an Army to be leauied, which cut him off by the way, putting him and all his Company to the ſword. Such was the Tyrannicall condition of the *Perſian* Gouernment; and ſuch are generally the effects of Luxury, when it is ioyned with abſolute power.

Yet of *Xerxes* it is noted, that he was a Prince of much vertue. And therefore *Alexander* the Great, finding an Image of his ouer-throwne, and lying vpon the ground, ſaid, That he doubted, whether in regard of his vertue, hee ſhould againe erect it, or, for the miſchiefe done by him to *Greece*, ſhould let it lye. But ſurely whatſoeuer his other

other good qualities were, he was foolish, and was a coward, and consequently mercilesse.

Therefore we may firmely beleeue, that the vertue of *Cyrus* was very great, vpon which the foundation of the *Persian* Empire was so surely laid, that all the wickednesse and vanities of *Xerxes*, & other worse Princes, could not ouerthrow it, vntill it was broken by a vertue almost equall to that which did establish it. In wars against the *Egyptians*, the fortune of *Xerxes* did continue, as at the first it had beene very good; but against the generall estate of *Greece*, neither he, nor any of his posterity, did euer make offensiue warre, but receiued many losses in *Asia*, to which the last at *Mycale* serued but as an introduction; teaching the *Greekes*, and especially the *Athenians*, that the *Persian* was no better Souldier at his owne doores, than in a forraine Country: whereof good triall was made forth-with, and much better proofe as soone as the affaires of *Athens* were quietly setled and assured.

From this time forward I will therefore pursue the History of *Greece*, taking-in the matters of *Persia*, as also the estate of other Countries, collaterally, when the order of time shall present them. True it is, that the *Persian* estate continued in her greatnesse, many ages following, in such wise that the knowne parts of the World had no other Kingdome, representing the Maiesty of a great Empire.

But this greatnesse depended onely vpon the riches and power that had formerly been acquired, yeelding few actions or none that were worthy of remembrance, excepting some Tragedies of the Court, and examples of that excessiue Luxury, where-with both it, and all, or the most of Empires that euer were, haue beene eneruated, made vnweildy, and (as it were) fattened for the hungry swords of poore and hardy Enemies. Hereby it came to passe, that *Xerxes* and his successours were faine to defend their Crownes with money and base policies; very seldome or neuer (vnlesse it were with great aduantage) daring to aduenture the triall of plaine battaile with that little Nation of *Greece*; which would soone haue ruined the foundations laid by *Cyrus*, had not priuate malice and iealousie vrged euery City to enuie the height of her neighbours wals, and thereby diuerted the swords of the *Greekes* into their owne bowels, which after the departure of *Xerxes* began very well, and might better haue continued, to hew out the way of conquest, on the side of *Asia*.

CHAP. VII.

Of things that passed in Greece from the end of the Persian Warre, to the beginning of the Peloponnesian.

§. I.

How Athens was rebuilt and fortified.

AFter that the *Medes* and *Persians* had receiued their last blow, & were vtterly beaten at *Mycale*: *Leutychides*, who then commanded the *Grecian* Army, leauing the pursuit of the warre to the *Athenians*, assisted by the reuolted *Iones*, returned with the *Lacedæmonians* and other *Peloponnesians* to *Sparta* and other places, out of which they had beene leauied. The *Athenians* in the meane while besieged *Sestos*, a City on the strait of the *Hellespont*, betweene which and *Abydus*, *Xerxes* had lately fastned his Bridge of Boats: where the inhabitants, desperate of succour, did not long dispute the defence thereof, but quitted it to the *Greeks*, who entertained themselues the Winter following on that side the *Hellespont*. In the Spring they drew homeward, and hauing left their wiues and children, since the inuasion of *Attica*, & the abandoning of *Athens*, in diuers Islands, and at *Troezen*, they now found them out, & returned with them to their owne places.

And though the most part of all their houses in *Athens* were burnt and broken down, and

and the wals of the City ouer-turned, yet they resolued first on their common defence, and to fortifie their City, before they cared to couer themselues, their wiues and children, with any priuate buildings: Whereof the *Lacedæmonians* being aduertised, and misliking the fortifying of *Athens*, both in respect that their owne City of *Sparta* was vnwalled, as also because the *Athenians* were grown more powerfull by Sea, than either themselues, or any other State of *Greece*, they dispatched messengers to the *Athenians* to disswade them; not acknowledging any priuate mislike or ielousie, but pretending, that if the *Persians* should return to inuade *Greece* a third time, the *Athenians* being in no better state to defend themselues than heretofore, the same would serue to receiue their enemies, and to be made a Seate for the Warre, as *Thebes* had lately bin. To this the *Athenians* promised to giue them satisfaction by their own Embassadors very speedily. But being resolued to goe on with their workes by the aduice of *Themistocles*, they held the *Lacedæmonians* in hope of the contrary, till they had raised their wals to that height, as they cared not for their mislikes, nor doubted their disturbance; and therefore (to gaine time) they dispatched *Themistocles* towards *Lacedæmon*, giuing him for excuse, that hee could not deliuer the *Athenians* resolutions, til the arriual of his fellow-Commissioners, who were of purpose retarded. But after a while, the *Lacedæmonians* expectation being conuerted into ielousie (for by the arriuall of diuers persons out of *Attica*, they were told for certaine, That the wals of *Athens* were speedily grown vp beyond expectation) *Themistocles* prayed them not to beleeue reports and vaine rumors, but that they would bee pleased to send some of their owne trusty Citizens to *Athens*, from whose relation they might resolue themselues, and determine accordingly. Which request being granted, and Commissioners sent, *Themistocles* dispatched one of his owne, by whom he aduised the *Athenians*, first to entertain the *Lacedæmonians* with some such discourse as might retaine them a few daies, and in conclusion to hold them among them, till himselfe and the other *Athenian* Embassadours, then at *Sparta*, had their liberty also to return. Which done, and being also assured by his associates and *Aristides*, that *Athens* was already defensible on all parts, *Themistocles* demanding audience, made the *Lacedæmonians* know, That it was true that the wals of *Athens* were now raised to that height, as the *Athenians* doubted not the defence of their City; praying the *Lacedæmonians* to beleeue, That whensoeuer it pleased them to treat with the *Athenians*, they would know them for such, as right well vnderstood what appertained to a Common-weale & their owne safety, without direction and aduice from any other: That they had in the warre of *Xerxes* abandoned their City, and committed themselues to the woodden Walls of their shippes, from the resolution of their owne counsels and courage, and not thereto taught or perswaded by others: and finally, in all that perillous warre against the *Persians* they found their owne iudgements and the execution thereof in nothing inferiour, or lesse fortunate, than that of any other Nation, State, or Common-weale among the *Greekes*: And therefore concluded, that they determined to be Masters and Iudges of their owne affaires, and thought it good reason, that either all the Cities confedered within *Greece* should be left open, or else that the Wals of *Athens* should be finished and maintained.

The *Lacedæmonians* finding the time vnfit for quarrell, dissembled their mislike, both of the fortifying of *Athens*, and of the diuision; & so suffered the *Athenians* to depart, & receiued backe from them their owne Embassadors.

The Wals of *Athens* finished, they also fortified the Port *Pyreus*, by which they might vnder couert imbarke themselues vpon all occasions.

§. II.

The beginning of the Athenian greatnesse, and prosperous warres made by that State vpon the Persian.

THe *Athenians* hauing setled things in good order at home, prepared thirty Gallies for the pursuit of the warre against the *Persians*, to which the *Lacedæmonians* added other twenty, and with this Fleet, strengthened by the rest of the Cities of *Greece* confederated, they set sayle for *Cyprus*, vnder the conduct of *Pausanias* the *Lacedæmonian*; where, after their landing hauing possest themselues of many principall places, they imbarked the Army againe, and tooke land in *Thrace*, recouering from the

the *Persians* by force the City *Bizantium*, now *Constantinople*: from whence *Pausanias*, behauing himselfe more like a Tyrant than a Captaine, especially towards the *Ionians* lately reuolted from *Xerxes*, was called backe by the Councell of *Lacedamon*, and not onely accused of many insolent behauiours, but of Intelligence with the *Medes*, & Treason against his Countrey. In his stead they imployed *Dorcres*, who either gaue the same cause of offence; or else the *Athenians*, who affected the first commandement in that warre, practised the souldiers to complaine; though indeede the wise and vertuous behauiour of *Aristides*, Generall of the *Athenian* forces, a man of rare & incomparable sincerity, had been able to make a good Commander seeme ill in comparison of himselfe; & therefore was much more auaileable, in rendring those detested, whose vices afforded little matter of excuse. Howsoeuer it were, the *Lacedamonians* being no lesse wearied of the war, than the *Athenians* were eager to pursue it, the one obtained their ease, and the other the execution and honour which they desired: for all the *Greeks* (those of *Peloponnesus* excepted) willingly subiected themselues to the commandement of the *Athenians*, which was both the beginning of their greatnesse in that present age, & of their ruine in the next succeeding. For the charge of the warre being now committed vnto them, they began to rate the confederated Cities; they appointed Receiuers and Treasurers, & began to leuie mony, according to their discretion, for the maintenance of the generall defence of *Greece*, and for the recouering of those places on *Europe* side, in *Asia* the lesse, & the Ilands, from the *Persians*. This tribute (the first that was euer payed by the *Greekes*) amounted to foure hundred and threescore Talents; which was raised easily by the honest care of that iust man *Aristides*, to whose discretion all the confederates referred themselues, & no one man found occasion to complaine of him. But as the vertue of *Aristides*, & other worthy Citizens, brought vnto the *Athenians* great commodity; so the desire which they conceiued of encreasing their commodity, corrupted their vertue, & robbing them of the generall loue, which had made them powerfull, abandoned their City to the defence of her treasure, which with her in the next age perished. For it was not long ere these foure hundred and threescore Talents were raised to sixe hundred, nor long after that, ere their couetous tyranny had conuerted their followers into slaues, and extorted from them yearely thirteene hundred Talents. The Isle of *Delos* was at the first appointed for the Treasure-house wherein these summes were laid vp, and where, at the generall Assembly, the Captaines of those forces, sent by the confederates, were for forme sake called to consultation. But the *Athenians*, who were stronger by sea than all *Greece* besides, had lockt vp the common treasure in an Island, vnder their owne protection, from whence they might transport it at their pleasure, as afterward they did.

The generall Commander in this Warre was *Cimon*, the sonne of *Miltiades*, who first tooke *Eiona*, vpon the Riuer *Strimon*; then the Isle of *Sciros*, inhabited by the *Dolopes*: they mastered the *Caristij*, & brought into seruitude the *Naxij*, contrary to the form of the confederacy: So did the other the inhabitants of *Greece*, if at any time they failed of their contribution, or disobeyed their commandements; taking vpon them and vsurping a kinde of soueraigne authority ouer the rest: which they exercised the more assuredly, because they were now become Lords of the Sea, and could not be resisted. For many of the confederated Cities and Nations, weary of the warre in their owne persons, and giuen vp altogether to their ease, made choice rather to pay their parts in mony, than either in men of warre, or in ships; leauing the prouision of both to the *Athenians*. Hereby the one grew weake in all their Sea-defences, and in the exercise of the Warres; the other greatly strengthened their Nauie and their experiences, being alwayes armed and imployed in honorable Seruices, at the cost of those, who hauing lifted them into their Saddles, were now enforced to become their footmen. Yet was the Tribute-mony, leuied vpon these their confederates, employed so well by the *Athenians* at the first (as ill proceedings are often founded vpon good beginnings) that no great cause of repining was giuen. For they rigged out a great Fleet of Gallies, very well manned, wherwith *Cimon* the Admirall scouring the Asiaticke Seas, took-in the City of *Phaselis*; which hauing formerly pretended neutrality, and refused to relieue, or any way assist the *Greekes*, were enforced to pay ten Talents for a fine, and so to become followers of the *Athenians*, paying yearly contribution.

From thence he set sayle for the Riuer *Eurymedon* in *Pamphylia*, where the *Persian* Fleet

Fleet rode, being of sixe hundred sayle, (or according to the most spating report) three hundred and fifty, and hauing a great Land-Armie, encamped vpon the shoare; all which forces hauing beene prouided for aduancing the Kings affaires in *Greece*, were vtterly defeated in one day, and two hundred ships taken by the *Athenians*, the rest being broken to pieces, or sunk, ere euer they had swom in the *Greekish* Seas. *Cimon* hauing in one day obtained two great victories, the one by the Sea, and the other by Land, was very soone presented with a third. For foure score sayle of *Phenicians* (who were the best of all Sea-men, vnder the *Persian* command) thinking to haue ioyned themselues with the Fleet before destroyed, arriued vpon the same Coast, ignorant of what had passed, and fearing nothing lesse than what ensued. Vpon the first notice of their approach, *Cimon* weighed anchor, and meeting them at an head-Land, called *Hydra*, did so amaze them, that they onely sought to run themselues on ground; by which meane preserving few of their men, they lost all their ships. These losses did so breake the courage of the *Persian*; that, omitting all hope of preuailing vpon *Greece*, he condescended to whatsoeuer Articles it pleased the *Athenians* to propound, granting liberty vnto all the *Greekes* inhabiting *Asia*; and further couenanting, That none of his ships of War should sayle to the Westward of the Isles, called *Cyaneæ* and *Chelidoniæ*.

This was the most honourable peace that euer the *Greekes* made; neither did they in effect, after this time, make any warre that redounded to the profit or glory of the whole Nation, till such time as vnder *Alexander*, they ouerthrew the empire of *Persia*; in which war, few, or perhaps none of them, had any place of great cõmand, but serued altogether vnder the *Macedonians*.

§. III.

The death of Xerxes *by the treason of* Artabanus.

BEsides these losses, which could not easily haue bin repaired, the troubles of the Empire were at this time such, as gaue iust cause to the *Persian* of seeking peace vpon any tearmes not altogether intolerable. For *Artabanus*, the vncle of *Xerxes*, perceiuing, that the King his Master did easily take small occasions to shed the blood of such, as in kindred or place were neere vnto him, began to repose lesse hope of a fastie in remaining faithfull, than of obtaining the Soueraigntie, by destroying a Prince that was so hated for his cruelty, and despised for his cowardise and misfortunes. Hauing conceiued this Treason, he found meanes to execute it by *Mithridates* an Eunuch, in such close manner, that (as if he himselfe had been innocent) he accused *Darius* the son of *Xerxes*, and caused him to suffer death as a Patricide. Whether it be true, that by this great wickednesse he got the Kingdome, and held it seuen moneths; or whether intending the like euill to *Artaxerxes* the son of *Xerxes*, he was by him preuented and surprised, were hard to affirme any certainty. But all Writers agree vpon this, That taken hee was, and with his whole familie put to death by extreame torments, according to the sentence, whereof the truth is more ancient than the Verse:

Raro antecedentem scelestum
Deseruit pede pœna claudo.

Seldome the villaine, though much haste he make,
Lame-footed Vengeance failes to ouertake.

§. IIII.

The banishment of Themistocles: *his flight to* Artaxerxes *newly reigning in Persia; & his death.*

ARtaxerxes being established in his Kingdome, and hauing so compounded with the *Athenians*, as the present necessity of his affaires required, began to conceiue new hopes of better fortune against the *Greekes*, than he or his predecessors had euer hitherto found. For the people of *Athens*, when the *Persians* were chased out of *Greece*, did so highly value their owne merits in that seruice, that they not onely thought it fit for themselues to become the Commanders ouer many Townes and Islands of the *Greekes*, but euen within their owne wals, they would admit none other forme of Gouernment than meerely *Democraticall*. Herein they were so insolent, that no integritie nor

nor good desert was able to preserue the estate of any such as had borne great office, longer than by flattering the rascall multitude, he was contented to frame all his words and deeds to their good liking.

This their intolerable demeanour much offended *Themistocles*; who, though in former times he had layed the foundations of his greatnesse vpon popularitie, yet now presuming vpon his good seruices done to the State, hee thought that with great reason they might grant him the liberty to checke their inordinate proceedings. But contrariwise, they were so highly offended with his often rehearsing the benefits which they had receiued from him, that they laide vpon him the punishment of *Ostracisme*, whereby hee was banished for ten yeeres, as a man ouer-burthensome to the Common-10 wealth.

Before the time of his returne was halfe expired, a new accusation was brought against him by the *Lacedæmonians*, who charged him of consulting with *Pausanias*, about betraying the whole Countrey of *Greece* vnto *Xerxes*. Hereupon *Themistocles* finding no place of security against the malice of two such mighty Cities, was driuen, after many troublesome flights, and dangerous remouings, to aduenture himself into *Persia*; where he found *Artaxerxes* newly setled, & was by him very honourably entertained. But the great hope which *Artaxerxes* had conceiued of aduancing his affaires by the counsell and assistance of *Themistocles*, proued altogether fruitlesse. For when the *Athenians*, in fauour of *Inarus* the *Lybian*, (who infested *Egypt*, causing it to rebell against the *Persian*) had sent a Fleet 20 to Sea, landing an Armie in *Egypt*, and scowring those Easterne Seas, to the great hinderance of *Artaxarxes*, and (for ought that I can vnderstand) to the manifest breach of that peace, which to their great honour they had concluded with *Xerxes*; then did the King send his Letters to *Themistocles*, requiring him to make good the hopes which he had giuen, of assuring the *Persian* estate against the *Greekes*.

But whether *Themistocles* perceiued much vnlikelinesse of good successe, in leading a great Army of dastardly *Persians* against the warlike people of *Greece*; or else (as in fauour of his vertue it is more commonly reported) the loue of his Countrey would not permit him to seeke honour by the ruine of it: sure it is, that being appointed by *Artaxerxes* to vndertake the conduct of great forces against the *Athenians*, he decided the great conflict 30 between thankfulnesse to his well deseruing Prince, and naturall affection to his own ill-deseruing people, by finishing his life with a cup of poyson.

§. V.

How the Athenians, breaking the peace, which to their great honour they had made with the Persian, were shamefully beaten in Egypt.

THen was *Artaxerxes* driuen to vse the seruice of his owne Captaines in the *Egyptian* warre, wherein it appeared well, That a iust cause is a good defence against a strong enemy. An *Athenian* Fleet of two hundred saile strong was sent 40 forth vnder *Cimon*, to take in the Isle of *Cyprus*: which conquest seemed easie both to make and to maintaine, the *Persian* being vtterly broken at Sea, & thereby vnable to relieue the Island. Now although it were so, that a peace had been concluded, which was likely to haue been kept sincerely by the *Persian*, who had made so good proof of the *Græcian* valour, that he was nothing desirous to build any ships of Warre (without which the *Greekes* could receiue no harme from him) wherof if any one should be found sayling towards *Greece*, the peace was immediately broken, and if not, his whole estate; yet all the Sea-coast (no smal part of his Dominions) exposed to the waste of an enemy too far ouermatching him. Yet whether the *Athenians* were in doubt, lest the league which in his own worser fortunes he had made with them, he would break in theirs; and therfore sought to 50 get such assurance into their hands, as might vtterly disable him from attempting ought against them; or whether the increase of their reuenues & power, by adding that rich and great *Iland* to their Empire, caused them to measure honour by profit; they thought it the wisest way, to take whilest they might, whatsoeuer they were able to get and hold, and he vnable to defend.

The *Ile* of *Cyprus* lying in the bottome of the streights betweene *Cilicia*, *Syria* and *Egypt*, is very fitly seated for any Prince of State, that being mighty at Sea, doth either seeke to enrich himselfe by trade with those Countries, or to infest one or more of them

them when they are his enemies. And this being the purpose of the *Athenians*, their *Ambition* which had already deuoured, in conceit, this *Iland*, vvas on the sodaine vvell-nigh choaked with a greater morsell, to snatch at vvhich, they let *Cyprus* alone, vvhich they might easily haue swallowed and digested. For *Inarus* King of the *Lybians* confining *Egypt*, hauing found how greatly the Country was exhausted by the late warres, and how vveakely defended by very slender *Persian* Garrisons, conceiued rightly, that if such small forces as the *Satrapa* or *Viceroy* could make on the sodaine of his owne *Guards*, or leuie out of the ordinary *Garrisons*, vvere by him defeated; the naturals of the Country, not long since oppressed by *Cambyses*, and after a reuolt very lately subdued by *Xerxes*, would soone breake faith vvith him, vvho had no other 10 title to that Kingdome than a good sword. Further, he perswaded himselfe that the people, vnable to defend themselues against the *Persian* vvithout his assistance, would easily be drawne to accept him, the author of their deliuerance for King. Neither did this hope deceiue him. For hauing taken and cruelly slaine *Achæmenes* the *Viceroy*; diuers *Cities* forthwith declared themselues for him, and proclaiming him King, shewed the most of their endeuour for prosecution of the warre. But he considering his owne weakenesse, and that the meanes of the *Egyptians* his adherents were not answerable to their desires, perceiued well, that to resist the power of *Artaxerxes*, farre greater forces than his and theirs were to be procured, at what price soeuer he obtained them. 20 Therefore hearing of the great *Athenian* fleet, and knowing well the vertue of the Souldiers therein embarqued; he inuited the Commanders to share with him the kingdome of *Egypt*, as a farre greater reward of their aduenture, than such an addition as that of *Cyprus* could be to their estate. Whether he or they (if things had wholly sorted according to their expectation) would haue bin contented with an equall share, and not haue fallen out in the partition, were perhaps a diuination vnnecessary. He vvas possessed of the peoples loue, they vvere of most power. But the issue of those affaires vvas such as left them nothing to communicate but misfortunes, which they shared somewhat equally.

30 Yet had the beginnings of their enterprise very good and hopefull successe: For they entred the Land as farre as to *Memphis*, the principall Citie; and of the Citie it selfe they tooke two parts: to the third part, vvhich was called the White wall, they laid such hard siege, that neither those forces of the *Persians*, vvhich then vvere in *Egypt*, vvere strong enough to remoue them; neither could *Artaxerxes* vvell deuise what meanes to vse for the recouery of that which was lost, or for the preseruation of the remainder. The best of his hope vvas by setting the *Lacedæmonians* vpon *Athens*, to enforce the *Athenians* to looke homewards to their owne defence. This vvas the first time that the *Persian* sought to procure the assistance of the *Greekes* one against the other, by stirring them vp vvith gold to the entertainment of priuate quarrels, for the good of their common enemy. To this purpose he sent *Megabazus* to *Sparta* vvith much Treasure; who, 40 after great expence, finding that the *Lacedæmonians* vvere nothing forward in imploying their whole force against the *Athenians*, vvhom in many conflicts of great importance they had found to be their matches, notwithstanding the absence of their Armie in *Egypt*; he thought it his wisest way to imploy the rest of his mony and meanes to their reliefe, who had now the space of sixe yeares defended his masters right in *Egypt*. Therefore he hastily dispatched another of his name, the sonne of *Zopyrus*, vvho arriuing in *Egypt*, vvas first encountred by the reuolted people; ouer whom he obtained victory, vvhich made him master of the Countrey, whilest the *Athenians* lay busied about *Memphis* the great Citie.

It cannot be doubted, that long abode in a strange ayre, and want of supply, had much 50 enfeebled the *Athenians*: sure it is, that when *Megabazus*, hauing reduced the Countrey to obedience, attempted the Citie it selfe, whether his former successe had amended the courage of the *Persians*, or want of necessaries made the *Athenians* inferiour to themselues, he chased them out of *Memphis*, and pursued them so neere, as they were forc't to fortifie themselues in the Isle of *Prosopites*, where *Megabazus*, after eighteene moneths siege, turning away one part of the Riuer by diuers Trenches, assaulted the *Athenians* without impediment of waters, tooke their Gallies, and put all to the sword, saue a few that saued themselues by flight into *Lybia*; the same entertainement had fiftie other Gallies which they sent to the succour of the first two hundred.

Prosopites an Iland between the Riuers of *Taly* & *Pharmutiacus*, two of the out-lets of *Nilus*, towards *Alexandria*.

taken, wherby the *Bœotians* recouered their former liberty, restoring to the *Athenians* their prisoners. The Ilanders of *Eubœa* tooke such courage vpon this, that they reuolted wholly from the *Athenians*, whom when *Pericles* intended to reconquer, he was aduertised that the *Megarians*, (who first left the *Lacedæmonians*, & submitted themselues to *Athens*) being now weary of their yoke, had slaine the *Athenians* Garrisons, & ioyned themselues with the *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, & *Epidaurians*. These newes hastened *Pericles* homeward with all possible speed; but ere he could recouer *Attica*, the *Peloponnesians*, led by *Plistoanax*, the son of *Pausanias*, had inuaded it, pillaged, & burnt many parts thereof; after whose returne *Pericles* went on with his first intent and recouered *Eubœa*. Finally, the *Athenians* began to treat of peace with the *Peloponnesians*, and yeelded to deliuer vp all the places which they held in the Country of *Peloponnesus*: and this truce was made for thirtie yeares.

After sixe of these yeares were expired, the *Athenians* (fauouring the *Mylesians* against the *Samians*) inuaded *Samos* by *Pericles*, and after many repulses, and some great losses, both by Sea and Land, the Citizens were forc't to yeelde themselues vpon most lamentable conditions; Namely, to deliuer vp all their ships, to breake down their own wals, to pay the charge of the war, and to restore whatsoeuer had beene taken by themselues, or by their practice from the *Athenians*. In the necke of which followed that long and cruell *Peloponnesian* Warre, whereof I haue gathered this briefe following: the same contention taking beginning fiftie yeares after the flight of *Xerxes* out of *Greece*. But because there was no Citie thereof, which either in the beginning of this warre, or in the continuance of it, was not drawne into the quarrell; I hold it conuenient now at the first to shew briefly the estate of the Countrie at that time, and especially the condition of those two great Cities, *Athens*, and *Sparta*, vpon which all the rest had most dependance.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Peloponnesian Warre.

§. I.

Vpon what tearmes the two principall Cities of Greece, Athens and Sparta, stood, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian Warre.

Greece was neuer vnited vnder the gouernement of any one Prince or Estate, vntill *Philip* of *Macedon*, and after him *Alexander*, brought them rather to a Vnion and League against the *Persian*, whereof they were Captaines, than into any absolute subiection. For euery Estate held their owne, and were gouerned by Lawes farre different, and by their owne Magistrates, notwithstanding the power of the *Macedonians*, to whom they did yeelde obedience no otherwise than as to such, who were (perforce) their leaders in the *Persian* war (deemed the Generall quarrell of *Greece*) and tooke the profit and honour of the victorie, to their owne vse and increase of greatnesse. But the Kings which afterwards reigned in *Macedonia*, did so farre enlarge their authoritie, that all *Greece* was by them brought vnder such obedience, as differed little from seruitude; very few excepted, who could hardly, sometimes with armes, and sometimes with gifts, preserue their libertie; of whom the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* were chiefe: which two people deserued best the plague of tyranny, hauing first giuen occasion thereunto, by their great ambition, which wearied and weakened all the Countrie by perpetuall Warre. For, vntill these two Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* distracted all *Greece*, drawing euery State into the quarrell, on the one or other side, and so gaue beginning to the *Peloponnesian* warre (the effects whereof in true estimation ceased not, before the time that *Philip* had ouer-mastered all, forasmuch as euery conclusion

conclusion of one war afforded henceforth matter of some new distraction of the whole Countrie) the warres, commenced betweene one Citie of *Greece* and another, were neither great, nor of long continuance. All controuersies were soone decided, either by the authoritie of the *Amphictionoi*, who were the generall Councell of *Greece*, or by the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, whose aide was commonly held as good as the assurance of victorie.

These *Lacedæmonians* had liued about foure hundred yeares vnder one forme of Gouernment, when the *Peloponnesian* warre began. Their education was onely to practice feates of Armes; wherein they so excelled, that a very few of them were thought equall to very great numbers of any other people. They were poore, and cared not much for wealth; euery one had an equall portion of the common field, which sufficed to maintaine him in such manner as they vsed. For brauery they had none, and curious building or apparell they regarded not. Their diet was simple, their feasts and ordinary meales being in common Hals, where all fared alike. They vsed money of yron, whereof they could not be couetous nor great hoarders. Briefly, they liued *Tropian*-like, saue that they vsed no other occupation than Warre, placing all their felicitie in the glory of their valour. Hereby it came to passe that in all enterprises, whereof they were partakers, the leading and high command was granted to them, and all *Greece* followed their conduct. But the *Athenians* were in all points contrary to this. For they sought wealth, and measured the honours of their victories by the profit; they vsed mercenarie Souldiers in their warres, and exacted great tribute of their Subiects, which were for the most part Ilanders, compelled to obey them, because the *Athenian* fleete was great.

As in forme of policy, and in course of life, so in conditions naturall, the difference between these two people was very much. The *Athenians* were eager and violent, suddaine in their conclusions, and as hastie in the execution. The *Lacedæmonians* very slow in their deliberations, full of grauitie, but very resolute, & such as would in cold bloud performe what the *Athenians* did vsually in flagrant. Whereby it came to passe, that the *Lacedæmonians* had all the Estates of *Greece* depending vpon them, as on men firme & assured, that sought honor & not riches; wheras the *Athenians* were followed by such as obeyed them perforce, being held in streight subiection. But the Signory of the *Athenians* was nothing large, vntill such time as the *Persian Xerxes* had inuaded *Greece*, pretending onely a quarrell to *Athens*: For then the Citizens perceiuing well, that the town of *Athens* could not be defended against his great Armie of seuenteene hundred thousand men, bestowed all their wealth vpon a Nauie, & (assisted by the other *Græcians*) ouerthrew the fleet of *Xerxes*, whose Land-forces were soone after discomfited by them, & the *Greekes*, who all serued vnder conduct of the *Spartans*. After these victories, the *Athenians* being now very mighty in fleet, reduced all the Ilands of the *Greekish* Seas vnder their obedience; imposing vpon them a hard tribute, for maintenance (as they pretended) of war against the *Persian*, though indeed they imployed their forces chiefly, to the conquest of such Ilands, and hauen-Townes, of their owne Countrimen, as stood out against them. All which was easily suffered by the *Lacedæmonians*, who were In-landers, and men that delighted not in expeditions to be made farre from home. But afterwards perceiuing the power of the *Athenians* to grow great, they held them in much ielousie, and were very apt to quarrell with them; but much more willing to breede contention between them & other Estates. Wherefore at such time as the *Thebans* would haue oppressed the *Plateans*, when they of *Platea* repaired to *Sparta* for succour, they found there no other aide, than this aduice, That they should seeke helpe at *Athens*. Hereby it was thought, that the *Athenians* should be intangled in a long and tedious Warre, with their neighbours of *Thebes*. But it proued otherwise; for their force was now so great, that all such occasions did onely serue to increase their honour and puissance.

§. II.

How Sparta and Athens entred into Warre.

NEuertheless many Estates of *Greece* were very ill affected to *Athens*; because that Citie grew very insolent vpon suddaine prosperitie, and maintaining the weaker Townes against the stronger, incroached apace vpon their Neighbours, taking

their dependants from them. Especially the *Corinthians* were much inraged, because the people of the Iland *Corcyra*, their Colonie which had rebelled against them, and giuen them a great ouerthrow by Sea, was by the *Athenians* (who desired to increase their fleet by adioyning that of *Corcyra* vnto it) taken into protection, and the *Corinthians* thereby impeached of that reuenge which else they would haue taken. Now howsoeuer it were so, that these dealings of the *Athenians* were not directly against the conditions of peace agreed vpon among the *Greekes*, yet were the complaints made at *Sparta* so vehement, that (though with much a-doe) they concluded to redresse by warre the iniuries done to their Allies.

First therefore seeking religious pretences, they required the *Athenians* to expiate certaine offences committed against the gods; whereto hauing for answer, That they themselues should expiate other the like offences, committed in *Sparta*; they began to deale plainly, and required that the people of some Townes, oppressed by the State of *Athens*, should be set at liberty; and that a decree made against those of *Megara*, whereby they were forbidden to enter any Port of the *Athenians*, should be reuersed. This last point, they so earnestly presse, that if they might obtaine it, they promised to absist from their purpose of making Warre.

This they desired, not as a matter of any great importance (for it was a trifle) but onely that by seeming to haue obtained somewhat, they might preserue their reputation without entring into a warre, which threatned them with greater difficulties apparant, than they were very willing to vnder-goe.

But the *Athenians* would yeeld to nothing, for it was their whole desire that all *Greece* should take notice, how farre they were from feare of any other Citie. Hereupon they prepared on both sides very strongly, all that was needefull to the Warre; wherein the *Lacedæmonians* were Superiour, both in number and quality, being assisted by most of the Cities in *Greece*, & hauing the generall fauour, as men that pretended to set at liberty such as were oppressed: but the *Athenians* did as farre exceede them in all prouisions of Money, Shipping, Engines, and absolute power of command among their Subiects; which they held; & afterward found of greater vse in such neede, than the willing readinesse of friends, who soone grow weary, and are not easily assembled.

§. III.

The beginning of the Peloponnesian Warre.

THe first and second yeares expedition was very grieuous to the Citie of *Athens*. For the Fields were wasted, the Trees cut downe; the Countrie people driuen to flye, with Wiues, Children, and Cattaile, into the Towne; whereby a most furious pestilence grew in the Citie, such as before they had neuer felt, nor heard of. Hereunto was added the reuolt of the *Mytilenians*, in the Ile of *Lesbos*, & the siege of *Platea* their confederated Citie, which they durst not aduenture to raise; besides some small ouerthrowes receiued. The *Lacedæmonians* assembling as great forces as they could raise out of *Peloponnesus*, did in the beginning of Summer enter the Countrie of *Attica*, and therein abide, vntill victuals began to faile, wasting and destroying all things round about: The Gouernours of the *Athenians* would not suffer the people to issue into the field against them; for they knew the valour of their Enemies; but vsed to send a fleet into *Peloponnesus*, which wasted as fast all the Sea-coast of their Enemies, whilest they were making warre in *Attica*. So the *Peloponnesians* being the stronger by Land, wan the Towne of *Platæa*, which wanted rescue; the *Athenians* likewise being more mighty by Sea, did subdue *Mytilene* which had rebelled, but could not be succoured from *Sparta*. By these proceedings in that warre, the *Lacedæmonians* beganne to perceiue how vnfit they were to deale with such enemies. For after that *Attica* was throughly wasted, it lay not greatly in their power to doe any offence equall to such harme as they themselues might, and did receiue. Their Confederates beganne to set forward very slowly in their expeditions into *Attica*; perceiuing wel that *Athens* was plentifully relieued with all necessaries, which came by the Sea from the Ilands that were subiect vnto that Estate; and therefore these inuaders tooke but small pleasure in beholding the walls of that mightie Citie, or in wasting a forsaken field, which was to them a patterne of the calamities, with which their owne Territorie was the whilest afflicted. Wherefore they began

began to set their care to build a strong Nauie, wherein they had little good successe, being easily vanquished by the *Athenians*, who both had more and better ships, and were so skilfull in Sea-fights, that a few Vessels of theirs durst vndertake a great number of the *Peloponnesians*.

§. IIII.

Of the great losse which the Spartans receiued at Pylus.

AMong other losses which the *Spartans* had felt by Sea; they receiued at *Pylus* a very sore blow, that compelled them to sue for peace. A fleet of *Athenian* ships bound for *Corcyra*, wasting in that passage, as their manner was, the coast of *Laconia*, and all the halfe Ile of *Peloponnesus*, was by contrarie windes detained at *Pylus*, which is a ragged Promontorie, ioyning to the maine, by a strange necke of Land. Before it there lies a small barren Iland of lesse than two miles compasse, and within that a creeke, which is a good harbour for ships, the force of weather being borne off by the head-Land and Isle. This Promontorie the *Athenians* fortified, as well as in haste they might; and what was wanting in their artificiall fortification, was supplied by the naturall strength and site of the place. By holding this piece of ground, and hauen, they in reason expected many aduantages against their enemies. For the Countrie adioyning was inhabited by the *Messenians*, who in ancient times had held very strong and cruell warre with *Sparta*; and (though quite subdued) they were held in streight subiection; yet was not the olde hatred so extinguished, that by the neere neighbourhood and assistance of the *Athenians*, it might not be reuiued. Furthermore it was thought, that many ill-willers to the *Lacedæmonians*, and as many of their bond-slaues as could escape from them, would repaire to *Pylus*, and from thence make daily excursions into *Laconia*, which was not farre off: Or if other hopes failed, yet would the benefit of this hauen, lying almost in the mid-way betweene them and *Corcyra*, make them able to sur-round all *Peloponnesus*, and waste it at their pleasure. The newes of these doings at *Pylus* drew the *Peloponnesians* thither in all haste out of *Attica*, which they had entred a few daies before with their whole Armie: but now they brought not onely their Land-forces, but all their Nauie, to recouer this peece, which how bad a neighbour it might prooue in time, they well fore-saw, little fearing the grieuous losse at hand, which they there in few daies receiued. For when they in vaine made a generall assault on all sides, both by Sea and Land; finding that small Garrison which the *Athenians* had left, very resolute in the defence: they occupied the hauen, placing foure hundred & twenty choice men all of them, Citizens of *Sparta*, in the Iland before mentioned, at each end whereof is a channell, that leades into the Port; but so narrow, that onely two ships in front could enter between the Isle and *Pylus*; likewise but seuen or eight ships could enter at onee by the further channell, between the Iland and the Maine. Hauing thus taken order to shut vp this new Towne by Sea, they sent part of their fleet to fetch wood, and other stuffe, wherewith to fortifie round about, and blocke vp the piece on all sides. But in the meane season the *Athenian* fleet, hearing of their danger that were left at *Pylus*, returned thither, and with great courage entring the hauen, did breake and sinke many of their Enemies vessels; tooke fiue, and so inforced the residue to runne themselues a-ground.

Now was the Towne secure, and the *Spartans* abiding in the Iland as good as lost. Wherefore the Magistrates were sent from *Sparta* to the campe (as was their custome in great dangers) to aduise what were best for the publike safety; who when they did perceiue that there was no other way to rescue their Citizens out of the Isle, than by composition with their enemies, they agreed to entreat with the *Athenians* about peace, taking truce in the meane while with the Captaines at *Pylus*. The conditions of the truce were, That the *Lacedæmonians* should deliuer vp all the ships which were in the coast, and that they should attempt nothing against the town, nor the *Athenians* against the campe: That a certaine quantitie of Bread, Wine, and Flesh, should be daily carried into the Isle, but that no ships should passe into the Iland secretly: That the *Athenians* should carry the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadors to *Athens*, there to treat of peace, and should bring them backe, at whose returne the truce should end, which if in the meane time it were broken in any one point, should be held vtterly void in all: That when the truce was expired, the

Athenians

Athenians should restore the *Peloponnesian* ships, in as good case as they received them. The Embassadors comming to *Athens*, were of opinion, that as they themselues had begun the warre, so might they end it when they pleased. Wherefore they told the *Athenians* how great an honour it was that the *Lacedæmonians* did sue to them for peace, aduising them to make an end of warre, whilest with such reputation they might. But they found all contrarie to their expectation: For in stead of concluding vpon euen termes, or desiring of meet recompence for losse sustained, the *Athenians* demanded certain Cities to be restored to them, which had been taken from them by the *Lacedæmonians* long before this warre beganne, refusing likewise to continue the treaty of peace, vnlesse the *Spartans* which were in the Isle, were first rendred vnto them as prisoners. Thus were the Embassadors returned without effect; at which time the truce being ended, it was desired from the *Athenian* Captaines, that they should, according to their conenant, restore the ships, which had beene put into their hands. Whereto answer was made, that the condition of the truce was, That if any one article were broken, all should be held void; now (said the *Athenians*) ye haue assaulted our Garrisons, and thereby are we acquited of our promise to restore the ships. This and the like friuolous allegations which they made, were but meere shifts; yet profit so far ouer-weighed honour, that better answer none could be got. Then were the *Lacedæmonians* driuen to vse many hard meanes, for conuiance of victuals into the Isle; which finally was taken by force, and the men that were in it carried prisoners to *Athens*, where it was decreed that when the *Peloponnesians* next inuaded *Attica*, these prisoners should all be slaine. Whether fearing the death of these men, or with-held by the troubles, which (according to the *Athenians* hope) fell vpon them, the *Lacedæmonians* were so farre from wasting *Attica*, that they suffered their own Countrie to be continually ouer-runne, both by the *Athenians*, who landed on all parts of their coast, and by those which issued out of *Pylus*, which became the Rendeuous of all that were ill-affected vnto them.

§.V.

How the Lacedæmonians hardly, and to their great disaduantage, obtained a peace, that was not well kept.

THerefore they indeuoured greatly to obtain peace; which the *Athenians* would not harken vnto: For they were so puffed vp with continuance of good successe, that hauing sent a few bands of men into *Sicilie*, to hold vp a faction there, and make what profit they might of the *Sicilians* quarrels; when afterward they heard that the differences in that Isle were taken away, and their bands returned without either gaine or losse, they banished the Captaines, as if it had beene meerely through their default, that the Ile of *Sicilie* was not conquered; which (besides the longer distance) was in power to offend others, or defend it selfe, no whit inferiour vnto *Peloponnesus*. Yet was this their ouer-weening much abated shortly after, by some disasters receiued, especially in *Thrace*, where in a battaile which they lost at *Amphipolis*, *Cleon* and *Brasidas*, Generalls of the *Athenian* and *Lacedæmonian* forces, were both slaine; which two had most bin aduersaries to the peace. As the *Athenians* by their losses were taught moderation; so the *Lacedæmonians*, who not onely felt the like wounds, but through the great Nauie which they had received at *Pylus*, were faine to proceed lamely in the war, against such as, through commoditie of their good fleet, had all aduantage that could be found in expedition, were feruently desirous to conclude the businesse, ere Fortune by any new fauour should reuiue the insolence, which was at this time well mortified in their Enemies. Neither was it onely a consideration of their present estate, that viged them to bring the treaty of peace to a good and speedy effect; but other dangers hanging ouer their heads, and ready to fall on them, which vnlesse they compounded with the *Athenians*, they knew not how to auoide. The estate of *Argos*, which had ancient enmity with them, was now, after a truce of thirty yeares well-nigh expired, ready to take the benefit of their present troubles, by ioyning with those who alone found them worke enough. *Argos* was a rich and strong Citie, which though inferiour to *Sparta* in valour, yet was not so vnwarlike, nor held such ill correspondence with the neighbouring Estates, that the *Lacedæmonians* could euer farre preuaile vpon it, when they had little else to doe.

This

This was a thing that in the beginning of this Warre had not beene regarded. For it was then thought, that by wasting the Territorie of *Athens* with sword and fire, the quarrell should easily and in short time haue beene ended, whereby not onely the *Athenians* should haue been brought to good order, but the *Corinthians*, and others, for whose sake the war was vnder-taken, haue bin so firmly knit to the *Lacedæmonians*, that they should for loue of them haue abandoned the *Argiues*, to their own fortunes. But now the vanity of those hopes appeared, in that the *Athenians* abounding in ready mony, & meanes to raise more, were able to secure themselues by a strong fleet from any great harme that the *Peloponnesians* wanting wherewith to maintaine a Nauie, could doe vnto them; yea as Masters of the Sea, to weary them out, as in effect already they had done. As for the Confederates of *Sparta*, they could now endure neither warre nor peace; their daily trauailes, and many losses had so wearied and incensed them. Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians* were glad to vse the occasion, which the inclination of their enemies did then afford, of making a finall peace, which with much adoe they procured, as seemed equall and easie; but was indeed impossible to be performed, and therefore all their trauaile was little effectuall.

The restitution of prisoners and places taken being agreed vpon; it fell out by lot, that the *Lacedæmonians* should restore first. These had wonne more townes vpon the continent from the *Athenians*, than the *Athenians* had from them; but what they had wonne, they had not wonne absolutely. For they had restored some Townes to such of their Allies, from whom the State of *Athens* had taken them; some, and those the most, they had set at libertie (as reason required) which had opened their gates vnto them, as to their friends & deliuerers, & not compelled them to breake in as enemies. Now concerning the Townes which were not in their owne hands, but had bin rendred vnto their Confederates, the *Spartans* found meanes to giue some satisfaction, by permitting the *Athenians* to retaine others, which they had gotten in the Warre; as for the rest, they promised more than afterwards they could performe. The Cities which they had taken into protection, could not endure to heare of being abandoned, neither would they by any meanes yeeld themselues into the hands of their old Lords the *Athenians*, whom they had offended by reuolting, notwithstanding whatsoeuer articles were drawne, and concluded, for their securitie, and betterance in time to come. This dull performance of conditions on the side of the *Spartans*, made the *Athenians* become as backeward in doing those things which on their part were required, so that restoring only the prisoners which they had, they deferred the rest, vntill such time as they might receiue the full satisfaction, according to the agreement. But before such time as these difficulties brake out into matter of open quarrel, the *Lacedæmonians* entred into a more streight alliance with the *Athenians*; making a league offensiue and defensiue with them. Heereunto they were moued by the backwardnesse of the *Argiues*, who being (as they thought) likely to haue sued for peace at their hands, as soone as things were once compounded betweene *Athens* and *Sparta*; did shew themselues plainely vnwilling to giue eare to any such motion. Thinking therefore, that by cutting from *Argos* all hope of *Athenian* succour, they should make sure worke, the *Spartants* regarded not the affections of other States, whom they had either bound vnto them by well-deseruing in the late warre, or found so troublesome, that their enmitie (if perhaps they durst let it appeare) was little worse than friendship. It bred great iealousie in all the Cities of *Greece*, to perceiue such a coniunction betweene two so powerfull Signiories: especially one clause threatning euery one, that was any thing apt to feare, with a secret intent that might be harboured in their proud conceits, of subduing the whole Countrie, and taking each what they could lay hold on. For besides the other articles, it was agreed, That they might by mutuall consent adde new conditions, or alter the old at their own pleasures. This impression wrought so strongly in the *Corinthians*, *Thebanes*, and other ancient Confederates of *Sparta*, that the hate which they had borne to the *Athenians* their professed enemies, was violently thrown vpon the *Lacedæmonians* their vniust friends: whereby it came to passe, that they who had lately borne chiefe sway in *Greece*, might haue been abandoned to the discretion of their enemies, as already in effect they were, had the enemies wisely vsed the aduantage.

§.VI.

§.VI.

Of the negotiations, and practices, held betweene many States of Greece, by occasion of the peace that was concluded.

THe admiration wherein all *Greece* held the valour of *Sparta* as vnresistable, and able to make way through all impediments, had bin so excessiue, that when by some sinister accidents, that Citie was compelled to take and seeke peace, vpon termes not sounding very honourable, this common opinion was not onely abated, but (as happens vsually in things extreame) was changed into much contempt. For it was neuer thought that any *Lacedæmonian* would haue endured to lay down his weapons, & yeeld himselfe prisoner, nor that any misfortune should haue bin so great, as should haue drawn that Citie to relieue it selfe otherwise than by force of Armes. But when once it had appeared that many of their Citizens, among whom were some of especiall marke, being ouer-laied by enemies, in the Iland before *Pylus*, had rather chosen to liue in captiuitie, than to die in fight, and that *Pylus* it selfe, sticking as a thorne in the foot of *Laconia*, had bred such anguish in that Estate, as vtterly wearying the accustomed *Spartan* resolution, had made it sit down, and seeke to refresh it selfe by dishonorable ease: then did not onely the *Corinthians* and *Thebans* begin to conceiue basely of those men which were vertuous, though vnfortunate; but other lesser Cities ioyning with these in the same opinion, did cast their eies vpon the rich & great Citie of *Argos*, of whose abilitie, to do much, they conceiued a strong beleefe, because of long time it had done nothing. Such is the base condition, which through foolish enuie is become almost natural in the greater part of mankind. We curiously search into their vices, in whom, had they kept some distance, we should haue discerned only the vertues; and comparing iniuriously our best parts with their worst, are iustly plagued with a false opinion of that good in strangers which we know to be wanting in our selues.

The first that published their dislike of *Sparta* were the *Corinthians*, at whose vehement entreaty (though moued rather by enuy at the greatnesse of *Athens* daily encreasing) the *Lacedæmonians* had entred into the present Warre. But these *Corinthians* did onely murmure at the peace, alleadging as grieuances, that some townes of theirs were left in the *Athenians* hands. The *Mantineans*, who during the time of Warre, had procured some part of the *Arcadians* to become their followers, and forsake their dependancy vpon the State of *Sparta*, did more freely and readily discouer themselues; feare of reuenge to come, working more effectually, than indignation at things already past. The *Argiues* feeling the gale of prosperous Fortune that began to fil their sailes; prepared themselues to take as much of it as they could stand vnder; giuing for that purpose vnto twelue of their Citizens, a ful & absolute commission to make alliance betweene them & any free Cities of *Greece* (*Athens* & *Sparta* excepted) without any further trouble of propounding euery particular businesse to the multitude. When the gates of *Argos* were set thus open to all commers; the *Mantineans* began to leade the way, and many Cities of *Peloponnesus* following them, entred into this new confederacy; some incited by priuate respects, others thinking it the wisest way to do as the most did. What inconuenience might arise vnto them by these courses, the *Lacedæmonians* easily discerned; & therefore sent Embassadors to stop the matter at *Corinth*, where they well perceiued that the mischiefe had bin hatched. These Embassadors found in the *Corinthians* a very rough disposition, with a grauity expressing the opinion which they had conceiued of their present aduantage ouer *Sparta*. They had caused all Cities which had not entred yet into alliance with *Argos*, to send their Agents to them, in whose presence they gaue audience to the *Lacedæmonians*; the purport of whose Embassie was this: That the *Corinthians*, without breach of their oath, could not forsake the alliance, which they had long since made with *Sparta*; and that reason did as well binde them to hold themselues contented with the peace lately made, as religion enforced them to continue in their ancient confederacy, forasmuch as it had bin agreed between the *Spartans* and their associates, that the consent of the greater part, (which had yeelded vnto peace with *Athens*) should bind the lesser number to performe what was concluded, if no diuine impediment withstood them. Hereunto the *Corinthians* made answer, that the *Spartans* had first begun to doe them open wrong, in concluding the warre wherein they had lost many places, without prouision

prouision of restitution; and that the very clause, alledged by the Embassadors, did acquite them from any necessity of subscribing to the late peace, forasmuch as they had sworn vnto those people whom they perswaded to rebell against *Athens*, that they would neuer abandon them, nor willingly suffer them to fall againe into the tyrannous hands of the *Athenians*. Wherefore they held themselues bound both in reason & religion to vse all meanes of vpholding those, whom by common consent they had taken into protection; for that an oath was no lesse to be accounted a Diuine impediment, than were pestilence, tempest, or any the like accident, hindering the performance of things vndertaken. As for the alliance with *Argos*, they said that they would do as they should find cause. Hauing dismissed the Embassadors with this answer, they made haste to ioyne themselues with *Argos*, & caused other States to do the like; so that *Sparta* & *Athens* were in a manner left to themselues, the *Thebanes* and *Megarians* being also vpon the point to haue entred into this new confederacie. But as the affections were diuers, which caused this hastie confluence of sudden friends to *Argos*, it so likewise came to passe that the friendship it selfe, such as it was, had much diuersitie both of sinceritie and of continuance. For some there were that hated or feared the *Lacedæmonians*: as the *Mantineans* and *Eleans*: these did firmely betake themselues to the *Argiues*, in whom they knew the same affection to be inueterate; others did onely hate the peace concluded; and these would rather haue followed the *Spartans* than the *Argiues* in war, yet rather the *Argiues* in war than the *Lacedæmonians* in peace. Of this number were the *Corinthians*, who knowing that the *Thebans* were affected like vnto themselues, dealt with them to enter into the societie of the *Argiues*, as they had done: but the different formes of gouernment, vsed in *Thebes* and *Argos*, caused the *Thebans* to hold rather with *Sparta*, that was ruled by the principall men, than to incurre the danger of innouation, by ioyning with such as committed the whole rule to the multitude.

This businesse hauing ill succeeded, the *Corinthians* began to bethinke themselues of their owne danger, who had not so much as any truce with *Athens*, and yet were vnprepared for warre. They sought therefore to come to some temporary agreement with the *Athenians*, and hardly obtained it. For the *Athenians* who had dealt with all *Greece* at one time, did not greatly care to come to any appointment with one Citie that had shewed against them more stomacke than force; but gaue them to vnderstand that they might be safe enough from them, if they would claime the benefit of that alliance, which *Athens* had lately made with *Sparta* & her dependants; yet finally they granted vnto these *Corinthians* (vvhich were loth to acknowledge themselues dependants of *Sparta*) the truce that they desired; but into priuate confederacie they would not admit them, it being an article of the league between them and the *Spartans*, That the one should not make peace nor warre vvithout the other.

Herein, as in many other passages, may clearely be seene the great aduantage vvhich absolute Lords haue, as well in peace as in vvarre, ouer such as are serued by voluntaries. We shall hardly finde any Signiorie, that hath beene so constantly followed as *Sparta* vvas by so many States, and some of them little inferiour to it selfe, being all as free: whereas contrariwise, the *Athenians* had lately, and by compulsiue meanes gotten their Dominion, wherein they demeaned themselues as Tyrants. But in performance of conditions agreed vpon, the *Athenians* were able to make their words good, by excluding any State out of their Confederacie, and giuing vp such places as were agreed vpon: of vvhich the *Lacedæmonians* could do neither the one nor the other. For such Townes as their old Allies had gotten by their meanes in the late vvar, could not be restored without their consent, which had them in present possession; and particularly the Towne of *Panactie*, which the *Thebans* held, could by no meanes be obtained from them by the *Lacedæmonians* (vvho earnestly desired it, that by restitution thereof vnto the *Athenians*, as earnestly demanding it, themselues might recouer *Pylus*) vnlesse that they vvould agree to make a priuate alliance with *Thebes*; vvhich thereupon they vvere constrained to doe, though knowing it to be contrarie to the last agreement betweene them and *Athens*.

The *Lacedæmonians* hauing broken one article of the league made between them and the *Athenians*, that by so doing they might enable themselues to the performance of another, were shamefully disappointed of their hopes by the *Thebanes*, who did not giue vp the towne of *Panactie*, till first they had vtterly demolished it, and made it of no worth to the

the *Athenians*. This was sought to haue bin excused by the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadours, who comming to *Athens* (vvhither they had sent home all prisoners that had bin detained at *Thebes*) hoping with gentle words to salue the matter; saying, That from henceforth no enemie to *Athens* should nestle in *Panacte*, for it was destroyed. But these Embassadors had not to deale vvith tame fooles. For the *Athenians* told them in plaine termes, That of three principall conditions agreed vpon in their late League, they had not performed any one, but vsed such base conclusion as stood notwith their honour: hauing made priuate alliance with the *Thebanes*; hauing destroyed a Towne that they should haue restored; and not hauing forced their dependants by Warre, to make good the Couenants of the late concluded peace. Heereupon they dismissed the Embassadors vvith rough words, meaning with as rough deeds to anger those that sent them.

There were at that time, both in *Athens* and *Sparta*, many that were ill-contented with the peace: among whom were the *Ephori*, chosen for that yeare, in *Sparta*; and *Alcibiades*, a powerfull young Gentleman in *Athens*. But the *Ephori*, though desiring to renew the warre, yet wished that first they might get from the *Athenians* as much as was to be rendred to them by Couenant, especially *Pylus* that had so sorely troubled them. *Alcibiades*, vvhose Nobilitie, riches, & fauor with the people, made him desire warre, as the meane vvherby himself might procure some honourable employment; vsed all meanes to set the quarrell on foot, whilest the *Athenians* had yet both aduantage enough, as not hauing rendred ought saue their prisoners, and pretence enough to vse that aduantage of breaking the peace, by reason that the *Lacedæmonians* (though indeed against their wills) had broken all couenants with them. Now the State of *Athens* had fully determined to retain *Pylus*, and to performe nothing that the *Lacedæmonians* should, and might require, vntill they had first, without any longer halting, fulfilled all articles whereto they were bound, euen to the vtmost point. This was enough to make them sweat, who hauing already done the most that they could, had as yet got nothing in recompence, except the deliuery of their Citizens, vvhich vvere prisoners. But *Alcibiades* vvishing a speedy beginning of open vvarre, sent priuily to the *Argiues*, and gaue them to vnderstand how fitly the time serued for them to associate themselues with *Athens*, vvhich was enough to giue them securitie against all Enemies.

The *Argiues* vpon the first confluence of many Estates vnto their societie, had embraced great hopes of working wonders, as if they should haue had the conduct of all *Greece* against the *Athenians*, robbing *Sparta* of that honour, as hauing ill vsed it, and thereby leauing their old enemies in case of much contempt and disabilitie. But these suddain apprehensions of vaine ioy, were suddainly changed into as vaine feare; which ill agreed with the great opinion that had lately bin conceiued of *Argos*. For when the *Thebans* had refused their alliance; when the *Corinthians* had sought securitie from *Athens*; and when a false rumour was noysed abroad, *Athens*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, were come to a full agreement vpon all points of difference; then began the *Argiues* to let fall their crests, and sue for peace vnto the *Lacedæmonians*, who needing it as much as they, or more, yet held their grauity, and were not ouer-hastie to accept it. At this time, and in this perturbation, the message of *Alcibiades* came very welcome to the *Argiues*, which were not now consulting how to become the chiefe of all others, but how to saue themselues. Wherefore they sent away presently to *Athens*, their owne Embassadours, accompanied with the *Mantinæans* and *Eleans*, to make a league offensiue, and defensiue, between their Estates and the *Athenians*.

Of this businesse the *Lacedæmonians* knew not what to thinke: for well they saw, that such a combination tended to their great hurt, and therefore were desirous to preuent it, but to keepe the loue of the *Athenians*, the new *Ephori* thought that more was alreadie done, than stood with their honour, or profit; others held it the wisest way, hauing done so much, not to sticke vpon a little more, but rather by giuing full satisfaction, to retaine the friendship of that State, which was more to be valued than all the rest of *Greece*. This resolution preuailing, they sent away such of their Citizens as were best affected to the peace, who comming to *Athens*, with full commission to make an end of all controuersies, did earnestly labour in the Councell-house, to make the truth of things appeare, saying; that their Confederacie with the *Thebans* had tended to none other end than the recouery of *Panacte*: concerning which Towne, or any other businesse, that it much grieued the Lacedæmonians, to see things fall out in such wise as might giue to the Athenians cause of displeasure; but that all should be done which in reason might be required for making matters euen between them; to which purpose they shewed that themselues had absolute commission. Wherfore they desired that Pylus might be restored to them, and especially for the present, that the negotiation with the Argiues might be called aside. Fauourable audience was giuen to this proposition, the rather, because they which promised amends, had power to make their words good. But all this faire likelihood of good agreement was dasht on the suddaine, by the practice of *Alcibiades*, who, secretly dealing with the Lacedæmonian Embassadors, perswaded them well of his friendship towards their city, & aduised them to take all care that their absolute power to conclude what they pleased in the name of Sparta, might not be knowne to the Communalty of Athens, lest the insolent multitude should thereupon grow peremptory & yeeld to nothing, vnlesse they could draw them to vnreasonable conditions. The Embassadors beleeued him, & fashioned their tale in the assembly of the people, as he had aduised them. Hereupon the same *Alcibiades* taking presently the aduantage, which their double dealing afforded, inueighed openly against them, as men of no sincerity, that were come to Athens for no other purpose, than to hinder the people from strengthning themselues with friends, meaning to draw the Argiues & their Adherents to their owne alliance, as (contrary to their owne Oath) already they had the Thebans. The people of Athens, whom a pleasing errand would very hardly haue satisfied, or brought into a good opinion of the Lacedæmonians, (whose honest meanings had so ill been seconded with good performance) were now so much incensed with the double dealing of the Embassadours, and the strong perswasions of *Alcibiades*, that little wanted of concluding the league with Argos. Yet for the present so farre did *Nicias*, an honourable Citizen, and great friend to the peace, preuaile with them, that the businesse was put off, vntill he himselfe, with other Embassadours, might fetch a better answer from Sparta.

It may also seeme a great wonder, how so poore a tricke of *Alcibiades* was able to carry a matter of so great importance, when the Spartan Embassadours might haue cast the loade vpon his owne shoulders, by discouering the truth: But the grauity which was vsually found in the Lacedæmonians, hindred them (perhaps) from playing their game handsomely against so nimble a wit; and they might well haue beene thought vntrusty men, had they professed themselues such as would say and vn-say for their most aduantage.

Nicias and his Companions had a sowre message to deliuer at Sparta, being peremptorily to require performance of all conditions, and among the rest, that the Lacedæmonians should take the paines to rebuild Panacte, and should immediately renounce their Alliance made with the Thebans; letting them vnderstand that otherwise the Athenians, without further delay, would enter into confederacy with the Argiues, and their adherents. The Ephori at Sparta had no minde to forsake the Thebans, assured friends to their State; but wrought so hard, that the anger of the Athenians was suffered to breake out what way it could, which to mitigate, they would doe no more, than only (at the request of *Nicias* their honourable friend, who would not seeme to haue effected nothing) sweare a-new to keepe the Articles of the league betweene him and Athens. Immediately therefore vpon returne of the Embassadours, a new league was made between the Athenians, Argiues, Mantinæans, & Eleans, with very ample prouision for holding the same common friends and enemies; wherein, though the Lacedæmonians were passed ouer with silence, yet was it manifest that the whole intent of this confederacy did bend it selfe chiefly against them, as in short while after was proued by effect.

At this time the Lacedæmonians were in ill case, who hauing restored all that they could vnto the Athenians, and procured others to doe the like, had themselues recouered nothing of their owne (prisoners excepted) for default of restoring all that they should. But that which did most of all disable them, was the losse of reputation, which they had not more impaired in the late Warre by misfortunes, than in sundry passages betweene them and the Athenians: to procure and keepe whose Amity, they had left sundry of their old friends to shift for themselues. Contrariwise, the Athenians, by the treaty of peace, had recouered the most part of that which they lost in warre; all

all their gettings they had retained; and were strengthened by the accesse of new Confederates.

§. VII.

How the peace betweene Athens and Sparta was ill kept, though not openly broken.

IT was not long ere the Argiues and their fellowes had found businesse wherwith to set the Athenians on worke, and make vse of this coniunction. For, presuming vpon the strength of their side, they began to meddle with the Epidaurians, whom it concerned the State of Sparta to defend. So, many acts of hostility were committed, wherein Athens and Sparta did (as principals) infest each the other, but came in collaterally, as to the aide of their seuerall friends.

By these occasions the Corinthians, Bœotians, Phocians, Locrians, & other people of Greece, began a-new to range themselues vnder the Lacedæmonians, & follow their ensignes. One victory which the Lacedæmonians obtained by their meer valour in a set battell, neer to Mantinæa, against the Argiue-side, helped well to repaire their decaied reputation, though otherwise it yeelded them no great profit. The ciuill dissension arising shortly after within Argos it selfe, betweene the principall Citizens and the Commons, had almost throwne downe the whole frame of the new combination. For the chiefe Citizens getting the vpper hand, made a league with Sparta, wherein they proceeded so farre as to renounce the amity of the Athenians in expresse words, and forced the Mantinæans to the like. But in short space of time the multitude preuailing, reuersed all this, and hauing chased away their ambitious Nobility, applied themselues to the Athenians as closely as before.

Beside these vproares in Peloponnesus, many assaies were made to raise vp troubles in all parts of Greece, & likewise in Macedon, to the Athenians; whose forces & readines for execution, preuented some things, reuenged other, and requited all with some prosperous attempts. Finally, the Athenians wanting matter of quarrell; & the Lacedæmonians growing weary, they began to be quiet; retaining still that enmity in their hearts, which they had sufficiently discouered in effects, though not yet breaking out into terms of open Warre.

§. VIII.

The Athenians sending two Fleets to sacke Siracuse, are put to flight, and vtterly discomfited.

DVring this intermission of open War, the Athenians re-entertained their hopes of subduing Sicil, whither they sent a Fleet so mighty as neuer was set forth by Greece in any Age before or after.

This Fleet was very well manned, & furnished with all necessaries to so great an expedition. All which came to nought; partly by the factions in Athens, whence *Alcibiades* Author of that voyage, and one of the Generalls of their Fleet, was driuen to banish himselfe, for feare of such iudgement, as else he was like to haue vndergone, among the incensed people; partly by the inuasion which the Lacedæmonians made vpon Attica, whilest the forces of that State were so far from home. Hereunto was added the aide of the King of Persia, who supplied the Peloponnesians with mony.

Neither was the successe of things in Sicilia such, as without help from Athens, could giue any likelihood of a good end in that warre. For although in the beginning, the enterprise had so well succeeded, that they besieged Siracuse, the chiefe City of all the Iland, and one of the fairest Townes which the Greekes inhabited, obtayning the better in sundry battailes by Land and Sea; yet when the Towne was relieued with strong aide from Peloponnesus, it came to passe that the Athenians were put to the worse on all sides, in such wise that their Fleet was shut vp into the hauen of Siracuse, and could not issue out.

As the Athenian affairs went very il in Sicil, so did they at home stand vpon hard terms, for that the Lacedæmonians, who had beene formerly accustomed to make weariſome yearly iournies into Attica, which having pilled & forraged, they returned home; did now

now by counsell of *Alcibiades*, (who seeking reuenge vpon his owne Citizens was fled vnto them) fortifie the Town of Decelea, which was neere to Athens, whence they ceased not with daily excursions to harry all the Country round about, and sometimes giue alarme vnto the City it selfe. In these extremities, the peruerse obstinacy of the Athenians was very strange; who leauing at their backes, and at their owne doores, an enemy little lesse mighty than themselues, did yet send forth another Fleet into Sicil, to inuade a people no lesse puissant, which had neuer offended them.

It often happens, that prosperous euent makes foolish counsaile seem wiser than it was; which came to passe many times among the Athenians, whose vaine conceits *Pallas* was said to turne vnto the best. But where vnsound aduice, finding bad proofe, is obstinately pursued, neither *Pallas* nor *Fortune* can be iustly blamed for a miserable issue. This second Fleet of the Athenians, which better might haue serued to conuey home the former that was defeated; after some attempts made to small purpose against the Siracusans, was finally (together with the other part of the Nauie, which was there before) quite vanquished, & bard vp into the hauen of Siracuse, wherby the camp of the Athenians, vtterly depriued of all benefit by Sea, either for succour or departure, was driuen to breake vp, and flye away by Land; in which flight they were ouer-taken, routed, and quite ouerthrowne, in such wise that scarce any man escaped.

This mischiefe wel deserued fell vpon the Athenians, who had wickedly condemned into exile *Sophocles* and *Pthiodorus* Generalls, formerly sent into that Ile, pretending that they had taken mony for making peace in Sicil, wheras indeed there was not any means or possibility to haue made warre. Hereby it came to passe, that *Nicias*, who had the chiefe command in this vnhappy enterprise, did rather choose to hazzard the ruine of his Country by the losse of that Army, wherin consisted little lesse than all the power of Athens; than to aduenture his owne estate, his life, and his honour vpon the tongues of shamelesse accusers, and the sentence of Iudges before his triall resolued to condemne him, by retiring from Siracuse, when wisdome and necessity required it. *For* (said hee) *they shall giue sentence vpon vs, who know not the reason of our doings, nor would giue eare to any that would speake in our behalfe, but altogether harken to suspicious and vaine rumors that shall be brought against vs; yea these our Souldiers who now are so desirous to returne in safety, will in our danger be well contented to frame their tales to the pleasure of the lewd and insolent multitude.*

This resolution of *Nicias*, though it cannot be commended (for it is the part of an honest and valiant man to doe what reason willeth, not what opinion expecteth; & to measure honour or dishonour by the assurance of his well-informed conscience, rather than by the malicious report & censure of others) yet it may be excused; since he had before his eies the iniustice of his people, and had well vnderstood that a wicked sentence is infinitely worse than a wicked fact, as being held a president and patterne wherby oppression beginning vpon one, is extended as warrantable vpon all. Therefore his feare of wrongfull condemnation was such, as a constant man could not easily haue ouer-mastered; but when afterwards the Army, hauing no other expectation of safety than the faint hope of a secret flight, he was so terrified with an Eclipse of the Moon, happening when they were about to dislodge, that he would not consent to haue the camp break vp till seuen and twenty daies were past. His timorousnesse was euen as foolish and ridiculous, as the issue of it was lamentable. For he should not haue thought that the power of the Heauens, & the course of Nature, would be as vniust as his Athenians, or might pretend lesse euill to the slothfull, than to such as did their best. Neither doe I thinke that any Astrologer can alleage this Eclipse, as either a cause or prognostication of that Armies destruction, otherwise than as the folly of men did, by application, turne it to their owne confusion. Had *C. Cassius* the Roman, he, who slew *Iulius Casar*, imitated this superstition of *Nicias*, he had surely found the same fortune in a case very like. But when, hee retyring, the broken remainder of *Crassus* his Army defeated by the Parthian Archers, was aduised, vpon such an accident as this, to continue where he then was, till the Sunne were past the signe of *Scorpio*; he made answer that he stood not in such feare of *Scorpio*, as of *Sagittarius*. So aduenturing rather to abide the frowning of the Heauens, than the neerer danger of Enemies vpon earth, he made such a safe and honourable retrait, as did both shew his noble resolution, and giue a faire example to that good rule,

——— *Sapiens dominabitur astris.*

Thus we see that God, who ordinarily workes by a concatenation of meanes, deprives the Gouernours of vnderstanding, when he intends euill to the multitude; and that the wickednesse of vniust men is the ready meane to weaken the vertue of those who might haue done them good.

§. IX.

Of the troubles where-into the State of Athens fell, after the great losse of the Fleet, and Army, in Sicilia.

THe losse of this Army was the ruine of the Athenian Dominion, and may be well accompted a very little lesse calamity to that Estate, than was the subuersion of the walls, when the City about seuen yeares after was taken by *Lysander*. For now began the subiects of the Athenian Estate to rebell, of whom, some they reduced vnder their obedience; others held out; some for feare of greater inconuenience were set at liberty, promising onely to be their good friends, as formerly they had been their Subiects; others hauing a kinde of liberty offered by the Athenians, were not therewith contented, but obtained a true and perfect liberty by force. Among these troubles it fell out very vnseasonably, that the principall men of Athens being wearied with the peoples insolency, tooke vpon them to change the forme of that Estate, and bring the gouernment into the hands of a few. To which purpose conspiring with the Captains which were abroad, they caused them to set vp the forme of an Aristocratie in the Townes of their Confederates; and in the meane time, some that were most likely to withstand this innouation, being slaine at Athens, the Commonalty were so dismaid, that none durst speake against the Conspirators, whose number they knew not, but euery man was affraid of his neighbour, lest he should be a member of the league. In this generall fear the Maiesty of Athens was vsurped by foure hundred men, who obseruing in shew the ancient forme of proceeding, did cause all matters to be propounded vnto the people, and concluded vpon by the greater part of voices: but the things propounded were onely such as were first allowed in priuate among themselues; neitheir had the Commonalty any other liberty, than onely to approue and giue consent: for whosoeuer presumed any further, was quickly dispatched out of the way, and no inquiry made of the murther. By these meanes were many Decrees made, all tending to the establishment of this new Authority, which neuertheless endured not long. For the Fleet and Army which then was in the Isle of Samos, did altogether detest these dealings of the foure hundred vsurpers, and held them as Enemies; whereupon they reuoked *Alcibiades* out of banishment, and by his assistance procured that the supplies which the Persian King had promised to the Lacedæmonians, were by *Tissaphernes* his Lieutenant, made vnprofitable, through the slow and bad performance. *Alcibiades* had at the first beene very well entertained in Sparta, whilest his seruice done vnto that State was not growne to be the obiect of enuie. But when it appeared that in Counsaile & good performance he so far excelled all the Lacedæmonians, that all their good successe was ascribed to his wit and valour, then were all the principall Citizens weary of his vertue; especially *Agis* one of their Kings, whose wife had so far yeelded her selfe to the loue of this Athenian, that among her inward friends she could not forbeare to call her young child by his name. Hereupon order was taken, that *Alcibiades* should be killed out of the way. But he discouering the Spartan treachery, conueighed himself vnto *Tissaphernes*, whom he so bewitched with his great beauty, sweet conuersation, and sound wit, that he soone became the Master of that barbarous Vice-royes affections, who had free power to dispose the great Kings Treasures and Forces in those parts. Then began he to aduise *Tissaphernes*, not so far forth to assist the Lacedæmonians, that they should quite ouerthrow the State of Athens, but rather to helpe the weaker side, and let them one consume another, wherby all should fall at length into the hands of the Persian. By this counsaile he made way to other practices, wherein by strength of his reputation (as the onely Fauourite of so great a Potentate) he played his owne game, procuring his restitution. At length his banishment being repealed by the Army, but not by the Citizens (who then were oppressed by the foure hundred) he laboured greatly to recon-

reconcile the Souldiers to the Gouernours; or at least to diuert their heat another way, and turne it vpon the common Enemy. Some of the foure hundred approued his motion, as being weary of the tyranny whereof they were partakers, partly because they saw it could not long endure; and partly for that themselues, being lesse regarded by the rest of their companions, than stood with their good liking, sought to acquit themselues of it as honestly as they might. But the most of that Faction laboured to obtaine peace of the Lacedæmonians, desiring chiefly to maintain both their own authority & the greatnesse of their City, if they might: but if this could not be, they did rather wish to preserue their owne power, or safety at least, than the good Estate of the Common-wealth. Therfore they made sundry ouertures of peace to the Lacedæmonians, desiring to compound in as good termes as they might, and affirming that they were fitter to be trusted than the wauering multitude; especially considering that the City of Sparta was gouerned by an Aristocratie, to which form they had now reduced Athens. All these passages betweene the foure hundred (or the most and chiefe of them) and the Lacedæmonians, were kept as secret as might be. For the city of Athens, hoping, without any great cause, to repaire their losses, was not inclined to make composition, from which vpon iuster ground the Enemy was much more auerse, trusting well that the discord of the Athenians (not vnknowne abroad) might yeeld some faire opportunity to the destruction of it selfe, which in effect (though not then presently) came to passe. And vpon this hope king *Agis* did sometimes bring his Forces from Decelea to Athens, where doing no good, he receiued some small losses. Likewise the Nauie of Peloponnesus made shew of attempting the City, but seeing no likelihood of successe, they bent their course from thence to other places, where they obtained victories, which in the better Fortune of the Athenians might more lightly haue bin regarded, than in this their decayed estate. Yet it seemes, without any disparagement to their wisedome, they should rather haue forborne to present vnto the City, or to the Countries neere adioyning, any terrour of the warre. For the dissension within the walls might soon haue done more good than could be receiued from the Fleet or Army without, which indeed gaue occasion to set the Citizens at vnity, though it lasted not very long. The foure hundred, by meanes of these troubles, were faine to resigne their authority, which they could not now hold, when the people hauing taken armes to repell forraigne Enemies, would not lay them downe, till they had freed themselues from such as oppressed the State at home. Yet was not this alteration of gouernment a full restitution of the soueraign command vnto the people, or whole body of the City, but only to fiue thousand; which company the foure hundred (when their authority began) had pretended to take vnto them as assistants: herein seeming to do little wrong or none to the Commonalty, who seldome assembled in greater number. But now when the highest power was come indeed into the hands of so many, it was soon agreed that *Alcibiades* and his Companions should be recalled from exile, and that the Army at Samos should be requested to vndertake the gouernment: which was forthwith reformed according to the Souldiers desire.

§. X.

How Alcibiades *wonne many important victories for the Athenians; was recalled from exile; made their Generall, and againe deposed.*

THis establishment of things in the City, was accompanied with some good successe in the Warres. For the Lacedæmonians were about the same time ouerthrown at Sea, in a great battell, by the Athenian Fleet, which had remained at Samos, to which *Alcibiades* afterwards ioyning such forces as he could raise, obtained many victories. Before the Towne of Abydus, his arriuall with eighteen ships, gaue the honour of a great battell to the Athenians; he ouerthrew and vtterly destroyed the fleet of the Lacedæmonians, commanded by *Mindarus*; took the Towns of Cyzicus, and Perinthus, made the Selymbrians ransome their City, & fortified Chrysopolis. Hereupon letters were sent to Sparta, which the Athenians, intercepting, found to containe the distresse of the Army, in these few words: *All is lost*; Mindarus *is slaine*; *the Souldiers want victuals*; *we know not what to doe.*

Shortly after this, *Alcibiades* ouerthrew the Lacedæmonians in fight by land at Chalcedon, took Selymbria, besieged & won Byzantium, now called Constantinople, wch euen in

in those dayes was a goodly, rich, and very strong City. Hereupon he returned home with very great welcome, and was made high Admirall of all the Nauie.

But this his honour continued not long; for it was taken from him, and he driuen to banish himselfe againe; onely because his Lieutenant, contrary to the expresse command of *Alcibiades*, fighting with the enemies in his absence, had lost a great part of the Fleet.

The second banishment of *Alcibiades* was to the Athenians more harmefull than the first; and the losse which thereupon they receiued, was (though more heauie to them, yet) lesse to be pitried of others, than that which ensued vpon his former exile. For whereas at the first, he had sought reuenge vpon his owne City; now, as inured to aduersity, he rather pitried their fury, who in time of such danger had cast out him that should haue repaired their weak estate, than sought by procuring, or beholding the calamity of his people, to comfort himselfe after iniury receiued. Before they, who were instituted in the place of *Alcibiades*, arriued at the Fleet, he presented battaile to *Lysander* the Lacedæmonian Admirall, who was not so confident vpon his former victory, as to vndertake *Alcibiades* himselfe, bringing ships more in number (notwithstanding the former losse of fifteen) than his enemies had, & better ordered than they had bin vnder his Lieutenant. But when the decree of the people was published in the Nauie, then did *Alcibiades* with-draw himselfe to a Towne vpon Hellespont, called Bizanthe, where he had built a Castle.

§. XI.

The battaile at Arginusæ, and condemnation of the victorious Athenian Captaines by the people.

After this time, the Athenians receiuing many losses and discomfitures, were driuen to flie into the Hauen of Mytelene, where they were streightly besieged both by Land and Sea. For the raising of this siege necessity inforced them to man all their Vessels, and to put the vttermost of their forces into the hazzard of one battaile. This battaile was fought at Arginusæ, where *Callicraditus*, Admirall of the Lacedæmonians, losing the honour of the day, preserued his own reputation by dying valiantly in the fight. It might well haue beene expected, that the ten Captaines, who ioyntly had command in chiefe ouer the Athenian fleet, should for that good daies seruice, and so happy a victory, haue receiued great honour of their Citizens. But contrariwise they were forthwith called home, & accused, as if wilfully they had suffered many of the Citizens, whose ships were broken & sunke, to be cast away, when by appointing some Vessels to take them vp, they might haue saued them from being drowned. Hereto the Captaines readily made a very iust answer, That they pursuing the victory, had left part of the fleet, vnder sufficient men, to saue those that were wrackt; which if it were not well accomplished, it was, because a tempest arising about the end of the fight, had hindred the performance of that, and other their intendments. This excuse availed not: For a lewd fellow was brought forth, who said, That he himselfe escaping in a meale-tubbe, had been intreated by those who were in perill of drowning, to desire of the people reuenge of their deaths vpon the Captaines. It was very strange, that vpon such an accusation maintained with so slender euidence, men that had well deserued of their Country should be ouerthrowne. But their enemies had so incensed the rascall multitude, that no man durst absolue them, saue onely *Socrates* the wise and vertuous Philosopher, whose voice in this iudgement was not regarded. Sixe of them were put to death, of whom one had hardly escaped drowning, and was with much a-doe reliued by other vessels in the storme: but the Captaines which were absent escaped; for when the fury of the people was ouer-past, this iudgement was reuersed, and the accusers called into question for hauing deceiued and peruerted the Citizens. Thus the Athenians went about to free themselues from the infamy of iniustice; but the diuine Iustice was not a-sleep, nor would be so deluded.

§. XII.

§. XII.

The battaile at Ægos-Potamos, wherein the whole State of Athens was ruined; with the end of the Peloponnesian warre.

THe Peloponnesian fleet vnder *Lysander*, the year next following, hauing scowred the Ægean Seas, entred Hellespont, where (landing Souldiers) it besieged & took the town of Lampsacus. Hereupon all the nauie of Athens, being an hundred & fourescore saile, made thither in haste, but finding Lampsacus taken before their comming, they put in at Sestos, where hauing refreshed themselues, they sailed to the riuer called, *Ægos-Potamos*, which is (as we might name it) *Goats-Brook*, or the riuer of the *Goat*; being on the Continent, opposite to Lampsacus: and there they cast Anchors, not one whole league off from *Lysander*, who rode at Lampsacus in the harbor. The next day after their arriual they presented fight vnto the Peloponnesians, who refused it, wherupon the Athenians returned again to *Ægos-Potamos*, & thus they continued fiue daies, brauing euery day the Enemy, & returning to their own harbour when it drew towards euening.

The Castle of *Alcibiades* was not far from the Nauie, & his power in those places was such as might haue greatly auailed his Countrimen, if they could haue made vse of it. For he had waged Mercenaries, & making war in his own name vpon some people of the Thracians, had gathered much wealth, & obtained much reputation among them. He perceiuing the disorderly course of the Athenian Commanders, repaired vnto them, & shewed what great inconuenience might grow, if they did not soon fore-see & preuent it. For they lay in a roade subiect to euery weather, neither neere enough to any Towne where they might furnish themselues with necessaries, nor so farre off as had been more expedient. Sestos was the next Market-Towne; thither both Souldiers and Marriners resorted, flocking away from the Nauie euery day, as soone as they were returned from brauing the Enemy. Therefore *Alcibiades* willed them either to lie at Sestos, which was not farre off, or at least to consider how neere their Enemy was, whose feare proceeded rather from obedience to their General, than from any cowardise. This admonition was so farre despised, that some of the Commanders willed him to meddle with his owne matters, & to remember that his authority was out of date. Had it not bin for these opprobrious words, he could (as he told his familiars) haue compelled the Lacedæmonians, either to fight vpon vnequall terms, or vtterly to quit their Fleet. And like enough it was that he might so haue done by transporting the light-armed Thracians his Confederates, and others his Followers ouer the Streights, who assaulting the Peloponnesians by Land, would either haue compelled them to put to Sea, or else to leaue their ships to the mercy of the Athenians. But finding their acceptance of his good counsaile no better than hath bin rehearsed, he left them to their fortune, which how euill it would be he did prognosticate.

Lysander all this while defending himselfe by the aduantage of his Hauen, was not careless in looking into the demeanour of the Athenians. When they departed, his maner was to send forth some of his swiftest Vessels after them, who obseruing their doings, related vnto him what they had seene. Therefore vnderstanding in what carelesse fashion they romed vp & down the Country; he kept all his men a-boord after their departure, & the fift day gaue especiall charge to his Scouts, That when they perceiued the Athenians, disimbarking, as their custome was, & walking towards Sestos, they should forthwith returne, and hang vp a brazen shield in the Prow, as a token for him to weigh Anchor.

The Scouts performed their charge, and *Lysander* being in a readinesse, made all speed that strength of Oares could giue, to *Ægos-Potamos*, where he found very few of his enemies a-boord their ships, not many neere them, and all in great confusion vpon the news of his approach.

Insomuch that the greatest industry which the Athenians then shewed, was in the escape of eight or nine ships, which knowing how much that loss imported, gaue ouer Athens as desperate, & made a long flight vnto the Ile of Cyprus; all the rest were taken, & such of the Souldiers as came in to the rescue cut in pieces. Thus was the war which had lasted seuen and twenty years, with variable successe concluded in one houre, & the glory of Athens in such wise eclipsed, that she neuer afterward shone in her perfect light.

Immediately vpon this victory *Lysander*, hauing taken such Townes as readily did yeild

yeeld vpon the first fame of his exploit, set saile for Athens, and ioyning his forces with those of *Agis* & *Pausanias*, Kings of Sparta, summoned the City; which finding too stubborne to yeeld, and too strong to be won on the sudden, he put forth againe to Sea, & rather by terrour than violence, compelling all the Ilands, and such Towns of the Ionians, as had formerly held of the Athenians, to submit themselues to Sparta, hee did thereby cut off all prouision of victuals, and other necessaries, from the citie, & inforced the people by meere famine to yeeld to these conditions: That the long wals, leading from the Towne to the Port, should be throwne downe; That all Cities subiect to their Estate, should be set at liberty; That the Athenians should be Masters only of their own Territories, and the fields adioyning to their Town; And that they should keep no more than twelue Ships; That they should hold as Friends or Enemies, the same, whom the Lacedæmonians did, and follow the Lacedæmonians as Leaders in the Wars.

These Articles being agreed vpon, the wals were throwne down with great reioycing of those who had borne displeasure to Athens; & not without some consultation of destroying the City, and laying waste the Land about it. Which aduice, although it was not entertained, yet were thirty Gouernors, or rather cruell Tyrants, appointed ouer the people, who recompensed their former insolency and iniustice ouer their Captaines, by oppressing them with all base and intolerable slauery,

The only small hope then remaining to the Athenians, was, that *Alcibiades* might perhaps repaire what their owne folly had ruined. But the thirty Tyrants perceiuing this, aduertised the Lacedæmonians therof, who contriued, and (as now domineering in euery quarter) soon effected his suddaine death.

Such end had the Peloponnesian war. After which the Lacedæmonians abusing the reputation, and great power, which therin they had obtained, grew very odious to Greece, & by Combination of many Cities against them, were dispossessed of their high authority, euen in that very Age, in which they had subdued Athens. The greatest foile that they took was of the Thebans, led by *Epaminondas*, vnder whom *Philip* of Macedon, father to *Alexander* the Great, had the best of his education. By these Thebans, the City of Sparta (besides other great losses receiued) was sundry times in danger of being taken. But these haughty attempts of the Thebans came finally to nothing; for the seuerall Estates & Signories of Greece, were grown so iealous one of anothers greatnesse, that the Lacedæmonians, Athenians, Argiues, & Thebans, which were the mightiest, associating themselues with the weaker party, did so counterpoize the stronger, that no one City could extend the limits of her iurisdiction so far as might make her terrible to her Neighbors. And thus all parts of the country remained rather euenly ballanced, than well agreeing, till such time as *Philip*, and after him *Alexander*, Kings of Macedon, (whose forefathers had bin dependants, & followers, yea almost meere Vassals to the Estates of Athens and Sparta) found meanes, by making vse of their factions, to bring them all into seruitude, from which they neuer could be free, till the Romans presenting them with a shew of liberty, did themselues indeed become their Masters.

CHAP. IX.

Of matters concurring with the Peloponnesian Warre, or shortly following it.

§. I.

How the affaires of Persia stood in these times.

VTing the times of this Peloponnesian War, and those other lesse expeditions foregoing it, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, hauing peaceably enioyed a long reigne ouer the Persians, left it by his death either to *Darius*, who was called *Darius Nothus*, or the Bastard, whom the Greeke Historians (lightly passing ouer *Xerxes* the second, and *Sogdianus*, as Vsurpers, and for their short reigne little to be regarded) place next vnto them, or to *Xerxes* the second; who, and his brother *Sogdianus* after him (seeming to haue beene the

the sons of *Ikester*) held the Kingdome but one yeare betweene them, the younger succeeding his elder brother. It is not my purpose (as I haue said before) to pursue the History of the Persians from henceforth, by rehearsall of all the particulars, otherwise than as they shall be incident to the affaires of Greece. It may therefore suffice to say, That *Xerxes* the second, being a vicious Prince, did perish after a moneth or two, if not by surfeit, then by the treachery of his riotous brother *Sogdianus*. Likewise of *Sogdianus* it is found, that being as ill as his brother, and more cruell, he slew vniustly *Bagorazus* a principall Eunuch, & would haue done as much to his brother *Darius* the Bastard, had not he foreseene it, and by raising a stronger Army than this hated King *Sogdianus* could leauie, seized at once vpon the King and Kingdome. *Darius* hauing slaine his brother, held the Empire nineteene yeares. *Amyrtæus* of Sais an Egyptian rebelled against him, and hauing partly slain, partly chased out of the Land the Persian Garrisons, allied himselfe so firmely with the Greeks, that by their aide he maintained the Kingdome, and deliuered it ouer to his posterity, who (notwithstanding the fury of their ciuill Warres) maintained it against the Persian, all the dayes of this *Darius*, and of his son *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. Likewise *Amorges*, a Subiect of his owne and of the Royall bloud, being Lieutenant of Caria, rebelled against him; confederating himselfe with the Athenians. But the great calamity, before spoken of, which fell vpon the Athenians in Sicil, hauing put new life into the Spartans, and giuen courage to the Ilanders & others, subiect to the State of Athens, to shake off the yoke of their long continued bondage: It fell out well for *Darius*, that the Lacedæmonians being destitute of mony, wherewith to defray the charge of a great Nauie, without which it was impossible to aduance the war against the state of Athens, that remained powerful by sea, were driuen to craue his assistance, which he granted vnto them, first vpon what conditions best pleased himselfe, though afterwards the Articles of the league betweene him and them were set downe in more precise tearmes; wherein it was concluded, That he and they should make warre ioyntly vpon the Athenians, and vpon all that should rebell from either of them, and (which was highly to the Kings honour and profit) that all the Cities of Asia, which had formerly beene his, or his Predecessours, should returne to his obedience. By this Treaty, and the war ensuing (of which I haue already spoken) he recouered all that his Grand-father and Father had lost in Asia. Likewise by assistance of the Lacedæmonians, hee got *Amorges* a-liue into his hands, who was taken in the City of Iasus; the Athenians wanting either force or courage to succour him. Neuertheless Egypt still held out against him; the cause wherof cannot be the emploiment of the Persian forces on the parts of Greece: for he abounded in men, of whom he had enough for all occasions, but they wanted manhood, which caused him to fight with gold; which effected for him by Souldiers of other Nations, & his naturall enemies, what the valour of his own Subiects was insufficient to performe. *Darius* had in marriage *Parysatis* his owne sister, who bare vnto him (besides other children) *Artaxerxes* called *Mnemon*, that is to say, the Mindefull, or the Rememberer, who succeeded him in the Kingdome; & *Cyrus* the younger, a Prince of singular vertue, and accounted by all that knew him, the most excellent man that euer Persia bred after *Cyrus* the Great. But the old King *Darius*, intending to leaue vnto his elder sonne *Artaxerxes* the inheritance of that great Empire, did cast a iealous eye vpon the doings of young *Cyrus*, who being Lieutenant of the lower Asia, tooke more vpon him than befitted a Subiect: for which cause his father sent for him, with intent to haue taken some very sharpe course with him, had not his owne death preuented the comming of his younger sonne, and placed the elder in his Throne. Of the warre betweene these brethren, and summarily of *Artaxerxes*, we shall haue occasion to speake somewhat in more conuenient place.

§. II.

How the thirty Tyrants got their Dominion in Athens.

I Hold it in this place very conuenient to shew the proceedings of the Greekes, after the subuersion of the wals of Athens, which gaue end to that warre called the Peloponnesian warre, but could not free the vnhappy Country of Greece from ciuill broiles. The thirty Gouernours, commonly called the thirty Tyrants of Athens, were chosen at the first by the people to compile a body of their Law, & make a collection of such

ſuch ancient Statutes, as were meet to be put in practice: the condition of the City ſtanding as it did in that ſo ſodaine alteration. To this charge was annexed the ſupreme authority, either as a recompence of their labours, or becauſe the neceſſity of the times did ſo require it, wherin the Law being vncertain, it was fit that ſuch men ſhould giue iudgement in particular cauſes, to whoſe iudgement the Lawes themſelues, by which the City was to be ordered, were become ſubiect. But theſe thirty, hauing ſo great power in their hands, were more carefull to hold it, than to deſerue it, by faithfull execution of that which was committed to them in truſt.

Therefore apprehending ſuch troubleſome fellowes, as were odious to the City, though not puniſhable therefore by law, they condemned them to death; which proceeding was by all men highly approued, who conſidered their lewd conditions, but did not withall bethinke themſelues, how eaſie a thing it would be vnto theſe thirty men, to take away the liues of Innocents, by calling them perturbers of the peace, or what elſe they liſted, when condemnation without true triall and proofe had beene once well allowed. Hauing thus plauſibly entred into a wicked courſe of gouernment, they thought it beſt to fortifie themſelues with a ſure guard, ere they brake out into thoſe diſorders, which they muſt needes commit for the eſtabliſhing of their authority. Wherefore diſpatching two of their own company to Sparta, they informed the Lacedæmonians, that it was the full intent of the thirty, to keep the City free from all rebellious motions: to which purpoſe it behooued them to cut off ſuch as were ſeditious; and therfore deſired the Lacedæmonians to ſend them a Garriſon, which they promiſed at their own coſt to maintaine. This motion was well approued, and a Guard ſent, the Captaine of which was ſo well entertained by the thirty, that none of their miſdeedes could want his high commendations at Sparta. Hereupon the Tyrants began to take heart, and looking no more after baſe and deteſted perſons, inuaded the principall men of the City, ſending armed men from Houſe to Houſe, who drew out ſuch as were of great reputation, and likely, or able to make any head againſt this wicked forme of gouernment: whereby there was ſuch effuſion of bloud, as to *Theramenes* (one of the thirty) ſeemed very horrible, and vnable to eſcape vengeance. His diſlike of their proceedings being openly diſcouered, cauſed his fellowes to bethink themſelues, and prouide for their own ſecurity, and his deſtruction, leſt he ſhould make himſelfe a Captaine of the diſcontented (which were almoſt the whole City) and redeeme his owne peace with their ruine. Wherefore they ſelected three thouſand of the Citizens, whom they thought meeteſt, and gaue vnto them ſome part of publike authority, the reſt they diſarmed; and hauing thus increaſed their owne ſtrength, and weakened their oppoſites, they began a-freſh to ſhead the bloud, not onely of their priuate enemies, but of ſuch whoſe mony, or goods, might inrich them, and enable them for the paiment of their guard. And to this purpoſe they concluded, that euery one of them ſhould name one man, vpon whoſe goods he ſhould ſeize, putting the owner to death. But when *Theramenes* vttered his deteſtation of ſo wicked intent; then did *Critias*, who of all the thirty was moſt tyrannicall, accuſe him to the Councell, as a treacherous man, and (wheras one maine priuiledge of the three thouſand was, that none of them ſhould ſuffer death at the appointment of the thirty, but haue the accuſtomed trial) he took vpon him to ſtrike out of that number the name of *Theramenes*, and ſo reduced him vnder the triall and ſentence of that order. It was well alleadged by *Theramenes*, that his name was not more eaſie to be blotted out of the Catalogue, than any other mans; vpon which conſideration, he aduiſed them all to conceiue no otherwiſe of his caſe, than as of their owne, who were liable to the ſame forme of proceeding: but euery man chooſing rather to preſerue his owne life by ſilence, than preſently to draw vpon himſelfe the danger, which as yet concerned him little, and perhaps would neuer come neer him; the Tyrants interpreting ſilence as conſent, condemned him forthwith, and compelled him to drinke poyſon.

§. III.

The conſpiracy againſt the thirty Tyrants, and their depoſing.

After the death of *Theramenes*, the thirty began to vſe ſuch outrage, as excelled their former villanies. For, hauing three thouſand (as they thought) firme vnto them, they robbed all others without feare or ſhame, deſpoiling them of lands and

and goods, & cauſed them to flie into baniſhment, for ſafeguard of their liues. This flight of the Citizens procured their liberty, & the generall good of the City. For the baniſhed Citizens, who were fled to Thebes, entred into conſultation, & reſolued to hazzard their liues in ſetting free the City of Athens. The very thought of ſuch a practice had bin treaſon at home, which had no other danger abroad, than might be found in the execution. Seuenty men, or thereabout, were the firſt vndertakers, who with their Captaine *Thraſybulus* took Phyla, a place of ſtrength in the Territory of Athens. No ſooner did the thirty heare of their exploit, than ſeek means to preuent further danger; aſſembling the three thouſand, and their Lacedæmonian guard, with which force they attempted Phyla, but were with ſome loſſe of their men repelled. Finding the place too ſtrong to be taken by aſſault, they intended to beſiege it; which purpoſe came to nought by meanes of ſnow that fell, and other ſtormy weather, againſt which they had not made prouiſion. Retiring therfore to the City, which aboue all they were to make good, they left the moſt of their guard, and two companies of Horſe, to weary out them which lay in Phyla, with a lying ſiege. But it was not long ere the followers of *Thraſybulus* were encreaſed from ſeuenty to ſeuen hundred, which aduentured to giue charge vpon thoſe guards, of whom they cut off aboue an hundred and twenty. Theſe ſmall, but proſperous beginnings, added more to the number of thoſe in Phyla, who now with a thouſand men got entrance into Piræus, the ſuburbe of Athens, lying on the Port. Before their comming the thirty had reſolued to fortifie the Towne of Eleuſine, to their owne vſe, whereinto they might make an eaſie retrait, and ſaue themſelues from any ſudden perill. It may well ſeeme ſtrange, that whereas their barbarous maner of gouernment had brought them into ſuch danger, they were ſo far from ſeeking to obtaine mens good will, that contrariwiſe, to aſſure themſelues of Eleuſine, they got all of the place who could beare armes into their hands by a traine, & wickedly (though vnder forme of Iuſtice) murthered them all. But, *Sceleribus tutum per ſcelera eſt iter*; the miſchiefes which they had already done were ſuch, as left them no hope of going backward, nor any other apparant likelihood of ſafety, than by extending their cruelty vnto all, ſeeing few or none were left, whom they could truſt. When *Thraſybulus* and his fellowes, who as yet were tearmed conſpirators, had taken the Piræus, then were the three thouſand armed againe by the Tyrants, & brought to aſſault it; but in this enterprife *Thraſybulus* had the better, & repelled his enemies, of whom although there were ſlain to the number of ſeuenty only, yet the victory ſeemed the greater, becauſe *Critias*, and one other of the thirty, periſhed in that fight. The death of *Critias*, & the ſtout defence of Piræus, together with ſome exhortations vſed by *Thraſybulus* to the Citizens, wrought ſuch effect, that the thirty were depoſed. Neuertheleſſe there were ſo many of the three thouſand, who hauing communicated with the thirty in their miſdeeds, feared to be called to a ſharpe account, that no peace, nor quiet form of gouernment could be eſtabliſhed. For Embaſſadors were ſent to Sparta, who crauing aide againſt *Thraſybulus*, & his followers, had fauourable audience, & a power ſent to their aſſiſtance, both by Land & Sea, vnder the conduct of *Lyſander*, & his Brother; whom *Pauſanias* the Spartan King did follow, raiſing an Army of the Cities confederate with the Lacedæmonians. And here appeared firſt the iealouſie, wherein ſome people held the State of Sparta. The Bœotians and Corinthians, who in the late wars had bin the moſt bitter enemies to Athens, refuſed to follow *Pauſanias* in this expedition; alleaging that it ſtood not with their oathes, to make war againſt that people, who had not hitherto broken any one article of the league: but fearing indeed, leſt the Lacedæmonians ſhould annexe the Territory of Athens to their own Demains. It is not to be doubted, that *Pauſanias* took this anſwer in good part. For it was not his purpoſe to deſtroy thoſe againſt whom he went, but only to croſſe the proceedings of *Lyſander*, whom he enuied. Therfore hauing in ſome ſmall skirmiſhes againſt them of *Thraſybulus* his party, made a ſhew of war, finally wrought ſuch means, that al things were compounded quietly: the thirty men, & ſuch others, as were like to giue cauſe of tumults, being ſent to Sparta. The remainder of that tyrannicall faction, hauing withdrawn themſelues to Eleuſine, were ſhortly after found to attempt ſome innouation; whereupon the whole City riſing againſt them, took their Captains, as they were comming to Parlie, and ſlew them: which done, to auoid further inconuenience, a law was made, that all iniuries paſt ſhould be forgotten, and no man called into queſtion for wrongs committed. By which order, wiſely made, and carefully obſerued, the City returned to her former quietneſſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the expedition of Cyrus *the younger.*

§. I.

The grounds of Cyrus *his attempt against his brother.*

THE matters of Greece standing vpon such termes, that no one Estate durst oppose it selfe against that of Lacedæmon; young *Cyrus*, brother to *Artaxerxes*, King of Persia, hauing in his fathers life time very carefully prosecuted the Warre against Athens, did send his messengers to Sparta, requesting that their loue might appeare no lesse to him, than that which hee had shewed towards them in their dangerous war against the Athenians. To this request, being generall, the Lacedæmonians gaue a sutable answer, commanding their Admirall to performe vnto *Cyrus* all seruice that he should require of him. If *Cyrus* had plainly discouered himselfe, & the Lacedæmonians bent their whole power to his assistance, very like it is, that either the Kingdome of Persia should haue been the recompence of his deserts; or that he perishing in battaile, as after he did, the subuersion of that Empire had forthwith ensued. But it pleased God, rather to shew vnto the Greeks the wayes, which vnder the Macedonian Ensignes, the victorious foot-steps of their posterity should measure; & opening vnto them the riches, and withall the weaknesse of the Persian, to kindle in them both desire and hope of that Conquest, which he reserued to another generation; than to giue into their hands that mighty Kingdome, whose houre was not yet come. The loue which *Parysatis* the Queen-Mother of Persia bare vnto *Cyrus* her younger son, being seconded by the earnest fauour of the people, & ready desires of many principall men, had moued this young Prince, in his fathers old age, to aspire after the succession. But being sent for by his Father (as hath before bin shewed) whose meaning was to curbe this ambitious youth; he found his elder brother *Artaxerxes* established so surely by the old Kings fauour, that it were not safe to attempt any means of displanting him, by whose disfauour himselfe might easily lose the place of a Vice-roy, which he held in Asia the lesse, & hardly be able to maintaine his owne life. The neerest neighbour to *Cyrus* of all the Kings Deputies in the lower Asia, was *Tissaphernes*, a man compounded of cowardise, trechery, craft, & all vices which accustomably branch out of these. This man accompanied *Cyrus* to his Father, vsing by the way all faire shewes of friendship, as to a Prince, for whom it might wel be thought, that Queene *Parysatis* had obtained the inheritance of that mighty Empire. And it was very true, that *Parysatis* had vsed the best of her endeauour to that purpose, alleadging that (which in former ages had bin much auaileable to *Xerxes*, in the like disceptation with his elder brother) *Artaxerxes* was born whilest his father was a priuate man, but *Cyrus*, when he was a crowned King. All which not sufficing; when the most that could be obtained for *Cyrus*, was the pardon of some presumptuous demeanour, and confirmation of his place in Lydia, and the parts adioyning: then did this *Tissaphernes* discouer his nature, and accuse his friend *Cyrus* to the new King *Artaxerxes*, of a dangerous treason intended against his person. Vpon this accusation, whether true or false, very easily beleeued, *Cyrus* was arrested, and by the most vehement intreaty of his Mother very hardly deliuered, and sent backe into his owne Prouince.

§. II.

The preparations of Cyrus, *and his first entry into the Warre.*

THe forme of gouernment which the Persian Lieutenants vsed in their seuerall Prouinces, was in many points almost Regall. For they made War and Peace, as they thought it meet, not onely for the Kings behoofe, but for their owne reputation; vsually indeede with the Kings enemies, yet sometimes one with another: which was the more easily tolerated, because their owne heads were held onely

at the Kings pleasure, which caused them to frame all their doings to his wil, whatsoeuer it were, or they could coniecture it to be. *Cyrus* therefore being setled in *Lydia*, began to consider with himselfe, the interest that he had in the Kingdome; the small assurance of his brothers loue, held only by his Mothers intercession; the disgrace endured by his late imprisonment; and the meanes which he had by loue of his own people, and that good neighbourhood of the *Lacedæmonians*, whom he had bound vnto him, to obtaine the Crowne for himselfe. Neither was it expedient that he should long sit idle, as waiting till occasion should present it selfe: but rather enterprise somewhat whilest yet his Mother liued, who could procure a good interpretation to all his actions, if they were no worse than only questionable. Hereupon he first began to quarrell vvith *Tissaphernes*, and seized vpon many Townes of his iurisdiction, annexing them to his own Prouince, which displeased not *Artaxerxes* at all, who (besides that he was of condition somewhat simple) being truely paid by *Cyrus* the accustomable Tributes out of those places, vvas well contented to see his brothers hot spirit exercised in priuate quarrels. But *Tissaphernes*, whose base conditions were hated, & cowardize despised, although he durst not aduenture to take armes against *Cyrus*, yet perceiuing that the *Milesians* were about to giue vp themselues into the hands of that young Prince, as many other townes of the *Ionians* had done, thought by terrour to preserue his reputation, and keepe the towne in his own hands. Wherefore he slew many, and many he banished, who flying to *Cyrus*, were gently entertained, as bringing faire occasion to take armes, vvhich vvas no small part of his desire. In leuying Souldiers he vsed great policie; for he tooke not only the men of his own Prouince, or of the Countries adioyning, whose liues were ready at his will; but secretly he furnished some *Græcian* Captaines with money, who being very good men of war, entertained Souldiers therewith, some of them warring in *Thrace*, others in *Thessalie*, others elsewhere in *Greece*; but all of them ready to crosse the Seas, at the first call of *Cyrus*, til which time they had secret instructions to prolong their seuerall warres, that the Souldiers might be held in continuall exercise, and ready in armes vpon the sudden. *Cyrus* hauing sent a power of men to besiege *Miletus*, forthwith summoned these bands of the *Greekes*, who very readily came ouer to his assistance, being thirteene thousand very firme Souldiers, and able to make head (which is almost incredible) against the whole power of *Artaxerxes*. With this Armie, and that which he had leuied before, he could very easily haue forced *Miletus*, and chased away *Tissaphernes* out of *Asia* the lesse: but his purpose was not so to lose time in small matters, that was to be imployed in the accomplishment of higher designes. Pretending therefore that the *Pisidians*, a people of *Asia* the lesse, not subiect to the *Persian*, had inuaded his Territorie, he raised the siege of *Miletus*, and with all speede marched Eastward, leauing *Tissaphernes* much amazed, vvho had no leisure to reioyce that *Cyrus* had left him to himselfe, when he considered, that so great an Army, and so strong, was neuer leuied against the Rouers of *Pisidia*, but rather against the great King his Master. For which cause taking a band of fiue hundred horse, he posted away to carry tidings to the Court of this great preparation.

§. III.

How Cyrus *tooke his iourney into the higher Asia, and came vp close to his Brother.*

THe tumult which his comming brought was very great; and great the exclamations of the Queene *Statira*, against *Parysatis*, the Queen-Mother, whom she called the Author and occasioner of the war. But whilest the King in great feare was arming the high Countries in his defence, the danger hasted vpon him very fast. For *Cyrus* made great marches, hauing his number much increased, by the repaire of his Countrimen, though most strengthned by the accesse of seuen hundred *Greeks*, & of other foure hundred of the same Nation, who reuolted vnto him from the King. How terrible the *Greeks* were to the *Barbarians*, he found by triall in a Muster, which (to please the Queene of *Cilicia*, who had brought him aide) he made in *Phrygia*, where the *Greeks* by his direction making offer of a charge vpon the rest of his Armie, which contained a hundred thousand men, the whole Campe (not perceiuing that this was but a brauery) fled a maine, the victuallers and baggagers forsaking their cabbins, and running all away for very feare. This was to *Cyrus* a ioyfull spectacle, who knew very well, that his brother was followed

by men of the same temper, and the more vnlikely to make resistance, because they were prest to the warre against their will & dispositions, vvhereas his Armie vvas drawne along by meere affection and good will. Neuertheless he found it a very hard matter to perswade the *Greekes* to passe the Riuer of *Euphrates*. For the very length of the vvay vvhich they had troden, wearied them with the conceit of the tedious returne. Therfore he vvas driuen, being yet in *Cilicia*, to seeke excuses, telling them, that *Abrocomas*, one of the Kings principall Captaines, & his own great enemy, lay by the Riuer, against whom he requested them to assist him. By such deuices, and excessiue promise of reward, he brought them to *Euphrates*; vvhere some of the *Greekes* considering, That who so passed the Riuer first, should haue the most thankes, and might safely returne if the rest should refuse to follow them; they entred the Foords, vvherby vvere all finally perswaded to do as some had begun: and being allured by great hopes, they resolued to seeke out *Artaxerxes*, vvheresoeuer he vvas to be found. The King in the meane time hauing raised an armie of nine hundred thousand men, vvas not so confident vpon this huge multitude, as to aduenture them in triall of a plaine battaile. *Abrocomas*, who with three hundred thousand men, had vnder-taken to make good the Streights of *Syria*, vvhich vvere very narrow, and fortified with a strong vvall, and other defences of nature, and art, which made the place to seeme impregnable, had quitted the passage, and retired himself toward the kings forces, not daring to looke *Cyrus* in the face, who despairing to finde any vvay by Land, had procured the *Lacedæmonian* fleet, by the benefit vvhereof to haue transported his Armie. I do not finde that this cowardise of *Abrocomas*, or of his Souldiers, vvho arriued not at the Campe, till fiue dayes vvere past after the battaile, receiued either punishment, or disgrace; for they, toward vvhom he vvith-drew himselfe, vvere all made of the same mettall.

Therfore *Artaxerxes* vvas vpon the point of retiring to the vttermost bounds of his kingdome, vntill by *Teribazus*, one of his Captaines, he vvas perswaded not to abandon so many goodly Prouinces to the Enemy, vvho vvould therby haue gathered addition of strength, and (vvhich in the sharpe disputation of Tittle to a kingdome is most auaileable) would haue grown superior in reputation. By such aduice, the king resolued vpon meeting with his brother, who now began to be secure, being fully perswaded that *Artaxerxes* would neuer dare to abide him in the field. For the king hauing cast vp a Trench of almost fortie miles in length, about thirtie foot broad, and eighteene foot deepe, intended there to haue encamped: but his courage failing him, he abandoned that place, thinking nothing so safe, as to be farre distant from his enemies.

§. IIII.

The battaile betweene Cyrus *and* Artaxerxes.

THe Armie of *Cyrus* hauing ouercome many difficulties of euill vvayes, and scarcitie of victuals, vvas much encouraged by perceiuing this great feare of *Artaxerxes*; and being past this trench, marched carelessly in great disorder, hauing bestowed their Armes in Carts, and vpon Beasts of carriage; vvhen on the sudden one of their Vaunt-currors, brought newes of the kings approach. Hereupon with great tumult they armed themselues, & had ranged their battailes in good order vpon the side of the Riuer *Euphrates*, where they waited for the comming of their enemies, whom they saw not till it was after-noone. But when they saw the cloud of dust raised by the feete of that huge multitude, which the king drew after him, and perceiued by their neere approach how well they were marshalled, comming on very orderly in silence, whereas it had bin expected, that rushing violently with loud clamours, they should haue spent all their force vpon the first brunt; and when it appeared that the fronts of the two Armies were so vnequall in distent, being all embattailed in one body and square, that *Cyrus* taking his place (as was the *Persian* manner) in the middest of his own, did not with the corner, and vtmost point thereof, reach to the halfe breadth of *Artaxerxes* his battaile, who carried a front proportionable to his number, exceeding nine times that of *Cyrus*: then did the *Greeks* begin to distrust their own manhood, which was not accustomed to make proofe of it selfe, vpon such excessiue oddes. It was almost incredible, that so great an Armie should be so easily chased. Neuertheless, it quickly appeared, that these *Persians*, hauing learned (contrary to their custome) to giue charge vpon their

their enemies with silence, had not learned (for it was contrary to their nature) to receiue a strong charge with courage. Vpon the very first offer of on-set, made by the *Greekes*, all that beastly rabble of cowards fled amaine, without abiding the stroke, or staying till they were within reach of a Dart. The Chariots armed with hookes and sithes (whereof *Artaxerxes* had two hundred, and *Cyrus* not twenty) did small hurt that day, because the driuers of them leaping downe, fled away on foot. This base demeanour of his enemies gaue so much confidence to *Cyrus*, and his Followers, that such as were about him forth-with adored him as King. And certainely, the Title had bin assured vnto him that day, had not he sought how to declare himselfe worthy of it, ere yet he had obtained it. For, perceiuing that *Artaxerxes*, who found that part of the field which lay before him voide, was about to encompasse the *Greekes*, and to set vpon them in the reare, he aduanced with sixe hundred Horse, and gaue so valiant a charge vpon a squadron of sixe thousand, which lay before the King, that he brake it, slaying the Captaine thereof *Artagerses*, with his own hands, and putting all the rest to flight. Hereupon his whole company of sixe hundred, very few excepted, began to follow the chase, leauing *Cyrus* too ill attended, who perceiuing where the King stood in troupe, vncertaine whether to fight, or leaue the field, could not containe himselfe, but said; *I see the man*: and presently with a small handfull of men about him ran vpon his brother, whom he strake through the Curace, and wounded in the brest. Hauing giuen this stroake, which was his last, he receiued immediatly the fatall blow, which gaue period at once to his ambition and life, being wounded vnder the eye with a dart, throwne by a base fellow; wherewith astonied, he fell dead from his horse, or so hurt, that it was vnpossible to haue recouered him, though all which were with him, did their best for his safetie; not caring afterwards for their own liues, when once they perceiued that *Cyrus* their Master was slaine. *Artaxerxes* caused the head and right hand of his brother to be forthwith stricken off, and shewed to his people, who now pursuing them, fled apace, calling vpon the name of *Cyrus*, and desiring him to pardon them. But when this great accident had breathed new courage into the Kings troupes, and vtterly dismaied such *Persian* Captaines, as were now, euen in their owne eyes, no better than rebels; it was not long ere the Campe of *Cyrus* was taken, being quite abandoned; from vvhence *Artaxerxes* making all speede, arriued quickly at the quarter of the *Greeks*, which was about three miles from the place where *Cyrus* fell. There he met with *Tissaphernes*, who hauing made way through the battaile of the *Greeks*, was ready now to ioyne vvith his Master in spoiling their Tents. Had not the newes, which *Artaxerxes* brought with him of his brothers death, bin sufficient to counteruaile all disasters receiued, the exploit of *Tissaphernes* in breaking through the *Greeks* would haue yeelded little comfort. For *Tissaphernes* had not slaine any one man of the *Greeks*, but contrariwise, when he gaue vpon them, they opening their battaile, draue him with great slaughter through them, in such wise, that he rather escaped as out of an hard passage, than forced his way through the squadron of the *Greekes*. Hereof the King being informed by him, and that the *Greekes*, as Masters of the field, gaue chase to all that came in their sight; they ranged their Companies into good order, and followed after these *Greekes*, intending to set vpon them in the reare. But these good Souldiers perceiuing the Kings approach, turned their faces and made head against him; who not intending to seeke honour with danger of his life, wheeled about and fled, being pursued vnto a certaine Village, that lay vnder a Hill, on the top whereof he made a stand, rather in a brauery, than with purpose to attempt vpon these bold fellowes any further. For he knew well that his brothers death had secured his estate, vvhom he vvould seeme to haue slaine with his owne hand, thinking that fact alone sufficient to giue reputation to his valour; and this reputation he thought that he might now preserue well enough, shewing a manly looke halfe a mile off. On the top of this Hill therefore he aduanced his Standard, a golden Eagle displaied on the top of a Speare. This ensigne might haue encouraged his people, had not some of the *Greekes* espied it, who not meaning that he should abide so neere them, with all their power marched toward him. The King discouering their approach, fled vpon the spurre; so that none remained in the place of battaile, saue onely the *Greekes*, who had lost that day not one man, nor taken any other harme, than that one of them was hurt with an arrow. Much they wondred that they heard no newes of *Cyrus*, but thinking that he was pursuing the Armie, they thought it was fittest for them, hauing

hauing that day done enough, to returne to their quarter, and take their Supper, to which they had good appetite, because the expectation of the Kings comming had giuen them no leisure to dine.

§. V.

The hard estate of the Greekes after the fight; and how Artaxerxes, *in vaine sought to haue made them yeelde vnto him.*

IT was now about the setting of the Sunne, and they bringing home darke night with them, I found their Campe spoiled, little or nothing being left that might 10 seruе for food: so that wanting victuals to satisfie their hunger, they refreshed their weary bodies with sleepe. In the meane season *Artaxerxes* returning to his Campe, which he entred by Torch-light, could not enioy the pleasure of his good fortune entire, because he perceiued that the basenesse of his people, & weakenesse of his Empire, vvas now plainely discouered to the *Greekes*: which gaue him assurance, that if any of these who had beheld the shameful demeanor of his Armie, should liue to carry tidings home, it would not be long, ere with greater forces they disputed with him for his whole Signory. Wherefore he resolued, to try all meanes, whereby he might bring them to destruction, and not let one escape to carry tidings of that which he had seene: to which purpose he sent them a braue message the next morning; Charging them to deliuer vp their 20 Armes, and come to his Gates, to awaite there vpon his Mercie. It seemes that he was in good hope to haue found their high courages broken, vpon report of his brothers death: but he was greatly deceiued in that thought. For the *Greekes* being aduertised that morning from *Arieus*, a principall Commander vnder *Cyrus*, that his Master being slaine, he had retired himselfe to the place of their last encamping, about eight miles from them, whence intending to returne into *Ionia*, his meaning was to dislodge the next day, awaiting for them so long if they would ioyne with him, but resoluing to stay no longer: they sent answer backe to *Arieus*, that hauing beaten the King out of the field, and finding none that durst resist them, they would place *Arieus* himselfe in the Kings Throne, if he would ioyne with them, and pursue the victory. Before they receiued any reply to 30 this answer, the Messengers of *Artaxerxes* arriued at the Campe, whose errand seemed to the Captaines very insolent: One told them, that it was not for the Vanquishers to yeelde their Weapons; another, that he would dye ere he yeelded to such a motion; a third asked, whether the king, as hauing the victory, required their Weapons; if so, why did he not fetch them? or, whether he desired them in way of friendship; for then would they first know, with what courtesie he meant to requite their kindnesse. To this question *Phalinus* a *Grecian*, waiting vpon *Tissaphernes*, answered; That the king hauing slaine *Cyrus*, knew no man that could pretend any Title to his Kingdom, in the middest whereof he held them fast enclosed with great Riuers, being able to bring against them such numbers of men, as they vvanted strength to kill if they would hold vp their throats; for 40 which cause he accounted them his prisoners. These words, to them, who knew themselues to be free, were nothing pleasant. Therefore, one told *Phalinus* that hauing nothing left, but their Armes and Valour, whilest they kept their Armes, their Valour would be seruiceable; but should they yeelde them, it vvas to be doubted, that their bodies would not long remaine their owne. Hereat *Phalinus* laughed, saying; This young man did seeme a Philosopher, and made a pretty speech; but that his deepe speculation shewed his wits to be very shallow, if he thought with his Armes and Valour, to preuaile against the great King. It seemes that *Phalinus* being a Courtier, and imployed in a businesse of importance, thought himselfe too profound a States-man, to be chekt in his Embassage by a bookish discourser. But his wisedome herein failed him. 50 For whatsoeuer he himselfe was (of whom no more is knowne than that he brought an vnhonest message to his own Countrinen, perswading them basely to surrender their Weapons, and Liues, to the mercilesse *Barbarians*) this young Scholler by him despised, was that great *Xenophon*, who, when all the principall Commanders were surprised by treachery of the *Persians*, being a priuate Gentleman, and hauing neuer seene the warres before, vnder-tooke the conduct of the Armie, which he brought safe into *Greece*, freeing it from all those, and from greater dangers than *Phalinus* could propound. Some there were who promised to be faithfull to the King, as they had bin to *Cyrus*, offering their

their seruice in *Egypt*, where they thought *Artaxerxes* might haue vse of them. But the finall answer was, That without Weapons they could neither doe the king good as Friends, nor defend themselues from him as Enemies. Hereupon *Phalinus* deliuered the Kings further pleasure, which was to grant them Truce, whilest they abode where they then were, denouncing War if they stirred thence; Whereunto he required their answer. *Clearchus* the Generall told him, they liked it. How (saith *Phalinus*) must I vnderstand you? As choosing peace if we stay, or otherwise warre, said *Clearchus*. But whether warre or peace; quoth this politique Embassadour? To whom *Clearchus* (not willing to acquaint him with their purpose,) Let our doings tell you; and so dismissed him, no wiser than he came. All that day the *Greekes* were faine to feed vpon their Horses, 10 Asses, and other Beasts, which they rosted with arrowes, darts, and woodden targets, throwne away by the Enemies.

§. VI.

How the Greekes began to returne home-wards.

AT night they tooke their way towards *Arieus*, to whom they came at mid-night; being forsaken by foure hundred foot, and forty horse, all *Thracians*, who fled ouer to the King, by vvhom how they vvere entertained, I do not find. Like 20 enough it is that they were cut in pieces; for had they bin kindly vsed, it may well be thought that some of them should haue accompanied *Tissaphernes*, and serued as Stales to draw in the rest. *Arieus* being of too base a temper, and birth, to thinke vpon seeking the kingdom for himself, with such assistance as might haue giuen it vnto *Cyrus*, was very well pleased to make couenant with them for mutuall assistance vnto the last: Whereunto both parts hauing sworne, he aduised them to take another way homeward, vvhich should be somewhat longer, yet safer and fitter to relieue them with victuals, than that by vvhich they came. The next day, hauing made a wearisome march, & tyred the Souldiers, they found the Kings Armie which had coasted them, lodged in certain Villages, where they purposed themselues to haue encamped: towards which *Clearchus* made di- 30 rectly, because he would not seeme by declining them to shew feare, or weakenesse. That the Kings men vvere contented to remoue, and giue place to their betters, it cannot be strange to any that hath considered their former behauiour; Nor strange, that the *Greecians*, being weary and hungry, and lying among enemies in an vnknown Country, should be very fearefull: but it is almost past beliefe, that the noise which was heard of these poore men, calling one to another tumultuously, as the present condition inforced them to do, should make the *Persians* flie out of their Campe, and so affright the great King, that in stead of demanding their Armes, he should craue peace of them. The next day very early, came messengers from *Artaxerxes*, desiring free accesse for Embassadours, to en- 40 treat of peace. Were it not that such particulars do best open the quality of the persons, by whom things were managed, I should hold it fitter, to run ouer the generall passages of those times, than to dwell among circumstances. But surely it is a point very remarkeable, That when *Clearchus* had willed the Messengers to bid the King prepare for battaile, because the *Greekes* (as he said) wanting whereupon to dine, could not endure to heare of truce till their bellies were full; *Artaxerxes* dissembling the dignity, was contented sweetly to swallow down this pill, sending them guides, who conducted them to a place vvhere vvas plenty of victuals to relieue them.

§. VII.

How Tissaphernes, *vnder colour of peace, betraied all the Captaines of the Greekes.*

HItherto the *Greekes*, relying vpon their own vertue, had rather aduanced their affaires, than brought themselues into any straights or tearmes of disaduantage. But now came vnto them the subtile Foxe *Tissaphernes*, who circumuenting the Chiefe Commanders by fine sleights, did mischieuously entrappe them, to the extreame danger of the Armie. He told them, that his Prouince, lying neere vnto *Greece*, had caused him greatly to desire, that their deliuerance might be wrought by his procurement; knowing well that in time to come, both they, and their Countrimen at home, would not be vnthankefull for such a benefit. Herewithall he forgot not to rehearse the

the great seruice that he had done to his Master, being the first that aduertised him of *Cyrus* his intent, and hauing not onely brought him a good strength of men, but in the day of battaile shewed his face to the *Greekes*, when all others turned their backes: that he, together with the King, did enter their Campe, and gaue chase to the *Barbarians* that stood on the part of *Cyrus*. All this (quoth he) did I alleadge to the King, entreating that he would giue me leaue to conduct you safe into *Greece*; in which suite I haue good hope to speede, if you will send a milde answer to him, vvho hath vvilled me to aske you, for what cause ye haue borne Armes against him. The Captaines hearing this, vvere contented to giue gentle words, which *Tissaphernes* relating to the King, procured (though very hardly as he said) that peace should be granted: the conditions wherof were; That they should passe freely through all the Kings Dominions, paying for that they tooke, and committing no spoile: yet that it should be lawfull for them to take victuals by force, in any place that refused to affoord them an open Market. Hereupon both parties hauing sworne, the League was concluded, and *Tissaphernes* returning to the king to take leaue, and end all businesse, came vnto them againe after twenty dayes, and then they set forward. This interim of twenty dayes, vvhich *Tissaphernes* did spend at the Court, ministred great occasion of mistrust to his new Confederates. For besides his long absence, vvhich alone sufficed to breede doubt, the Brethren, and Kindred of *Arieus*, repairing daily to him, and other *Persians* to his Souldiers, did worke him and them so with assurance of pardon, and other allurements, that he daily grew more strange to the *Greekes*, than formerly he had bin. This caused many to aduise *Clearchus*, rather to passe forward as well as he might, than to relye vpon couenants, and sit still whilest the king layed snares to entrappe them. But he on the contrary perswaded them, to rest contented whilest they were well, and not to cast themselues againe into those difficulties, out of which they vvere newly freed by the late Treatie; reciting withall their own wants, and the kings meanes, but especially the Oathes mutually giuen and taken, vvherewith he saw no reason why the enemie should haue clogged himself if he meant mischiefe, hauing power enough to do them harme by a faire and open Warre.

Tissaphernes was a very honourable man (if honour may be valued by greatnesse and place in Court) which caused his Oath to be the more esteemed; for as much as no inforcement, or base respect, was like to haue drawne it from him. But his falshood vvas such, both in substance and in successe, as may fitly expound that saying, which proceeded from the fountaine of Truth, *I hate a rich man a lyer*. A lye may finde excuse when it growes out of feare: for that passion hath his originall from weakenesse. But when Power, vvhich is a *Character* of the *Almighty*, shall be made the supporter of vntruth, the falshood is most abominable; for the offender, like proud *Lucifer*, aduancing his own strength against the diuine Iustice, doth commit that sinne with an high hand, vvhich commonly produceth lamentable effects, and is followed with sure vengeance. It was not long ere *Tissaphernes* found means to destroy all the Captaines, whom he subtilly got into his power by a traine; making the Generall *Clearchus* himselfe the meane to draw in all the rest. The businesse was contriued thus: Hauing trauailed some dayes together in such wise, that the *Persians* did not encampe with the *Greekes*, vvho vvere very iealous of the great familiarity, appearing betweene *Tissaphernes*, and *Arieus*; *Clearchus* thought it conuenient to roote out of *Tissaphernes* his braines all causes of distrust, whereof many had grown in that short time. To which purpose obtaining priuate conference with him, he rehearsed the oath of Confederacie, which had past between them, shewing how religiously he would keepe it, and repeating the benefits, which the *Greekes* did receiue by the helpe of *Tissaphernes*, he promised that their loue should appeare to him not vnfruitfull, if he vvould make vse of their seruice against the *Mysians* or *Pisidians*, who were accustomed to infest his Prouince; or against the *Egyptians*, vvho were then Rebels to the great King. For which cause he desired him, that whereas all diuine and humane respects had linked them together, he would not giue place to any close accusation or suspition, wherby might grow sudden inconuenience to either of them, vpon no iust ground. The faithlesse *Persian* was very much delighted with this speech, which ministred faire occasion to the execution of his purpose. Therefore he told *Clearchus*, that all this was by him wisely considered, wishing him further to call to minde how many waies he could haue vsed to bring them to confusion, without peril to himself, especially by

by burning the country, through which they were to passe, wherby they must needs haue perished by meere famine. For vvhich cause he said that it had bin great folly, to seeke by periurie, odious to God and Man, the destruction of such as vvere already in his hands; But the truth vvas, that his owne loue to them had moued him to worke their safetie, not onely for those ends which *Clearchus* had recounted, of pleasures that might redound to himself, and the King, by their assistance: but for that he might by their friendship, hope to obtaine what *Cyrus* had mist. Finally, he inuited the credulous Gentleman to Supper, and sent him away so well assured of his good will, that he promised to bring all the Captaines with him to the same place, where, in presence of them all, *Tissaphernes* likewise promised to tell openly, vvhich of them had by secret information sought to raise dissension between them. *Clearchus* himselfe being thus deceiued, vvith great importunitie drew all the chiefe Commanders, and many of the inferiour Leaders, to repaire with him to the Campe of *Tissaphernes*, vvhither followed them about two hundred of the common Souldiers as it had bin to some common Faire. But being there arriued, *Clearchus* vvith other the fiue principall Coronels, vvere called into the Tent, the rest staying vvithout, vvhere they had not vvaited long ere a signe vvas giuen, vpon vvhich they vvithin vvere apprehended, and the residue slaine. Forth-with certaine bands of *Persian* Horsemen scoured the field, killing as many *Greeks* as they met, and riding vp to the very Campe of the *Gracians*, who vvondred much at the tumult, vvherof they knew not the cause, till one, escaping sorely vvounded, informed them of all that had bin done. Heereupon the *Greekes* tooke Armes in haste, thinking that the enemy would forthwith haue assailed their Campe. Anon they might perceiue the Embassadours of *Tissaphernes*, among whom vvere his own brother, and *Arieus*, followed vvith three hundred Horse, vvho called for the principall men in the Armie, saying, that they brought a message from the King, vvhich *Arieus* deliuered to this effect: That *Clearchus* hauing broken his faith, and the league made, vvas iustly rewarded vvith death; that *Menon* and *Proxenus*, two other of the fiue Coronels, for detecting his treacherie, vvere highly honored: and finally, that the King required them to surrender their Armes, vvhich vvere due to him, as hauing belonged vnto his seruant *Cyrus*. When some altercation had followed vpon this message, *Xenophon* told the Embassadours, that if *Clearchus* had in such sort offended, it vvas vvell that he vvas in such sort punished: but he willed them to send backe *Menon* and *Proxenus*, vvhom they had so greatly honoured, that by them, as by common friends to both Nations, the *Greekes* might be aduised hovv to answer the *Presian*. Hereunto the Embassadours knevv not hovv to frame any reply, and therfore departed vvithout speaking one vvord more. *Clearchus*, & the other foure were sent to *Artaxerxes*, by vvhose commandement their heads were stricken off. I hold it not amisse to preuent the order of time, annexing to this perfidiousnesse of *Tissaphernes*, the reward vvhich he afterward receiued. He saw his Prouince vvasted by the *Greeks*, against vvhom receiuing from his Master conuenient aid of men and mony, he did so ill manage his affaires, that neither subtiltie, nor periurie (to vvhich he failed not to haue recourse) auailed him; finally, the king vvas iealous of his cunning head, and sent a new Lieutenant into those parts, vvho tooke it from his shoulders. Such was the recompence of his treacherie, vvhich made him so mistrusted at home, that the seruice vvhich he could not do, he vvas thought vpon priuate ends to neglect; & so hated abroad, that he knevv not vvhich vway to flie from the stroke, all the vvorld being shut against him. But novv let vs returne to the prosperitie, vvherin he triumphed vvithout great cause, hauing betrayed brauer men than himselfe, and intending to bring the like mischiefe vpon the vvhole Armie.

§.VIII.

How Xenophon *heartened the Greekes, and in despight of* Tessaphernes *went off safely.*

GReat vvas the heauinesse of the Souldiers, being now left destitute of Leaders; and no lesse their feare of the euill hanging ouer their heads, which they knew not well how to auoide. Among the rest, *Xenophon*, vvhose learning supplied his want of experience, finding the deepe sadnesse of the whole Armie to be such as hindred them from taking any course of preuenting the danger at hand, began to aduise the vnder-

vnder-Officers of *Proxenus* his companies, whose familiar friend he had been, to bethinke themselues of some meane, wherby their safety might be wrought, and the Souldiers encouraged: setting before their eyes whatsoeuer might serue for to giue them hope, and aboue all, perswading them in no wise to yeeld to the mercy of their barbarous enemies.

Hereupon they desired him to take vpon him the charge of that Regiment; and so together with him, the same night calling vp such as were remaining of any account, they made choice of the fittest men to succeed in the places of those who were slain, or taken. This being done, and order set downe for disburdening the Armie of all superfluous impediments, they easily comforted themselues for the losse of *Tissaphernes* his assistance, hoping to take victuals by force better cheape than he had bin wont to sell them; To which purpose they intended to take vp their lodging two or three miles further, among some plentifull Villages, and so to proceed, marching towards the heads of those great Riuers, which lay in their way, and to passe them where they were foordable. Many attempts were made vpon them by *Tissaphernes*, whom they, seruing all on foot, were not able to requite for the harme which they receiued by the *Persian* Archers, who shot at a farther distance than the *Greeks* could reach. For this cause did *Xenophon* prouide slings, wherewith he ouer-reached the enemy; and finding some Horses fit for seruice, that were imployed among the carriages, he set men vpon them; training likewise his Archers to shoot compasse, who had bin accustomed to the point blanke. By these meanes did he beare off the *Persians* who assailed him; and sometimes gaue them chase with that band of fiftie Horse, which being well backt with a firme bodie of footmen, and seconded with tropes of the light-armed-shot & slingers, compelled the enemie to lie a-loof. *Tissaphernes* not daring to come to handie-gripes with these resolute men, did possesse the tops of Mountaines, and places of aduantage, by which they were to passe. But finally, when their valour made way through all such difficulties, he betooke himselfe to that course, which was indeed the sureſt, of burning the Country. With great sorrow did the *Greekes* behold the Villages on fire, and thereby all hope of victuals cut off. Some aduised to defend the Country, as granted by the enemie himselfe to be theirs; others to make more fires, if so perhaps the *Persians* might be ashamed to do that which was the desire of such as made passage in hostile manner; But these were faint comforts. The best counsaile was, that being neere vnto the *Carduchi*, a people enemie to the *Persian*, they should enter into their Country, passing ouer some high mountaines which lay between them. This course they followed, which could not haue auailed them, if *Tissaphernes* had begun sooner to cut off their victuals, rather than to seeke to force, or to circumuent them by his fine wit.

§. IX.

The difficulties, which the Greeke Armie found in passing through the Land of the Carduchi.

ENtring vpon the Land of the *Carduchi*, they were encountred wich many difficulties of waies, but much more afflicted by the fierce Inhabitants, who, accustomed by force to defend themselues against the huge Armies of the *Persian*, vvere no way inferiour to the *Greekes* in daring, but only in the Art of Warre. They were very light of foot, skilfull Archers, and vsed the Sling well; which weapons in that mountainous Country were of much vse against these poore trauellers, afflicting them in seuen daies which they spent in that passage, farre more than all the power of the great King had done. Between the Territorie of these *Carduchi*, and the parts of *Armenia* confining them, ranne *Centrites* a great Riuer, vpon which the *Greekes* refreshed themselues one day, reioycing that they had so well escaped these dangers, and hoping that the remainder would prooue easie. But the next morning they saw certaine troupes of Horse, that lay to forbid their passage. These were leuied by the Kings deputies in those parts; *Tissaphernes* and his Companies hauing taken their way towards *Ionia*. The Riuer was broad and deepe, so that it was not possible for such as would enter it, to make resistance against those which kept the opposite bankes. To increase these dangers, the *Carduchi*, following vpon them, lay on the side of a Mountaine, within lesse than a mile of the water. But it was their good hap to discouer a Foord, by which the greater

greater number of them passing ouer, did easily chase away the Subiects of the *Persian*, & then, sending backe the most expedite men, gaue succour to the Reare-ward, against which the *Carduchi* being slightly armed, could not on plaine ground make resistance hand to hand. These *Carduchi* seeme to haue inhabited the Mountaines of *Niphates*, which are not farre from the Spring of *Tygris*; though *Ptolomie* place them far more to the East vpon the Riuer of *Cyrus* in *Media*; wherein he differs much from *Xenophon*, whose relation being grounded vpon his own knowledge, doth best in this case deserue credit. Of the Riuer *Centrites* (as of many other Riuers, Townes, and Places, mentioned by *Xenophon*) I will not labour to make a coniecture, which may endure the seuerity of a *Critike*. For *Ptolomie*, and the whole Nation of *Geographers*, adde small light to this expedition: onely of this last, I thinke it the same which falleth into *Tigris*, not much aboue *Artasigarta* springing out of *Niphates*, and running by the Towne of *Sardeua* in *Gordene*, a Prouince of *Armenia* the Great, vvherein the *Greekes* hauing passed *Centrites* did arriue.

§. X.

How Teribazus *Gouernour of Armenia, seeking to entrap the Greekes with tearmes of fained peace, was disappointed and shamefully beaten.*

THe Armie finding in *Armenia* good prouision, marched without any disturbance about fiftie or threescore miles to the heads of the Riuer *Tygris*, and passing ouer them, trauiled as farre further without resistance, till they were encountred by *Teribazus* at the Riuer *Teleboa*, which *Xenophon* commends as a goodly water, though small, but *Ptolomie* and others omit it. *Teribazus* gouerned that Country for the *Persian*, & was in great fauour with *Artaxerxes*, whose Court may seeme to haue bin a Schoole, where the Art of falshood was taught as wisedom. He desired peace of the *Greeks*, which was made vpon this condition, that they should take what they pleased, but not burne downe the Townes and Villages in their vvay. As soone as he had made this league, he leauied an Armie, and besetting the Streights of certaine Mountaines which they were to passe, hoped well to make such benefit of their security, as might giue him the commendation of being no lesse craftily dishonest than *Tissaphernes*. Yet his cunning failed of successe. For a great snow fell, which caused the *Greekes* to make many fires, and scatter themselues abroad in the Villages. *Teribazus* also made many fires, and some of his men wandred about seeking reliefe. By the fires he was discouered, & by a Souldier of his that was take prisoner, the whole plot was reuealed. Hereupon the *Greekes*, taking this captiue with them for a guide, sought him out; & comming vpon his Campe, did so affright him, that before the whole Armie could arriue there, the shout which was raised by the Vaunt-currors, chased him away. They tooke his Pauilion, vvherein (besides many slaues, that vvere Artificers of voluptuousnesse) very rich furniture was left by the treacherous coward, who returned no more to challenge it. From hence the Armie vvent Northward, and passing *Euphrates*, not far below the springs thereof, trauailed vvith much difficulty through deepe snow, being followed aloofe by the enemie, vvho durst not approach them, but did cut off such as they found stragling behinde. The Inhabitants of the Country, through vvhich they marched, had their wintering houses vnder ground, wherein vvas found great plenrie of victuals, and of cattaile, which likevvise did winter in the same Cellars vvith the owners. Hauing refreshed themselues in those parts, and taken sufficient ease after the miserable iourney, vvhich had consumed many of them with extreame cold; they departed leading with them many bond-slaues and taking away (besides other Horses and Cattaile) some Colts that were bred vp for the great King.

§. XI.

The passage of the Armie to Trabizonde, through the Countries bordering vpon the Riuer of Phasis, and other obscure Nations.

SO without impediment they came to the Riuer *Phasis*, neere vvhereunto the people called *Phasiani Taochi*, and *Chalybes* were seated. These Nations ioyned together, and occupying the tops of a ledge of Mountaines, vvhich the *Greekes* were

were to passe, made countenance of warre: but some companies being sent by night to seize vpon a place of equall height to that whereon the enemies lay, making good the piece of ground which they had taken, secured the ascent of the rest; which caused these people to flye, euery one retyring to the defence of his owne. The first vpon whose Countrie the *Greekes* did enter were the *Tacchi*, who conuaying all their prouision of victuals into strong holds, brought the Armie into much want, vntill with hard labour one place vvas forced, wherein great store of cattaile were taken; the people, to auoide captiuitie, threw themselues head-long downe the rockes, the very women throwing down first their own children, and then casting themselues vpon them. Here vvas taken a great bootie of Cattaile, which serued to feed them, trauailing through the land of the *Chalybes*, of whom they got nothing but stroakes. The *Chalybes* vvere a very stout Nation, vvell armed at all points, and exceeding fierce. They encountred the *Greekes* hand to hand, killing as many as they tooke prisoners, and cutting off their heads; which they carried away, singing and dancing, to the great griefe of their companions liuing; who vvere glad, when after seuen dayes iourney they escaped from those continuall skirmishes, wherewith they had bin vexed by these *Barbarians*. Hence trauailing through a good corne-Countrie, inhabited by an obscure Nation called the *Scythini*, they came to a rich Towne, the Lord whereof, and of the Rigion adioyning, vsed them friendly, and promised to guide them to a Mountaine, vvhence they might discouer the *Euxine* Sea. From *Gymnias* (vvhich was the name of his Towne) he led them through the Territorie of his enemies, desiring them to waste it with sword and fire. After fiue dayes march, they came to a Mountaine called *Teches*, being (as I thinke) a part of the Mountaines called *Moschici*, whence their guide shewed them the Sea; towards which they bent their course, and passing friendly through the Region of the *Macrones*, (with whom by meanes of an interpreter, found among themselues, who borne in that place had bin sold into *Greece*, they made a good peace) they arriued in the Land of *Colchos*, vvherein stands the Citie of * *Trabisond*, called then *Trapezus*, a Colonie of the *Greekes*. The *Colchi* entertaining them with hostilitie, were requited with the like; for the Armie hauing now good leisure to repose themselues among their friends the *Trapezuntians*, did spoile the Countrie thirtie dayes together, forbearing onely the Borderers vpon *Trabizonde*, at the Citizens request.

* *Trabisond* a Colonie of the *Greekes*, situate in the bottome of the *Euxine* Sea.

§. XII.

How the Armie began at Trabizond to prouide a Fleet, wherewith to returne home by Sea: how it came into the Territorie of Sinope, and there prosequited the same purpose.

HAuing now found an Hauen Towne, the Souldiers were desirous to take shipping, & change their tedious Land-iournies into an easie Nauigation. To which purpose *Cherisophus* a *Lacedæmonian*, one of the principall Commanders, promised by meanes of *Anaxibius* the *Lacedæmonian* Admirall, who was his friend, that he vvould prouide Vessels to embarke them. Hauing thus concluded, they likewise tooke order for the staying of such ships as should passe that way, meaning to vse them for their nauigation. Lest all this prouision should be found insufficient for the transportation of the whole Armie, *Xenophon* perswaded the Cities adioyning to cleare the wayes, and make an easie passage for them by Land; vvhereunto the Souldiers were vtterly vnwilling to giue eare, being desirous to returne by Sea, but the Countrie fearing what inconuenience might grow by their long stay, did readily condescend to *Xenophons* request. Two ships they borrowed of the *Trapezuntians*, vvhich they manned and sent to Sea: the one of them sailed directly into *Greece*, forsaking their Companions, who had put them in trust to bring ships into the Port of *Trabisonde*: the other tooke Merchants and passengers, whose goods were safely kept for the owners, but the Vessels were staied to increase the fleet. After long aboade, when victuals began to faile, by reason that all the Land of the *Colchi*, neere vnto the Campe was already quite wasted, they were faine to embarke their sicke men, with the women, children, and such of the baggage as might best be spared, in those few ships which they had already prouided. The rest of the Armie tooke their way by Land to *Cerasus*, a *Greeke* Towne, where the fleet likewise arriued. Here the Armie being mustered, was found to consist of eight thousand & sixe hundred men. From hence they passed through the Countrie of the * *Mosynaci*, vvho were diuided

* *Mosynaci* a Nation of *Pontus Cappadocius*.

diuided into factions. The stronger partie, despising their friendship, caused them to ioyne them with the weaker, whom they left Masters of all.

The next place of their abode was [b] *Cotyora*, a *Greeke* Towne likewise, and a *Colonie of* the *Sinopians*, as *Trapezus* and *Cerasus* vvere; but the entertainment which here they found was very churlish, hauing neither an open Market afforded to them, nor the sicke men that were among them admitted into any house. Hereupon the Souldiers entred the Towne by force, and (committing no outrage) bestowed those which were sicke in conuenient lodgings, taking into their own hands the custody of the Gates. Prouision for the Armie they made by strong hand, partly out of the Territorie of the *Paphlagonians*, partly out of the Lands belonging to the Towne. These newes were vnwelcome to [c] *Sinope*, whence Embassadours were sent to the Camp, who complaining of these dealings, and threatning to ioyne with the *Paphlagonians*, if redresse could not otherwise be had, were roundly answered by *Xenophon*, That meere necessitie had enforced the Army to teach those of *Cotyora* good manners in so bad a methode: letting them know, that he feared not to deale with them and the *Paplagonian* at once; though perhaps the *Paphlagonian* would be glad to take *Sinope* it selfe, to vvhich, if cause vvere giuen, they would lend assistance. Vpon this answere the Embassadors grew better aduised, promising all friendship that the State of *Sinope* could shew; and commanding the Towne of *Cotyora* to relieue the Souldiers as well as they might. Further, they promised to assist them with shipping, letting them vnderstand how difficult the passage by Land would proue, in regard of the many and great Riuers, as *Thermodon*, *Iris*, *Halys*, and *Parthenius*, which crossed their way. This good counsaile, and the faire promises accompanying it, were kindly accepted by the Armie, which well perceiued, that the City of *Sinope* would spare for no cost, to be freed from such a neighbourhood. It was therefore decreed that they would passe the rest of the way by Sea; prouided that if there should want such number of Vessels as might serue to imbarke euery one of them, then would they not put from the shore.

[b] *Cotyora* a Port-Town in the same Region.

[c] *Sinope* a Port-Towne in *Leucosyria*, a Colonie of the *Mylesians*.

§. XIII.

Of dissension which arose in the Armie; and how it was embarked.

HItherto the danger of enemies, and miseries of weather and wants, had kept the companie in firme vnitie; which now beganne to dissolue aud to thaw, by the neighbouring aire of *Greece*, warming their heads with priuate respects to their seuerall ends and purposes. Whilest they, who were sent as Agents from the Campe, remained at *Sinope*; *Xenophon* considering the strength and valour of his men, and the opportunitie of the coast whereon they lay, thought it would be an honourable vvorke to build a City in those parts, which were soone like to proue great and wealthie, in regard both of their owne puissance, and of the great repaire of the *Greekes* into that quarter. For this cause he made sacrifice, according to the superstition of his time and Countrie, diuining of his successe by the entrailes of beasts. The Sooth-sayer whom he imployed had receiued a great reward of *Cyrus*, for coniecturing aright, that *Artaxerxes* would not giue battaile in ten daies: he therefore, hauing preserued his mony carefully, was desirous to be soone at home, that he might freely enioy his gettings. By him the purpose of *Xenophon* was divulged, which was interpreted according to the diuersitie of mens opinions; some approuing the motion, but the greater part reiecting it. They of *Sinope* and *Heraclea*, being informed of this consultation, vvere sore afraid, lest the pouertie of the Souldiers, who had not wherewith to maintaine themselues at home, should giue successe to the proiect. Which to preuent, they promised to supply the Armie with a sufficient fleet, and likewise offered mony to some of the Captaines, who thereupon vndertooke to giue the Souldiers pay, if they would presently set saile for *Greece*. One of these Captaines being a banished man, desired them to follow him into *Troas*; another offered to leade them into *Cherronesus*. *Xenophon* who desired onely the common good, was pleased greatly with these propositions, and professed openly that he would haue them to set forward, and hold together in any case, punishing him as a traitor that should forsake the Armie, before such time as they were arriued at their iournies end. *Silanus* the Sooth-sayer, who had vttered *Xenophons* purpose, was heereby staied from out-running his fellowes, and driuen to abide with his wealth among poore men, longer than stood

stood with his good liking. Also the other Captaines were much troubled and affraid, when they perceiued, that ships were prepared sufficient for their Nauigation, but that the money promised to them, and by them to the Souldiers, came not. For the people of *Sinope*, and *Heraclea*, knowing that the Armie was now resolued for the voyage, and that *Xenophon*, whom they feared, had perswaded them to this resolution, thought it the wisest way to furnish them with a Nauie whilest they were in good readinesse, to depart, but to keep the mony to themselues. The Captaines therfore who being disappointed by these townes, found themselues in great danger of their men, whom they had deceiued with faire hopes, repented much of their faire offers, & signifying as much to *Xenophon*, prayed him to make proposition to the Armie, of taking the ships, & sayling to *Phasis*, where they might seize vpon Lands, and plant themselues in such wise as should stand best with their good liking. But finding him cold in the businesse, they began to vworke the principall of their own followers, hoping by them to draw in all the rest. These newes becomming publike, bred a suspition of *Xenophon*, as if he had won the rest of the Captaines to his purpose, and meant now to carry the Army quite another vway from their own home. Wherfore assembling the Companies, he gaue them satisfaction, and withall complained of some disorders which he caused them to redresse. A generall inquisition was likewise made of offences committed since the death of *Cyrus*; which being punished, all things were in quiet. Shortly after came Embassadours from *Corylas*, Lord of the *Paphlagonians*, who sending presents, desired peace of the *Greeks*: the Embassadours were friendly entertained, & peace concluded, vvhich needed not to haue bin sought, for that the *Greeks* hauing now their fleet in a readines, did soon weigh Anchors, & set saile for *Harmene* the Port of *Sinope*, whither *Cherisophus* came, bringing with him a few Gallies from the Admiral *Anaxibius*, who promised to giue the Army pay as soone as they came into the parts of *Greece*.

§. XIV.

Another great dissension and distraction of the Armie. How the mutiners were beaten by the Barbarians, and rescued by Xenophon.

THe neerer that they approached to *Greece*, the greater vvas their desire to make prouision for themselues, that they might not returne home emptie-handed. Wherefore trusting well that if the charge of the Armie were absolutely committed to one sufficient man, he might the more conueniently procure the good of them all; they determined to make *Xenophon* sole Commander of all; in whose fauour as well the Captaines as the common Souldiers were very earnest and violent. But he, either fearing to displease the *Lacedæmonians*, who were iealous of him already (being incensed by that fugitiue who forsooke the Army at *Trabizond*, flying with one of their two ships) or moued by some tokens appearing to him in the entrails that threatned ill successe to his gouernment, procured with vehement contention, that this honour vvas laid vpon *Cherisophus* a *Lacedæmonian*. It seemes that *Xenophon*, considering the vexation incident to the conduct of a voluntary Army, wanting pay, did wisely in yeelding to such tokens as forbad him to accept it: especially, knowing so well their desire, which vvas, by right or by wrong to get wealth whersoeuer it might be found, without all regard of Friend or Foe. *Cherisophus* had bin Generall but sixe or seuen dayes, vvhen he vvas deposed, for hauing bin vnwilling to rob the Towne of *Heraclea*, which had sent presents to the Campe, and bin very beneficiall vnto them in lending ships for their transportation. Two daies they had sailed by the coast of *Asia*, when being past those great Riuers, which would haue giuen impediment to their iourney by Land, they touched at *Heraclea*, where consulting how to take their way onwards, whether by Land or Sea; one seditious man began to put them in minde of seeking to get somwhat for themselues; telling them that all their prouision would be spent in three dayes, and that being now come out of the enemies Country, victuals and other necessaries could not be had without mony; for which cause he gaue aduice to send messengers into the Towne of *Heraclea*, giuing the Citizens to vnderstand what their wants were, and demanding of them three thousand pieces of money, called *Cyzicens*, which summe amounteth to two thousand and fiue hundred pound startling, or thereabout. This motion was greatly applauded, and the sum raised to ten thousand *Cyzicens* at least: which to require, they thought *Cherisophus*,

as being Generall, the fittest man; others had more desire to send *Xenophon*: but in vaine, for they both refused it, and renounced the action as dishonest. Lest therefore either of these should faile in managing the busines which agreed not with his disposition, others of more impudency and lesse discretion were sent; who in such wise deliuered their insolent message, that the Citizens taking time to deliberate vpon their request, brought what they could out of the fields into the Towne, and shutting the Gates, did forthwith man the Wals. When the Souldiers perceiued themselues to be disappointed of their rauenous purpose, they fell to mutiny, saying, That their Leaders had betrayed them: and being for the more part of them Arcadians & Achæans, they forsook immediately *Cherisophus* and *Xenophon*, choosing new Leaders out of their owne number. Aboue foure thousand and fiue hundred they were, all heauily armed, who electing ten Captains, sailed into the Port of Calphas, which is in the mid-way between Heraclea & Byzantium, with purpose to assaile the Bythinians on the suddaine. With *Cherisophus* there abode two thousand and one hundred, of whom one thousand and foure hundred were armed weightily: *Xenophon* had two thousand foot, three hundred wherof were lightly armed, and forty horse; which small band had done good seruice already, and could not haue bin spared now. *Cherisophus* had agreed with *Cleander* Gouernour of Byzantium, to meet him at the mouth of the Riuer Calphas, whither *Cleander* promised to bring some Gallies to conuey him ouer into Greece; for which cause he tooke his way thither by Land, leauing to *Xenophon* such shipping as he had; who passing some part of the way by Sea, landed vpon the Confines of Heraclea, & Thracia Asiatica, intending to make a cut through the mid-land-Country to the Propont. The Mutiners who had landed at Calphas by night, with purpose to take spoiles in Bythinia, diuided themselues into ten Companies, euery Captaine leading his owne Regiment into some Village, fiue or sixe miles from the Sea, in the greater Townes were two Regiments quartered; and so was that part of the country surprised on the sudden, and sacked all at one time. The place of Rendeuous was an high piece of ground, where some of them arriued, finding no disturbance; others, not without much trouble & danger: two Companies were broken and defeated, only eight men escaped, the rest were all put to the sword. For the Thracians which had slipt at first out of the Souldiers hands, did raise the Country, and finding the Greeks loden with booty, tooke the aduantage of their disorder, cutting in pieces those two Regiments: which done, they attempted the rest, encompassing the hill wheron they encamped. One great aduantage the Thracians had, that being all light armed, they could at pleasure make retrait from these Arcadians & Achæans: who wanting the assistance of horse, & hauing neither Archers nor Slingers among them, were driuen to stand meerly vpon their defence, bearing off with greater danger, & many wounds receiued, the Darts & Arrowes of the Barbarians, till finally they were driuen from their watering place, & enforced to craue parley. Whatsoeuer the Articles of composition were, the Thracians yeelded to all; but pledges for assurance they would giue none, without wch the Greeks well knew, that all promises of such people, especially so incensed, were nothing worth. In the mean time *Xenophon* holding his way quietly through the In-land Region, did enquire of some Trauailers, whether they knew ought of any Grecian Army, passing along those parts: & receiuing by them true information of the desperate case into which these Gallants had foolishly throwne themselues, he marched directly towards the place where they lay, taking with him for guides them who gaue him the intelligence. His horse-men he sent before to discouer, & to scowre the waies; the light-armed foot-men tooke the hill tops on either hand, all of them setting fire on whatsoeuer they found combustible; wherby the whole Country seemed to be on a light flame, to the great terrour of the enemies, who thought that some huge Army had approached. That night he encamped on a hill, within fiue mile of the Arcadians, encreasing still the number of his fires, which he caused hastily to be quenched soon after Supper. The enemies perceiuing this, thought certainly that he would haue fallen vpon them in the darke, which caused them in all haste to dislodge. Early in the next morning *Xenophon* comming thither in very good order, to haue giuen battell, found that his deuice, to affright the Thracians, had taken full effect; but he maruailed that the Greeks were also departed, concerning whom he learned by enquiry, that they remoued at break of day, & perceiued by signes that they had taken the way to the Port of Calphas, in which iourny he ouertook them. They embraced Him and His, with great ioy: Confessing that they themselues had

thought the same which the enemies did, looking that he should haue come by night; wherein finding themselues deceiued, they were affraid left he had forsaken them, and therfore hastened away, to ouertake him, and ioyne with him. So they arriued at the Hauen of Calpas, where it was decreed, That whosoeuer from thenceforth made any motion to disioyne the Army, should suffer death.

§. XV.

Of diuers pieces of seruice done by Xenophon; *and how the Army returned into Greece. The occasions of the Warre betweene the Lacedæmonians and the Persian.*

THe Hauen of Calpas lay vnder a goodly head-land, that was very strong, and abounding with all kinde of Graine and Fruits, except Oliues. There was also Timber for building and shipping, and a very conuenient Sea for a great City. All which commodities, that might haue allured the Souldiers to stay there, and to plant, caused them to haste away, fearing left *Xenophon* should finde some deuice to haue setled himselfe and them in that place. For the greater part of them had good meanes to liue at home; neither did they so much for hope of gaine follow *Cyrus* in that Warre, as in regard of his Honour, and the loue which they bare vnto him: the poorer sort were such as left their Parents, Wiues, and Children, to whom (though failing of the riches which they had hoped to purchase) they were now desirous to returne. But whether it were so that *Xenophon* found aduantage by their owne superstition, to make them stay, which they greatly suspected; or whether the signes appearing in the entrailes, did indeed forbid their departure: so long they were inforced to abide in the place till victuals failed; neither would the Captaines leade them forth to forrage the Country, vntill the Sacrifices should promise good successe. *Cherisophus* was dead of an Ague, and his ships were gone, being returned to the Heracleans, of whom they were borrowed. His followers were ioyned to the rest of the Army, which the greater it was, the more prouision it needed, and the sooner felt want. For which cause, he that was chosen Coronell into the place of *Cherisophus*, would needes aduenture to gratifie the Souldiers with the spoile of some Villages that stood neer at hand; in which enterprise he found ill success, the whole Country lying in wait to entrap him, and an Army of Horse being sent by *Pharnabazus* the Satrapa, or Vice-roy of Phrygia, to the assistance of these Bythinian Thracians, which troups falling vpon the Greeks that were scattered abroad in seeking booty, slew fiue hundred of them, and chased the rest to a certaine Mountaine there by. The newes of this ouerthrow comming to *Xenophon*, he led forth a part of the Army to the rescue of those that suruiued, and brought them safe to the Campe; vpon which the Bythinians made an offer that night, & breaking a *Corps dugarde*, slew some, pursuing the rest to the very Tents. This new courage of the enemy, together with the present condition of the Army, so disheartened and vnfurnished of necessaries, caused the Greekes to remoue their Campe to a place of more strength; vvhich hauing intrenched, and committed to the defence of such as were least able to endure trauaile, *Xenophon* with the firmest and best able men went forth, both to bury those which vvere lately slaine, and to abate the pride of the Thracians, and their assistants. In this iourny his demeanour vvas very honourable. For hauing giuen buriall to the dead, the Enemy was discouered, lying on the tops of the Hils adioyning, to whom (notwithstanding that the way was very rough, and troublesome, so that some thought it a matter of too great danger, to leaue at their backs a wood scarce passeable) he marched directly, telling his men plainly, that he had rather follow the enemy with halfe the number, than turn his back to them with twice as many; & letting them further know, that if they did not charge the Barbarians, he would not faile with the greater resolution to pursue them; from whom if they could safely retire to the camp, yet what should they do there, wanting victuals to sustain them in the place, and ships to carry them away? Wherefore he willed them rather to fighe vvell that day, hauing eaten their dinners, than another day fasting; and not to regard the vneasie returne, which might serue to stay Cowards from running away, but to wish vnto the Enemy a faire and easie way, by vvhich he might flye from them. These perswasions vvere followed vvith so valiant execution, that both Persians and Bythinians being chased out of the field, abandoned the Country forthwith, remouing their Families, and leauing all that could not sodainely be conueighed away, to

to the discretion of the Greekes, vvho at good leisure gathered the Harueſt of these bad Neighbours fields. This vvas the last fight which they had on the side of Asia. For they vvere not onely suffered quietly to enioy the spoile of the country, but vvhen the opinion grew common in those parts, that it was the intent of *Xenophon* to plant a Colony on the Port of Calpas, Embassadours were sent from the Neighbour people, to desire friendship, and make offer of their best assistance. But the Souldiers had no minde to stay. Wherefore entring further into Bythinia, they tooke a great booty, which they carried away vnto Chrysopolis, a city neer vnto Chalcedon, where they sold it. *Pharnabazus*, Lieutenant in Phrygia to *Artaxerxes*, did greatly feare, left their long stay in that Country might breed in them a desire to visite his Prouince, vvhere they might haue found great vvealth, and little power to guard it. Therefore he sent to the Lacedæmonian Admirall, entreating him with much instance and large promises to waft them ouer into Europe; to whom *Anaxibius* the Admirall condescending, promised to giue the Souldiers pay, as soon as they arriued at Byzantium. So were they carried out of Asia at the intreaty of the Persian, who in the height of his pride had thought them so surely imprisoned with mighty Riuers, that he not onely denied to permit their quiet departure, but willed them to surrender their Armes into his hands, and so to yeeld their liues to his discretion. How discourteously they were intreated by *Anaxibius*, and how to requite his iniurious dealings, they seized vpon Byzantium, vvhich by *Xenophons* perswasion they forbare to sacke; I hold it superfluous to relate. For the residue of their doings appertain little to the generall course of things. But this expedition, as in all ages it was glorious, so did it both discouer the secrets of Asia, and stirre vp the Greekes to thinke vpon greater enterprises, than euer their forefathers had vndertaken. Likewise it was the onely remarkeable action which the time afforded. For the Roman warres did hitherto extend no further than to the next neighbouring Townes of Italy; and in Greece all things were quiet, the Lacedæmonians ruling insolently, but without disturbance. True it is, that the seedes of the Warre shortly following, which the Lacedæmonians made vpon *Artaxerxes*, were already sowne, before these companies returned out of the high Countries of Asia. For the Townes of Ionia, which had sided with young *Cyrus* against *Tissaphernes*, if not against the great King, prepared to rebell; which they thought safer, than to fall into the hands of *Tissaphernes*, who was now appointed Lieutenant, both of his old Prouince, and of all that had belonged to *Cyrus*. Wherefore the Ionians besought the Lacedæmonians to send them aide, whereby to recouer their liberty; & obtained their request. For a power was sent ouer, vnder conduct of *Thimbro* a Spartan, who bestowed his men in such Towns as had already reuolted, to secure the Cities and their Fields, but not to make any offensiue War.

CHAP. XI.

Of the affaires of Greece, whilest they were managed by the Lacedæmonians.

§. I.

How the Lacedæmonians tooke courage by example of Xenophons *Army, to make Warre vpon* Artaxerxes.

IT seemes that the Lacedæmonians did well perceiue in how ill part *Artaxerxes* tooke their fauour shewed vnto his brother, and yet were timorous in beginning an open war against him, thinking it sufficient to take all care that no aduantage might slip, which could serue to strengthen their Estate, by finding the Persian worke beyond the Sea. But when *Xenophons* Army had reuealed the basenesse of those effeminate Asiatiques, and rehearsed the many victories which they themselues had gotten, vpon tearmes of extreame disaduantage; then was all Greece filled with desire of vnder-taking vpon this huge vnweildy Empire, thinking it no hard matter for the ioynt-

forces

forces of that whole Nation, to hew out the way to Susa, whereof one handfull had opened the passage to Babylon, and further, finding no power that was able to giue them resistance, in all that long iourny of foure and thirty thousand two hundred and fifty fiue furlongs, spent in going and returning, which make of English miles about foure thousand two hundred fourescore and one, a very painfull march of one yeare and three moneths. Neuertheless the ciuill distraction wherwith Greece was miserably torne, & especially that hote fire of the Theban Warre, which, kindled with Persian gold, brake forth sodainly into a great flame, drew backe out of Asia the power of the Lacedæmonians, to the defence of their own Estate; leauing it questionable, whether *Agesilaus*, hauing both the same, and far greater forces, could haue wrought proportionable effects. Sure it is, that in the whole space of two yeares, which he spent in Asia, his deedes procured more commendation of magnanimity and faire behauiour, than of stout courage, and great, or profitable atchieuements. For how highly soeuer it pleased *Xenophon*, who was his friend, and follower in this, and in other warres, to extoll his vertue; his exploits being onely a few incursions into the Countries lying neere the Sea, carrying no proportion to *Xenophons* own iourny, which I know not whether any Age hath paralleled: the famous retrait of *Conon* the Briton with fixe thousand men from Aquileia, to his own Country, through all the breadth of Italy, and length of France, in despite of the Emperor *Theodosius*, being rather like it than equall. But of *Agesilaus* and his wars in Asia and Greece, we shall speake more in due place.

§. II.

The prosperous beginnings of the warre in Asia.

THimbro receiuing *Xenophons* men, began to take in Townes, and to entertaine all such as were willing to reuolt from the Persian, who were many, and some of them such, as had beene highly beholding to the King; who seeme to haue had no other cause of discontent, than that they were to liue vnder the gouernment of *Tissaphernes*, whom all others did as vehemently hate as the King his Master did loue him. The managing of the warre begun by *Thimbro*, was for his oppressions taken out of his hands, and committed to *Dercyllidas* a Spartan, who behaued himselfe as a good man of Warre, and a wise Commander. For whereas the rule of the low-Countries of Asia was diuided between *Pharnabazus* and *Tissaphernes*, vvho did ill agree, *Pharnabazus* being the worthier man, but the other by his Princes fauour the greater, and hauing the chiefe command in those warres against the Greekes; *Dercyllidas* who did beare a priuate hatred to *Pharnabazus* (knowing well that *Tissaphernes* was of a mischieuous nature, and would not be sorry to see his Corriuall throughly beaten, though to the Kings losse) made an appointment with *Tissaphernes* and forthwith entred Æolis, which was vnder the iurisdiction of *Pharnabazus*, which Prouince in few dayes, he brought into his owne power.

That Country of Æolis had about the same time suffered a violent alteration, which gaue easie successe to the attempts of *Dercyllidas*. *Zeis* a Dardanian had bin Deputy to *Pharnabazus* in those parts; after whose death his wife *Mania* procured his Office, wherein she behaued her selfe so well, that she not only was beloued of the people vnder her gouernment: but enlarged her Territory, by the conquest of certaine Townes adioyning; and sundry times gaue assistance to *Pharnabazus* in his warres against the Mysians and Persians. For she had in pay some Companies of Greeks, whose valour by her good vsage did her great seruice. But somwhat before the arriuall of *Dercyllidas* in those parts, a Sonne-in-law of hers, called *Midias*, whom she trusted and loued much, being blinded with ambition, found meanes to stifle her, and kill her sonne of seuenteene yeares old; which done, he seized vpon two of her principall Townes, wherein her treasure lay, hoping to haue beene admitted into possession of her whole estate. Being denied entrance by her Souldiers that lay in Garrison, he sent Messengers vvith presents to *Pharnabazus*, desiring him to make him Gouernour in the place of *Mania*. His presents were not onely reiected by *Pharnabazus*, but reuenge of his foule treason threatned, whereby the wicked villaine vvas driuen into tearmes of almost vtter desperation. In the meane time came *Dercyllidas*, to whom the Townes of *Mania*, that held against *Midias*, did quickly open their Gates. One onely Towne stood out foure dayes (against the will

will of the Citizens, who were couetous of liberty) the Gouernour striuing in vaine to haue kept it to the vse of *Pharnabazus*. Now remained only two Cities, Gergethe and Scepsis, which the Traitour held, who fearing all men, as being loued of none, sent Embassadours to *Dyrcillidas*, desiring leaue to speake with him, and pledges for his security: vpon the deliuery of which he issued out of Scepsis, and comming into the Camp, made offer to ioyne with the Greekes vpon such conditions, as might seeme reasonable. But he was plainly told by *Dercyllidas*, that other condition there was none, than to set the Citizens freely at liberty. And presently vpon these words they marched toward Scepsis. When *Midias* perceiued that it was in vaine to striue against the Army, and the Townes-men, who were all of one minde; he quietly went along with *Dercyllidas*, who remaining but a few houres in the City, did a sacrifice to *Minerua*, & then leading away the Garrison of *Midias*, he left the City free, and departed toward Gergethe. *Midias* did not forsake his Company, but followed him, earnestly intreating that he might be suffered to retaine Gergethe: but comming to the Gates, he was bidden to command his Souldiers that they should be opened; for (quoth *Dyrcillidas*) I must here likewise doe a sacrifice to *Minerua*. The Traitour, not daring to make deniall, caused his Mercenaries to open the Gates, whereby *Dercyllidas*, taking possession of the place, tendred pay to the Garrison, who did not refuse to serue vnder his Ensignes. This done, all the goods of *Mania* were seized vpon, as belonging to one that had beene subiect to *Pharnabazus*, who was enemy to the Greekes: and so the murderous wretch was sent away naked, not knowing in what part of the World he might finde any place to hide his detested head. *Dercyllidas*, hauing in eight dayes taken nine Cities, purposed for the ease of his Confederates to winter in Bythinia, to which end he tooke Truce with *Pharnabazus*, who had not any desire of Warre. That Winter, and the Summer ensuing, the truce being recontinued, held; in which time, besides the wasting of Bythinia, the neck of Land ioyning Cherronea to the Main, was fortified, being foure or fiue miles in breadth; by which meanes eleuen Towns, with much good Land belonging to them, were freed from the incursions of the wilde Thracians, and made fit and able to victuall the Camp. Likewise the City of Atarne was taken, which was of great strength, and very well stored with prouision. After this, *Dercyllidas* had command from Sparta, to diuert the warre into Caria, where was the seate of *Tissaphernes*; for that hereby it was thought not vneasie to recouer all the Townes of Ionia; *Pharax* the Admirall of the fleet (which was a yearly Office) being appointed to ioyne with him. Though it was manifest that *Tissaphernes* had neglected *Pharnabazus* in time of necessity, yet was he not in his owne danger requited with the like. For *Pharnabazus* hauing respect to the Kings seruice, came to assist his priuate enemy *Tissaphernes*, and so passing into Caria, they thrust Garrisons into all places of strength; which done, they marched towards Ionia, hoping to finde the Townes ill manned for resistance. As these Persians were desirous to keepe the warre from their owne doores, so was *Dercyllidas* willing to free his Confederates the Ionians from the spoile and danger of the war, by transferring it into Caria. For which cause he passed the Riuer of *Mæander*, and not looking to haue bin so soon encountered, marched carelesly through the Country: when on the very sodaine the whole Army of *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* was discouered, consisting of Persians, Carians, & some Mercenary Greeks, who were all marshalled in very good order to present battaile. The oddes was too apparant, both in numbers of men, and in readinesse, as also in aduantage of ground: for the Persian had a great multitude of Horse, the Greeke very few and feeble, being to fight in an open plaine. Therefore all the Ionians, together with the Ilanders and others, of such places as bordered vpon the Kings Dominions, did either betake themselues to present flight; or abiding a while for shame, did plainly discouer by their lookes, that they meant not to be more bold than wise. Onely *Dercyllidas* with his Peloponnesians regarding their honour, prepared to endure the fight: which must needes haue brought them to destruction, if the counsaile of *Pharnabazus* had been followed, who perceiuing the opportunity of so great a victory, was not willing to let it slip. But *Tissaphernes*, who naturally was a coward, seeing that countenance of resistance was made, began to consider what strange defence the Souldiers of *Xenophon* had shewed, and thinking that all the Greekes were of the like resolution, held it the wisest way to craue parley; the conclusion of which was, That a truce should bee made, to last vntill *Tissaphernes* might receiue answer from the King, & *Dercyllidas* from Sparta,

Sparta, concerning the demands propounded in the Treaty; which were on the one part, That all the Greeks in Asia might enioy their own liberty and lawes; but contrariwise on the other side, That the Lacedæmonians should depart Asia, & leaue the Towns to the Kings pleasure. This Treaty was of none effect; only it serued to free the Greeks from the present danger, and to gaine time vnto *Tissaphernes*, who desired to auoide the Warre by procrastination, which he durst not aduenture to finish by triall of a battaile.

§. III.

How the Lacedæmonians tooke reuenge vpon the Eleans for old displeasure. The discontents of the Corinthians and Thebans, conceiued against the State of Sparta.

IN the meane season the Lacedæmonians, who found none able to withstand them in Greece, began to call the Eleans to accompt for some disgraces receiued by them during the late Warres, when leisure was wanting to the requitall of such petty iniuries. These Eleans being Presidents of the Olympiaque games, had set a fine vpon the City of Sparta, for Non-paiment of which, they forbad them to come to the solemnity; and publiquely whipt one of them, that was of note, for presuming to contend against their decree. Likewise they hindred *Agis* King of Sparta, from doing sacrifice to *Iupiter*; and in all points vsed great contempt toward the Spartans, who now had no businesse that could hinder them from taking reuenge: and therefore sent a peremptory message to the Eleans, commanding them to set at liberty the Cities which they held in subiection. This was the vsuall pretence which they made the ground of all their Warres: though little they cared for the liberty of such Townes, which they caused afterwards to become followers, and little better than meere Vassals of the Lacedæmonians. In their late Warres with Athens, the strong opposition which they found, caused this goodly Title of liberty to worke very slowly: but hauing now to doe with a State of great spirit and small force, it gaue present successe to their desires. Two yeares together they sent an Army into the Country of the Eleans: the first yeare an Earth-quake (held in those times a prodigious signe, and which did alwayes forbid the prosecution of any enterprise in hand) caused them to retire: the second yeare, all the Townes of the Eleans did hastily reuolt, and the City it selfe was driuen to submission; consenting both to suffer their old subiects freely to enioy their liberty, and to haue her owne wals throwne downe. Only the Presidentship of the Olympian games was left vnto them, which, it was not to be doubted that they would in time comming vse modestly, finding themselues to stand at the mercy of Sparta. In this expedition all the Greeks were assistant to the Lacedæmonians, excepting the Corinthians & Bœotians, whose aide hauing bin of as much importance in the late Peloponnesian War, as the force of Sparta it selfe, they could not smother their dislike of their vnequall diuision following the victory; which gaue to Sparta the command of all Greece; to Thebes & Corinth, only security against Athens, but such a security as was worse than the danger. For when the equall greatnes of two mighty Estates did counterpoise each the other, it was in the power of these Neutrall Common-weals to adhere to either, as the condition of their affaires required; but when to reuenge iniuries, they had by mortall hatred prosecuted the Warre to extremity, leauing the one City naked of power and friends, the other mightily encreased in both; it was then (if not necessary to obey the greatnesse which themselues had made, yet) foolish and dangerous to prouoke it. Neuertheleſse, it was not the purpose of the Spartans to take occasion of any quarrell, which they could not finish at pleasure, till such time as they had by victory or composition made some good end with the Persian, toward whom they bent all their care and forces.

§. IV.

The passage of Agesilaus *into Asia. His warre with* Tissaphernes. *How* Tissaphernes *was put to death; and the warre diuerted into another Prouince, through perswasion and gifts of* Tithraustes *his successour. How carelesse the Persian Lieutenants were of the Kings good.*

Agesilaus newly made King of Sparta, was desirous to haue the honour of the victory, which not without cause, he expected vpon those of Asia; and therefore procuring a great Army to ioyne with that of *Dyrcillidas*, he took his way in great pompe to Aulis in Bœotia, a Hauen, lying opposite to the Iland of Eubœa; in which place *Agamemnon* (leading the power of all Greece to the war against Troy, many Ages before) had embarked his men. In imitation of *Agamemnon* he meant also to doe sacrifice in Aulis, which the Thebans, Lords of that Country, would not permit, but saying, that the performance of such ceremonies in that place, belonged vnto their Officers; they were so vnable to conceale their malice, that sending some Companies of horse, they threw downe his sacrifice from the Altar. It was not then conuenient time for *Agesilaus* to entangle himselfe and his Country in a new warre; therefore waiting better opportunity of reuenge, he quietly swallowed the contumely, and followed his maine intendment. Hauing landed his men at Ephesus, he was entertained by *Tissaphernes* with a Treaty of peace, wherein *Agesilaus* peremptorily requiring that the Persian should restore to liberty all the Greek Towns in Asia, was promised that the King, being first informed of his demand, should send answer to his good liking, if he would in the meane while make Truce. Truce was therefore made, which *Tissaphernes* had sought, only to win time of making prouision for the warre, and getting supply of men and mony from *Artaxerxes*; whilest *Agesilaus* was busie in setling the estates of his confederate Cities on that side of the Sea. The end of this long vacation from war was at the comming downe of these forces which *Artaxerxes* had sent: at what time *Agesilaus* receiued a plaine message from *Tissaphernes*, that either he must forth-with depart out of Asia, or make good his aboade by strong hand. *Agesilaus* returning word, that he was glad to heare that his enemies had by periury deserued vengeance from Heauen, prepared to inuade them; and sending word to all the Towns which lay between him and Caria, that they should prouide victuals & other necessaries for his Army, did easily make *Tissaphernes* beleeue, that his intent was to inuade that Prouince wherein *Tissaphernes* dwelt, and which was vnfit for Horse, in which part of his forces the Persian had most confidence. Therefore *Tissaphernes* bestowing all his Companies of foot in Caria, entred with his horse into the plains of *Mæander*, hoping therby to stop the passage of a heauie foot-Army, not suffering them to passe into that Country which was fittest for their seruice. But the Greekes left him waiting there in vaine, and marched directly into Phrygia, where they tooke great spoyle without resistance, till such time as the Horse-men of *Pharnabazus* met him, who in a small skirmish hauing the better of the Greeks, were the occasion that *Agesilaus* returned to Ephesus. Although in this last fight only twelue men were lost, yet *Agesilaus* perceiuing by that triall how hard it would be to preuaile, and hold the mastery of the field, without a greater strength of Horse, tooke all possible care to encrease that part of his forces. By which meanes hauing enabled himselfe, whilest winter lasted, he entred vpon the Country of *Tissaphernes*, as soone as the season of the yeare would permit, and not only tooke a great booty, but finding the Horse-men of *Tissaphernes* in the plaine of *Mæander*, without assistance of their infantery, he gaue them battaile, and had a great victory, taking their Campe in which he found great riches. The blame of this losse fell heauie vpon *Tissaphernes*, who either vpon cowardise had absented himselfe from the battaile, or following some other businesse, was then at Sardis. For which cause his Master hauing him in distrust, and thinking that peace might be the sooner had, which he much desired, if the man, so odious to the whole Nation of the Greekes, were taken out of the way; he sent into those parts *Tithraustes* a Persian, to cut off the head of *Tissaphernes*, and succeed him in the gouernment. Such was the end of this base and cowardly Politician, who little caring to offend Heauen, when by periury he could aduance his purposes on Earth, failed at the last through too much ouer-weening of his owne wisedome, euen in that part of cunning, wherein he thought himselfe most perfect; for supposing

posing, that by his great skill in subtile negotiation he should one way or other circumuent the Greeks, and make them weary of Asia; he did not seeke to finish the warre, and according to his Masters wish, bring all things speedily to quiet, but rather to temporize, till he might finde some opportunity of making such end as best might stand with the Kings honour and his owne. Wherein it seemes that he much mistooke his Princes disposition, who though he had highly rewarded him for the aide which he did bring in his time of danger, yet would he much more gladly haue taken it, if he could haue found such meanes whereby the danger it selfe might haue beene auoided: as not louing to haue warre, whilest by any conditions (honourable or not) he might obtaine peace. And this appeared well by the course which *Tithraustes* took at his first possession of the low-Countries. For he sent Embassadors to *Agesilaus*, in very friendly sort, letting him know, that the man who had been Author of the warre, was now taken out of the way; and that it was the Kings pleasure to let the Greeks enioy their owne lawes and liberty, vpon condition, that they should pay him the tribute accustomed, and the Army be forthwith dismissed. The answer to this proposition, was by *Agesilaus* referred to the Councell of Sparta; in the meane season he was content to transferre the warre into the Prouince of *Pharnabazus*, at the request of *Tithraustes*, who bought his departure with thirty Talents.

This was a strange manner of Warre, both on the offensiue and on the defensiue part. For *Agesilaus* hauing entertained great hopes of vanquishing the great King, was contented to forbeare his seuerall Prouinces, at the entreaty of the Lieutenants: & those Lieutenants being employed by the King to maintaine his Estates against all enemies (wherein if they failed, they knew that their heads might easily be taken from their shoulders) were little offended at any losse that fell on their next Neighbour-Princes, which were subiect likewise to the same Crowne of Persia, so long as their owne gouernment could be preserued free from waste and danger. The cause of this disorder on the Persian side, I can ascribe to nothing so deseruedly, as to the corrupted estate of the Court, wherein Eunuches, Concubines, and ministers of pleasure, were able by partiall construction to countenance, or disgrace, the actions of such as had the managing of things abroad; and to that foolish manner of the Kings (which was so vsuall that it might be called a rule) to reward or punish the Prouinciall Gouernour, according to the benefit or losse, which the Country giuen in charge vnto each of them, receiued, during the time of his rule. Whereby it came to passe, that as euery one was desirous to make his owne Territory yeeld a large increase to the Kings treasure; so no man was carefull to assist his borderers, if losse or danger might thereby grow to himselfe and his; but sate still as an idle beholder, whence perhaps by ioyning their forces, it had not bin vneasie to recompence the spoile of one Country, by conquering another, or defending a third from far greater miseries.

§. V.

The Warre and Treaty betweene Agesilaus *and* Pharnabazus.

A*Gesilaus* hauing thus compounded with *Tithraustes*, entred Phrygia, burning and wasting the Country without resistance. He tooke the Palace of *Pharnabazus*, and by his Lieutenant draue him out of his Campe. These actions, together with his honourable behauiour, which added much to their lustre, were more glorious than profitable. For he did not win Cities and Places of strength, which might haue encreased his power, and giuen assurance to the rest of his proceedings: but purchased fame and high reputation, by which he drew vnto him some that were discontented and stood vpon bad termes with the great King; whom he lost againe as easily, by meanes of some slight iniury done to them by his vnder-Captaines. *Pharnabazus* did not enclose himselfe in any Towne for feare of being besieged, but kept the field, lying as neer as he could safely to the enemies, with whom it was not his purpose to fight, but to make some good end by composition, which he found not vneasie to doe. For the pleasures, by him formerly done to the State of Sparta, in the times of their most necessity, had beene so great, that when he (obtaining parley) did set before their eyes his bounty towards them, and his loue (which had been such, that besides many other hazzards of his person, he had for the rescue of their fleet when it was driuen to run a-shore at Abydus, aduen-

aduentured to ride into the Seas as farre as he could finde any ground, & fight on horseback against the Athenians) together with his faith which had neuer beene violated in word or deed: they knew not how to excuse their ingratitude, otherwise than by telling him, That hauing warre with his Master, they were inforced, against their will, to offend him. *Agesilaus* did make a faire offer to him, that if he would reuolt from the King to them; they would maintaine him against the Persian, and establish him free Prince of the Country wherein he was at that time onely Deputy to *Artaxerxes*. But *Pharnabazus* told him plainly, That if the King his Master did put him in trust to make war against them, he would not faile to doe the best that he could as their enemy; if the charge were taken out of his hand, and he commanded to obey another, he would then shift side, and betake himselfe to their alliance. The issue of this parlie was, That the Army should no longer abide in Phrygia, nor againe returne into it, whilest employment could be found elsewhere. The excuse made by *Agesilaus*, and the withdrawing of his forces out of those parts, were not sufficient to appease *Pharnabazus*, whom he had not inuaded for want of more necessary businesse elsewhere; but because his Country would yeeld great booty, & for the hire of thirty Talents. By this means the Lacedæmonians changed an honourable Friend into a hot Enemy, who afterwards requited their vnthankefulnesse with full reuenge.

§. VI.

The great commotions raised in Greece by the Thebans and others, that were hyred with gold from the Persian.

IN the meane vvhile *Tithraustes*, perceiuing that *Agesilaus* meant nothing lesse than to returne into Greece, and let *Artaxerxes* rest quietly in Asia, tooke a vvise course, vvhereby the City of Sparta was not onely driuen to looke to her owne, and giue ouer her great hopes of subuerting the Empire, but was beaten out of all that had been gotten by many late victories, and saw her Dominion restrained vnto the narrow bounds of her owne Territory. He sent into Greece fifty talents of siluer, to be imploied in raising war against the Lacedæmonians; which treasure was, by the subtile practice of him that was put in trust with it, in such wise dispersed among the principal men of the Thebans, Argiues, & Corinthians, that all those Estates hauing formerly born secret hate to that of Sparta, were now desirous of nothing so much as of open war. And lest this great heate of the incensed multitude should, for want of present exercise, begin to faint, & vanish away in idle words, occasion was found out to thrust the Lacedæmonians into Armes, that they themselues might seem Authors of the quarrell. Some land there was in the tenure of the Locrians, to which the Thebans had in former time laid claim; but the Phocians either hauing the better title, or finding the greater fauour, had it adiudged vnto them, and receiued yearly mony for it. This mony the Locrians were either hired or perswaded to pay now to the Thebans, who readily accepted it. The Phocians not meaning so to lose their Rent, made a distresse by strong hand, recouering a great deale more than their own; which the Thebans (as in protection of their new Tenants) requited with an inuasion made vpon Phocis, wasting that Country in the maner of open war. Such were the beginnings of professed hostility between Thebes & Sparta, & the first breaking out of their close enmity, that had long time, though hardly, bin concealed. For when the Phocian Embassadors came to Sparta, complaining of the violence done by the Thebans, & requesting succour, they had very fauourable audience, & ready consent to their suit; it being the maner of the Lacedæmonians, to deferre the acknowledgment of iniuries receiued, vntil occasion of reuenge were offered, & then to discouer their indignation in cold bloud. At this time they had very good opportunity to worke their own wils, hauing no other war to disturbe them in Greece, & hearing out of Asia no news, that could offend or trouble them. Wherfore they sent *Lysander* to raise all the Countries about Phocis, & with such forces as he could leuie, to attend the comming of *Pausanias* King of Sparta (for Sparta, as hath bin shewed before, had two Kings) who should follow him with the strength of Peloponnesus. *Lysander* did as he was appointed, & being of great reputation in those parts, he drew the Orchomenians to reuolt from Thebes. *Pausanias* likewise raised all Peloponnesus, except the Corinthians, (who refused to assist him in that enterprise) meaning to ioyne with *Lysander*, & make a speedy end of

of the warre. The consideration of so great a danger, approaching so swiftly, caused the Thebans to seeke what help they could abroad, for as much as their owne strength was farre too little to make resistance against such mighty preparations. It was not vnknown to them, that many followers of the Lacedæmonians were otherwise affected in heart than they durst vtter in countenance; but the good wishes of such people were little auaileable, considering that the most which could be expected from them, was, that they should do as little hurt as they could: by which maner of tergiuersation, the Corinthians did at that present cast themselues into the displeasure of the Spartans, to the no great benefit of Thebes. Wherefore it was thought the safest course, to procure the assistance of some Estate that might presently declare it selfe on their side, which would cause many others to follow the example, and make their party strong. To this end they sent Embassadours to Athens, excusing old offences, as either not committed by publike allowance, or done in time of the generall warre, and recompenced with friendship lately shewne in their refusall of assisting *Pausanias*, when he came in behalfe of the thirty Tyrants, against the good Citizens of Athens. In regard of which, and for their owne Honour sake, they requested them of aide in the present warre, offering to doe the best that they could for the restoring of Athens to her former Estate & Dignity. *Thrasybulus* and his Friends, who persecuted by the thirty, had been well entertained at Thebes, procured now the City to make a large requitall of the courtesie which they had receiued. For it was decreed, that the State of Athens should not only refuse to aide the Lacedæmonians in this Warre; but that it should assist the Thebans, and engage it selfe in their cause. Whilest *Pausanias* lay still, waiting the arriuall of his Confederates; *Lysander* being desirous to do somewhat that might aduance the businesse in hand, came to Haliartus, where though *Pausanias* did not meet him, as had been appointed, yet he attempted the Towne, and was slaine in fight by the Thebans, who came hastily to the rescue. As this victory did encourage the Thebans, so the comming of *Pausanias* with his great Army did againe amaze them, with presentation of extreame danger; but their spirits were soon reuiued by the strong succour which was brought from Athens, in consideration of which, and of the late battaile, *Pausanias* durst not hazzard a new fight with them; but receiuing the bodies of those that were slaine, by composition, departed out of their Territory; for which, either cowardise or indiscretion, he was at his return to Sparta condemned as a Traitour, and driuen to flie into Tegea, where he ended his daies in banishment.

§. VII.

How Agesilaus *was called out of Asia to helpe his Country. A victory of the Spartans.* Conon *the Athenian, assisted by* Pharnabazus, *ouercomes the Lacedæmonian Fleet; recouers the mastery of the Seas; and rebuilds the wals of Athens.*

THis good successe, & the confederacy made with Athens, gaue such reputation to the Thebans, that the Argiues, Corinthians, Euboeans, Locrians, and Acarnanes, did forthwith side with them, and raising a strong Army, determined to giue battaile to the Lacedæmonians as neere as they might, to their owne doors; Considering that the force of Sparta it selfe was not great, but grew more and more by the adiunction of their Confederates. The Magistrates of Sparta perceiuing the danger, sent for *Agesilaus*, who readily obeyed them, & promising his friends in Asia to returne speedily to their assistance, passed the Streights of Hellespont into Europe. In the mean time the Cities of the new league had giuen battaile to the Lacedæmonians, & the remainder of their Associates; but with ill successe. For when the right-wing of each part had gotten the better hand, the Argiues & Thebans returning from the chase in some disorder, were broken & defeated by the Lacedæmonians, who meeting them in good order, won from them the Honour which they had gotten, by forcing the left wing of the Lacedæmonians, and made the victory of that day entirely their own. The reporters of this battaile meeting *Agesilaus* at Amphipolis, were by him sent ouer into Asia, wherein it is not likely that they brought much comfort vnto his friend, who had since his departure seen the Spartan Fleet beaten, and *Lysander* the Admirall slaine. The same man, whose endeuour had brought the Athenians into order, by aduancing the Sea-forces of the Lacedæmonians with money, and all manner of supplies, was now the occasion that the power

power of Athens grew strong at Sea, when the City was despoiled of her old reputation, & scarcely able to maintain an Army by Land for her defence. *Pharnabazus* considering how much it imported the King his Master, to haue the Greeks diuided into such factions, as might vtterly disable them from vndertaking abroad, thought it the safest way for himselfe, during these broiles, to take such order, that he should not need any more, to seeke peace by entreaty and commemoration of old benefits, at their hands, who vnprouoked had sold his loue for thirty Talents. To which purpose he furnished *Conon* the Athenian with eight ships, who had escaped, when the Fleet of Athens was surprized by *Lysander* at Ægos-Potamos; giuing him the command of a great Nauy, wherwith he requited the losse receiued at Ægos-Potamos, by repaying the Lacedæmonians with the like destruction of their Fleet at Cnidus. After this victory *Conon* sailed to Athens, bringing with him, partly as the liberality of *Pharnabazus*, partly as the fruit of his victory, so strong a Nauie, and so much Gold, as encouraged the Athenians to rebuild their Walls, and thinke more hopefully vpon recouering the Signiory which they had lost.

§. VIII.

Of sundry small victories gotten on each part. The Lacedæmonians lose all in Asia; The Athenians recouer some part of their old Dominion.

NEuertheless the Lacedæmonians, by many victories at Land, maintained for some yeares the honour of their Estate, endangered very greatly by this losse at Sea. For *Agesilaus* obtained the better with his horse-men from the Thessalians, who were accounted the best riders in Greece: He wasted Bœotia, and fought a great battaile at Coronea against the Thebans, and their Allies, whom hee ouer-threw; and by his Marshall *Gylis* forraged the Country of Locris: which done, hee returned home.

The gain of these victories was not great, & the reputation of them was, by many losses, much defaced. For the Thebans did in the battell of Coronea vanquish the Orchomenians, who stood opposite vnto them, & retired vnbroken to Mount Helicon, opening way perforce when *Agesilaus* charged them in the returne from the pursuite. Likewise *Gylis* was slaine with a great part of his Army by the Locrians; and some other exploits by the Lacedæmonians performed against the Corinthians, were repayed with equall dammage receiued in the parts adioyning; many Towns being easily taken, & as easily recouered. The variety of which enterfeats was such, that the Thebans themselues were drawn by the losse of the hauen of Corinth, to sue for peace, but could not get audience, till such time as the newes came of a great victory obtained by *Iphicrates*, Generall of the Athenian forces at Lechæum; whereupon the Theban Embassadours being sent for, and willed to doe their message, required only in scorne, to haue a safe conduct giuen them, that they might enter into Corinth. From this time forward the Warre was made for a while only by incursions, wherin the Achæans, Confederates of Sparta, felt most losse, their whole state being endangered by the Acarnanians, who held with the contrary side, vntill *Agesilaus* repayed these inuaders with equall, or greater calamities, brought vpon their owne Lands, which did so afflict the Acarnanes, that they were driuen to sue for peace. But the affairs at Sea were of most consequence, vpon which the successe of all depended. For when the Towns of Asia perceiued, that the Lacedæmonians were not only intangled in an hard war at home, but almost disabled to passe the Seas, hauing lost their Fleet at Cnidus; they soon gaue eare to *Pharnabazus*, who promised to allow that they should vse their own lawes, if they would expell the Spartan Gouernours. Only the City of Abydus did stand firme, wherin *Dercyllidas* lay, who did his best to contain all the Townes about Hellespont, in the alliance of the Lacedæmonians; which he could not do, because the Athenian Fleet vnder *Thrasybulus* took in Byzantium, Chalcedon, and other places thereabout, reducing the Ile of Lesbos to their ancient acknowledgement of Athens.

§. IX.

§. IX.

The base conditions offered vnto the Persian by the Lacedæmonian. Of sundry fights and other passages in the Warre. The peace of Antalcidas.

ABout this time the Spartans began to perceiue how vneasie a thing it would be, to maintaine the warre against men as good as themselues, assisted with the treasures of Persia: wherefore they craued peace of *Artaxerxes*, most basely offering, not onely to renounce the Greeks inhabiting Asia, and to leaue them to the Kings disposition, but withall to set the Ilanders, & euery Town in Greece, as well the little as the great, at full and absolute liberty, whereby they said that all the principall Estates of their Country would be so weakened, that no one, nor all of them should be able to stir against the great King. And sure it was, that the power of the Country being so broken and rent into many small pieces, could neither haue disquieted the Persian, by an offensiue warre, nor haue made any good defence against him, but would haue left it easie for him in continuance of time, to haue taken the Cities one after another, till he had made himselfe Master of all. The Spartans were not ignorant of this, but were so carried with enuie, that perceiuing how the dominion of the Seas was like to return to Athens, they chose rather to giue all from themselues and others, and make all a-like weak; than to permit that any of their owne Nation should grow stronger than themselues, who so lately had commanded all. Yet this great offer was not at the first accepted, both in regard that the other Estates of Greece, who had in the Kings behalfe ioyned together against the Lacedæmonians, did by their seuerall Embassadors oppose themselues vnto it; & for that it was thought safest for *Artaxerxes*, rather to weaken the Lacedæmonians yet more, than by interposing himselfe to bring friends and foes on the sudden to an equality. Especially *Struthas*, whom *Artaxerxes* had sent as his Lieutenant into the low-Countries, did seek to repay the harme done by *Agesilaus* in those parts: which his intent appearing plaine, and all hope of the peace being thereby cut off; *Thimbro* was sent into Asia to make warre vpon *Struthas*; and others were appointed to other places, whereby the warre being scattered about, all the Iles and Townes on the firme Land, grew almost to the maner of Piracy and Robbery, affording many skirmishes, but few great actions worthy of remembrance. *Thimbro* was slaine by *Struthas*, & in his place *Diphridas* was sent, who demeaned himselfe more warily. *Dercyllidas* was remoued from his charge at Abydus, because he had not impeached *Thrasybulus* in his enterprises about Hellespont; *Anaxibius*, who succeeded him, was surprised & slaine in a skirmish by *Iphicrates* the Athenian. *Thrasybulus*, departing from Lesbos toward Rhodes, was slaine by the way at Aspendus. The city of Rhodes had long before ioyned with the Lacedæmonians, who erected there (as was their maner) an Aristocratie, or the Gouernment of a few the principall Citizens; wheras contrariwise the Athenians were accustomed to put the Soueraignty into the hands of the people, each of them seeking to assure themselues, by erecting in the town of their Confederates a gouernment like vnto their own: which doing (where more especiall cause did not hinder) caused the Nobility to fauour Sparta, & the Commons to encline to Athens. The people of Ægina roued vpon the coast of Attica, which caused the Athenians to land an Army in Ægina, & besiege their Towne: but this siege being raised by the assistance of the Lacedæmonian fleet, the Ilanders began a-new to molest Attica, which caused the Athenians to man their ships again, that returned beaten, hauing lost foure of thirteen. The losse of these ships was soon recompensed by a victory which *Chabrias* the Athenian Generall had in Ægina, whereupon the Ilanders were faine to keepe home, and leaue to the Athenians the Seas free. It may well seem strange that the City of Athens, hauing but newly raised her wals; hauing not by any fortunate & important battell secured her estate from dangers by land; but only depending vpon the assistance of such Confederates, as carried vnto different ends, had often discouered themselues irresolute in the common cause; would send a Fleet & an Army to Cyprus, in defence of *Euagoras*, when the mastry of the Seas was so ill assured, that an Iland lying in the eie of *Pyræeus*, had ability to vexe the coast of Attica. But as the ouer-weening of that City did cause it vsually to embrace more than it could compasse; so the insolency & shamelesse iniustice of the people, had now bred in the chiefe Commanders, a desire to keep themselues farre out of sight, and to seek emploiments at such distance

distance as might secure them from the eies of the enuious, & from publike iudgements, out of which, few or none escaped. For which cause *Timotheus* did passe away much part of his time in the Ile of *Lesbos*; *Iphicrates* in *Thrace*; and *Chabrias* now did carry away into *Cyprus* a greater force than his Country well could haue spared: with which he returned not when the businesse in *Cyprus* came to an end, but sought new aduentures in *Egypt*; whereby arose neither thankes to himselfe, nor profit to his City, though honour both to him and it. The *Athenians* being thus carelesse of things at hand, had a notable blow giuen vnto them, shortly after that *Chabrias* was gone to *Cyprus*, euen within their owne Hauen. For *Teleutias*, a *Lacedæmonian*, being made Gouernour of *Ægina*, conceiued a strong hope of surprising the Nauie of *Athens*, as it lay in *Piræus*; thinking a-right that it was an harder matter to encounter with ten ships prepared for the fight, than with twenty lying in harbour, whose Mariners were asleepe in their Cabbins, or drinking in Tauernes. Wherefore he sailed by night into the mouth of the Port, which entring at the breake of day, hee found (according to his expectation) most of the men on shore, and few or none left aboord to make resistance: by which meanes hee tooke many ships laden with merchandizes, many fisher-men, passengers, and other Vessels, also three or foure Gallies, hauing sunke or broken, and made vnseruiceable, as many of the rest as the time would suffer. About this time *Pharnabazus*, the Lieutenant of *Phrygia*, had one of the Kings Daughters giuen to him in marriage, with whom he liued about the Court; and many Officers that fauoured the *Lacedæmonians* were placed in the lower *Asia*; by whose assistance the Fleet of *Sparta* grew victorious about *Hellespont*; in such wise, that perhaps they should not haue needed the peace, which they themselues procured by *Antalcidas*, from the great King, the conditions whereof were such as are mentioned before, giuing freedome to all the Cities of *Greece*, and diuiding the Country into as many seuerall States as were petty Boroughes in it. Thus *Artaxerxes* hauing bought his owne peace with money, did likewise by his money become Arbitrator and decider of Controuersies betweene the *Greekes*, disposing of their businesse in such wise as stood best with his owne good. The tenor of *Artaxerxes* his decree was, That all *Asia* and *Cyprus* should be his owne, the Iles of *Lemnos*, *Imbrus*, and *Scirus* bee subiect to *Athens*; all other *Greeke* Towns, as well the little as the great, be set at liberty; and that whosoeuer should refuse this peace, vpon them the approuers of it should make warre, the King assisting them by Land and Sea, with men, and ships, and treasure. The *Athenians* were so discouraged by their losses at Sea; the *Lacedæmonians* by reuolt of their Confederates, and the necessity of maintaining many Garrisons, for which they wanted money; and other States by the miseries of the warre, whereof they saw no end; that all (excepting the *Thebans*) did consent vnto these Articles. This was called the peace of *Antalcidas*; whereof the *Lacedæmonians* taking vpon themselues the execution, did not onely compell the *Argiues* to depart out of *Corinth* (which vnder pretence of defending they held by Garrisons, lately thrust into it, not as Patrons, but as Lords) and the *Thebans* to leaue *Bœotia* free, of which Prouince *Thebes* had alwaies held the gouernment; the *Thebans* themselues being also comprehended vnder the name of the *Bœotians*; but caused the *Mantineans* to throw downe their owne City, and to dwell in Villages: alleaging that they had formerly beene accustomed so to doe, though purposing indeed to chastise them, as hauing beene ill affected to *Sparta* in the late Warre. By these courses the *Lacedæmonians* did hope that all the small Townes in *Greece* would, when occasion should require it, willingly follow them in their warres, as Authors of their liberty; and that the great Cities hauing lost all their dependants, would be vnable to make opposition.

§. X.

The warre which the Lacedæmonians made vpon Olynthus. They take Thebes by treason, and Olynthus by famine.

WHilest these Warres, which ended without either victory or profit, consumed the riches and power of *Greece*, the Citie of *Olynthus* in *Thrace* was growne so mighty, that shee did not onely command her Neighbour Townes, but was also become terrible to places farre remoued, and to *Sparta* it selfe. Great part of *Macedonia*, together with *Pella*, the principall Citie of that Kingdome, was taken by the

Olynthians, vvho following the vsuall pretence of the *Lacedæmonians*, to set at libertie the places ouer which King *Amyntas* did tyrannize, had almost now driuen him out of his Dominions, and taken all to themselues. The Citizens of *Acanthus* and of *Apollonia*, being neerest vnto the danger of those incroaching neighbours, acquainted the *Lacedæmonians* with their feare, affirming that this Dominion of the *Olynthians* would be too strong for all *Greece*, if continuance of time should giue it reputation, which onely it wanted: wherfore they requested assistance, but in such termes as did sound of compulsion, protesting that either they must warre vpon *Olynthus*, or become subiect vnto her, and fight in her defence. Hereupon was made a hastie leuie of men, two thousand being presently sent away, with promise to be seconded by a greater Armie. Whilest these two thousand gaue such beginning to the warre, as agreed with their small number, the body of the Armie following them, surprized the Cittadell of *Thebes*, which was betraied into the hand of *Phœbidas* the *Lacedæmonian*, by some of the Magistrates, who sought to strengthen their faction by the slauerie of their Country. The *Thebans* were ill affected to *Sparta*, but had not in any one point violated the peace lately made between them; vvhich caused the *Lacedæmonians* to doubt whether this act of *Phœbidas* were more worthy of reward or of punishment. In conclusion, profit so farre ouer-weighed honestie, that the deede vvas approoued, many principall Citizens of *Thebes* condemned to death, many driuen into banishment, and the Traitors rewarded with the gouernment of the Citie: by whose authoritie, and the force of the Garison, the *Thebans* vvere compelled to serue the *Lacedæmonians*, in all, and more than all that they could require. This accesse of power hauing strengthened the *Lacedæmonians*, caused them to entertaine the greater forces about *Olynthus*, vvhich (notwithstanding the losse of one great battaile, & some other disasters) they compelled at length by famine to render it selfe vnto their obedience.

§. XI.

How the Thebans recouered their libertie, driuing out the Lacedæmonian Garrison.

After this *Olynthian* Warre, which endured almost three yeares, it seemed that no Estate in *Greece* was able to make head against that of *Sparta*: but it was not long ere the *Thebans* found a meanes to shake off their yoake, and gaue both example and meanes to others to do the like. One of the banisht men found by conference with a *Scribe* of the *Theban* Magistrates, comming to *Athens*, that the tyrannie vvherewith his Countrie vvas oppressed, pleased him no better than it did those who for feare of it vvere fledde from home. Whereupon a plot was layd betweene these two, that soone found very good successe, being managed thus. Seuen of the banished men forsooke *Athens* priuily, and entred by night into the fields of *Thebes*; vvhere spending the next day secretly, they came late in the euening to the Gates like husband-men returned from worke, and so passed vndiscouered vnto the house of *Charon*, vvhom *Phyllidas* the Scribe had drawne into the conspiracie. The day followning, a solemne feast being then held in the Citie, *Phyllidas* promised the Gouernours, who were insolent & lustfull men, that he would conueigh vnto them that night the most beautifull Dames of the Towne, with whom they should take their pleasure. Hauing cheared them with such hope, and plentie of good wine, he told them when the time of performance (which they vrged) came that he could not make good his promise, vnlesse they vvould dismisse their followers, because the Gentlewomen, who attended without a Chamber, vvould not endure that any of the seruants should see their faces. Vpon this occasion the attendants were dismissed, and the Conspirarors, attired like Ladies and their Maides, brought into the place; vvho taking aduantage of the Gouernours loose behauiour, slew them all vpon the sodaine with Daggers, which they brought hidden vnder their garments. Then presently casting off their disguise, they went to other places, where feigning themselues to come to the Gouernours vpon businesse, they got admittance, and likewise slew those which were of the *Lacedæmonian* faction. By the like deuice they brake into the prison, slew the *Gaoler*, and set at liberty such as they thought meet; and being followed by these desperate men, proclaimed libertie, making the death of the Tyrants known. The Captaine of the Castle hearing the sodaine Proclamation, thought the Rebels to be stronger than indeede they were: the Citizens contrariwise mistrusted, that it was a pra-

a practice to discouer such as would be forward vpon occasion of reuolting. But as soon as day-light reuealed the plaine truth, all the people tooke armes & besieged the Castle, sending hastily to *Athens* for succour. The Garrison also sent for aide vnto the Townes adioyning, whence a few broken troupes comming to the rescue, were defeated on the way by the horse-men of *Thebes*. On the other side the banished *Thebans* did not only make speed to assist their Countri-men, but procured some *Athenians* to ioyne with them, & thereby came so strong into the Citie, that the Castle was yeelded, more through feare than any necessitie, vpon condition that the Souldiers might quietly depart with their Armes; for which composition the Captaine at his returne to *Sparta* was put to death. When the newes of the doings at *Thebes*, and the successe arriued at *Sparta*, an Armie was raised forth-with, and all things prepared as earnestly for the recouering of that Citie, as if some part of their ancient inheritance had bin taken from the *Lacedæmonians*, and not a Towne perfidiously vsurped by them, restored to her own liberty; *Cleombrotus*, one of the Kings, was sent on this expedition, who hauing wearied his followers with a toilesome Winters iourney, returned home without any good or harme done; leauing *Sphodrias*, with part of his Armie, at *Thespies*, to infest the *Thebans*; who doing them some displeasures, made large amends by a foolish attempt vpon the Hauen of *Athens*, which failing to take, he wasted the Countrie adioyning, and draue away Cattell, causing by this outrage the *Athenians* to enter with all their power into the War; out of which they were before very carefully seeking how they might possibly with-draw themselues.

CHAP. XII.

Of the flourishing estate of Thebes, from the battaile of Leuctra, to the battaile of Mantinæa.

§. I.

How Thebes and Athens ioyned together against Sparta. How the Athenians made peace for themselues, and others, out of which the Thebans were excluded. The battaile of Leuctra, and beginning of the Theban greatnesse.

THE *Lacedæmonians* were men of great resolution, and of much grauitie in all their proceedings, but one dissonourable rule that held, That all respects withstanding the commoditie of *Sparta* were to be neglected; the practice of which doctrine, euen by the best & wisest of them, did greatly blemish that Estate: but when it was put in execution by insufficient ouer-weening men, it seldome failed to bring vpon them in stead of profit vniustly expected, both shame and losse. And so it befell them in these enterprises of *Phœbidas*, vpon the Castle of *Thebes*, and *Sphodrias* vpon the *Piræus*. For, howsoeuer *Agesilaus* did spoyle the Country about *Thebes*, in which he spent two Summers, yet the diligence of the *Thebans* repaired all, who by the good successe of some attempts, grew stronger than they were at the first.

The *Athenians* likewise began to looke abroad, sayling to the Isle of *Corcyra*, where they ordered things at their pleasure, and hauing in some fights at Sea preuailed, began as in the *Peloponnesian* Warre, to surround *Peloponnesus* with a Nauie; afflicting so the *Lacedæmonians*, that had not the *Thebans* by their insolencie wearied their friends, and caused them to seeke for peace, it had bin very likely that the end of this warre, should haue soone come to a good ende, which neuertheless, being prosequuted by the *Thebans* (who opposed at once both these two great Estates) left the City of *Sparta* as much deiected, as the beginning found it proud and tyrannous. But the *Athenians* perceiuing how *Thebes* encroached euery day vpon her weake Neighbours, not sparing such as had bin dependants vpon *Athens*, and finding themselues, whilest engaged in such a war, vnable to relieue their complaining friends, resolued to settle the affaires of *Greece*,

Greece, by renewing that forme of peace which *Antalcidas* had brought from the *Persian*. Wherefore they sent Messengers to *Thebes*, peremptorily signifying, That it vvas their intent to finish the Warre; to which purpose they willed the *Thebans* to send Embassadors along with them to *Sparta*; vvho readily condescended, fearing otherwise that they should be left out of the Treaty of peace: which came to passe, being so wrought by the couragious wisedome of *Epaminondas*; who vnderstood farre better than his Countrimen, vvhat vvas to be feared or hoped. In this Treatie the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* did soone agree; but vvhen the *Thebans* offered to sweare to the Articles in the name of the *Bœotians*; *Agesilaus* required them to sweare in their own name, and to leaue the *Bœotians* free, vvhom they had lately reduced vnder their obedience. Whereunto *Epaminondas* made answer, That the City of *Sparta* should giue example to *Thebes* by setting the *Laconians* free; for that the Signorie of *Bœotia* did by as good right appertaine to the *Thebans*, as that of *Laconia* to the *Spartans*. This was vvell and truly spoken; but was heard vvith no patience: For *Agesilaus* bearing a vehement hatred vnto those of *Thebes*, by vvhom he was drawn backe out of *Asia* into *Greece*, and disappointed of all the glory vvhich he had hoped to atchieue by the *Persian* war, did now passionately vrge that point of setting the *Bœotians* at libertie; & finding it as obstinately refused, he dasht the name of the *Thebans* out of the league. At the same time *Cleombrotus* the other King of *Sparta* lay in *Phocis*, vvho receiued command from the Gouernours of *Sparta* forthwith to enter vpon the Land of the *Thebans* with all his power; vvhich he did, and vvas there slain at *Leuctra*, and vvith him the flower of his Armie. This battale of *Leuctra*, being one of the most famous that euer vvere fought between the *Greekes*, vvas not so notable for any circumstance fore-going it, or for the managing of the fight it self, as for the death of the King, and many Citizens of *Sparta*; but especially, for that after this battell (betweene which and the conclusion of the generall peace there passed but twentie daies) the *Lacedæmonians* were neuer able to recouer the strength and reputation which had formerly made them redoubted farre and neere; whereas contrariwise the *Thebans*, whose greatest ambition had in former times confined it selfe vnto the little Region of *Bœotia*, did now begin to vndertake the leading and command of many People and Estates, in such wise, that soone after they brought an Armie of threescore and ten thousand strong vnto the Gates of *Sparta*. So much do the afflictions of an hard warre, valiantly endured, aduance the affaires of the distressed, and guide them into the way of Conquest, by stiffening that resolution with a manly temper, which wealth & ease had through luxurie, retchlesnes, and many other vices or vanities, made rustie and effeminate.

§. II.

How the Athenians tooke vpon them to maintaine the peace of Greece. New troubles heuce arising. Epaminondas inuadeth and wasteth the Territorie of Lacedæmon.

THe *Athenians*, refusing to take aduantage of this ouerthrow fallen vpon their old Enemies, and new Confederates the *Lacedæmonians*; did neuertheless finely giue them to vnderstand, that their Dominion was expired, and therefore their pride might well be laid away. For taking vpon themselues the maintenance of the peace lately concluded, vvhich *Agesilaus* (perhaps of purpose to make benefit of quarrels that might arise) had left vnperfect, they assembled the Deputies of all the Estates confederated at *Athens*; where the generall libertie of all Townes, as well small as great, was ratified, vnder the stile of the *Athenians*, and their Associates. Hereupon began fresh garboiles. The *Mantineans*, claiming power by this decree to order their affaires at their own pleasure, did (as it were) in despight of the *Spartans*, who had enforced them to raze their town, reedifie it, and allie themselues with such of the *Arcadians* as stood worst affected to *Sparta*. The *Arcadians*, a strong Nation, consisting of many Cities, vvere distracted with factions; some desiring to hold good correspondency with the *Lacedæmonians*; some to weaken & keepe them low; yet all pretending other ends. The *Lacedæmonians* durst not giue impeachment to the *Mantineans*; nor take vpon them to correct their ill-willers among the *Arcadians*, till such time as the factions brake out into violence, and each part called-in forraine helpe. Then was an Army sent from *Sparta*, as it were in defence of the people of *Tegea*, against the *Mantineans*, but indeed against them both. *Agesilaus* had the leading of it, but effected nothing. The *Thebans* had by this time subdued the

the *Phocians*, and were become head of the *Locrians*, *Acarnanians*, *Eubœans*, and many others; vvith the power of which Countries they entred *Peloponnesus* in fauour of the *Arcadians*, who had, vpon expectation of their comming, abstained from giuing battaile to *Agesilaus*. The Armie of the *Spartans* being dismissed, and *Epaminondas* ioyned vvith the *Arcadians*; the Region of *Lacona* was inuaded & spoyled: a thing so strange, that no Oracle could haue found beliefe if any had foretold it. Almost 600. yeares were spent, since the *Dorians*, vnder the posteritie of *Hercules*, had seized vpon *Laconia*, in all which time the sound of an enemies trumpet vvas not heard in that Countrie: Ten yeares were not fully past, since all *Greece* vvas at the deuotion of the *Spartans*: but now the Region which neither *Xerxes* with his huge Armie could once looke vpon, nor the mighty forces of *Athens*, and other enemie-States had dared to set foot on, sauing by stealth, was all on a light fire, the very smoke whereof the women of *Sparta* were ashamed to behold. All which indignitie notwithstanding, the *Lacedæmonians* did not issue out of *Sparta* to fight, but sought how to preserue the Towne, setting at libertie as many of their *Heilotes* or Slaues as were vvilling to beare Armes in defence of the State, & somewhat pittifully entreated the *Athenians* to giue them succour. From *Corinth* & some Townes of *Peloponnesus* they receiued speedy assistance; the *Athenians* came forward more slowly, so that *Epaminondas* returned without battell, hauing re-builded the Citie of *Messene*, and peopled it a-new by calling home the ancient inhabitants, vvhom the *Lacedæmonians* many ages before had chased away to other Countries, possessing their Territories themselues.

§. III.

The Composition betweene Athens and Sparta for command in warre against the Thebans; who againe inuade and spoyle Peloponnesus. The vnfortunate presumption of the Arcadians.

THis iournie therefore vtterly defaced the reputation of the *Spartans*, in such wise, that they did no longer demand the conduct of the Army, vvhich vvas to be raised, nor any manner of precedence: but sending Embassadors from *Sparta*, and from all the Cities which held league with it, vnto *Athens*, they offered to yeeld the Admiraltie to the *Athenians*, requesting that they themselues might be Generals by Land. This had beene a composition well agreeing with the situation and qualitie of those two Cities; but it was reiected, because the Mariners and others that were to be imployed at Sea, vvere men of no marke or estimation, in regard of those companies of horse and foot, vvhereof the Land-Armie vvas compounded, vvho being all Gentlemen or Citizens of *Athens*, vvere to haue serued vnder the *Lacedæmonians*. Wherefore it vvas agreed that the Authority should be diuided by time, the *Athenians* ruling fiue daies, the *Lacedæmonians* other fiue, and so successiuely that each of them should haue command of all, both by Land and by Sea. It is manifest, that in this conclusion vaine ambition vvas more regarded than the common profit; which must of necessitie be very slowly aduanced, vvhere consultation, resolution, and performance are so often to change hands. This appeared by a second inuasion of *Peloponnesus*, wherein the *Thebans* found their enemies so vnable to impeach them, that hauing fortified *Isthmus* from Sea to Sea, as in former times they had done against *Xerxes*, they were driuen out of their strength by *Epaminondas*, vvho forraged the Country vvithout resistance. But as the Articles of this league betweene *Athens* and *Sparta* did, by diuiding the conduct in such manner, disable the societie, and make it insufficient to those ends for vvhich it was concluded; so the example of it vvrought their good, by filling the enemies heads vvith the like vanitie. For the *Arcadians* considering their owne numbers vvhich they brought into the field, and hauing found by many trials that their people vvere not inferiour to others in strength of body, in courage, or in good Souldiership, thought it good reason that they should in like manner share the gouernment, vvith their friends the *Thebans*; and not alwaies continue followers of others, by increasing vvhose greatnesse they should strengthen their owne yoke. Hereupon they began to demeane themselues very insolently, whereby they grew hatefull to their Neighbors, and suspected of the *Thebans* in an ill time. For, a motion of generall peace hauing bin made (vvhich tooke not effect, because the Citie of *Messene* was not abandoned to the *Lacedæmonians*) the next enterprise of the *Spartans* & their friends was vpon these *Arcadians*, who relying too much vpon their owne worth, were

were ouerthrowne in a great battaile, their calamitie being as pleasing to their Confederates, as to their Enemies.

§.IIII.

The great growth of the Theban Estate. Embassages of the Greekes to the Persian; with the reasons why he most fauoured the Thebans. Troubles in the Persian Empire. The fruitlesse issue of the Embassages.

THe *Thebans* especially reioyced at the *Arcadians* misfortune, considering, that without their aide, the successe of all enterprises proued so ill; whereas they themselues had by their owne power accomplished very well whatsoeuer they tooke in hand, and were become not onely victorious ouer the *Lacedæmonians*, but patrons ouer the *Thessalonians*, and moderatours of the great quarrels that had risen in *Macedonia*; where compounding the differences about that Kingdome, as pleased them best, they carried *Philip* the Sonne of *Amyntas*, and Father of *Alexander* the Great, as an Hostage vnto *Thebes*. Hauing therefore obtained such reputation, that little seemed wanting to make them absolute Commanders of all *Greece*, they sought meanes of alliance with the *Persian* king, to whom they sent Embassadour the great and famous Captaine *Pelopidas*, whose reputation drew *Artaxerxes* to grant vnto the *Thebans* all that they desired; whereof two especiall points were, That *Messene* should remaine free from the *Lacedæmonians*, and that the *Athenians* should forbeare to send their ships of Warre to Sea; only the latter of these two was somwhat qualified with reference to further aduice. The other States of *Greece* did also send their Embassadours at the same time, of whom few or none receiued much contentment. For the King hauing found by long experience, how farre it concerned him to maintaine a sure partie in *Greece*, did vpon many weightie considerations resolue, to binde the *Thebans* firmely vnto him; iustly expecting, that their greatnesse should be on that side his owne securitie. The *Athenians* had beene ancient enemies to his Crowne; and hauing turned the profit of their victories vpon the *Persian* to the purchase of a great Estate in *Greece*, maintained their Signorie in such puissant manner, that (sundry grieuous misfortunes notwithstanding) they had endured a terrible warre, wherein the *Lacedæmonians* being followed by most of the *Greekes*, and supplied with treasure, and all sorts of aide by *Darius Nothus*, were not able to vanquish them, till their owne indiscretion brought them on their knees. The *Lacedæmonians* being victorious ouer *Athens*, had no sooner established their Dominion at home, than they vndertooke the conquest of *Asia*, from vvhich though by the commotion raised in *Greece* with *Persian* gold, they were called backe, yet hauing renewed their power, and settled things in *Greece*, it was not vnlikely, that they should vpon the next aduantage haue pursued the same enterprise, had not they beene empeached by this *Theban* Warre. But the *Thebans* contrariwise had alwayes discouered a good affection to the Crowne of *Persia*. They had sided with *Xerxes* in his inuasion of *Greece*; vvith *Darius* and the *Lacedæmonians* against *Athens*: And finally, hauing offered much contumely to *Agesilaus* when he put to Sea, they drew him home by making warre on the Confederates of *Sparta*. Besides all these their good deseruings, they were no Sea-men, and therefore vnlikely to looke abroad; vvhereupon if perchance they should haue any desire, yet were they disabled by the want of good hauen townes; which they could not seize vpon without open breach of that peace, whereof they intended to become the Executors, giuing liberty to all Cities that had at any time beene free. Wherefore *Artaxerxes* did wholly condescend vnto the requests of *Pelodias*, as farre forth as he might without giuing open defiance to the rest of *Greece*; and by that meane he purchased his owne quiet, being neuer afterward molested by that Nation in the lower *Asia*. The ill meanes which the *Greekes* had to disturbe *Artaxerxes*, was very beneficiall to the Estate of *Persia* shortly after these times, in that great rebellion of all the Maritime Prouinces. For had then the affaires of *Greece* beene so composed, that any one Citie might without empeachment of the rest haue transported an Armie, to assist the reuolting *Satrapæ*, or *Vice-royes* of *Caria*, *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, *Mysia*, *Lycia*, *Pisidia*, *Pamphilia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Phenicia*; humane reason can hardly find the meanes, by which the Empire could haue beene preserued from that ruine, which the diuine Counsell had deferred vnto the dayes of *Alexander*. But this great conspiracie of so many large and wealthy Prouinces, wanting a firme body of good and hardy Souldiers, was in short space discussed, and vanished like a mist, vvithout effect: these effeminate *Asiatiques* wearied quickly with the trauailes and dangers incident to war, forsaking the common cause, and each man striuing to be the first, that by treason to his company should both redeeme the former treason to his Prince, and purchase withall his owne promotion with encrease of riches. Of this commotion, which in course of time followed some actions not as yet related, I haue rather chosen to make short mention in this place, than hereafter to interrupt the Narration of things more important; but for that it was like a sudden storme, rashly commenced, idlely followed, and foolishly layed downe, hauing made a great noise vvithout effect, and hauing small reference to any other action regardable; as also because in the whole reigne of *Artaxerxes*, from the warre of *Cyrus*, to the inuasion of *Egypt*, I finde nothing (this insurrection, and a fruitlesse iourney against the *Cadusians* excepted) worthy of any mention; much lesse of digression from the course of the businesse in *Greece*. All, or the most of his time passed away so quietly, that he enioyed the pleasures which an Empire so great and wealthy could affoord vnto so absolute a Lord, with little disturbance. The troubles which he found were onely or chiefly Domesticall; growing out of the hatred which *Parysatis* the Queene-Mother bare vnto his wife *Statira*, and to such as had beene the greatest enemies to her sonne *Cyrus*, or gloried in his death: vpon whom, when by poyson and mischieuous practices she had satisfied her feminine appetite of reuenge, thenceforth she wholly applyed her selfe to the Kings disposition, cherishing in him the lewd desire of marrying his owne Daughter, and filling him with the perswasion, which Princes, not endued with an especiall grace, doe readily entertaine: That his owne will was the supreame law of his subiect, and the rule by which all things were to be measured and adiudged to be good or euill. In this imaginarie happinesse *Pelopidas*, and the other Embassadours of *Greece*, both found and left him; but left him by so much more assured than they found him, by how much the conclusion of his Treatie with them, being altogether to his owne aduantage, did seeme to promise, if not the perpetuitie, a long endurance of the same felicity to him and his, or (at the least) a full securitie of danger from *Greece*, whence onely could any danger be feared. But such foundations of eternity laied by mortall men in this transitory world, like the Tower of *Babel*, are either shaken from heauen, or made vaine and vnprofitable, ere the frame can be raised to full heighth, by confusion of tongues among the builders. Hereof was found a good example in the *Thebans*, and other Estates of *Greece* that had sent Embassadours to the *Persian*. For whereas it had beene concluded, that all Townes, as well the little as the great, should be set at liberty, and the *Thebans* made Protectors of this common peace, who therby should become the Iudges of all controuersies that might arise, and Leaders in warre of all that would enter into this Confederacy; the kings letters being solemnly published at *Thebes*, in the presence of Embassadours, drawne thither from all parts of *Greece*; when an oath was required for obseruation of the forme of peace therein set down, a dilatorie answer was made by the Embassadors, who said, that they were sent to heare the articles; not to sweare vnto them. Hereby the *Thebans* were driuen to send vnto each of the Cities to requite the Oath; But in vaine. For when the *Corinthians* had boldly refused it, saying, That they did not neede it; others tooke courage by their example to doe the like, disappointing the *Thebans* of their glorious hopes, to whom this negotiation with *Artaxerxes* gaue neither addition nor confirmation of greatnesse, but left them as it found them to relye vpon their own swords.

§. V.

How all Greece was diuided, betweene the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, on the one side, and Thebans on the other. Of the great tumults rising in Arcadia.

THe condition of things in *Greece* at that time did stand thus. *Athens* and *Sparta*, which in former times had commanded all that Nation, and each vpon enuie of the others greatnesse drawne all their followers into a cruell intestine warre, by which the whole Countrie, and especially the Estate of these two Cities, was brought very low, did now conioyn their forces against the *Thebans*, who sought to make themselues Lords of all. The *Eleans*, *Corinthians*, & *Achaians*, followed the party of these ancient gouerning Cities; either for the old reputation of them, & benefits receiued, or in dislike

dislike of those, who by strong hand were ready to become Rulers, to which authority they could not suddenly aspire vvithout some iniurie and much enuie. The Citie of *Thebes* abounding with men, whom necessity had made warlike, & many victories in few yeares had filled with great spirits; and being so mighty in dependants, that she had reduced all the continent of *Greece* without *Peleponnesus* (the Region of *Attica*, and very little part beside excepted) vnder such acknowledgement, as wanted not much of meere Vassallage, did hope to bring all *Pelponnesus* to the like obedience, wherein already she had set good footing by her coniunction with the States of *Argos*, and of *Arcadia*. The *Argiues* had beene alwayes bad Neighbours to the *Spartans*, to vvhom they thought themselues in ancient Nobilitie Superiours, but were farre vnder them in valour, having beene often beaten out of the field by them, and put in danger of losing all: vvhich caused them to suspect & enuie nothing more than the greatnesse and honour of *Sparta*, taking truce vvith her vvhen she was at rest, and had leisure to bend her whole force against them; but firmely ioyning with her enemies whensoeuer they found her entangled in a difficult Warre. As the *Argiues* vvere, in hatred of *Sparta*, sure friends of *Thebes*, so the *Arcadians*, transported with a great opinion of their owne worthinesse, had formerly renounced and prouoked against them their old Confederates & Leaders, the *Lacedæmonians*, and were now become very doubtfull adherents to the *Thebans*. In which regard it was thought conuenient by *Epaminondas*, & the State of *Thebes*, to send an Armie into *Pelonnesus*, before such time as these wauering friends should fall further off, and become either Neutrall, or, which was to be feared, open enemies. And surely great cause there was to suspect the worst of them, considering that without consent of the *Thebans*, they had made peace with *Athens*; which was very strange, & seemed no lesse to the *Athenians* themselues, who holding a firme league with *Sparta* at the same time when the *Arcadians* treated with them, did neuertheless accept this new Confederacy, not relinquishing the old, because they found that howsoeuer these *Arcadians* were enemies to the *Lacedæmonians*, they should hereby be drawn somwhat further from their alliance with *Thebes*, which without them was vnlikely to inuade *Peloponnesus* with a strong Armie. But this did rather hasten, than by any meanes stay, the comming of *Epaminondas*; who finding the way somewhat more cleare for him (because the Citie of *Corinth*, which lay vpon the *Isthmus*, and had beene aduerse to *Thebes*, was now, by miseries of this grieuous warre, driuen to become Neutrall) tooke occasion hereby, and by some disorders among the *Arcadians*, to visit *Peloponnesus* with an Armie, consisting of all the power of *Thebes*. A great tumult had risen in *Arcadia* about consecrated money, which many principall men among them had laid hands on, vnder pretence of imploying it to publique vses. In compounding the differences growne vpon this occasion such as had least wil to render account of the mony which had come into their hands, procured the Captaine of some *Theban* Souldiers, lying in *Tegea*, to take prisoners many of their Countrimen, as people desirous of innouation. This vvas done: but the vp-roare thereby caused vvas so great, that the prisoners were forth-with enlarged, and the *Arcadians*, who had in great numbers taken Armes, with much a-doe scarce pacified. When complaint of the Captaines proceedings came to *Thebes*, *Epaminondas* turned all the blam vpon them, who had made the peace with *Athens*, letting them know, that he would be shortly among them, to iudge of their fidelity, by the assistance which they should giue him, in that warre, which he intended to make in *Peloponnesus*. These Lordly words did greatly amaze the *Arcadians*; who needing not the aide of so mighty a power as he drew a-long with him, did vehemently suspect that great preparation to be made against themselues. Hereupon such of them as had before sought meanes to settle the affaires of their Countrie, by drawing things to some good conclusion of peace, did now forthwith send to *Athens* for helpe, & withall dispatched some of the principall among them as Embassadours to *Sparta*, by whom they offered themselues to the common defence of *Peloponnesus*, now ready to be inuaded. This Embassage brought much comfort to the *Lacedæmonians*, who feared nothing more than the comming of *Epaminondas*, against whom they well knew, that all their forces, and best prouisions, vvould be no more than very hardly sufficient. Forbearing therefore to dispute about prerogatiues, they (who had beene accustomed vnto such a supremacie, as they would in no wise communicate with the powerfull Citie of *Athens*, till other hope of securing their owne Estate could not be thought vpon) did now very gently yeelde to the *Arcadians*, that the

the command of the Army in chiefe, should be giuen, for the time, to that Citie, in whose Territorie it lay.

§.VI.

A terrible inuasion of Peloponnesus by Epaminondas.

CErtaine it is, that the condition of things did at that time require a very firme consent, and vniforme care of the common safetie. For, beside the great forces raised out of the other parts of *Greece*, the *Argiues* and *Messenians*, prepared with all their strength to ioyne with *Epaminondas*; who hauing lien a while at *Nemea*, to intercept the *Athenians*, receiued there intelligence, that the Armie comming from *Athens* would passe by Sea, whereupon he dislodged, and came to *Tegea*, which Citie, and the most of all *Arcadia* besides, forthwith declared themselues his. The common opinion was, that the first attempt of the *Thebans*, would be vpon such of the *Arcadians* as had reuolted; which caused the *Lacedæmonian* Captaines to fortifie *Mantinea* vvith all diligence, and to send for *Agesilaus* to *Sparta*, that he bringing with him all that small force of able men which remained in the Towne, they might be strong enough to abide *Epaminondas* there. But *Epaminondas* held so good espiall vpon his Enemies, that had not an vnknowne fellow brought hasty aduertisement of his purpose to *Agesilaus*, who vvas then well onward in the vway to *Mantinea*, the Citie of *Sparta* had suddenly beene taken. For thither vvith all speede and secrecie did the *Thebans* march, who had surely carried the Citie, notwithstanding any defence that could haue beene made by that handfull of men remaining within it; but that *Agesilaus* in all flying haste got into it with his Companies, whom the Armie of his Confederates followed thither to the rescue as fast as it was able. The arriuall of the *Lacedæmonians* and their friends, as it cut off all hope from *Epaminondas* of taking *Sparta*, so it presented him with a faire aduantage vpon *Mantinæa*. It vvas the time of Harvest, vvhich made it very likely, that the *Mantineans*, finding the warre to be carried from their wals into another quarter, would vse the commoditie of that vacation, by fetching in their corne, and turning out their cattell into their fields, whilest no enemie vvas neere that might empeach them. Wherefore he turned away from *Sparta* to *Mantinea*, sending his horse-men before him, to seize vpon all that might be found without the Citie. The *Mantineans* (according to the expectation of *Epaminondas*) vvere scattered abroad in the Countrie; farre more intent vpon their harvest-businesse, than vpon the warre, whereof they were secure, as thinking themselues out of distance. By vvhich presumption it fell out, that great numbers of them, and all their Cattell, being vnable to recouer the Towne, were in a desperate case, and the Towne it selfe in no great likelihood of holding out, when the enemie should haue taken all their prouision of victuals, vvith so many of the people as had not ouer-deerely beene redeemed, by that Cities returning to societie with *Thebes*. But at the same time, the *Athenians* comming to the succour of their Confederates, whom they thought to haue found at *Mantinea*, vvere earnestly entreated by the Citizens to rescue their goods, and people, from the danger whereinto they were fallen, if it were possible by any couragious aduenture to deliuer those who otherwise vvere giuen as lost. The *Thebans* were knowne at that time to be the best Souldiers of all the *Greekes*, and the commendation of good horsemanship had alwayes beene giuen to the *Thessalians*, as excelling in that qualitie all other Nations, yet the regard of honour so wrought vpon the *Athenians*, that for the reputation of their Citie, vvhich had entred into this warre, vpon no necessitie of her owne, but onely in desire of relieuing her distressed friends, they issued forth of *Mantinea*, not abiding so long as to refresh themselues, or their horses with meate; and giuing a lustie charge vpon the enemie, who as brauely receiued them, after a long and hot fight, they remained masters of the field, giuing by this victory a safe and easie retrait to all that vvere without the wals. The whole power of the *Bœotians* arriued in the place soone after this battaile, whom the *Lacedæmonians* and their Assistants were not farre behinde.

§.VII.

§. VII.

The great battaile of Mantinæa. The honourable death of Epaminondas, *with his commendation.*

EPaminondas, considering that his Commission was almost now expired, and that his attempts of surprising *Sparta* and *Mantinæa*, hauing failed, the impression of terrour which his name had wrought in the *Peloponnesians*, would soone vanish, vnlesse by some notable act he should abate their courage in their first growth, and leaue some memorable character of his expedition; resolued to giue them battaile, whereby he reasonably hoped both to settle the doubtfull affections of his own Associates, and to leaue the *Spartans* as weake in spirit and abilitie, as he found them, if not wholly to bring them into subiection. Hauing therefore warned his men to prepare for that battaile, wherein victory should be rewarded with Lordship of all *Greece*; and finding the alacritie of his Souldiers to be such as promised the accomplishment of his owne desire; he made shew of declining the enemie, and intrenching himselfe in a place of more aduantage, that so by taking from them all expectation of fighting that day, he might allay the heate of their valour, and afterward strike their senses with amazement, when he should come vpon them vnexpected. This opinion deceiued him not. For with very much tumult, as in so great and sodaine a danger, the enemie ran to Armes, necessity enforcing their resolution, and the consequence of that dayes seruice vrging them to doe as well as they might. The *Theban* Armie consisted of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the *Lacedæmonians* and their friends were short of this number, both in horse and in foot, by a third part. The *Mantinæans* (because the war was in their Countrie) stood in the right wing, and with them the *Lacedæmonians*: the *Athenians* had the left wing; the *Achæans*, *Eleans*, and others of lesse account, filled the body of the Armie. The *Thebans* stood in the left wing of their owne battaile, opposite to the *Lacedæmonians*, hauing by them the *Arcadians*, the *Eubœans*, *Locrians*, *Sicyonians*, *Messenians*, and *Thessalians* with others, compounding the maine battaile; the *Argiues* held the right wing; the horse-men on each part were placed in the flankes, onely a troupe of the *Eleans* were in reare. Before the footmen could ioyne, the encounter of the horse on both sides was very rough, wherein finally the *Thebans* preuailed, notwithstanding the valiant resistance of the *Athenians*: who not yeelding to the enemie either in courage or skill, were ouer-laied with numbers, and so beaten vpon by *Thessalian* slings; that they were driuen to forsake the place, and leaue their infanterie naked. But this retrait was the lesse disgracefull, because they kept themselues together, and did not fall backe vpon their owne foot-men; but finding the *Theban* horse to haue giuen them ouer, and withall discouering some Companies of foot, which had beene sent about by *Epaminondas*, to charge their battaile in the reare, they brake vpon them, routed them, and hewed them all in peeces. In the meane season the battaile of the *Athenians* had not onely to doe with the *Argiues*, but was hardly pressed by the *Theban* Horsemen, in such wise that it began to open, and was ready to turne backe, when the *Elean* squadron of Horse came vp to the relieſe of it, and restored all on that part. With farre greater violence did the *Lacedæmonians* and *Thebans* meete, these contending for Dominion, the other for the maintenance of their ancient honour; so that equall courage and equall losse on both sides made the hope and appearance of victory to either equally doubtfull: vnlesse perhaps the *Lacedæmonians* being very firme abiders, might seeme the more likely to preuaile, as hauing borne the first brunt and furie of the on-set, which was not hitherto remitted; and being framed by Discipline, as it were by Nature, to excell in patience, whereof the *Thebans*, by practice of a few yeares, cannot be thought to haue gotten a habite so sure and generall. But *Epaminondas* perceiuing the obstinate stiffenesse of the Enemies to be such, as neither the bad successe of their owne horse, nor all the force of the *Bœotian* Armie, could abate so farre, as to make them giue one foote of ground: taking a choise Companie of the most able men, whom he cast into the forme of a Wedge, or Diamond, by the aduantage of that figure against a squadron, and by his owne exceeding vertue, accompanied with the great strength and resolution of them which followed him, did open their ranckes, & cleaue the whole battaile in despight of all resistance. Thus was the honour of that day won by the *Thebans*, who

who may iustly be said to haue carried the victory, seeing that they remained Masters of the ground whereon the battaile was fought; hauing driuen the Enemie to lodge farther off. For that which was alleaged by the *Athenians*, as a token that the victorie was partly theirs, the slaughter of those Mercenaries vpon whom they lighted by chance in their own flight, finding them behinde their Armie, and the retaining of their dead bodies; it was a Ceremonie regardable onely among the *Greekes*, and serued meerely for ostentation, shewing that by the fight they had obtained somewhat, which the Enemie could not get from them otherwise than by request. But the *Thebans* arriued at the generall immediate end of battaile; none daring to abide them in the field: whereof a manifest confession is expressed from them, who forsake the place which they had chosen or accepted, as indifferent for triall of their abilitie and prowesse. This was the last worke of the incomparable vertue of *Epaminondas*, who, being in the head of that Warlike troupe of men, which broke the *Lacedæmonian* esquadron, and forced it to giue backe in disaray, was furiously charged on the sodaine, by a desperate Company of the *Spartans*, who all at once threw their Darts at him alone; whereby receiuing many wounds, he neuertheless with a singular courage maintained the fight, vsing against the Enemies many of their Darts, which he drew out of his owne body; till at length by a *Spartan*, called *Anticrates*, he receiued so violent a stroake with a Dart, that the wood of it brake, leaving the yron and a peece of the trunchion in his breſt. Hereupon he sunke downe, and was soone conueighed out of the fight by his friends; hauing by his fall somewhat animated the *Spartans* (who faine would haue got his body,) but much more inflamed with reuengefull indignation, the *Thebans*, who raging at this heauie mischance, did with great slaughter compell their disordered enemies to leaue the field; though long they followed not the chase, being wearied more with the sadnesse of this disaster, than with all the trauaile of the day. *Epaminondas* being brought into his Tent, was told by the Physitians, That when the head of the Dart should be drawn out of his body, he must needes dye. Hearing this, he called for his shield, which to haue lost, was held a great dishonour: It was brought vnto him. He bad them tell him which part had the victory; answer vvas made, that the *Bœotians* had won the field. Then said he, It is faire time for me to dye, and withall sent for *Iolidas*, and *Diophantes*, two principall men of Warre, that were both slaine; which being told him, He aduised the *Thebans* to make Peace, whilest with aduantage they might, for that they had none left that was able to discharge the office of a Generall. Herewithall he willed, that the head of the weapon should be drawne out of his body; comforting his friends that lamented his death, and want of issue, by telling them, that the victories of *Leuctra* and *Mantinæa* were two faire Daughters, in whom his memory should liue.

So died *Epaminondas*, the worthiest man that euer was bred in that Nation of *Greece*, and hardly to be matched in any Age or Countrie: for he equalled all others in the seuerall vertues, which in each of them were singular. His Iustice, and Sincerity, his Temperance, Wisedome, and high Magnanimity, were no way inferiour to his Militarie vertue; in euery part whereof he so excelled, that he could not properly be called a Warrie, a Valiant, a Politique, a Bountifull, or an Industrious, and a Prouident Captaine. Neither was his priuate Conuersation vnanswerable to those high parts, which gaue him praise abroade. For he was Graue, and yet very Affable and Curteous; resolute in publique businesse, but in his owne particular easie, and of much mildenesse: a louer of his People, bearing with mens infirmities, wittie & pleasant in speech, farre from insolence, Master of his own affections, and furnished with all qualities that might win and keepe loue. To these Graces were added great abilitie of body, much Eloquence, & very deepe knowledge in all parts of Philosophy and Learning, wherewith his minde being enlightened, rested not in the sweetnesse of Contemplation, but brake forth into such effects as gaue vnto *Thebes*, which had euer-more been an vnderling, a dreadfull reputation among all people adioyning, and the highest command in *Greece*.

§. VIII.

Of the peace concluded in Greece after the battaile of Mantinea. The voyage of Agesilaus *into Egypt. His death, and qualities; with an examination of the comparison made betweene him and* Pompey *the Roman.*

THis battaile of *Mantinea* was the greatest that had euer bin fought in that Country between the Naturals; and the last. For at *Marathon*, and *Platea*, the populous Armies of the barbarous Nations gaue rather a great fame, than a hard triall to the *Grecian* valour, neither were the practice of Armes and Art Militarie, so perfect in the beginnings of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, as long continuance and daily exercise had now made them. The times following produced no actions of worth or moment, those excepted which were vndertaken against forraine enemies, prouing for the most part vnfortunate. But in this last fight all *Greece* was interessed, which neuer had more able Souldiers, and braue Commanders, nor euer contended for victory with greater care of the successe, or more obstinate resolution. All which notwithstanding the issue being such as hath bin related, it was found best for euery particular Estate, that a generall peace should be established, euery one retaining what he presently had, & none being forced to depend vpon another. The *Messenians* were by name comprised in this new league, which caused the *Lacedæmonians* not to enter into it. Their standing out hindred not the rest from proceeding to conclusion, considering that *Sparta* was now too weake to offend her Neighbours, and therefore might well be allowed to shew that anger in ceremonies, which had no power to declare it selfe in execution. This peace, as it gaue some breath and refreshing to all the Country, so to the Cities of *Athens* and *Sparta* it afforded leisure to seeke after wealth by forraine employment in *Egypt*, whither *Agesilaus* was sent with some small forces to assist, or indeede, as a Mercenarie, to seruе vnder *Tachos* King of *Egypt* in his warre vpon *Syria*. *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, who had before commanded vnder *Acoris* King of *Egypt*, went now as a voluntary, with such forces as he could raise, by entreatie, and offer of good pay, to the same seruice. These *Egyptian* Kings descended from *Amyrtæus* of *Sais*, who rebelled against *Darius Nothus*, hauing retained the Country, notwithstanding all intestine dissensions, and forraine inuasions, during three Generations of their owne race, were so well acquainted with the valour of the *Greekes*, that by their helpe (easily procured with gold) they conceiued great hope, not onely to assure themselues, but to become Lords of the Prouinces adioyning, which were held by the *Persian*. What the issue of this great enterprise might haue beene, had it not fallen by Domesticall rebellion, it is vncertaine. But very likely it is, that the rebellion it self had soone come to nothing, if *Agesilaus* had not proued a false Traitor, ioyning with *Nectanebus*, who rose against his Prince, and helping the Rebell with that Armie which the mony of *Tachos* had waged. This falshood *Agesilaus* excused, as tending to the good of his own Country; though it seeme rather, that he grudged because the King tooke vpon himselfe the Conduct of the Armie, vsing his seruice onely as Lieutenant, who had made full accompt of being appointed the Generall. Howsoeuer it came to passe, *Tachos* being shamefully betraied by them, in whom he had reposed his chiefe confidence, fled vnto the *Persian*, who vpon his submission gaue him gentle entertainement; and *Nectanebus* (who seemes to haue beene the Nephew of *Tachos*) reigned in his stead. At the same time the Citizens of *Mendes* had set vp another King, to whom all, or most of the *Egytians* yeelded their obedience. But *Agesilaus* fighting with him in places of aduantage, preuailed so farre, that he left *Nectanebus* in quiet possession of the Kingdome; who in recompence of his treason to the former King *Tachos*, and good seruice done to himselfe, rewarded him with two hundred and thirtie Talents of siluer, with which bootie sailing homewards, he died by the way. He was a Prince very temperate, and valiant, and a good Leader in Warre, free from couetousnesse, and not reproached with any blemish of lust; which praises are the lesse admirable in him, for that the discipline of *Sparta* was such as did endue euery one of the Citizens (not carried away by the violent streame of an ill nature) with all, or the chiefe, of these good qualities. He was neuertheless very arrogant, peruerse, vniust and vaine-glorious, measuring all things by his owne will, and obstinately prosecuting those courses, whose ends were beyond hope. The expedition of *Xenophon* had filled him

him with an opinion, that by his hand the Empire of Persia should be ouerthrown; with which conceit being transported, & finding his proceedings interrupted by the Thebans & their Allies, he did euer after bear such hatred vnto Thebes, as compelled that Estate by meere necessity to grow war-like, and able, to the vtter dishonour of Sparta, and the irreparable losse of all her former greatnesse. The commendations giuen to him by *Xenophon* his good friend, haue caused *Plutarch* to lay his name in the ballance against *Pompey* the Great; whose actions (the solemne grauity of carriage excepted) are very disproportionable. Yet we may truely say, That as *Pompey* made great warres vnder sundry Climates, and in all the Prouinces of the Roman Empire, exceeding in the multitude of imployments all that were before him; so *Agesilaus* had at one time or other, some quarrell with euery Towne in Greece, had made a Warre in Asia, and medled in the businesse of the Egyptians, in which variety he went beyond all his Predecessours: yet not winning any Countries, as *Pompey* did many, but obtaining large wages, which *Pompey* neuer tooke. Herein also they were very like; Each of them was the last great Captain which his Nation brought forth in time of liberty, and each of them ruined the liberty of his Country by his owne Lordly wilfulnesse. We may therefore well say, *Similia magis omnia quàm paria; The resemblance was neerer than the equality.* Indeed the freedome of Rome was lost with *Pompey*, falling into the hands of *Cæsar*, whom he had enforced to take Armes; yet the Roman Empire stood, the forme of Gouernment only being changed: But the liberty of Greece, or of Sparta it selfe, was not forfeited vnto the Thebans, whom *Agesilaus* had compelled to enter into a victorious Warre; yet the Signiory, and ancient renowne of Sparta was presently lost; and the freedome of all Greece being wounded in this Theban warre, and after much bloud lost, ill healed by the peace ensuing, did very soon, vpon the death of *Agesilaus*, giue vp the Ghost, & the Lordship of the whole Country was seized by *Philip* king of Macedon, whose actions are now on foot, and more to be regarded than the Contemporary passages of things, in any other Nation.

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Finis Libri Tertii.

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM THE reigne of PHILIP of MACEDON, to the *establishing of that Kingdome, in the race of* ANTIGONVS.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of Philip *the Father of* Alexander *the Great, King of Macedon.*

§. I.

What Kings reigned in Macedon before Philip.

THe Greeckes, of whom we haue already made large discourse, not as yet wearied with inteſtine War, nor made wiſe by their vain contention for ſuperiority, do ſtill as in former times, continue the inuaſion and vaſtation of each other.

Againſt *Xerxes*, the greateſt Monarch of that part of the World, they defended their liberty, with as happy ſucceſſe as euer Nation had, & with no leſs honor, than hath euer bin acquired by deeds of Armes. And hauing had a triall and experience, more than fortunate, againſt thoſe Nations, they ſo little regarded what might come from them, who had ſo often forfeited the reputation of their forces, as whatſoeuer could be ſpared from their owne diſtraction at home, they tranſported ouer the Helleſpont, as ſufficient, to entertaine and buſie them withall.

But, as it commonly falleth out with euery man of mark in the world, that they vnderfall, and periſh, by the hands and harmes which they leaſt feare; ſo fared it at this time with the Greeks. For of *Philip* of Macedon (of whom we are now to ſpeak) they had ſo little regard, as they grew euen then more violent in deuouring each other, when the faſt-growing greatneſſe of ſuch a Neighbour-King, ſhould, in regard of their owne ſafeties, haue ſerued them for a ſtrong argument of vnion and accord. But the glory of their Perſian victories, wherewith they were pampred and made proud, taught them to neglect all Nations but themſelues, and the rather to value at little the power & purpoſes of the Macedonians, becauſe thoſe Kings & States, which ſate neerer them than they did, had in the time of *Amyntas*, the father of *Philip*, ſo much weakened them, & won vpon them, that they were not (as the Grecians perſwaded themſelues) in any one age, likely to recouer

recouer their owne, much leſſe to worke any wonders againſt their borderers. And, indeed, it was not in their Philoſophy to conſider, That all great alterations are ſtorme-like, ſuddaine, and violent; and that it is then ouer-late to repaire the decayed and broken banks, when great riuers are once ſwollen, faſt-running, and inraged. No, the Greeks did rather imploy themſelues, in breaking downe thoſe defences, which ſtood between them and this inundation, than ſeek to rampare and re-enforce their owne fields, which by the Leuell of reaſon they might haue found to haue lien vnder it. It was therefore well concluded by *Oroſius*: *Græciæ Ciuitates imperare ſingulæ cupiunt, imperium omnes perdiderunt; The Cities of Greece loſt their command, by ſtriuing each of them to command all.* Oroſ. l. 3. c. 12.

The Kingdome of Macedon, ſo called of *Macedon*, the ſonne of *Oſiris*, or, as other Authors affirme, of *Iupiter* and *Æthra*, is the next Region towards the North which bordereth Greece; It hath to the Eaſt, the Ægean Sea; it is bounded on the North and North-weſt, by the Thracians and Illyrians, and on the South and South-weſt, by Theſſaly and Epirus.

Their Kings were of the family of *Temenus*, of the race of *Hercules*, & by Nation Argiues; who are liſted as followeth. About ſome ſixe yeares after the tranſlation of the Aſſyrian Empire, *Arbaces* then gouerning Media; *Caranus* of Argos, commanded by an Oracle, to leade a Colony into Macedon, departed thence with many people, and as he was marching through that Country, the weather being raynie and tempeſtuous, he eſpied a great heard of Goats, which fled the ſtorme as faſt as they could, haſting them to their knowne place of couert. Whereupon *Caranus*, calling to minde, that he had alſo by another Oracle beene directed, to follow the firſt troupe of beaſts, that ſhould either leade him, or flie before him; He purſued theſe Goates to the Gates of Edeſſa, and being vndiſcouered by the Inhabitants, by reaſon of the darkneſſe of the aire, he entred their City without reſiſtance, and poſſeſt it. Soone after this, by the ouerthrow of *Ciſſeus*, *Caranus* became Lord of the reſt of Macedon, and held it eight and twenty yeares. *Cænus* ſucceeded *Caranus*, and reigned twelue yeares. *Tyrimas* followed *Cænus*, and ruled eight and twenty yeares. Paul. Diac. Chuſ. Thiop. Antio. 6. Euſeb. in Chro.

Perdiccas the firſt, the ſonne of *Tyrimas*, gouerned one and fifty yeares: a Prince, for his great valour, and many other vertues, much renowned. *Solinus*, *Plinie*, *Iuſtine*, *Euſebius*, *Theophilus*, *Antiochenus*, and others affirme, that hee appointed a place of buriall for himſelfe, and for all the Kings of Macedon his Succeſſours, at Ægæ: aſſuring them, that the Kingdome ſhould ſo long continue in his Line & Race, as they continued to lay vp their bodies in that Sepulchre; wherin it is ſaid, that becauſe *Alexander* the Great failed, therefore the poſterity of the Temenidæ failed in him: a thing rather deuiſed after the effect, as I conceiue, than foretold by *Perdiccas*. Sol. c. 14. Plin. l. 4. c. 10.

Argæus ſucceeded vnto *Perdiccas*, and ruled eight and twenty yeares. Euſeb. in Chro.

Philip the firſt, his Succeſſour, reigned eight and twenty yeares.

Europus followed *Philip*, and gouerned ſixe and twenty yeares: in whoſe infancy the Illyrians inuaded Macedon, and hauing obtained a great victory, they purſued the ſame, to the great danger of that State. Whereupon the Macedonians, gathering new forces, and reſoluing either to recouer their former loſſe, or to loſe at once both their Kingdome & their King, they carried him with them in his Cradle into the field, & returned victorious; for they were either confident that their Nation could not bee beaten (their King being preſent) or rather they perſwaded themſelues that there was no man ſo void of honour and compaſſion, as to abandon their naturall Lord, being an infant, and no way (but by the hands of his ſeruants) able to defend himſelfe from deſtruction. The like is reported by *Aimonius* of *Clotarius* the ſon of *Fredegunda*. Euſeb. Iuſtin. Ammian. Tho. Ant. &c. Aimon. l. 3. c. 82.

Alcetas ſucceeded *Æropus*, and ruled nine and twenty yeares.

Amyntas the firſt, ſucceeded *Alcetas*, and reigned fifty yeares; He liued at ſuch time as *Darius Hiſtaſpes*, after his vnproſperous returne out of Scythia, ſent *Megabazus* with an Army into Europe, who in *Xerxes* name required *Amyntas* to acknowledge him for his Supreme Lord, by yeelding vnto him Earth and Water. But his Embaſſadours, as you haue heard before, were, for their inſolent behauiour towards the Macedonian Lagies, ſlaine by the direction of *Alexander*, who was the ſonne of *Amyntas*, and his Succeſſour. Her. Euſ. inſt. &c.

Alexander ſurnamed the Rich, the ſonne of *Amyntas*, gouerned Macedon three and forty

forty yeares. He did not onely appease the wrath of *Megabazus*, for the slaughter of the Persian Embassadours, by giuing *Gygæa* his Sister, to *Bubares* of the bloud of Persia, but by that match he grew so great in *Xerxes* grace, as he obtained all that Region between the Mountains of Olympus and Hemus, to be vnited to the Kingdome of Macedon. Yet could not these benefits buy his affection from the Greekes. For *Xerxes* being returned into Asia, and *Mardonius* made Generall of the Persian Army; *Alexander* acquainted the Greeks with all his intents and purposes against them. He had three sons, *Perdiccas*, *Alcetas*, and *Philip*.

Her.lib.8. Plut.Euseb. Iust.&c.

Perdiccas the second, the sonne of *Alexander*, liued in the time of the Peloponnesian Warre, and reigned in all eight and twenty yeares. The Warres which he made were not much remarkeable: the Story of them is found here and there by pieces in *Thucydides* his first sixe bookes. He left behind him two sons; *Perdiccas*, who was very young, and *Archelaus*, who was base borne.

Perdiccas the third, being deliuered to the custody and care of *Archelaus*, was at seuen years of age cast into a Well and drowned by his false Guardian: who excusing this fact to *Cleopatra* the mother of the young King, said, That the child in following a Goose hastily, fell thereinto by misaduenture. But *Archelaus* stayed not here: for hauing thus dispatched his brother, he slew both his Vncle *Alcetas* the sonne of *Alexander* the Rich, and *Alexander* the son of this *Alcetas*, his Cosen Germaine, and enioyed the Kingdome of Macedon himselfe foure and twenty years.

Plat.in Gorg. Arist.in Pol.5.

This *Archelaus*, of whom both *Plato* and *Aristotle* make mention, though he made himselfe King by wicked murder, yet he performed many things greatly to the profit of his Nation. It is said, That he sought by all means to draw *Socrates* vnto him, and that he greatly loued and honoured *Eurypides* the Tragedian. He had two sons, *Archelaus* and *Orestes*.

Archelaus the second succeeded his father, and hauing reigned seuen yeares, he was slaine in hunting, either by chance, or of purpose by *Cratæus*.

Orestes his younger sonne was committed to the education of *Æropus*, of the royall bloud of Macedon, & had the same measure which *Archelaus* had measured to his Pupil; for *Æropus* murdered him and vsurped the Kingdome, which he held some sixe years: the same who denied passage to *Agesilaus* King of Sparta, who desired after his returne from the Asian expedition, to passe by the way of Macedon into Greece.

Diod.Polyæn. Plut.in Demet.

This Vsurper left three sons, *Pausanias*, *Argæus*, and *Alexander*. *Pausanias* succeeded his father *Æropus*, and hauing reigned one year, he was driuen out by *Amyntas* the son of *Philip*, the son of the first *Perdiccas*, the son of *Alexander* the Rich; which *Philip* was then preserued, when *Archelaus* the Bastard slew his Brother *Perdiccas*, his Vncle *Alcetas*, and his son *Alexander*. This *Amyntas* reigned (though very vnquietly) foure & twenty yeares; for he was not only infested by *Pausanias*, assisted by the Thracians, and by his brother *Argæus*; incouraged by the Illyrians; and by the said *Argæus*, for two years dispossest of Macedon: but on the other side, the Olynthians, his Neighbours neer the Ægean Sea, made themselues for a while Masters of Pella, the chiefe City of Macedon.

Amyntas the second had by his Wife *Eurydice* the Illyrian, three Sonnes; *Alexander* the second, *Perdiccas* the third, and *Philip* the second, Father of *Alexander* the Great; and one Daughter called *Euryone* or *Exione*: Hee had also by his second Wife *Gygæa*, three Sons, *Archelaus*, *Argæus*, and *Menelaus*, afterward slaine by their brother *Philip*: He had more by a Concubine, *Ptolomy*, surnamed *Alorites*, of the City Alorus, wherein he was borne.

Alexander the second reigned not much aboue one yeare, in which time he was inuaded by *Pausanias*, the sonne of *Æropus*, but defended by *Iphicrates* the Athenian, while he was at that time about Amphipolis. He was also constrained (for the payment of a great sum of mony) to leaue his youngest brother *Philip* in Hostage with the Illyrians, who had subiected his father *Amyntas* to the payment of tribute. After this, *Alexander* being inuited by the Aleuadæ against *Alexander* the tyrant of Pheres in Thessaly, hauing redeemed his brother *Philip*; to draw the Thebans to his assistance, entred into Confederacy with *Pelopidas*, being at that time in the same Country, with whom hee also left *Philip* with diuers other principall persons for the gage of his promises to *Pelopidas*. But *Eurydice* his mother falling in loue with her Sonne-in-law, who had married her Daughter

Daughter *Euryone* or *Exione*, practised the death of *Alexander* her sonne, with a purpose to conferre the Kingdome on her Paramour, which *Ptolomy Alorites* did put in execution: by meanes whereof he held Macedon for three yeares; but was soon after slaine by *Perdiccas* the brother of *Alexander*. *Diodore* hath it otherwise of *Philip* being made pledge; and saith, That *Amyntas* his Father deliuered him for hostage to the Illyrians, by whom he was conueyed to Thebes, there to be kept: others report that *Philip* (whilehis father was yet liuing) was first ingaged to the Thebans, and deliuered for hostage a second time by *Alexander* his brother.

Diod.lib.15. & 16.

Perdiccas the third, after hee had slaine *Alorites* his base brother, gouerned Macedon foure years, and was then slaine in a battaile against the Illyrians, according to *Diodorus*; but *Iustine* affirmeth, that he perished by the practice of *Eurydice* his mother, as *Alexander* did.

Iust.l.7.

§. II.

The beginning of Philips *reigne; and how he deliuered Macedon from the troubles wherein he found it entangled.*

PHilip the second, the youngest sonne of *Amyntas* by *Eurydice*, hauing beene instructed in all knowledge requisite vnto the gouernment of a Kingdome, in that excellent education which he had vnder *Epaminondas*, making an escape from Thebes, returned into Macedon, in the first yeare of the hundred and fifth Olympiad, which was after the building of Rome three hundred foureſcore and thirteen years: and finding the many enemies and dangers wherewith the Kingdome was enuironed, hee tooke on him, not as a King (for *Perdiccas* left a sonne, though but an infant) but as the Protector of his Nephew, and Commander of the men of Warre. Yet his fruitfull ambition soone ouer-grew his modesty, and hee was easily perswaded by the people to accept both the Title of King, and withall, the absolute Rule of the Kingdome. And to say the truth, The necessity of the State of Macedon at that time required a King both prudent & actiue. For, besides the incursions of the Illyrians and Pannonians, the King of Thrace did set vp in opposition *Pausanias*; the Athenians, *Argæus*; sonnes of the late Vsurper *Æropus*: each of these labouring to place in Macedon a King of their owne Election. These heauie burdens when *Philip* could not well beare, hee bought off the weightiest by mony, and by faire promises vnloaded himselfe of so many of the rest, as hee ranne vnder the remainder happily enough. For, notwithstanding that his brother *Perdiccas* had his death accompanied with foure thousand Macedonians, beside these that were wounded and taken prisoners; and that the Pannonians were destroying all before them in Macedon; and that the Athenians with a Fleet by Sea, and three thousand Souldiers by Land vnder *Mantias*, did beate vpon him on all sides and quarters of his Country: Yet after he had practised the men of warre of Pannonia; and corrupted them with gifts; and had also bought the King of Thrace from *Pausanias*, he forthwith made head against the Athenians his stiffest enemies; and, for the first, he preuented their recouery of Amphipolis, a city on the frontier of Macedon: and did then pursue *Argæus* the sonne of *Æropus*, set against him by the Athenians, and followed him so hard at the heeles, in his retrait from Æges, that he forced him to abide the battaile: which *Argæus* lost, hauing the greatest part of his Army slaine in the place. Those of the Athenians, and others which remained vnbroken, tooke the aduantage of a strong peece of ground at hand, which though they could not long defend, yet auoiding thereby the present fury of the Souldiers, they obtained of the vanquishers life and liberty to returne into Attica. Whereupon a peace was concluded betweene him and the Athenians for that present, and for this clemency hee was greatly renowned and honoured by all the Greekes.

Diod.lib.16.

§. III.

The good successe which Philip *had in many enterprises.*

NOw had *Philip* leasure to looke Northward, and to attend the Illyrians and Pœonians, his irreconcileable enemies and borderers: both which he inuaded with so

so prosperous successe, as he slew *Bardillis*, King of the Illyrians, with seuen thousand of his Nation, & therby recouered all those places which the Illyrians held in Macedon: and withall, vpon the death of the King of Pannonia, he pierc't that country, and after a maine victory obtained, he enfore't them to pay him tribute. This was no sooner done, than (without staying to take longer breath) he hasted speedily towards Larissa, vpon the riuer Peneus in Thessaly, of which Towne he soon made himselfe master; & therby he got good footing in that Country, whereof he made vse in time follow ing. Now although he resolued either to subdue the Thessalians, or to make them his owne against all others, because the horse-men of that Country were the best, and most feared in that part of Europe; yet he thought it most for his safety to close vp the entrances out of Thrace, least while he inuaded Thessaly and Greece towards the South, those ample Nations, lying towards the North, should either withdraw him, or ouer-run Macedon, as in former times. He therefore attempted Amphipolis, seated on the famous Riuer of Strimon, which parteth Thrace from Macedon, and won it. He also recouered Pydna; and (to the North of Amphipolis) the city of Crenides (sometime Datus,) and called it after his name Philippi: to the people whereof Saint *Paul* afterward directed one of his Epistles. This place, wherein Philippi stood, is very rich in mines of gold, out of which, greatly to the aduancement of *Philips* affaires, he drew yearly a thousand talents, which make sixe hundred thousand French Crownes.

And that he might with the more ease disburden the Thracian shores of the Athenian Garrisons, to which he had giuen a great blow by the taking in of Amphipolis, he entred into league with his fathers malicious enemies the Olynthians; whom the better to fasten vnto him, he gaue them the City of Pydna with the Territory, meaning nothing lesse than that they should enioy it, or their owne Estate, many years.

Now that he might by degrees win ground vpon the Greekes, he tooke the faire occasion to deliuer the City of Pheres in Thessaly, from the tyrants *Lycophron* & *Tisiphonus*: who, after they had conspired with *Thebe* the wife of *Alexander*, who vsurped vpon the liberty of that State; they themselues (*Alexander* being murdered) held it also by the same strong hand and oppression that *Alexander* did, till by the assistance of *Philip* they were beaten out, and Pheres restored to her former liberty. Which act of *Philip* did for euer after fasten the Thessalians vnto him, and, to his exceeding great aduantage, binde them to his seruice.

§. IV.

Of the Phocian Warre which first drew Philip *into Greece.*

ABout this time, to wit, in the second yeare of the hundred and sixth Olympiad, eight yeares after the battaile of Mantinæa, and about the eighth yeare of *Artaxerxes Ochus*, beganne that Warre, called *Sacred*. Now, as all occasions concurre towards the execution of eternall prouidence, and of euery great alteration in the World there is some preceding preparation; though not at the first easily discerned; so did this reuengefull hatred by the Thebans, Thessalians, and Locrians, conceiued against the Phocians, not onely teach *Philip* how he might with halfe a hand wrest the sword out of their fingers; but the Greeks themselues, beating downe their own defences, to giue him an easie passage; & beating themselues, to giue him victory without perill, left nothing vnperformed towards their owne slauery, sauing the title and imposition. Of this Warre the Thebans (made ouer-proud by their victory at Leuctres) were the inflamers. For at the Councell of the Amphyctiones, or of the generall Estates of Greece; in which, at that time, they swayed most; they caused both the Lacedæmonians and Phocians to bee condemned in greater summes of mony than they could well beare; the one for surprizing the Castle of Cadmea in the time of peace, the other for ploughing vp a peece of ground belonging to the Temple of Delphos. The Phocians being resolued not to obey this Edict, were secretly set on and incouraged by the Lacedæmonians: and for refusall were exposed as Sacrilegers, and accursed to all their Neighbour-Nations, for whom it was then lawfull to inuade, and destroy them at their pleasures.

The Phocians perswaded thereunto by *Philomelus*, a Captaine of their owne, cast the sanctuce of hazzard that *Cesar* after many Ages following did; but had not the same chance.

chance. Yet they dealt well enough with all the enemies of their owne Nation. And the better to beare out an vngracious quarrell, of which there was left no hope of composition, they resolued to sacke the Temple it selfe. For seeing that for the ploughing of a peece of *Apollo's* ground, they had so much offended their Neighbour-God, and their Neighbour-Nations, as worse could not befall them than already was intended; they resolued to take the gold with the ground, and either to perish for all, or to preuaile against all that had commission to call them to account. The treasure which they tooke out of the Temple in the beginning of the Warre, was ten thousand talents, which in those daies serued them to wage a great many men; and such was their successe in the beginning of the war, as they won three great battailes against the Thebans, Thessalians, and Locrians; but being beaten in the fourth, their Leader *Philomelus* cast himselfe head-long ouer the Rockes.

In the meane while the cities of Chersonesus, both to defend themselues against their bad neighbour *Philip*, who encroched vpon them, and to draw others into their quarrell, rendred themselues to the Athenians. *Philip* prepareth to get them into his hands, and at the siege of Methone lost one of his eyes. It is said, That hee that shot him, did purposely direct his arrow towards him, and that it was written on the shaft therof: *Aster Philippo*; *Aster to Philip*: for so he was called that gaue him the wound. This City he euened with the soile. *Plut. in Vlpian. Strab. l. 8.*

The Tyrant *Lycophron* before mentioned, while *Philip* was busied on the border of Thrace, and the Thessalians ingaged in the holy war, entred Thessaly with new forces, being assisted by *Onomarchus*, Commander of the Phocian Army, in place of *Philomelus*. For hereby the Phocians hoped so to entertaine the Thessalians at home, as they should not find leasure to inuade them. Hereupon was *Philip* the second time called into Thessaly; but both the Thessalians, and Macedonians, (*Philip* being present) were vterly ouerthrowne by *Onomarchus*; and great numbers of both Nations lost. From Thessaly, *Onomarchus* drew speedily towards Bœotia, and with the same victorious Army brake the forces of the Bœotians, and tooke from them their City of Coronea. But *Philip* impatient of his late misaduenture, after he had re-enforced his Army, returned with all speed into Thessaly, there to find againe the honour which he lately lost: and was the second time encountred by *Onomarchus*, who brought into the field twenty thousand foot, and fiue hundred horse. All this great preparation sufficed not; for *Onomarchus* was by *Philip* surmounted, both in numbers and in good fortune, his Army ouerturned, sixe thousand slaine, and three thousand taken: of which number himselfe being one, was among others hanged by *Philip*. Those that fled, were in part receiued by the Athenian Gallies, which sailed alongst the coast, commanded by *Chares*; but the greatest number of those that tooke the Sea, were therein deuoured ere they recouered them. *Lycophron* was now againe driuen out of Thessaly, and *Pheres* made free as before.

§. V.

Of the Olynthian warre. The ambitious practices of Philip.

FRom hence *Philip* resolued to inuade Phocis it selfe, but the Athenians did not fauour his enterance into those parts; and therefore with the helpe of the Lacedæmonians, they retrencht his passage at the Streits of Thermopylis. Whereupon he returned into Macedon, and after the taking of Micyberne, Torone, and other Towns, he quarrelled with the Olynthians, whom not long before he had wooed to his alliance, and bought his peace of them. For the Olynthians were very strong, and had euermore both braued and beaten the Macedonians. It is said, that *Philip* hauing put to death *Archelaus* his halfe brother (for *Amyntas* had three sons by *Eurydice* the Mother of *Philip*, and three other sonnes by *Gyges*: but *Philips* elder brothers by the same Mother being dead, he determined to rid himself also of the rest) the two yonger held themselues within Olynthus; & that the receiuing of them by the Olynthians was the cause of the war, *Iustine* affirmeth. But iust quarrels are ballanced by iust Princes, for to this King all things were lawfull that might serue his turne; all his affections, & passions, how diuers soeuer in other men, were in his ambition swallowed vp, and therinto conuerted. *Iust. l. 8.*

For

For he neither forbare the murder of his owne brothers, the breach of faith, the buying of other mens fidelity; hee esteemed no place strong where his Asse loaden with gold might enter: Nor any City or State vnconquerable, where a few of the greatest, to be made greater, could lose the sense of other mens sorrow and subiection. And because he thought it vain to practise the winning of Olynthus, til he had inclosed all the power they had within their owne Walls, he entred their Territory, and by the aduantage of a well-compounded and trained Army, he gaue them two ouerthrowes ere he sate down before the City it selfe: which done, hee bought *Euthicrates* and *Lasthenes* from their people, and from the seruice of their Country and Common-weale, by whose treason hee entred the Towne, slew his brothers therein, sackt it, and sold the inhabitants for slaues by the drumme. By the spoile of this place he greatly enriched himselfe, and had treasure sufficient to buy in other Cities withall, which he daily did. For so was he aduised by the Oracle in the beginning of his vndertaking, *That he should make his assaults with siluer speares:* Whereupon *Horace* well and truely said,

Horat. carm. Od. 16.

——Diffidit Vrbium
Portas vir Macedo, & subruit æmulos
Reges muneribus.——

By gifts the Macedon claue Gates asunder,
And Kings enuying his estate brought vnder.

And it is true that he won more by corruption and fraud, than he did by force. For as he had in all the principall Cities of Greece his secret workers (which way of Conquest was well followed by *Philip* the second of Spaine:) So when in the contention between the Competitors, for the kingdome of Thrace, he was chosen the Arbitratour, he came not to the Counsell accompanied with Piety and Iustice, but with a powerfull Army, and hauing beaten and slaine both Kings, gaue sentence for himselfe, and made the Kingdome his owne.

§. VI.

How Philip *ended the Phocian warre.*

THe warre still continued betweene the Phocians, and the Associates of the holy warre, the Bœotians, finding themselues vnable to subsist without some present aide; sent vnto *Philip* for succour, who willingly yeelded to their necessities, and sent them such a proportion of men, as were neither sufficient to master their enemies, nor to assure themselues; but yet to inable them to continue the warre, and to waste the strength of Greece. They also sent to *Artaxerxes Ochus* for supply of treasure, who lent them thirty talents, which makes a hundred & foure score thousand crownes: but when with these supplies they had stil the worst against the Phocians, who held from them three of the strongest Cities within Bœotia it selfe, they then besought *Philip* of Macedon that he would assist them in person, to whom they would giue an entrance into their Territory, and in all things obey his Commandements in war.

Now had *Philip* what he longed for; for he knew himselfe in state to giue the law to both, & so quitting all his other purposes towards the North, he marched with a speedy pace towards Bœotia, where being arriued, *Phallechus* who commanded the Phocian Army, fearing to shock with this victorious King, made his owne peace, and withdrew himselfe with a Regiment of eight thousand Souldiers into Peloponnesus, leauing the Phocians to the mercy of the Conquerour; and for conclusion he had the glory of that war called *Sacred*, which the Grecians with so many mutuall slaughters had continued for ten years; and, besides the glory, he posset himself of Orchomene, Coronea, & Corsia, in the country of the Bœotians, who inuited him to be victorious ouer themselues. He brought the Phocians into seruitude, & wasted their Cities, and gaue them but their Villages to inhabite, reseruing vnto himselfe the yearly tribute of threescore talents, which make sixe & thirty thousand French Crownes. He also hereby (besides the fame of piety for seruice of the gods) obtained the same double voice in the Councell of the Amphyctiones,

phyctiones which the Phocians had, with the superintendency of the Pythian games, forfeited by the Corinthians, by being partakers in the Phocian sacriledge.

§. VII.

How Philip *with ill successe attempted vpon Perinthus, Byzantium and the Scythians.*

PHilip, after his triumphant returne into Macedon, by the Lieutenant of his Army *Parmenio*, slaughtered many thousands of the Illyrians and Dardarians, and brought the Thracians to pay him the tenth part of all their reuenues. But his next enterprise against the Perinthians stayed his fury. Perinthus was a City of Thrace, seated vpon Propontis, in the mid-way between Sestos and Byzantium, a place of great strength, and a people resolued to defend their liberty against *Philip*, where the Athenians incouraged and assisted them. *Philip* sate downe before it with a puissant Army, made many faire breaches, gaue many furious assaults, built many ouer-topping and commanding Towers about it. But he was repelled with equall violence. For whereas *Philip* thought by his continuall assaults to vveary them, and waste both their men and munition, they were supplied, not only from the Persian with men and mony, & succoured from Byzantium which stood vpon the same Sea-coast; but they vvere relieued from Athens, Chio, and Rhodes, by the conduction of *Phocion*, with whatsoeuer was wanting to their necessity. But because those of Byzantium, by reason of their neighbourhood, and easie passage by water, gaue them often and ready helpe; *Philip* remoued the one halfe of his Army and besieged it, leauing fifteene thousand foot before Perinthus, to force it if they could; But to be short, he failed in both attempts, (as all Princes commonly doe that vndertake diuers enterprises at one time) and returned into Macedon with no lesse dishonour than losse: whereupon hee made an Ouerture of peace with the Athenians, and greatly desired it, to which though *Phocion* perswaded them in all he could, & that by the occasion offered they might greatly aduantage their conditions: Yet *Demosthenes* with his eloquence preuailed in the refusall. In the meane while, *Philip* hauing digested his late affront, and supplied his expence, by the taking of an hundred and threescore and ten Merchants ships, he gathered new forces, and being accompanied with his sonne *Alexander*, led them into Scythia; but he was also vnprosperous in this enterprise: For the Triballi, a people of Mœsia, set on him in his return, vvounded him, and tooke from him the greatest part of the spoiles, which he had gathered.

§. VIII.

How Philip *ouerthrowing the Greekes in the battaile of Cheronæa, was chosen Captaine-Generall of Greece. The death of* Philip.

AMong these Northern Nations (part of which he suppreſt, and part quieted) he spent some eight years; and in the ninth yeare, after the end of the holy Warre, he was by his great aduantage inuited againe by the Grecians to their assistance. For the Citizens of Amphissa hauing disobeyed the decree of the Amphyctiones, in which *Philip* had a double voice, and who by reason that the Thebans & Locrians gaue countenance and aide to the Amphissonians, the rest were not of themselues able to constraine them, they besought *Philip* to come in person to their assistance. Now you must thinke that *Philip* was not long in resoluing vpon this enterprise; hee needed no drawing on, whom nothing could keepe backe; nor other dissuasion than a mastring power could hold thence. He therefore commanded his Army forthwith to march; the same being compounded of thirty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse; and with as much expedition as could be made, he entred Phocis, wan Plataea, and brought into subiection all that Region.

The rest, & especially the Athenians, although they had good cause to fear that a great part of this storme would fall on themselues, yet were they dissuaded by *Demosthenes* from accepting such reasonable conditions of peace as *Philip* offered, and rather made choice (hauing drawne the Thebans to ioyne with them) to leaue the enioying of their estates

estates and their freedome to the chance of one battaile, than to hold it either by composition, or by the grace of *Philip*. But this their Oratours eloquence cost them deare. It is true that he could far more easily minde them of the vertue of their Ancestors, than make them sueh as they were. He might repeat vnto them (with words mouing passion) the wonders they wrought at Marathon, but he could not transforme the Macedonians into Persians, nor draw from the dead, a *Miltiades*, an *Aristides*, a *Themistocles*, or a *Cimon*, or any of those famous Commanders, whose great vertues they had payed with the greatest ingratitude that euer Nation did. A *Phocion* they had, but by the strength of a contrary faction hee was at this time in disgrace, and not imployed: in so much as when the Armies of *Philip* and the Confederates incountred, although some thousand of the Athenians did abide the killing, and the like number well-neere of the Thebans died with them; yet the want of the worthy men on that side to hold vp the rest, and to draw them on, and the many choice Captains of the Macedonians, incouraged by a King of a growing fortune, as it gaue to *Philip* so shining a victory that *Alexander* by the light thereof found his way (in despight of all the Nations interiacent) into Persia, India, and Egypt; so it cut to the ground, and gaue end and date to all the Grecian glory: Yea their liberty (saith *Curtius*) with their large Dominion won with so many difficulties, continued for so many Ages, and so often defended against the greatest Kings, was now lost in a moment, and for euer lost.

Now this aduised King (neuer passionate to his disaduantage) to the end he might obtaine the Soueraignty ouer all Greece, and be acknowledged for their Captaine-Generall against the Persians, without any further hazzard or trouble, was content to let go those Athenians that were taken at this battell of Cheronæa, as he also forbare to attempt any thing against their City: but in Thebes (which lately by the vertue of *Epaminondas* triumphed ouer the rest) he lodged a Garrison of Macedonians. And being soone after (according vnto the long desire which he had nourished of this Soueraignty) by the generall States at Corinth, stiled the first Commander of all the Grecians, & contribution of men and money granted him, he compounded an Army of great strength, and vnder the Commandement of *Attalus* and *Parmenio*, transported the same ouer the Hellespont into Asia, to begin the warre. Of his enterprise against Persia, he sought the successe from the Oracle at Delphos, from whence he receiued such another conuertible riddle, as *Cræsus* did when he attempted *Cyrus*, and was in like sort mistaken in the exposition.

But as it is hard to discerne and withstand the flatteries of our owne appetites, so did *Philips* ambitious desire to inuade Persia, abuse his iudgement, so farre, that the death, wherewith himselfe was threatned, he vnderstood to be deliuered of his enemy, whom he intended presently to inuade. Before his purposed departure into Asia, he prepared for the marriage of his Daughter *Cleopatra*, with *Alexander* King of Epirus; to which feast and pastimes thereat appointed, he inuited all his Friends and Allies, with the principall persons of the Grecian Cities, from whom he receiued much honour and many rich presents: but this was indeed the feast of his Funerall. For hauing refused to doe iustice to one *Pausanias*, a Gentleman of his Guard, whom *Attalus* (greatly fauoured by *Philip*) had first made drunke, and then left to bee earnally abused by diuers base persons: this *Pausanias* grew into so great a detestation of the Kings partiality in so foule a fact, as when *Philip* was passing towards the Theater, hee drew a sword from vnder his long garment and wounded him to death, when hee had liued sixe and forty yeares, and reigned fiue and twenty. *Iustine* reports it, that *Olympias* incouraged *Pausanias* to murder the King her husband, which after his death she boldly auowed, by the honour she did vnto *Pausanias*, in crowning his dead body, in consecrating his sword vnto *Apollo*, by building for him a monument, and other like Graces.

Iust.l.9.

§.IX.

What good foundations of Alexanders greatnesse were laid by Philip. Of his laudable qualities, and issue.

NOw although hee were then taken from the World, when hee had mastred all opposition on that side of the Sea, and had seene the fruits of his hopes, and labours, changing colour towards ripenesse and perfection; yet hee was here-

herein happy that he liued to see his son *Alexander* at mans estate, and had himselfe bin an eye-witnesse of his resolution, and singular valour in this last battaile.

The foundation of whose future greatnesse he had laid so soundly for him, with so plaine a patterne of the buildings which himself meant to erect, as the performance and finishing was farre more easie to *Alexander*, though more glorious than the beginnings vnto *Philip*, though lesse famous. For, besides the recouery of Macedon it selfe, in competition between him and the sonnes of *Æropus*, the one assisted by the Thracians, the other by the Athenians, and besides the re-gaining of many places possest by the Illyrians, the crushing of all those Northern Kings his Neighbours, the ouer-throw of Olynthus, a State that despised the power of his Father, the many Maritimate Cities taken, of great strength and ancient freedome, and the subiection of that famous Nation of Greece, which for so many Ages had defended it selfe against the greatest Kings of the World, and won vpon them; He left vnto his sonne, and had bred vp for him, so many choise Commanders, as the most of them, both for their valour and iudgement in the Warre, were no lesse worthy of Crownes, than himselfe was that ware a Crowne: For it was said of *Parmenio* (whom *Alexander*, vngratefull to so great vertue, impiously murdered) That *Parmenio* had performed many things challenging eternall fame, without the King; but the King, without *Parmenio* neuer did any thing worthy of renowne: as for the rest of his Captaines, though content to obey the Sonne of such a Father, yet did they not after *Alexanders* death endure to acknowledge any man Superiour to themselues.

Of this Prince it is hard to iudge, whether his ambition had taught him the exercise of more vices, than Nature & his excellent Education had inriched him with vertues. For, besides that he was Valiant, Wise, Learned, and Master of his Affections, he had this fauour of Piety, that he rather laboured to satisfie those that were grieued, than to suppresse them. Whereof (among many other) we finde a good example in his dealing with *Ariadion*, and *Nicanor*; whom, when for their euill speech of *Philip*, his familiars perswaded him to put to death; He answered them, That first it ought to be considered, whether the fault were in them that gaue him ill language, or in himselfe: Secondly, that it was in euery mans owne power to be well spoken off: and this was shortly prooned, for after *Philip* relieued their necessities, there were none within his Kingdome that did him more honour than they did. Whereupon he told those that had perswaded him to vse violence, that he was a better Physitian for euill speech than they were.

His Epistles to *Alexander* his sonne are remembred to *Cicero*, and *Gellius*; and by *Dion*, and *Chrysostome* exceedingly commended. His Stratagems are gathered by *Polyænus* and *Frontinus*, his wise layings by *Plutarch*. And albeit he held *Macedon* as in his owne right, all the time of his reigne, yet was he not the true and next Heire thereof: for, *Amyntas* the sonne of his brother *Perdiccas* (of whom he had the protection during his infancy) had the right. This *Amyntas* he married to his Daughter *Cyna*, who had by him a Daughter called *Eurydice*, who was married to *Philips* base sonne *Aridæus*, her Vncle by the Mothers-side: both which *Olympias*, *Philips* first Wife, and Mother to *Alexander the* Great, put to death; *Aridæus*, by extreame torments: *Eurydice* she strangled.

Cic.Off.2. Gell.l.9.c.3. Dion.2.de Regn.

Philip had by this *Olympias*, the Daughter of *Neoptolemus*, King of the Molossians (of the race of *Achilles*) *Alexander* the Great, and *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was married to her Vncle *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, and was after her brother *Alexanders* death slaine at Sardis, by the commandement of *Antigonus*.

By *Audata*, an Illyrian, his second Wife, he had *Cyna*, married as is shewed before.

By *Nicasipolis*, the Sister of *Iason*, Tyrant of *Pheres*, he had *Thessalonica*, whom *Cassander*, after he had taken *Pidna*, married; but she was afterward by her Father-in-law *Antipater* put to death.

By *Cleopatra* the Neece of *Attalus*, he had *Caranus*, whom others call *Philip*: him, *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander* the Great, caused to be rosted to death in a copper Pan. Others lay this murder to *Alexander* himselfe. By the same *Cleopatra* he had likewise a Daughter, called *Europa*, whom *Olympias* also murdered at the Mothers brest.

Athen.l.13. c.2.Iust.l.3.

By *Phila* and *Meda* he had no issue.

He had also two Concubines, *Arsinoe*, whom after he had gotten with childe, he married to an obscure man, called *Lagus*, who bare *Ptolomie* King of Egypt, called the sonne of *Lagus*, but esteemed the sonne of *Philip*: by *Philinna*, his second Concubine, a pub-

a publike Dancer, he had *Arideus*, of vvhom vve shall haue much occasion to speake hereafter.

CHAP. II.

Of Alexander *the Great.*

§. I.

A briefe rehearsall of Alexanders *doings, before he inuaded Asia.*

Lexander, afterward called the Great, succeeded vnto *Philip* his Father; being a Prince no lesse valiant by Nature, than by Education, vvell instructed, and inriched in all sorts of Learning and good Arts. He began his reigne ouer the Macedonians foure hundred and seuenteene yeares after Rome vvas built, and after his owne birth twenty yeares. The strange dreames of *Philip* his father, and that one of the gods in the shape of a Snake, begat him on *Olympias* his Mother, I omit as foolish tales; but that the Temple of *Diana* (a vvorke the most magnificent of the World) vvas burnt vpon the day of his birth, & that so strange an accident was accompanied with the newes of three seuerall victories, obtained by the Macedonians, it was very remarkeable, & might with the reason of those times be interpreted for ominous, and fore-shewing the great things by *Alexander* afterward performed. Vpon the change of the King, the Neighbor-Nations, whom *Philip* had oppreſt, began to consult about the recouery of their former liberty, and to aduenture it by force of Armes. *Alexanders* young-years gaue them hope of preuailing, & his suspected seuerity increased courage in those, who could better resolue to die, than to liue slauishly. But *Alexander* gaue no time to those swelling humours, which might speedily haue endangered the health of his Estate. For after reuenge taken vpon the Conspirators against his Father, whom he slew vpon his Tombe, & the celebration of his Funerals; he first fastened vnto him his own Nation, by freeing them from all exactions & bodily slauery, other than their seruice in his Wars; and vsed such kingly austerity towards those that contemned his young yeares, and such clemency to the rest that perswaded themselues of the cruelty of his disposition, as all affections being passed at home, he made a present iourny into Peloponnesus, & so well exercised his spirits among them, as by the Councell of the States of Greece, he was according to the great desire of his heart, elected Captain-Generall against the Persians, vpon which war *Philip* had not only resolued, (who had obtained the same title of Generall Commander) but had transported vnder the leading of *Parmenio*, and *Attalus*, a part of his Army, to recouer some places on Asia-side, for the safe descent of the rest.

This enterprise against the Persian occupied all *Alexanders* affections; those faire marks of Riches, Honour, and large Dominion, he now shot at both sleeping and waking: all other thoughts & imaginations were either grieuous or hateful. But a contrary wind ariseth, for he receiueth aduertisement that the Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedæmonians, had vnited themselues against him, and, by assistance from the Persian, hoped for the recouery of their former freedome. Hereto they vvere perswaded by *Demosthenes*, himselfe being therto perswaded by the gold of Persia: the deuice he vsed was more subtile than profitable; for he caused it to be bruited that *Alexander* was slaine in a battaile against the Triballes, & brought into the assembly a Companion whom he had corrupted to affirme, That himselfe was present and wounded in the battaile. There is indeed a certaine Doctrine of Policy (as Policy is now a-dayes defined by falshood & knauery) that deuised rumors & lies, if they serue the turn, but for a day or two, are greatly auaileable. It is true that common people are sometime mockt by them, as Souldiers are by false alarums in the Wars; but in all that I haue obserued, I haue found the successe as ridiculous as the inuention. For as those that find themselues at one time abused by such like bruits, do at other times neglect their duties, when they are vpon true reports, and in

in occasions perillous, summoned to assemble; so doe all men in generall condemne the Venters of such trumpery, and for them, fear vpon necessary occasions to entertaine the truth it selfe. This labour vnlooked for, and losse of time, was not onely very grieuous to *Alexander*, but by turning his sword from the ignoble and effeminate *Persians*, against which he had directed it, towards the manly & famous *Græcians*, of whose assistance he thought himself assured, his present vndertaking was greatly disordered. But he that cannot endure to striue against the winde, shall hardly attaine the Port which he purposeth to recouer: and it no lesse becommeth the worthiest men to oppose misfortunes, than it doth the weakest children to bewaile them.

He therefore made such expedition towards these Reuolters, as that himselfe, with the Army that followed him, brought them the first newes of his preparation. Hereupon all stagger, and the *Athenians*, as they were the first that moued, so were they the first that fainted, seeking by their Embassadours to pacifie the King, and to be receiued again into his grace. *Alexander* was not long in resoluing; for the *Persians* perswaded him to pardon the *Græcians*. Wise men are not easily drawne from great purposes by such occasions as may easily be taken off, neither hath any King euer brought to effect any great affaire, who hath intangled himselfe in many enterprises at once, not tending to one and the same certaine end.

And hauing now quieted his borderers towards the South, he resolued to assure those Nations which lay on the North-side of *Macedon*, to wit, the *Thracians*, *Triballes*, *Peones*, *Getes*, *Agrians*, and other saluage people, which had greatly vexed with incursions, not onely other of his Predecessours, but euen *Philip* his Father: with all which, after diuers ouerthrowes giuen them, he made peace, or else brought them into subiection. Notwithstanding this good successe, he could not yet finde the way out of *Europe*. There is nothing more naturall to man than liberty; the *Greekes* had enioyed it ouer-long, and lost it too late to forget it; they therefore shake off the yoke once againe. The *Thebans*, who had in their Citadell a Garrison of a thousand *Macedons*, attempt to force it; *Alexander* hasteneth to their succour, and presents himselfe with thirty thousand foot, all old souldiers, & three thousand horse, before the City, & gaue the Inhabitants some daies to resolue, being euen heart-sicke with the desire of passing into *Asia*. So vnwilling, indeed, he was to draw bloud of the *Græcians*, by whom he hoped to serue himselfe elsewhere, that he offered the *Thebans* remission, if they would onely deliuer into his hands *Phœnix* and *Prothytes*, the stirrers vp of the Rebellion. But they, opposing the mounting fortune of *Alexander*, (which bare all resistance before it, like the breaking in of the Ocean Sea) in stead of such an answer, as men besieged and abandoned should haue made, demanded *Philotas* and *Antipater* to be deliuered vnto them; as if *Thebes* alone, then layed in the ballance of Fortune with the Kingdome of *Macedon*, and many other Prouinces, could eyther haue euened the scale or swaied it. Therefore in the end they perished in their obstinacy. For while the *Thebans* oppose the Army assailant, they are charged at the backe by the *Macedonian* Garrison, their City taken and razed to the ground, sixe thousand slaine, and thirty thousand sold for slaues, at the price of foure hundred and forty talents. This the King did to the terrour of the other *Græcian* Cities.

Many Arguments were vsed by *Cleadas* one of the prisoners, to perswade *Alexander* to forbeare the destruction of *Thebes*. He prayed the King to beleeue that they were rather misse-led by giuing hasty credit to false reports, than any way malicious; for being perswaded of *Alexanders* death, they rebelled but against his Successour. He also besought the King to remember, that his father *Philip* had his education in that City, yea that his Ancestour *Hercules* was borne therein: but all perswasions were fruitlesse; the times wherein offences are committed, doe greatly aggrauate them. Yet for the honour he bare to learning, he pardoned all of the race of *Pindarus* the Poet, and spared, and set at liberty *Timoclea*, the sister of *Theagenes*, who died in defence of the liberty of *Greece* against his father *Philip*. This noble woman being taken by a *Thracian*, and by him rauished, he threatned to take her life vnlesse she would confesse her treasure: she led that *Thracian* to a Well, and told him that she had therein cast it: and when the *Thracian* stooped to looke into the Well, she suddenly thrust him into the mouth thereof, and stoned him to death.

Now because the *Athenians* had receiued into their city so many of the *Thebans*, as had escaped

escaped and fled vnto them for succour, *Alexander* would not grant them peace, but vpon condition to deliuer into his hands both their Orators which perswaded this second reuolt, and their Captaines; yet in the end it being a torment vnto him to retard the enterprise of *Persia*, he was content that the Orators should remaine, and accepted of the banishment of the Captaines; wherein he was exceeding ill aduised, had not his fortune, or rather the prouidence of God, made all the resistance against him vnprofitable: for these good Leaders of the *Græcians* betooke themselues to the seruice of the *Persian*, vvhom after a few dayes he inuaded.

§. II.

How Alexander *passing into Asia, fought with the Persians vpon the Riuer of Granicus.*

WHen all was now quieted at home, *Alexander*, committing to the trust of *Antipater* both *Greece* and *Macedon*, in the first of the Spring did passe the *Hellespont*, and being ready to dis-imbarke, he threw a Dart towards the *Asian* shore, as a token of defiance, commanding his Souldiers not to make any waste in their own Territorie, or to burne, or deface those buildings which themselues were presently, and in the future to possesse. He landed his Armie, consisting of two and thirty thousand foot, and fiue thousand horse, all old Souldiers, neere vnto *Troy*, vvhere he offered a solemne sacrifice vpon *Achilles* Tombe, his maternall Ancestor.

But before he left his own coast, he put to death without any offence giuen him, all his Mother-in-lawes Kinsmen, whom *Philip* his Father had greatly aduanced, not sparing such of his own as he suspected. He also took with him many of his tributarie Princes, of whose fidelity he doubted; thinking by vniust cruelty to assure all things, both in the present and future. Yet the end of all fel out contrary to the policy which his Ambition had commended vnto him, though agreeing very well with the iustice of God; for all that he had planted, was soone after withered, & rooted vp; those, whom he most trusted, were the most traiterous; his mother, friends, and children, fell by such another mercilesse sword as his owne, and all manner of confusion followed his dead body to the graue, and left him there.

When the knowledge of *Alexanders* landing on *Asia* side was brought to *Darius*, he so much scorned the Armie of *Macedon*, and had so contemptible an opinion of *Alexander* himselfe, as hauing stiled him his seruant on a letter which he wrote vnto him, reprehending his disloyaltie and audacitie (for *Darius* intitled himselfe King of Kings, and the Kinsman of the gods) he gaue order withall to his Lieutenants of the lesser *Asia*, that they should take *Alexander* aliue, whip him with rods, and then conuey him to his presence: that they should sinke his ships, and send the *Macedons* taken prisoners beyond the Red-Sea; belike into *Æthiopia*, or some other vnhealthfull part of *Affrica*.

In this sort did this glorious king, confident in the glittering, but heartlesse, multitude which he commanded, dispose of the already-vanquished *Macedonians*: But the ill destinies of men beare them to the ground, by what strong confidence soeuer armed. The great numbers which he gathered together, & brought in one heape into the field, gaue rather an exceeding aduantage to his enemies, than any discouragement at all. For besides that they were men vtterly vnacquainted with dangers, men who by the name and countenance of their king were wont to preuaile against those of lesse courage than themselues, men that tooke more care how to embroder with gold and siluer their vpper garments, as if they attended the inuasion but of the Sunne-beames, than they did to armie themselues with yron and steele against the sharpe pikes, swords and darts of the hardie *Macedonians*; I say, besides all these, euen the opinion they had of their own numbers, of which euery one in particular hoped that it would not fall to his turne to fight, filled euery of them with the care of their owne safetie, without any intent at all to hazzard any thing but their owne breath, and that of their horses, in running away. The *Macedonians*, as they came to fight, and thereby to enrich themselues with the gold and iewels of *Persia*, both which they needed; so the *Persians*, who expected nothing in that Warre but blowes and wounds, which they needed not, obeyed the king, who had power to constraine them in assembling themselues for his seruice; but their owne feares and cowardise, which in time of danger had most power ouer them, they

they onely then obeyed, when their rebellion against so seruile a passion did iustly and violently require it. For, saith *Vegetius*: *Quemadmodum bene exercitatus miles prælium cupit, ita formidat indoctus; nam sciendum est in pugna vsum amplius prodesse quàm vires.* *As the well-practised Souldier desires to come to battaile, so the raw one feares it: for we must vnderstand, that in fight it more auailes to haue beene accustomed vnto the like, than onely to haue rude strength.* What manner of men the *Persians* were, *Alexander* discouered in the first encounter, before which time it is said, by those that write his Story, That it was hard to iudge, whether his daring to vndertake the conquest of an Empire so well peopled, with a handfull of men, or the successe he had, were more to be wondred at. For at the Riuer of *Granick*, which seuereth the Territorie of *Troy* from *Proponti*, the *Persians* sought to stop his passage, taking the higher ground and banke of the Riuer to defend, which *Alexander* was forced (as it were) to clime vp vnto, and scale from the Leuel of the water. Great resistance (saith *Curtius*) was made by the *Persians*, yet in the end *Alexander* preuailed. But it seemes to me, that the victory then gotten was exceeding easie; and that the twenty thousand *Persian* foot-men, said to be slaine, were rather kil'd in the backe, in running away, than hurt in the bosomes by resisting. For had those twenty thousand foot, and two hundred and fiftie horsemen, or after *Plutarch*, two thousand and fiue hundred horse-men, dyed with their faces towards the *Macedonians*, *Alexander* could not haue bought their liues at so small a rate, as with the losse of foure and thirtie of all sorts of his own. And if it were also true, that *Plutarch* doth report, how *Alexander* encountred two of the *Persian* Commanders, *Spithridates* and *Rhœsaces*, and that the *Persian* horse-men fought with great furie, though in the end scattered; and lastly, how those *Gracians* in *Darius* his pay, holding themselues in one body vpon a piece of ground of aduantage, did (after mercy was refused them) fight it out to the last; how doth it then resemble truth, that such resistance hauing beene made, yet of *Alexanders* Armie there fell but twelue Foot-men, and two and twenty Horse-men?

§. III.

A digression concerning the defence of hard passages. Of things following the battaile of Granicke.

THe winning of this passage did greatly encourage the *Macedonians*, and brought such terrour vpon all those of the lesser *Asia*, as he obtained all the Kingdomes thereof without a blow, some one or two Townes excepted. For in all inuasions, where the Nations inuaded haue once beene beaten vpon a great aduantage of the place, as in defence of Riuers, Streights, and Mountaines; they will soone haue perswaded themselues, that such an enemy vpon equall tearmes and euen ground, can hardly be resisted. It was therfore *Machiauels* counsell, That he which resolueth to defend a passage, should with his ablest force oppose the Assailant. And to say truth, few Regions of any great circuit are so well fenced, that Armies of such force as may be thought sufficient to conquer them, can be debarred all entrance, by the naturall difficultie of the wayes. One passage or other is commonly left vnguarded: if all be defended, then must the forces of the Country be distracted; and yet lightly some one place wil be found that is defended very weakely. How often haue the *Alpes* giuen way to Armies, breaking into *Italie*? Yea, where shall we find that euer they kept out an inuadour? Yet are they such as (to speake briefly) afflict with all difficulties those that trauaile ouer them; but they giue no security to those that lye behinde them: for they are of too large extent. The townes of *Lombardie* perswaded themselues that they might enioy their quiet, when the Warlike Nation of the *Switzers* had vndertaken to hinder *Francis* the *French* king from descending into the Dutchie of *Milan*; but whilest these Patrons of *Milan*, whom their own dwelling in those Mountaines had made fittest of all other for such a seruice, were busied in custodie of the *Alpes*; *Francis* appeared in *Lombardie*, to so much the greater terrour of the Inhabitants, by how much the lesse they had expected his arriuall. What shall we say of those Mountaines, which locke vp whole Regions in such sort, as they leaue but one gate open? The Streights, or (as they were called) the gates of *Taurus* in *Cilicia*, and those of *Thermopyla*, haue seldome beene attempted, perhaps because they were thought impregnable: but how seldome (if euer) haue they beene attempted in vaine? *Xerxes*, and long after him, the *Romans*, forced the entrance of

Thermopyla; *Cyrus* the younger, and after him *Alexander*, found the Gates of *Cilicia* wide open; how strongly soeuer they had bin locked and barred, yet were those Countries open enough to a fleet that should enter on the backe-side. The defence of Riuers how hard a thing it is, we find examples in all histories that beare good witnesse. The deepest haue many Foords; the swiftest and broadest may be passed by Boates, in case it be found a matter of difficultie to make a bridge. He that hath men enow to defend all the length of his owne banke, hath also enow to beare his enemie; and may therefore doe better to let him come ouer, to his losse, than by striuing in vaine to hinder the passage, as a matter tending to his owne disaduantage, fill the heads of his Souldiers with an opinion, that they are in ill case, hauing their meanes of safeguard taken from them, by the skill or valour of such as are too good for them. Certainely, if a Riuer were sufficient defence against an Armie, the Isle of *Mona*, now called *Anglesey*, which is diuided from North-Wales by an arme of the Sea, had beene safe enough against the *Romans*, inuading it vnder conduct of *Iulius Agricola*. But he wanting, & not meaning to spend the time in making vessels to transport his forces, did assay the foords. Wherby he so amazed the enemies attending for ships and such like prouision by Sea, that surely beleeuing nothing could be hard or inuincible to men, which came so minded to Warre, they humbly intreated for peace, and yeelded the Iland. Yet the *Britaines* were men stout enough, the *Persians* were very dastards.

It was therefore wisely done of *Alexander*, to passe the Riuer of *Granicke* in face of the enemy; not marching higher to seeke an easier way, nor labouring to conuey his men ouer it by some safer meanes. For, hauing beaten them vpon their owne ground, he did thereby cut off no lesse of their reputation, than of their strength, leauing no hope of succour to the partakers and followers of such vnable Protectors.

Soone after this victory he recouered *Sardis*, *Ephesus*, the Cities of the *Trallians* and *Magnesia*, which vvere rendred vnto him. The Inhabitants of which, with the people of the Countrie, he receiued vvith great grace, suffering them to be gouerned by their owne lawes. For he obserued it well; *Nouum Imperium inchoantibus vtilis clementia fama*; *It is commodious vnto such as lay the foundations of a new Soueraignty, to haue the fame of being mercifull.* He then by *Parmenio* wan *Miletus*, and by force mastred *Halicarnassus*, which because it resisted obstinately, he razed to the ground. From whence he entred into *Caria*, where *Ada* the Queene, who had beene cast out of all that she held (except the Citie of *Alinda*) by *Darius* his Lieutenants, presented her selfe vnto him, and adopted him her son and successour; which *Alexander* accepted in so gracious part, as he left the whole Kingdome to her disposing. He then entred into *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, and obtained all the Sea coasts, and subiecting vnto him *Pisidia*, he directed himselfe towards *Darius* (who was said to be aduanced towards him with a maruellous Armie) by the way of *Phrygia*: For all the Prouince of *Asia* the lesse, bordering vpon the Sea, his first victorie layed vnder his feet.

While he gaue order for the gouernment and setling of *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, they sent *Cleander* to raise some new Captaines in *Peloponnesus*, and marching towards the North, he entred *Celenas* seated on the Riuer *Meander*, vvhich vvas abandoned vnto him, the Castle onely holding out, which also after forty dayes was giuen vp: for so long time he gaue them to attend succour from *Darius*. From *Celenas* he past on through *Phrygia* towards the *Euxine* Sea, till he came to a City called *Gordium*, the Regall-seate, in former times, of King *Midas*. In this City it was that he found the *Gordian*-knot, which when he knew not how to vndoe, he cut it a sunder with his sword. For there was an ancient prophecie did promise to him that could vntie it, the Lordship of all *Asia*; whereupon *Alexander*, not respecting the manner how, so it were done, assumed to himselfe the fulfilling of the prophesie, by hewing it in pieces.

But before he turned from this part of *Asia* the lesse towards the east, he tooke care to cleare the Sea-coast on his backe, and to thrust the *Persians* out of the Ilands of *Lesbos*, *Chio*, and *Coos*: the charge whereof he committed vnto two of his Captaines, giuing them such order as he thought to be most conuenient for that seruice; and deliuering vnto them fiftie Talents to defray the charge; and withall out of his first spoyle gotten, he sent threescore Talents more to *Antipater* his Lieutenant in *Greece* and *Macedon*. From *Celenas* he remoued to *Ancira*, now called *Anguori*, standing on the same Riuer of *Sangarius*, which runneth through *Gordium*: there he mustered his Armie, and then

then entred *Paphlagonia*, vvhose people submitted themselues vnto him, and obtained freedome of tribute: where he left *Catus* Gouernor with one Regiment of *Macedonians* lately arriued.

Here he vnderstood of the death of *Memnon*, *Darius* Lieutenant, vvhich heartned him greatly to passe on towards him; for of this onely Captaine he had more respect than of all the multitude by *Darius* assembled, and of all the Commanders he had besides. For so much hath the spirit of some one man excelled, as it hath vndertaken and effected the alteration of the greatest States and Common-weales, the erection of Monarchies, the conquest of kingdoms and Empires, guided handfuls of men against multitudes of equall bodily strength, contriued victories beyond all hope and discourse of reason, conuerted the fearefull passions of his own followers into magnanimitie, and the valour of his enemies into cowardize; such spirits haue bin stirred vp in sundry Ages of the vvorld, and in diuers parts therof, to erect and cast downe againe, to establish and to destroy, and to bring all things, Persons and States, to the same certaine ends, vvhich the infinite Spirit of the *Vniuersall*, piercing, mouing, and gouerning all things, hath ordained. Certainely the things that this king did were maruellous, and would hardly haue bin vndertaken by any man else: and though his Father had determined to haue inuaded the lesser *Asia*, it is like enough that he would haue contented himselfe with some part thereof, and not haue discouered the Riuer of *Indus*: as this man did. The swift course of victory, wherewith he ran ouer so large a portion of the World, in so short a space, may iustly be imputed vnto this, that he was neuer encountred by an equall spirit, concurring with equall power against him. Hereby it came to passe that his actions being limited by no greater opposition, than desert places, and the meere length of tedious iournies could make, vvere like the *Colossus* of *Rhodes*, not so much to be admired for the workmanship, though therein also praise-worthy, as for the huge bulke. For certainely the things performed by *Xenophon*, discouer as braue a spirit as *Alexanders*, and working no lesse exquisitely, though the effects were lesse materiall, as were also the forces and power of command, by which it vvrought. But he that vvould finde the exact patterne of a noble Commander, must looke vpon such as *Epaminondas*, that encountring vworthy Captaines, and those better followed than themselues, haue by their singular vertue ouer-topped their valiant enemies, and still preuailed ouer those, that would not haue yeelded one foot to any other. Such as these are, doe seldome liue to obtaine great Empires. For it is a vworke of more labour and longer time, to master the equall forces of one hardy & well-ordered State, than to tread down and vtterly subdue a multitude of seruile Nations, compounding the body of a grosse vnweildy Empire. Wherefore these *Paruo Potentes*, men that with little haue done much vpon enemies of like ability, are to be regarded as choise examples of worth; but great Conquerours, to be rather admired for the substance of their actions, than the exquisite managing: exactnesse and greatnesse concurring so seldome, that I can find no instance of both in one, saue only that braue *Roman*, *Cæsar*.

Hauing thus farre digressed, it is now time that we returne vnto our Easterne Conqueror; who is trauailing hastily towards *Cilicia*, with a desire to recouer the Streights therof before *Darius* should arriue there. But first making a dispatch into *Greece*, he sent to those Cities, in which he reposed most trust, some of the *Persian* Targets which he had recouered in his first battaile; vpon which, by certaine inscriptions, he made them partakers of his victory. Herein he well aduised himselfe; for he that doth not as well impart of the honour which he gaines in the Warres, as he doth of the spoiles, shall neuer be long followed of those of the better sort. For men which are either well borne or well bred, and haue more of wealth than of reputation, do as often satisfie themselues vvith the purchase of glory, as the weake in fortune, and strong in courage, doe with the gaine of gold and siluer.

The Gouernour of *Cilicia* hearing of *Alexander* comming on, left some Companies to keepe the Streights, vvhich were indeede very defencible; and withall, as *Curtius* noteth, he began ouerlate to prise and put in execution the Counsell of *Memnon*: who in the beginning of the Warres aduised him to waste all the prouisions for Men and Horse, that could not be lodged in strong places, & alwayes to giue ground to the Inuader, till he found some such notable aduantage as might assuredly promise him the obtaining of victory. For the fury of an inuading Army is best broken, by delaies, change

of diet;and want,eating ſometimes too little, and ſometimes too much, ſometimes reposing themſelues in beds, and more oftner on the cold ground. Theſe and the like ſuddaine alterations bring many diſeaſes vpon all Nations out of their owne Countries. Therefore if *Darius* had kept the *Macedonians* but a while from meat and ſleepe, and refuſing to giue or take battaile, had wearied them with his light horſe, as the *Parthians* afterward did the *Romans*, he might perchance haue ſaued his owne life, and his eſtate. For it was one of the greateſt incouragements giuen by *Alexander*, to the *Macedonians*, in the third and laſt fatall battaile, that they were to fight with all the ſtrength of *Perſia* at once.

Xerxes, when he inuaded *Greece* and fought abroad, in being beaten, loſt onely his men; but *Darius* being inuaded by the *Greekes*, and fighting at home, by being beaten, loſt his kingdome. *Pericles* though the *Lacedæmonians* burnt all in *Attica* to the Gates of *Athens*, yet could not be drawne to hazzard a battaile: for the inuaded ought euermore to fight vpon the aduantage of time and place. Becauſe we reade Hiſtories to informe our vnderſtanding by the examples therein found, wee will giue ſome inſtances of thoſe that haue periſhed by aduenturing in their own countries, to charge an inuading Armie. The *Romans*, by fighting with *Hannibal*, vvere brought to the brinke of their deſtruction.

Pompey was well aduiſed for a while, when he gaue *Cæſar* ground, but when by the importunity of his Captaines he aduentured to fight at *Pharſalia*, he loſt the battaile, loſt the freedome of *Rome*, and his owne life.

Ferdinand, in the Conqueſt of *Naples*, would needs fight a battaile with the *French* to his confuſion, though it was told him by a man of ſound iudgement, that thoſe Counſels which promiſe ſuretie in all things, are honourable enough.

The Conſtable of *France* made fruſtrate the mighty preparation of *Charles* the Fift, when he inuaded *Prouence*, by vvaſting the Countrie, and forbearing to fight; ſo did the Duke of *Alua* weariethe *French* in *Naples*, and diſſolue the boiſterous Armie of the Prince of *Orange* in the low-Countries.

The *Leigers*, contrarie to the aduice of their Generall, would needs fight a battaile with the *Bourgonians*, inuading their Country, and could not be perſwaded to linger the time, and ſtay their aduantage; but they loſt eight and twenty thouſand vpon the place. *Philip* of *Valois* ſet vpon king *Edward* at *Cheſſie*; and King *Iohn* (when the *Engliſh* vvere well-neere tired out, and would in ſhort time by an orderly purſuit haue beene wasted to nothing) conſtrained the blacke Prince with great furie, neere *Poitiers*, to ioyne battaile with him: But all men know what lamentable ſucceſſe theſe two *French* Kings found. *Charles* the fift of *France* made another kind of *Fabian*-Warfare; and though the *Engliſh* burnt and wasted many places, yet this King held his reſolution to forbeare blowes, and followed his aduice, which told him, That the *Engliſh* could neuer get his inheritance by ſmoake; and it is reported by *Belloy* and *Herrault*, that King *Edward* vvas vvont to ſay of this *Charles*, that he wan from him the Dutchie of *Guien* without euer putting on his Armour.

But where God hath a purpoſe to deſtroy, wiſe men grow ſhort-liued, and the charge of things is committed vnto ſuch as either cannot ſee what is for their good, or know not how to put in execution any ſound aduice. The courſe which *Memnon* had propounded, muſt in all appearance of reaſon haue brought the *Macedonian* to a great perplexity, and made him ſtand ſtill a while at the Streights of *Cilicia*, doubting whether it were more ſhamefull to returne, or dangerous to proceede. For had *Cappadocia* & *Paphlagonia* bin waſted whileſt *Alexander* was farre off; and the Streights of *Cilicia* been defended by *Arſenes*, Gouernor of that Prouince, with the beſt of his forces: hunger would not haue ſuffered the enemy, to ſtay the triall of all meanes that might be thought vpon, of forcing that paſſage; or if the place could not haue bin maintained, yet might *Cilicia*, at better leiſure haue bin ſo throughly ſpoiled, that the heart of his Armie ſhould haue beene broken, by ſeeking out miſeries by painfull trauaile.

But *Arſenes* leauing a ſmall number to defend the Streights, tooke the beſt of his Armie with him, to waſte and ſpoile the Countrie; or rather, as may ſeeme, to find himſelfe ſome worke, by pretence of which he might honeſtly run further away from *Alexander*. He ſhould rather haue aduentured his perſon in cuſtody of the Streights, whereby he might perhaps haue ſaued the Prouince; and in the meane time, all that was in the fields, would

vvould haue beene conueighed into ſtrong Townes. So ſhould his Armie, if it were driuen from the place of aduantage, haue found good entertainment within walled Cities, and himſelfe with his horſe-men haue had the leſſe worke in deſtroying that little which was left abroad. Handling the matter as he did, he gaue the *Cilicians* cauſe to wiſh for *Alexanders* comming, and as great cauſe to the Keepers of the paſſage not to hinder it. For cowards are wiſe in apprehending all formes of danger. Theſe Guardians of the Streights, hearing that *Arſenes* made all haſte to ioyne himſelfe with *Darius*, burning downe all as he went, like one deſpairing of the defence, began to grow circumſpect, and to thinke that ſurely their Generall, who gaue as loſt the Countrie behind their backes, had expoſed themſelues vnto certaine death, as men that vvere good for nothing elſe but to dull the *Macedonian* ſwords. Wherefore, not affecting to die for their Prince and Countrie (which honour they ſaw that *Arſenes* himſelfe could well forbeare) they ſpeedily followed the foot-ſteps of their Generall, gleaning after his Harueſt. Thus *Alexander* without labour got both the entrance of *Cilicia*, abandoned by the cowardiſe of his Enemies, and the whole Prouince that had beene alienated from the *Perſian* ſide by their indiſcretion.

§. IIII.

Of the vnwarlike Armie leuied by Darius *againſt Alexander. The vnaduiſed courſes which* Darius *took in this Expedion. He is vanquiſhed at Iſſus; where his Mother, Wife, and Children are made priſoners. Of ſome things following the battaile of Iſſus.*

IN the meane ſeaſon *Darius* approched, who (as *Curtius* reports) had compounded an Armie of more than two hundred and ninetie thouſand Souldiers, out of diuers Nations; *Iuſtine* muſters them at three hundred thouſand Foot, and a hundred thouſand Horſe; *Plutarch* at ſixe hundred thouſand.

The manner of his comming on, as *Curtius* deſcribes it, was rather like a masker than a man of Warre, and like one that tooke more care to ſet out his glorie and riches, than to prouide for his own ſafety, perſwading himſelfe, as it ſeemed, to beat *Alexander* with pompe and ſumptuous Pageants. For, before the Armie there was carried the holy fire, which the *Perſians* worſhipped, attended by their *Prieſts*, and after them three hundred and threeſcore and fiue young-men, anſwering the number of the daies of the yeare, couered with Scarlet; then the Chariot of *Iupiter* drawne with white Horſes, with their Riders cloathed in the ſame colour, with rods of gold in their hands; And after it, the Horſe of the *Sunne*: Next after theſe follow ten ſumptuous Chariots, in-laied and garniſht with ſiluer and gold; and then the Vanrguard of their horſe, compounded of twelue ſeuerall Nations, which the better to auoid confuſion, did hardly vnderſtand each others language, and theſe marſhalled in the head of the reſt, being beaten, might ſerue very fitly to diſorder all that followed them; in the taile of theſe Horſes the Regiment of foot marched, with the *Perſians* called immortall, becauſe if any died, the number was preſently ſupplied: & theſe were armed with chaines of gold, & their coates with the ſame mettall imbrodered, whereof the ſleeues were garniſhed with pearle; baites, either to catch the hungrie *Macedonians* withall, or to perſwade them that it were great inciuilitie to cut and to deface ſuch glorious garments. But it was well ſaid: *Sumptuosè inductus miles, ſe virtute ſuperiorem alijs non exiſtimet, cum in prælijs operteat fortitudine animi, & non vestimentis muniri, quoniam hoſtes veſtibus non debellantur; Let no man thinke that hee exceedeth thoſe in valour, whom he exceedeth in gay garments; for it is by men armed with fortitude of minde, and not by the apparrell they put on, that enemies are beaten.* And it was perchance from the *Roman Papyrius* that this aduice was borrowed, who when he fought againſt the *Samnites* in that fatall battaile, wherein they all ſware eyther to preuaile or dy, thirty thouſand of them hauing apparrelled themſelues in white garments, with high creſts and great plumes of feathers, bade the *Roman* Souldiers to lay aſide all feare: *Non enim criſtas vulnera facere, & pericla atque aurata ſcuta tranſire Romanum pilum; For theſe plumed creſts would wound no body, and the Romane pile would bore holes in painted and gilded ſhields.*

To ſecond this Court-like company, fifteene thouſand were appointed more rich and glittering than the former, but apparrelled like Women (belike to breed the more terrour) & theſe were honoured with the Title of the Kings Kinſmen. Then came *Darius* himſelfe,

himselfe, the Gentle-men of his Guard-robe, riding before his Chariot, which was supported with the gods of his Nation, cast and cut in pure gold; these the *Macedonians* did not serue, but they serued their turnes of these, by changing their massie-bodies into thin portable and currant coyne. The head of this Chariot was set with precious stones, with two little golden Idols, couered with an open-winged Eagle of the same mettall: The hinder part being raised high whereon *Darius* sate, had a couering of inestimable value. This Chariot of the king was followed with ten thousand Horse-men, their Lances plated with siluer, and their heads guilt; which they meant not to imbrue in the *Macedonian* bloud, for feare of marring their beautie. He had for the proper Guard of his own person, two hundred of the bloud Royall; bloud too Royall and precious to be spilt by any valorous aduenture, (I am of opinion that two hundred sturdy fellowes, like the *Switzers*, would haue done him more seruice) and these were backt with thirtie thousand foot-men, after whom againe were led foure hundred spare horses for the king, which if he had meant to haue vsed, he would haue marshalled somewhat neater him.

Now followed the Reareward, the same being led by *Sisygambis* the kings Mother, and by his Wife, drawn in glorious Chariots, followed by a great traine of Ladies their attendants on horse-backe, with fifteene Wagons of the Kings children, and the wiues of the Nobility, waited on by two hundred and fiftie Concubines, and a world of Nurses and *Eunuchs*, most sumptuously apparrelled. By which it should seeme that *Darius* thought that the *Macedonians* had bin *Comedians* or *Tumblers*; for this troope was far fitter to behold those sports than to be present at battailes. Betweene these and a company of slight-armed slaues, with a world of Vallets, was the kings treasure, charged on sixe hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels, brought, as it proued, to pay the *Macedonians*. In this sort came the *May-game-King* into the field, incumbred with a most vnnecessary traine of Strumpets, attended with troupes of diuers Nations, speaking diuers languages, and for their numbers impossible to be marshalled; and for the most part so effeminate, and so rich in gold and in garments, as the same could not but haue encouraged the nakedst Nation of the vvorld against them. We finde it in daily experience, that all discourse of magnanimitie, of Nationall Vertue, of Religion, of Libertie, and whatsoeuer else hath bin vvont to moue and incourage vertuous men, hath no force at all with the common-Souldier, in comparison of spoyle and riches. The rich ships are boorded vpon all disaduantages, the rich Townes are furiously assaulted, & the plentifull Countries willingly inuaded. Our *English* nation haue attempted many places in the *Indies*, and run vpon the *Spaniards* head-long, in hope of their Royals of plate, and Pistolets; vvhich, had they bin put to it vpon the like disaduantages in *Ireland*, or in any poore Country, they would haue turned their Peeces and Pikes against their Commanders, contesting that they had bin brought without reason to the Butchery and slaughter. It is true that the warre is made vvillingly, and for the most part with good successe, that is ordained against the richest Nations; for as the needie are alwaies aduenturous, so plentie is wont to shunne perill, and men that haue well to liue, do rather studie how to liue well, I meane wealthily, than care to die (as they call it) honourably. *Car on il n'a rien a gaigner que des coups, volontiers il n'y vapas. No man makes haste to the market, where there is nothing to be bought but blowes.*

Now if *Alexander* had beheld this preparation before his consultation with his Soothsaiers, he vvould haue satisfied himselfe by the out-sides of the *Persians*, and neuer haue looked into the intrailes of Beasts for successe. For leauing the description of this second battell (which is indeed no-where wel described, neither for the confusion & hastie running away of the *Asians* could it be) we haue enough by the slaughter that was made of them, & by the few that fell of the *Macedonians*, to informe vs what manner of resistance was made. For if it be true that threescore thousand *Persian* footmen were slaine in this battaile, with ten thousand of their horsemen: Or (as *Curtius* saith) an hundred thousand footmen, with the same number of horsemen, and besides this slaughter, fortie thousand taken prisoners, while of *Alexanders* Armie there miscarried but two hundred & foure-score of all sorts, of which numbers *Arianus* and other Historians cut off almost the one halfe: I do verily beleeue, that this small number rather died with the ouer-trauaile and paines-taking in killing their enemies, than by any strokes receiued from them. And surely if the *Persian* Nation (at this time degenerate & the basest of the World) had had any

any sauour remaining of the ancient valour of their fore-fathers, they would neuer haue sold so good cheape, and at so vile a price, the Mother, the Wife, the Daughters, and other the kings children, had their owne honour beene valued by them at nothing, and the kings safetie and his estate at lesse. *Darius* by this time found it true, that *Charidemus* a banished *Grecian* of *Athens* had told him, when he made a view of his Army about *Babylon*, to wit, That the multitude which he had assembled of diuers Nations, richly attired, but poorely armed, would be found more terrible to the Inhabitants of the country, whom in passing by they would deuoure, than to the *Macedonians*, vvhom they meant to assaile; who being all old and obedient Souldiers, imbattailed in grosse squadrons, which they call their *Phalanx*, vvell couered with Armour for defence, and furnished with weapons for offence of great aduantage, vvould make so little accompt of his delicate *Persians*, louing their ease and their palat, being withall ill armed and vvorse disciplined, as except it would please him to entertain (hauing so great aboundance of treasure to do it withall) a sufficient number of the same *Grecians*, and so to encounter the *Macedonians* with men of equall courage, he would repent him ouerlate, as taught by the miserable successe like to follow.

But this discourse was so vnpleasing to *Darius* (who had bin accustomed to nothing so much as to his owne praises, and to nothing so little as to heare truth;) as he commanded that this poore *Grecian* should be presently slaine: vvho while he vvas a sundring in the Tormentors hand, vsed this speech to the king, That *Alexander*, against whom he had giuen this good counsell, should assuredly reuenge his death, and lay deserued punishment vpon *Darius* for despising his aduice.

It vvas the saying of a Wise man: *Desperata eius Principis salus est, cuius aures ita formatæ sunt, vt aspera quæ vtilia, nec quicquam nisi iucundum accipiat; That Princes safetie is in a desperate case, whose eares iudge all that is profitable to be too sharpe, and will entertaine nothing that is vnpleasant.*

For libertie in counsell is the life and essence of counsell; Libertas consilij est eius vita, & essentia, qua erepta consilium euanescit.

Darius did likewise value at nothing the Aduice giuen him by the *Grecian* Souldiers that serued him, vvho intreated him not to fight in the Streights: But had they beene Counsellors and directors in that Warre, as they were vnderlings and commanded by others, they had vvith the helpe of a good troupe of horse-men bin able to haue opposed the furie of *Alexander*, without any assistance of the *Persian* foot-men. For when *Darius* was ouerthrowne with all his cowardly and confused rabble, those *Grecians*, vnder their Captaine *Amyntas*, held firme, aud marched away in order, in despight of the vanquishers. Old Souldiers are not easily dismayed: vve reade in Histories ancient and moderne, what braue retraits haue bin made by them, though the rest of the Army in vvhich they haue serued, hath bin broken.

At the battaile of *Rauenna*, vvhere the Imperialls vvere beaten by the *French*, a squadron of *Spaniards*, old Souldiers, came off vnbroken and vndismayed; vvhom when *Gastan de Foix*, Duke of *Nemures*, and Nephew to *Lewis* the twelfth, charged, as holding the victorie not entire by their escape, he was ouer-turned and slaine in the place. For it is truely said of those men, who, by being acquainted with dangers, fear them not, That, *Neglecto periculo imminentis mali opus ipsum quantumuis difficile aggrediuntur; They goe about the businesse it selfe, how hard soeuer it be, not standing to consider of the danger, which, the mischiefe hanging ouer their heads, may bring:* and as truely of those that know the warres but by heare-say, *Quod valentes sunt & praualentes ante pericula, in ipsis tamen periculis discedunt; They haue abilitie enough, and to spare, till dangers appeare; but when perill indeed comes, they get them gone.*

These *Grecians* also that made the retract, aduised *Darius* to retire his Army into the plaine of *Mesopotamia*, to the end that *Alexander* being entred into those large fields and great Champions, he might haue inuironed the *Macedonians* on all sides with his multitude; and withall they counselled him to diuide that his huge Armie into parts, not committing the whole to one stroke of Fortune, whereby he might haue fought many battailes, and haue brought no greater numbers at once than might haue beene well marshalled & conducted. But this counsel was so contrary to the cowardly affections of the *Persians*, as they perswaded *Darius* to inuironethe *Grecians* which gaue the aduice, and to cut them in pieces as Traitors. The infinite wisedome of God doth not work alwaies by

by one and the same way, but very often in the alteration of Kingdomes and Estates, by taking vnderstanding from the Gouernours, so as they can neither giue nor discerne of Counsels. For *Darius* that would needs fight with *Alexander* vpon a streightned piece of ground, neere vnto the Citie of *Issus*, where he could bring no more hands to fight than *Alexander* could, (who by the aduice of *Parmenio* staied there, as in a place of best aduantage) was vtterly ouerthrown, his Treasure lost, his Wife, Mother, and Children (whom the *Greeians* his followers had perswaded him to leaue in *Babylon*, or elsewhere) taken prisoners, and all their traine of Ladies spoiled of their rich Garments, Iewels, and Honour. It is true, that both the Queene, with her Daughters, who had the good hap to be brought to *Alexanders* presence, were entertained with all respect due vnto their birth, their Honours preserued, and their Iewels and rich Garments restored vnto them; and though *Darius* Wife was a most beautifull Lady, and his Daughters of excellent forme, yet *Alexander* mastred his affections towards them all: only it is reported out of *Aristobulus* the Historian, that he imbraced the Wife of the valiant *Memnon*, her Husband lately dead, who was taken flying from *Damascus* by *Parmenio*, at which time the Daughters of *Ochus*, who reigned before *Darius*, and the Wiues and Children of all the Nobility of *Persia* in effect, fell into captiuitie; at which time also *Darius* Treasure (not lost at *Issus*) was seized, amounting to sixe thousand and two hundred talents of coine, and of *Bullion* fiue hundred talents, with a world of riches besides.

Darius himselfe leauing his brother dead, with diuers other of his chiefe Captaines (casting the Crowne from his head) hardly escaped.

After this ouerthrow giuen vnto *Darius*, all *Phœnicia* (the Citie of *Tyre* excepted) was yeelded to *Alexander*, of which *Parmenio* was made Gouernour.

Aradus, *Zidon*, and *Biblos*, maritimate Cities of great importance, of which one *Strato* was King (but hated of the people) acknowledged *Alexander*. Good fortune followed him so fast that it trod on his heeles; for *Antigonus*, *Alexanders* Lieutenant in *Asia* the lesse, ouerthrew the *Cappadocians*, *Paphlagonians*, and others lately reuolted; *Aristodemus*, *Darius* Admirall, had his Fleet partly taken, and in part drowned by the *Macedonians* newly leuied; the *Lacedemonians* that warred against *Antipater* were beaten; foure thousand of those *Greeks* which made the retrait at the last battaile, forsaking both the party of *Darius* and of *Alexander*, and led by *Amyntas* into *Egypt*, to hold it for themselues, were buried there; for the time was not yet come to diuide Kingdomes.

Alexander to honour *Ephestion*, whom he loued most, gaue him power to dispose of the kingdome of *Zidon*. A man of a most poore estate, that laboured to sustain his life being of the Royall bloud, was commended by the people vnto him, who changed his Spade into a Scepter, so as he was beheld both a Beggar and a King in one and the same houre.

It was a good desire of this new King, when speaking to *Alexander*, he wisht that he could beare his prosperity with the same moderation, & quietnesse of heart, that he had done his aduersitie; but ill done of *Alexander*, in that he would not performe in himselfe that which he commended in another mans desire: for it was a signe that he did but accompany, and could not gouerne his felicitie.

While he made some stay in those parts, he receiued a letter from *Darius*, importing the ransome of his Wife, his Mother, and his Children, with some other conditions of peace, but such as rather became a Conqueror, than one that had now been twice shamefully beaten, not vouchsafing, in his directon, to stile *Alexander* King. It is true, that the *Romans*, after that they had receiued an ouerthrow by *Pyrrhus*, returned him a more scornefull answer vpon the offer of peace, than they did before the triall of his force. But as their fortunes were then in the Spring, so that of *Darius* had already cast leafe; the one a resolued well armed and disciplined Nation, the other cowardly and effeminate. *Alexander* disdained the offers of *Darius*, and sent him word that he not onely directed his letter to a King, but to the King of *Darius* himselfe.

§. V.

How Alexander *besieged and won the Citie of Tyre.*

Alexander comming neere to the Citie of *Tyre*, receiued from them the present of a golden Crowne, with great store of victuals, and other presents, which he tooke very thankefully, returning them answer, That he desired to offer a sacrifice

sacrifice to *Hercules*, the Protector of their Citie, from whom he was descended. But the *Tyrians* like not his companie within their Walls, but tell him that the Temple of *Hercules* was seated in the old City adioyning, now abandoned and desolate. To be short, *Alexander* resolued to enter it by force: and though it were a place in all mens opinion impregnable, because the Iland whereon it was built, was eight hundred furlongs from the Maine, yet with the labour of many hands, hauing great store of stone from the old *Tyre*, and timber sufficient from *Lybanus*, he filled the passage of the Sea betweene the Iland and the Maine, which being more than once carried away by the strength of the Sea vpon a storme of winde, sometime by the *Tyrians* fired, and sometime torne asunder; yet with the helpe of his Nauie which arriued (during the siege) from *Cyprus*, he ouercame all difficulties and preuailed; after he had spent seuen moneths in that attempt. The *Tyrians* in the beginning of the siege had barbarously drowned the messengers sent by *Alexander*, perswading them to render the City, in respect whereof, and of the great losse of time and men, he put eight thousand to the sword, and caused two thousand of those, that escaped the first furie, to be hanged on Crosses on the Sea-shore, and reserued for slaues (saith *Diodore*) thirteene thousand; *Arrianus* reckons them at thirty thousand. Many more had died, had not the *Zidonians*, that serued *Alexander*, conueyed great numbers away by shipping vnto their owne Citie. *Arrian.*

Happy it was for *Apollo* that the Towne was taken: for one of the *Tyrians* hauing dreamt, that this god meant to forsake the Citie, they bound him fast with a golden chaine to the Idoll of *Hercules*; but *Alexander*, like a gracious Prince, loosened him againe. *Iustin.l.18*

It is true, that it was a notable enterprise and a difficult, but great things are made greater. For *Nabuchodonosor* had taken it before, and filled vp the channell, that lay betweene the Iland and the Maine.

The gouernement of this Territorie he gaue to *Philotas*, the Sonne of *Parmenio*; *Cilicia*, he committed to *Socrates*, and *Andromachus* Lieutenant vnder *Parmenio*; *Ephestion* had the charge of the Fleet, and was directed to finde *Alexander* at *Gaza* towards *Egypt*.

§. VI.

How Darius *offered conditions of peace to* Alexander. Alexander *wins Gaza; and deales graciously with the Iewes.*

IN the meane while *Darius* sends againe to *Alexander*, sets before him all the difficulties of passing on towards the East, and laieth the losse of the last battaile to the streightnesse of the place: he hoped to terrifie him, by threatning to encompasse him in the plaine Countries, he bids him to consider, how impossible it was to passe the Riuers of *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, *Araxes*, and the rest, with all such other feare-full things: for he that was now filled with nothing but feare, had arguments enow of that nature to present vnto another. All the kingdomes betweene the Riuer of *Alys*, and the *Hellespont*, he offered him in Dower with his beloued daughter. But *Alexander* answered, That he offered him nothing but his owne, and that which victory and his own vertue had possest him of; That he was to giue conditions, and not to receiue any, & that he hauing passed the Sea it selfe, disdained to thinke of resistance in transporting himself ouer Riuers. It is said, that *Parmenio*, who was now old and full of honour and riches, told the king, That were he *Alexander*, he would accept of *Darius* his offers; to which *Alexander* answered, That so would he, if he were *Parmenio*.

But he goes on towards *Egypt*, and comming before *Gaza*, *Getis* a faithfull seruant to *Darius*, shuts the Gate against him, and defends the Towne with an obstinate resolution, at the siege whereof *Alexander* receiued a wound in the shoulder, which was dangerous; and a blow on his legge with a stone; He found better men in this place than he did at the former battailes, for he left so many of his *Macedonians* buried in the sands of *Gaza*, that he was forc't to send for a new supply into *Greece*. Here it was that *Alexander* first began to change condition, and to exercise cruelty. For after that he had entred *Gaza* by assault, and taken *Betis*, (whom *Iosephus* calleth *Bahemesis*) that was weakened with many wounds, and who neuer gaue ground to the Assailants; he bored holes through his feete, and caused him to be drawne about the street, whilest he was as yet aliue; who being as valiant

valiant a man as himselfe, disdained to aske him either life or remission of his torments. And what had he to countenance this his tyrannie, but the imitation of his Ancestor *Achilles*, who did the like to *Hector*? It is true, that cruelty hath alwayes somwhat to couer her deformity.

Lib.11.c.vlt. From *Gaza* (saith *Iosephus*) he led his Army towards *Ierusalem*, a Citie, for the antiquitie and great fame thereof, well knowne vnto him while he lay before *Tyre*; He had sent for some supply thither, which *Iaddus* the high Priest, being subiect and sworne to *Darius*, had refused him. The *Iewes* therefore fearing his reuenge, and vnable to resist, committed the care of their estates and safetie to *Iaddus*, who, being taught by God, issued out of the Citie couered with his Pontificall Robes, to wit, an vpper garment of purple, embroidered with gold, with his Miter, and the plate of gold wherein the name of God was written, the Priests and Leuites in their rich ornaments, & the people in white garments, in a manner so vnusuall, stately and graue, as *Alexander* greatly admired it. *Iosephus* reports it, that he fell to the ground before the high Priest, as reuerencing the name of God, and that *Parmenio* reprehended him for it. Howsoeure it was, I am of opinion, that he became so confident in his enterprise, and so assured of the successe after the prophesie of *Daniel* had been read vnto him, wherein he saw himselfe, and the conquest of *Persia* so directly pointed at, as nothing thence-forth could discourage him or feare him. He confessed to *Parmenio* (saith *Iosephus*) that in *Dio* a City of *Macedon*, when his mind laboured the conquest of *Asia*, he saw in his sleepe such a person as *Iaddus*, and so apparelled, professing one and the same God, by whom he was incouraged to pursue the purpose he had in hand, with assurance of victorie. This apparition, formerly apprehended onely by the light of his fantasie, he now beheld with his bodily eyes, wherewith he was so exceedingly pleased and imboldened, as contrarie to the practice of the *Phœnicians*, (who hoped to haue sackt and destroyed *Ierusalem*) he gaue the *Iewes* all, and more than they desired, both of libertie and immunitie, with permission to liue vnder their owne lawes, and to exercise and inioy their owne Religion.

§. VII.

Alexander *winnes Egypt: and makes a iournie to the Temple of* Hammon.

FRom *Ierusalem Alexander* turned againe towards *Egypt*, and entred it, where *Darius* his Lieutenant, *Astaces*, receiued him and deliuered into his hand the Citie of *Memphis*, with eight hundred talents of treasure, and all other the Kings riches. By this we see that the king of *Persia*, who had more of affection than of iudgement, gaue to the valiantest man he had but the command of one Citie, and to the verie-est coward the gouernment of all *Egypt*. When he had set things in order in *Egypt*, he began to trauaile after *God-head*, towards *Iupiter Hammon*; so foolish had prosperitie made him. He was to passe ouer the dangerous and drie sands, where, when the water which he brought on his Camels backe was spent, he could not but haue perished, had not a maruellous showre of raine fallen vpon him, when his Armie was in extreame despaire. All men that know *Egypt*, and haue written thereof, affirme, That it neuer raines there: but the purposes of the Almighty God are secret, and he bringeth to passe what it pleaseth him; for it is also said, That when he had lost his way in those vast desarts, that a flight of Crowes flew before the armie; who making faster wing when they were followed, and fluttering slowly when the Armie was cast backe, guided them ouer those pathlesse sands to *Iupiters* Temple.

Arrian.l.3. *Arrianus* from the report of *Ptolomie*, the sonne of *Lagus*, saies, That he was led by two Dragons; both which reports may be a-like true. But many of those wonders and things prodigious, are fained by those that haue written the Storie of *Alexander*, as, That an Eagle lay houering directly ouer his head at the battell of *Issus*; That a Swallow flew about his head when he slept, and could not be feared from him, till it had wakened him at *Halicarnasseus*, fore-shewing the treason of *Æropus*, practised by *Darius* to haue slaine him; That from the yron barres of which the *Tyrians* made their defensiue engines, when *Alexander* besieged them, there fell drops of bloud; and that the like drops were found in a loafe of bread, broken by a *Macedonian* Souldier, at the same time; That a Turfe of earth fell on his shoulder, when he lay before *Gaza*, out of which there flew a Bird into the aire. The *Spaniards* in the conquest of the West *Indies* haue many such

prety

prety tales; telling how they haue bin assisted in battaile, by the presence of our Lady, & by Angels riding on white horses, with the like Romish miracles, which I think themselues do hardly beleeue. The strangest thing that I haue read of in this kind being certainly true, was, That the night before the battaile at Nouara, all the Dogges which followed the French Army, ranne from them to the Switzers, leaping and fawning vpon them, as if they had beene bred and fed by them all their liues, and in the morning following, *Triuulzi* and *Tremouille*, Generals for *Lewis* the twelfth, were by these Imperiall Switzers vtterly broken and put to ruine.

The place of this Idoll of *Iupiter Hammon* is ill described by *Curtius*, for he bounds it by the Arabian Troglodites on the South, between whom & the Territory of *Hammon*, the Region Thebais, or the superiour Egypt, with the Mountains of Lybia, & the Riuer of Nilus, are interiacent; and on the North he ioynes it to a Nation, called Nassamones, who bordering the Sea-shore, liue (saith he) vpon the spoyles of shipwracke: wheras the temple or groue of this Idoll hath no Sea neere it by two hundred miles and more, being found on the South part of Lybia; these Nassamones being due West from it, in the South part of Marmarica. Ptol.Asf. Tab.3.

When *Alexander* came neere the place, he sent some of his Parasites before him to practise the Priests attending the Oracle, That their answer might be giuen in all things, agreeable to his madde ambition; who affected the title of *Iupiters* son. And so he was saluted, *Sonne of Iupiter*, by the Deuils Prophet, whether prepared before to flatter him, or rather (as some thinke) defectiue in the Greeke tongue; For whereas he meant to say *O paidion*, he said *O pai dios*, that is; *O sonne of Iupiter*, in stead of, *O deare sonne*: for which Grammaticall errour he was richly rewarded, and a rumour presently spred, that the great *Iupiter* had acknowledged *Alexander* for his owne.

He had heard that *Perseus* and *Hercules* had formerly consulted with this Oracle, The one, when he was imployed against *Gorgon*, The other against *Anteus* and *Busiris*; and seeing these men had deriued themselues from the gods, why might not he? By this it seemes, that he hoped to make his followers and the world fooles, though indeed he made himselfe one, by thinking to couer from the worlds knowledge his vanities and vices; and the better to confirme his followers in the beliefe of his Deity, he had practised the Priests to giue answer to such as consulted with the Oracle, that it should bee pleasing to *Iupiter* to honour *Alexander* as his Son. Curt.lib.4.

Who this *Ammon* was, and how represented, either by a Bosse carried in a Boat, or by a Ram, or a Rams-head, I see that many wise men haue troubled themselues to find out; but, as *Arrianus* speaks of *Dionysius*, or *Liber Pater* (who liued, saith St. *Augustine*, in *Moses* time) *Ea quæ de dijs veteres fabulis suis conscripsere, non sunt nimium curiosè peruestigandæ; Wee must not ouer-curiously search into the fables, which the Ancients haue written of their gods.*

But this is certaine and notable, that after the Gospell beganne to be preached in the World, the Deuill in this and all other Idols became speechlesse. For, that this *Hammon* was neglected in the time of *Tiberius Cæsar*, and in the time of *Traian* altogether forgotten, *Strabo* and *Plutarch* witnesse.

There is found neere his Temple a Fountaine called *Fons solis* (though *Ptolomy* in his third African Table sets it farther off) that at mid-night is as hot as boyling water, and at Noone as cold as any yce: to which I cannot but giue credit, because I haue heard of some other Wells of like nature, and because it is reported by S. *Augustine*, by *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, *Mela*, *Solinus*, *Arrianus*, *Curtius*, and others; and indeede our Bathes in England are much warmer in the night, than in the day.

§.VIII.

How Alexander *marching against* Darius, *was opposed very vnskilfully by the Enemy.*

FRom the Temple of *Hammon* hee returned to *Memphis*, where among many other learned men, he heard the Philosopher *Psammones*, who, belike vnderstanding that hee affected the title of *Iupiters* Sonne, told him that God was the Father-King of all men in generall; and refining the pride of this haughty King, brought him to say, That God was the Father of all mortall men, but that he acknowledged none for his children saue good men.

He gaue the charge of the seuerall Prouinces of Egypt to seuerall Gouernours, following the rule of his Master *Aristotle*, That *a great Dominion should not be continued in the hands of any one*: whom therin the Romane Emperors also followed, not daring to commit the gouernment of Egypt to any of their Senators, but to men of meaner rank & degree. He then gaue order for the founding of Alexandria vpon the Wester-most branch of Nilus. And having now setled (as he could) the estate of Egypt, with the Kingdoms of the lesser Asia, Phœnicia, and Syria, (which being but the pawns of *Darius* his ill fortune, one happy victory would readily haue redeemed,) he led his Army towards Euphrates, which passage though the same was committed to *Mazeus* to defend, yet was it abandoned, and *Alexander* without resistance past it. From thence he marched towards Tigris, a Riuer for the swiftnesse therof called by the Persians The Arrow. Here, as *Curtius*, and Reason it selfe tells vs, might *Darius* easily haue repelled the inuading Macedonian: for the violent course of the streame was such, as it draue before it many waighty stones, and those that moued not but lay in the bottome, were so round & well polished by continuall rolling, that no man was able to fight on so slippery a footing; nor the Macedonian foot-men to wade the riuer, otherwise than by ioyning their hands and enterlacing their armes together, making one waighty and entire body to resist the swift passage and furious race of the streame. Besides this notable helpe, the Channell was so deep towards the Easterne shore, where *Darius* should haue made head, as the footmen were inforc't to lift their Bowes, and Arrowes, and Darts ouer their heads to keep them from being moistned, and made vnseruiceable by the Waters. But it was truely and vnderstandingly said of *Homer*,

Arist. Pol. l. 5.

Curt. l. 4.

Talis est hominum terrestrium mens,
Qualem quotidie ducit pater virorumq; Deorumq;.

The mindes of men are euer so affected,
As by Gods will they daily are directed.

And it cannot be denied, that as all Estates of the world, by the surfeit of mis-gouernment haue beene subiect to many grieuous, and sometimes mortall diseases: So had the Empire of Persia at this time brought it selfe into a burning and consuming Feauer, and thereby become frantick and without vnderstanding, foreshewing manifestly the dissolution and death thereof.

But *Alexander* hath now recouered the Easterne shores of Tigris, without any other difficulty, than that of the nature of the place; where *Mazeus* (who had charge to defend the passage both of Euphrates and it) presented himselfe to the Macedonians, followed with certaine companies of Horse-men, as if with vneuen forces he durst haue charged them on euen ground, when as with a multitude farre exceeding them, he forsooke the aduantage which no valour of his enemies could easily haue ouercome. But it is commonly seene, that fearfull and cowardly men doe euer follow those waies and counsels, whereof the opportunity is already lost.

It is true that he set all prouisions a fire wherwith the Macedonians might serue themselues ouer Tigris, thinking therby greatly to haue distressed them; but the execution of good counsell is fruitlesse, when vnseasonable. For now was *Alexander* so well furnished with carriages, as nothing was wanting to the competency of the Army which he conducted. Those things also which he sought to waste, *Alexander* being now in sight, were by his Horse-men saued and recouered. This, *Mazeus* might haue done some daies before at good leisure; or at this time with so great a strength of Horse-men, as the Macedonians durst not haue pursued them, leauing the strength of their foot out of sight, and far behind.

§. IX.

The new prouisions of Darius. *Accidents foregoing the battaile of Arbela.*

Darius, vpon *Alexanders* first returne out of Egypt, had assembled all the forces, which those Regions next him could furnish, and now also were the Arians, Scythians, Indians, and other Nations arriued; Nations (saith *Curtius*) that rather serued to make vp the names of men, than to make resistance. *Arrianus* hath numbred

numbred them with their Leaders; and finds of foot-men of all sorts ten hundred thousand, and of horse foure hundred thousand, besides armed Chariots, and some few Elephants. *Curtius* who musters the Army of *Darius* at two hundred thousand foote, and neere fifty thousand horse, comes (I thinke) neerer to the true number; and yet seeing hee had more confidence in the multitude than in the valour of his Vassalls, it is like enough that he had gathered together of all sorts some three or foure hundred thousand, with which he hoped in those faire plaines of Assyria, to haue ouer-borne the few numbers of the inuading Army. But it is a Rule in the Philosophy of the War;

In omni prælio non tam multitudo, & virtus indocta, quam ars & exercitium solent præstare victoriam; In euery battaile skill and practice doe more towards the victory, than multitude and rude audacity. *Veget.*

While *Alexander* gaue rest to his Army after the passage ouer Tigris, there happened an Eclipse of the Moone, of which the Macedonians, not knowing the cause and reason, were greatly affrighted. All that were ignorant (as the multitude alwaies are) tooke it for a certaine presage of their ouerthrow and destruction, in so much as they began not only to murmur, but to speake it boldly, That for the ambition of one man, a man that disdained *Philip* for his Father, and would needs be called the Son of *Iupiter*, they should all perish; For he not only inforc't them to make warre against Worlds of enemies, but against Riuers, Mountaines, and the Heauens themselues.

Hereupon *Alexander* being ready to march forward, made a halt, and to quiet the mindes of the multitude, he called before him the Egyptian Astrologers, which followed him thence, that by them the Souldiers might be assured that this defection of the Moon was a certaine presage of good successe; for, that it was naturall they neuer imparted to the common people, but reserued the knowledge to themselues, so as a sorry Almanack-maker had been no small foole in those daies.

Of this kind of superstitious obseruation *Cæsar* made good vse, when he fought against *Arioui stus* and the Germans: for they being perswaded by the casting of lots, that if they fought before the change of the Moone, they should certainely lose the battaile, *Cæsar* forc't them to abide it, though they durst not giue it; wherin hauing their minds already beaten by their owne superstition, and being resolutely charged by the Romanes, the whole Army in effect perished.

These Egyptians gaue no other reason than this, That the Grecians were vnder the aspect of the Sun, the Persians of the Moone; and therefore the Moone failing and being darkened, the state of Persia was now in danger of falling, and their glory being obscured. This iudgment of the Egyptian Priests being noysed through all the Army, all were satisfied, and their courage redoubled. It is a principle in the Warre, which, though deuised since, was well obserued then: *Exercitum terrore plenum Dux ad pugnam non ducat; Let not a Captaine leade his Army to the fight, when it is possessed with matter of terrour.*

It is truely obserued by *Curtius*, that the people are led by nothing so much as by superstition; yea, wee finde it in all stories, and often in our owne, that by such inuentions, deuised tales, dreames, and prophesies, the people of this Land haue been carried head-long into many dangerous tumults and insurrections, and still to their owne losse and ruine.

As *Alexander* drew neere the Persian Army, certaine letters were surprized, written by *Darius* to the Grecians, perswading them for great summes of mony, either to kill or betray *Alexander*. But these by the aduice of *Parmenio* he suppressed.

At this time also *Darius* his faire Wife, oppreſt with sorrow, and wearied with trauell, died. Which accident *Alexander* seemed no lesse to bewaile than *Darius*, who vpon the first bruit, suspected that some dishonourable violence had beene offered her, but being satisfied by an Eunuch of his owne that attended her, of *Alexanders* Kingly respect towards her, from the day of her being taken, he desired the immortall Gods, That if they had decreed to make a new Master of the Persian Empire, then it would please them to conferre on so iust and continent an enemy as *Alexander*, to whom he once again before the last triall by battell offered these conditions of peace.

That with his Daughter in marriage he would deliuer vp & resigne all Asia the lesse, & with Egypt, all those Kingdoms between the Phœnician Sea, & the Riuer of Euphrates; That he would pay him for the ransome of his Mother, and his other Daughters 30. thousand

thousand talents, and that for the performance thereof, he would leaue his son *Occhus* in hostage: To this they sought to perswade *Alexander* by such arguments as they had. *Alexander* causing the Embassadors to be remoued, aduised with his Counsell, but heard no man speak but *Parmenio*, the very right hand of his good fortune; who perswaded him to accept of these faire conditions. He told him, that the Empire between Euphrates & Hellespont was a faire addition to Macedon; that the retaining of the Persian prisoners was a great cumber, & the treasure offered for them of far better vse than their persons, with diuers other arguments; all which *Alexander* reiected. And yet it is probable that if he had followed his aduice, and bounded his ambition within those limits, he might haue liued as famous for vertue as for fortune, and left himselfe a Successor of able age to haue enioyed his estate, which afterward, indeed, he much inlarged, rather to the greatning of others than himselfe: who to assure themselues of what they had vsurped vpon his issues, left not one of them to draw breath in the world within a few yeares after. The truth is, That *Alexander* in going so farre into the East, left behinde him the reputation which he brought out of Macedon; the reputation of a iust & prudent Prince, a Prince temperate, aduised and gratefull: and being taught new lessons by abundance of prosperity, became a louer of wine, of his owne flattery, and of extream cruelty. Yea, as *Seneca* hath obserued, the taint of one vniust slaughter, amongst many, defaced and withered the flourishing beauty of all his great acts and glorious victories obtained. But the Persian Embassadors stay his answer, which was to this effect, That whatsoeuer he had bestowed on the wife and children of *Darius*, proceeded from his own naturall clemency and magnanimity, without all respect to their Master, but thankes to an enemy was improper; that he made no warres against aduersity, but against those that resisted him; not against Women and Children, but against armed enemies: and although by the reiterated practice of *Darius*, to corrupt his Souldiers, and by great summes of mony to perswade his friends to attempt vpon his person, he had reason to doubt that the peace offered was rather pretended than meant, yet he could not (were it otherwise & faithful) resolue in haste to accept the same, seeing *Darius* had made the Warre against him, not as a King with Royall and ouert-force, but as a Traitor by secret & base practice; That for the Territory offered him, it was already his own, and if *Darius* could beat him back againe ouer Euphrates, which he had already past, he would then beleeue that he offered him somewhat in his owne power: Otherwise he propounded to himselfe for the reward of the War which he had made, all those Kingdomes as yet in *Darius* possession; wherein, whether he were abused by his owne hopes or no, the battaile which he meant to fight in the day following should determine. For in conclusion, he told them, that he came into Asia to giue, & not to receiue; That the Heauens could not hold two Suns; and therfore if *Darius* could be content to acknowledge *Alexander* for his Superiour, he might perchance be perswaded to giue him conditions fit for a second Person, and his Inferiour.

§. X.

The battaile of Arbela: and that it could not be so strongly fought as report hath made it.

WIth this answer the Embassadors returne; *Darius* prepares to fight, & sends *Mazeus* to defend a passage, which he neuer dared yet so much as to hazzard. *Alexander* consults with his Captaines, *Parmenio* perswades him to force *Darius* his Campe by night; so that the multitude of enemies might not moue terrour in the Macedonians, being but few. *Alexander* disdaines to steale the victory, and resolues to bring with him the day-light, to witnesse his valour. But it was the successe that made good *Alexanders* resolution, though the counsell giuen by *Parmenio* was more sound: For it is a ground in Warre, *Si pauci necessariò cum multitudine pugnare cogantur, consilium est noctis tempore belli fortunam tentare.* Notwithstanding vpon the view of the multitude at hand, he staggers & trenches himselfe vpon a ground of aduantage, which the Persian had abandoned: And whereas *Darius* for feare of surprise had stood with his Army in armour all the day, and forborne sleepe all the night; *Alexander* gaue his men rest and store of foode; for reason had taught him this Rule in the Warre, *In pugna Milites validius resistunt, si cibo potuque refecti fuerint, nam fames intrinsecus magis*

magis pugnat, quàm ferrum exterius; Souldiers doe the better stand to it in fight, if they haue their bellies full of meate and drinke; for hunger within, fights more eagerly than steele without.

The numbers which *Alexander* had, saith *Arrianus*, were forty thousand foot, and seuen thousand horse; these belike were of the Europæan Army: for he had besides both Syrians, Indians, Egyptians, & Arabians, that followed him out of those Regions. He vsed but a short speech to his Souldiers to incourage them; and I thinke that he needed little Rhetorick; for by the two former battailes vpon the Riuer of Granick and in Cilicia, the Macedonians were best taught with what men they were to encounter. And it is a true saying, *Victoria victoriam parat, animumq; victoribus auget, & aduersariis aufert; One victory begets another, and puts courage into those that haue already had the better, taking spirit away from those that haue been beaten.*

Arrianus and *Curtius* make large descriptions of this battaile, fought at Gaugamela; They tell vs of many charges and re-charges; That the victory inclined sometime to the Persians, sometime to the Macedonians; That *Parmenio* was in danger of being ouerthrowne, who led the left wing; That *Alexanders* Rear-guard was broken, and his carriages lost; That for the fierce and valourous encounters on both sides, Fortune her selfe was long vnresolued on whom to bestow the Garland: And lastly, That *Alexander* in person wrought wonders, being charged in his retrait. But, in conclusion, *Curtius* deliuers vs in account but three hundred dead Macedonians, in all this terrible daies work, saying, That *Ephestion*, *Perdiccas* and others of name were wounded. *Arrianus* findes not a third part of this number slaine; of the Persians there fell forty thousand (saith *Curtius*,) thirty thousand according to *Arrianus*: Ninety thousand, if we beleeue *Diodore*. But what can we iudge of this great encounter, other than that, as in the two former battailes, the Persians vpon the first charge ranne away, and that the Macedonians pursued? For if of these foure or fiue hundred thousand Asians brought into the field by *Darius*, euery man had cast but a Dart, or a Stone, the Macedonians could not haue bought the Empire of the East at so easie a rate, as sixe or seuen hundred men in three notorious battailes. Certainly, if *Darius* had fought with *Alexander* vpon the bankes of Euphrates, & had armed but fifty or threescore thousand of this great multitude, only with Spades (for the most of all he had were fit for no other weapon) it had beene impossible for *Alexander* to haue past that riuer so easily, much lesse the riuer of Tigris. But as a man whose Empire God in his prouidence had determined, he abandoned all places of aduantage, and suffered *Alexander* to enter so farre into the bowels of his kingdome, as all hope & possibility of escape by retrait being taken from the Macedonians, they had presented vnto them the choice, either of death or victory; to which election *Darius* could no way constraine his own, seeing they had many large Regions to run into from those that inuaded them.

§. XI.

Of things following the battaile of Arbela. The yeelding of Babylon and Susa.

DArius after the rout of his Army recouered Arbela the same night, better followed in his flight, than in the fight. He propounded vnto them that ranne after him his purpose of making a retrait into Media, perswading them that the Macedonians, greedy of spoile & riches, would rather attempt Babylon, Susa, and other Cities, filled with treasure, than pursue the vanquished. This miserable resolution his Nobility rather obeyed than approued.

Alexander soon after *Darius* his departure arriues at Arbela, which with a great masse of treasure, and Princely ornaments, was rendred to him: for the feare which conducted *Darius*, tooke nothing with it but shame and dishonour. He that had beene twice beaten, should rather haue sent his treasure into Media, than brought it to Arbela, so neere the place where he abid the comming of his enemies; if he had been victorious, he might haue brought it after him at leisure; but being ouercome, he knew it vnpossible to driue Mules and Camels laden with gold from the pursuing Enemy, seeing himselfe, at the ouerthrow he had in Cilicia, cast the Crown from his head, to run away with the more speed. But errors are then best discerned when most incurable. *Et præterita magis reprehendi possunt quàm corrigi; It is easier to reprehend than amend what is past.*

From Arbela *Alexander* tooke his way towards Babylon, where *Mazeus*, in whom *Darius* had most confidence, rendred himselfe, his Children and the City. Also the Captaine of the Castle, who was keeper of the treasure, strewed the streets with flowers, burnt frankincence vpon Altars of siluer as *Alexander* passed by, and deliuered vnto him whatsoeuer was committed to his trust. The *Magi* (the Chaldæan Astrologers) followed this Captaine in great solemnity to entertaine their new King: after these came the Babylonian horsemen, infinite rich in attire, but exceeding poore in warlike furniture. Betweene these (though not greatly to be feared) and himselfe, *Alexander* caused his Macedonian foot-men to march. When he entred the Castle, he admired the glory thereof, and the aboundance of treasure therein found, amounting to fifty thousand talents of siluer vncoyned. The City it selfe I haue elsewhere described, with the Wals, the Towers, the Gates and Circuit, with the wonderfull place of pleasure about two miles in Circuit, surrounded with a Wall of foure score foote high, and on the top thereof (being vnder-borne with Pillars) a Groue of beautifull and fruitfull trees, which it is said that one of the Kings of Babylon caused to be built, that the Queen and other Princesses might walke priuately therein. In this City, rich in all things, but most of all in voluptuous pleasures, the King rested himselfe and the whole Army foure and thirty dayes, consuming that time in banquetting and in all sorts of effeminate exercise; which so much softned the minds of the Macedonians, not acquainted til now with the like delicacies, as the seuere discipline of war which taught them the sufferances of hunger and thirst, of painefull trauaile, and hard lodging, began rather to be forgotten, than neglected.

An. b. Alex.

Here it was that those bands of a thousand Souldiers were erected, and Commanders appointed ouer them, who thereupon were stiled *Chiliarchi*. This new order *Alexander* brought in, was to honour those Captains which were found by certain selected Iudges to haue deserued best in the late warre. For before this time the Macedonian companies consisted but of fiue hundred. Certainly the drawing downe of the foot-bands in this latter age hath been the cause (saith the Marshall *Monluc*) that the title and charge of a Captaine hath been bestowed on euery *Picque Bœuf* or Spurn-Cow; for when the Captaines of foot had a thousand Souldiers vnder one Ensigne, and after that fiue hundred, as in the time of *Francis* the first, the title was honourable, and the Kings were lesse charged, and farre better serued. K. *Henry* the eight of England neuer gaue the commandement of any of his good ships, but to men of known valour, and of great estate, nay sometime he made two Gentlemen of quality Commanders in one ship: but all orders and degrees are fallen from the reputation they had.

While *Alexander* was yet in Babylon, there came to him a great supply out of Europe; for *Antipater* sent him sixe thousand foote and fiue hundred horse out of Macedon; of Thracians three thousand foot, & the like number of horse; & out of Greece foure thousand and foure hundred horse, by which his Army was greatly strengthened: for those that were infected with the pleasures of Babylon, could hardly be brought againe, *De quitter la plume pour dormir sur la dure; To change from soft beds to hard boords.*

He left the Castle and City of Babylon, with the Territories about it, in charge with three of his owne Captaines, to wit, *Agathon*, *Minetus*, and *Appolidorus*; to supply all wants, a thousand talents: but to grace *Mazeus*, who rendred the City vnto him, he gaue him the title of his Lieutenant ouer all, and tooke with him *Bagistines* that gaue vp the Castle, and hauing distributed to euery Souldier a part of the Treasure, he left Babylon, and entred into the Prouince Satrapene: from thence he went on towards Susa in Persia, the same which *Ptolomy*, *Herodotus*, and *Elianus* call Memnonia, situate on the Riuer Euleus, a City sometime gouerned by *Daniel* the Prophet. *Abulites* also, Gouernour of this famous City, gaue it vp to the Conqueror, with fifty thousand talents of siluer in bullion, and twelue Elephants for the warre, with all other the treasures of *Darius*. In this sort did those Vassals of fortune, louers of the Kings prosperity, not of his person, (for so all ambitious men are) purchase their own peace and safety with the Kings treasures. And herein was *Alexander* well aduised, that whatsoeuer titles he gaue to the Persians, yet he left all places of importance in trust with his owne Captaines, to wit, Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis, with other Cities and Prouinces by him conquered; for if *Darius* (as yet liuing) had beaten the Macedonians but in one battell, all the Nobility of Persia would haue returned vnto their naturall Lord. Those that are Traitors to

Dioder. speaketh of more than forty thousand talents in bullion, and of nine millions of gold, sub dorica forma excusi.

to their owne Kings, are neuer to be vsed alone in great enterprises by those Princes that entertaine them, nor euer to be trusted with the defences of any frontier-Town, or Fortresse of waight, by the rendring wherof they may redeem their liberty and estates lost. Hereof the French had experience, when *Don Pedro de Nauarra*, being banished out of Spaine, was trusted with Fonterabe, in the yeare 1523.

While *Alexander* spoiled Arbela, *Mazeus* might haue furnisht the King from Babylon; and while he stayed foure and thirty dayes at Babylon, *Abulites* might haue holpen him from Susa: & while he feasted there, *Tiridates* from Persepolis might haue relieued him, for the great masse of treasure was laid vp in that City. But who hath sought out and friended fearfull aduersity? It is certaine, that benefits binde not the ambitious, but the honest: for those that are but greedy of themselues, doe in all changes of fortune onely consult the conseruation of their owne greatnesse,

The gouernment of Susa, with the Castle & Treasure, he committed to his owne Macedonians, making *Abulites*, who rendred it vnto him, his Lieutenant, as he had done *Mazeus* and others, in giuing them titles, but neither trust nor power; for he left three thousand old Souldiers in Garrison to assure the place; and *Darius* mother and her children to repose themselues.

It is said, that *Charles* the fift hauing promised *Charles* of Bourbon the gouernment of Marseilles, if he could haue fore't it, & whereof he made sure accompt, told some of his neerest Counsellors, that he meant nothing lesse than the performance of that promise, because hee should thereby haue left the Duke (reuolted from his Master) very well wherewithall to haue recouered his fauour.

§. XII.

How Alexander *came to Persepolis, and burnt it.*

FRom Susa *Alexander* leadeth his Army toward Persepolis, and when he sought to passe those mountaines which sunder Susiana and Persia, he was soundly beaten by *Ariobarzanes*, who defended against him those Streights, called *Pylæ Persidii*, or *Susoïdæ*, and after the losse of many Companies of his Macedonians, he was forc't to saue himselfe by retrait, causing his Foot to march close together, and to couer themselues with their Targets from the stones tumbled on them from the Mountain top. Yet in the end he found out another path, which a Lycian, liuing in that country, discouered vnto him, & came therby suddenly in view of *Ariobarzanes*, who being inforc't to fight vpon euen ground, was by *Alexander* broken, wherupon he fled to Persepolis; but (after that they of Persepolis had refused to receiue him) he returned & gaue a second charge vpon the Macedonians, wherein he was slaine. In like maner did King *Francis* the first, in the year 1515. finde a way ouer the Alpes, the Switzers vndertaking to defend all the passages, who, if their footmanship had not saued them vpon the Kings descent on the other side, they had been ill paied for their hard lodging on those Hils.

Foure thousand Greekes, saith *Curtius* (*Iustine* numbers them but at eight hundred) hauing been taken prisoners by the Persians, presented themselues to *Alexander* now in sight of Persepolis. These had the barbarous Persians so maimed and defaced, by cutting off their Hands, Noses, Eares, and other Members, as they could no way haue beene knowne to their Countri-men, but by their voices; to each of these *Alexander* gaue three hundred Crownes, with new garments, and such Lands as they liked to liue vpon.

Tiridates, one of *Darius* his false hearted Grandes, hearing of *Alexanders* approach, made him know that Persepolis was ready to receiue him, & prayed him to double his pace, because there was a determination in the people to spoyle the Kings treasure. This City was abandoned by many of her Inhabitants vpon *Alexanders* arriuall, and they that staied followed the worst counsell; for all was left to the liberty of the Souldiers, to spoyle and kill at their pleasure. There was no place in the world at that time, which, if it had bin layed in the ballance with Persepolis, would haue waighed it downe. Babylon, indeed, and Susa, were very rich; but in Persepolis lay the bulke and maine store of the Persians. For after the spoyle that had been made of mony, curious plate, bullion, Images of gold and siluer, and other Iewels; there remained to *Alexander* himselfe one hundred and twenty thousand talents. He left the same number of three thousand

Macedonians

Macedonians in Persepolis, which he had done in Susa, & gaue the same formall honor to the Traitor *Tiridates*, that he had done to *Abulites*; but he that had the trust of the place was *Nicarides*, a creature of his owne. The body of his Army he left here for thirty dayes, of which the Commanders were *Parmenio* and *Craterus*, and with a thousand horse and certaine troupes of chosen foote; he would needs view in the Winter-time those parts of Persia, which the Snow had couered; a fruitlesse & foolish enterprise, but as *Seneca* saies: *Non ille ire vult, sed non potest stare; Hee hath not a will to goe; but hee is vnable to stand still.* It is said and spoken in his praise: That when his Souldiers cried out against him, because they could not endure the extreame frost, and make way, but with extreame difficulty, through the snow, that *Alexander* forsook his horse, & led them the way. But what can be more ridiculous than to bring other men into extremity, thereby to shew how well himselfe can endure it? His walking on foote did no otherwise take off their wearinesse that followed him, than his sometime forbearing to drinke did quench their thirst, that could lesse endure it. For mine owne little iudgement I shall rather commend that Captain, that makes carefull prouision for those that follow him, & that seekes wisely to preuent extreame necessity, than those witlesse arrogant fools, that make the vaunt of hauing endured equally with the common Souldier, as if that were a matter of great glory and importance.

We finde in all the Warres that *Cæsar* made, or the best of the Romane Commanders, that the prouision of victuals was their first care. For it was a true saying of *Coligni*, Admirall of France; *That who so will shape that Beast* (meaning Warre) *must begin with his belly.*

But *Alexander* is now returned to Persepolis, where those Historians, that were most amorous of his vertues, complaine, that the opinion of his valour, of his liberality, of his clemency towards the vanquished, and all other his Kingly conditions, were drowned in drinke; That he smothered in carowsing cups all the reputation of his actions past, and that by descending, as it were, from the reuerend Throne of the greatest King, into the company and familiarity of base Harlots, he began to be despised both of his own & all other Nations. For being perswaded, when he was enflamed with wine, by the infamous Strumpet *Thais*, he caused the most sumptuous and goodly Castle & City of Persepolis, to be consumed with fire, notwithstanding all the arguments of *Parmenio* to the contrary, who told him that it was a dishonour to destroy those things by the perswasions of others, which by his proper vertue and force he had obtained; and that it would be a most strong perswasion to the Asians, to think hardly of him, & thereby alien their hearts: For they might well beleeue that he which demolished the goodliest Ornaments they had, meant nothing lesse than (after such vastation) to hold their possession. *Per violentiam crudelitas sequitur; Cruelty doth commonly follow drunkennesse:* For it so fell out soone after, and often, in *Alexander*.

Curt.l.5.

Sen.Epist.8.4.

§.XIII.

The Treason of Bessus *against* Darius. Darius *his death.*

About this time he receiued a new supply of Souldiers out of Cilicia, and goes on to finde *Darius* in Media. *Darius* had there compounded his fourth and last Army, which he meant to haue increased in Bactria, had he not heard of *Alexanders* comming on, with whom (trusting to such companies as he had, which was numbred at thirty or forty thousand) he determined once againe to trie his fortune. Hetherfore cals together his Captaines and Commanders, and propounds vnto them his resolution, who being desperate of good successe vsed silence for a while. *Artabazus*, one of his eldest men of Warre, who had sometime liued with *Philip* of Macedon, brake the yce, and protesting that he could neuer be beaten by any aduersity of the Kings, from the faith which he had euer ought him, with firme confidence, that all the rest were of the same condition (whereof they likewise assured *Darius* by the like protestation) he approued the Kings resolution. Two onely, and those the greatest, to wit, *Naburzanes* and *Bessus*, whereof the latter was Gouernour of Bactria, had conspired against their Master; and therefore aduised the King to lay a new foundation for the Warre, and to pursue it by some such person for the present, against whom neither the gods nor Fortune had in all things declared themselues to be an enemy: this preamble *Naburzanes* vsed, and

and in conclusion aduised the election of his fellow Traitor *Bessus*, with promise that the warres ended, the Empire should againe be restored to *Darius*. The King swollen with disdaine prest towards *Naburzanes* to haue slain him, but *Bessus* & the Bactrians whom he commanded, being more in number than the rest, with-held him. In the meane while *Naburzanes* with-drew himselfe, and *Bessus* followed him, making their quarter a-part from the rest of the Army. *Artabazus*, the Kings faithfull seruant, perswaded him to be aduised, and serue the time, seeing *Alexander* was at hand, and that hee would at least make shew of forgetting the offence made; which the King being of a gentle disposition, willingly yeelded vnto. *Bessus* makes his submission and attends the King, who remoues his Army. *Patron*, who commanded a Regiment of foure thousand Greeks, which had in all the former Battailes serued *Darius* with great fidelity, and alwayes made the retrait in spight of the Macedonians, offered himselfe to guard his person, protesting against the Treason of *Bessus*; but it was not his destiny to follow their aduice who from the beginning of the Warre gaue him faithfull counsell, but he enclined still to *Bessus*, who told him, that the Greekes with *Patron* their Captaine were corrupted by *Alexander*, and practised the diuision of his faithfull seruants. *Bessus* had drawne vnto him thirty thousand of the Army, promising them all those things, by which the louers of the World and themselues are wont to be allured, to wit, riches, safety, and honour.

Now the day following *Darius* plainely discouered the purposes of *Bessus*, and being ouercome with passion, as thinking himselfe vnable to make head against these vngratefull and vnnaturall Traitors, he prayed *Artabazus* his faithfull seruant to depart from him, and to prouide for himselfe. In like sort he discharged the rest of his attendants, all saue a few of his Eunuchs; for his Guards had voluntarily abandoned him: His Persians being most base cowards, durst not vndertake his defence against the Bactrians, notwithstanding that they had foure thousand Greeks to ioyne with him, who had been able to haue beaten both Nations. But it is true, that him, which forsakes himselfe, no man followes. It had been farre more Man-like and King-like, to haue dyed in the head of those foure thousand Greeks, which offered him the disposition of their liues, (to which *Artabazus* perswaded him) than to haue lien bewailing himselfe on the ground, and suffering himselfe to be bound like a Slaue by those ambitious Monsters that laid hand on him, whom neither the consideration of his former great estate, nor the honour he had giuen them, nor the trust reposed in them, nor the world of benefits bestowed on them, could moue to pitty: no, nor his present aduersity, which aboue all things should haue moued them, could pierce their viperous and vngratefull hearts. Vaine it was indeed to hope it; for infidelity hath no compassion.

Now *Darius*, thus forsaken, was bound & laid in a Cart, couered with Hides of Beasts, to the end that by any other ornament he might not be discouered; & to adde despight and derision to his aduersity, they fastned him with Chaines of Gold, and so drew him on among their ordinary Carriages and Carts. For *Bessus* and *Naburzanes* perswaded themselues to redeeme their liues and the Prouinces they held, either by deliuering him a prisoner to *Alexander*, or, if that hope failed, to make themselues Kings by his slaughter, and then to defend themselues by force of Armes. But they failed in both. For it was against the nature of God, who is most iust, to pardon so strange villany, yea, though against a Prince purely Heathenish and an Idolater.

Alexander hauing knowledge that *Darius* was retired towards Bactria, and durst not abide his comming, hastened after him with a violent speede, and because he would not force his foot-men beyond their powers, he mounted on horse-back certain selected companies of them, & best armed, & with sixe thousand other horse, rather ran than marched after *Darius*. Such as hated the Treason of *Bessus*, and secretly forsooke him, gaue knowledge to *Alexander* of all that had happened, informing him of the way that *Bessus* took, and how neere he was at hand: for many men of worth daily ran from him. Hereupon *Alexander* againe doubled his pace, and his Vant-gard being discouered by *Bessus* his Reare, *Bessus* brought a Horse to the Cart, where *Darius* lay bound, perswading him to mount thereon, and to saue himselfe. But the vnfortunate King refusing to follow those that had betrayed him, they cast Darts at him, wounded him to death, and wounded the Beasts that drew him, & slew two poore Seruants that attended his person. This done, they all fled that could, leauing the rest to the mercy of the Macedonian swords.

Polystratus

Polystratus a Macedonian, being by pursuite of the vanquished prest with thirst, as hee was refreshing himselfe with some water that he had discouered, espying a Cart with a Teame of wounded beasts breathing for life, and not able to moue, searched the same, and therein found *Darius* bathing in his owne bloud: And by a Persian captiue which followed this *Polystratus*, he vnderstood that it was *Darius*, and was informed of his barbarous Tragedy. *Darius* also seemed greatly comforted (if dying men ignorant of the liuing God can be comforted) that he cast not out his last sorrowes vnheard, but that by this Macedonian, *Alexander* might know and take vengeance on those Traitors, which had dealt no lesse vnworthily than cruelly with him, recommending their reuenge to *Alexander* by this messenger, which he besought him to pursue, not because *Darius* had desired it, but for his owne honour, and for the safety of all that did, or should after weare Crownes. He also, hauing nothing else to present, rendred thankes to *Alexander* for the Kingly grace vsed towards his Wife, Mother, & Children, desiring the immortall gods to submit vnto him the Empire of the whole World. As he was thus speaking, impatient death pressing out his few remaining spirits, he desired water, which *Polystratus* presented him, after which he liued but to tell him, that of all the best things that the world had, which were lately in his power, he had nothing remaining but his last breath, wherwith to desire the gods to reward his compassion.

§.XIV.

How Alexander *pursued* Bessus, *and tooke into his grace* Darius *his Captaines.*

IT was now hoped by the Macedonians, that their trauels were neere an end, euery man preparing for his returne. Hereof when *Alexander* had knowledge, he was greatly grieued; for the bounded earth sufficed not his boundlesse ambition. Many arguments he therefore vsed to draw on his Army farther into the East, but that which had most strength was, that *Bessus*, a most cruell Traitor to his Master *Darius*, hauing at his deuotion the Hyrcanians, and Bactrians, would in short time (if the Macedonians should returne) make himselfe Lord of the Persian Empire, and enioy the fruits of all their former trauailes. In conclusion, he wan their consents to go on: which done, leauing *Craterus* with certaine Regiments of foote, and *Amyntas* with sixe thousand horse in Parthenia, he enters not without some opposition into Hyrcania; for the Mardons, and other barbarous Nations, defended certaine passages for a while. He passeth the riuer of Zioberis, which taking beginning in Parthia, dissolues it selfe in the Caspian Sea: it runneth vnder the ledge of Mountains, which bound Parthia & Hyrcania, where hiding it selfe vnder-ground for three hundred furlongs, it then risethagain and followeth its former course. In Zadracarta or Zeudracarta, the same City which *Ptolomy* writes Hyrcania, the Metropolis of that Region, he rested fifteen dayes, banquetting and feasting therein.

Phataphernes, one of *Darius* his greatest Commanders, with others of his best followers, submit themselues to *Alexander*, and were restored to their places and gouernments. But of all other he graced *Artabazus* most highly for his approued and constant faith to his Master *Darius*: *Artabazus* brought with him ten thousand and fiue hundred Greeks, the remainder of all those that had serued *Darius*; He treats with *Alexander* for their pardon, before they were yet arriued, but in the end they render themselues simply without promise or composition: he pardons all but the Lacedæmonians, whom he imprisoned, their Leader hauing slaine himselfe. He was also wrought, (though to his great dishonour) to receiue *Nabarzanes* that had ioyned with *Bessus* to murder *Darius*.

§.XV.

Of Thalestris *Queene of the Amazons; where, by way of digression, it is shewed, that such Amazons haue beene, and are.*

HEre it is said, that *Thalestris* or *Minothea*, a Queene of the Amazons, came to visite him, and her suite was, (which she easily obtained) That she might accompany him till she were made with childe by him: which done (refusing to follow him into India) she returned into her owne Country.

Plutarch

Plutarch citeth many Historians, reporting this meeting of *Thalestris* with *Alexander*, and some contradicting it. But, indeede, the letters of *Alexander* himselfe to *Antipater*, recounting all that befell him in those parts, and yet omitting to make mention of this Amazonian businesse, may iustly breed suspition of the whole matter as forged. Much more iustly may we suspect it as a vaine tale, because an Historian of the same time reading one of his bookes to *Lysimachus* (then King of Thrace) who had followed *Alexander* in all his voyage; was laught at by the King for inserting such newes of the Amazons; and *Lysimachus* himselfe had neuer heard of. One that accompanied *Alexander* tooke vpon him to write his acts, which to amplifie, He told how the King had fought single with an Elephant, and slaine it. The King hearing such stuffe, caught the booke, and threw it into the riuer of Indus; saying, that it were well done to throw the writer after it, who by inserting such fables, disparaged the truth of his great exploits. Yet as we beleeue & know that there are Elephants, though it were false that *Alexander* fought with one; so may we giue credit vnto writers, making mention of such Amazons, whether it were true or false that they met with *Alexander*; as *Plutarch* leaues the matter vndetermined. Therefore I will here take leaue to make digression, as well to shew the opinions of the ancient Historians, Cosmographers, and others, as also of some moderne discouerers touching these warlike Women, because not onely *Strabo*, but many others of these our times make doubt, whether, or no, there were any such kinde of people. *Iulius Solinus* seates them in the North parts of Asia the lesse. *Pom. Mela* finds two Regions filled with them; the one, on the Riuer Thermodoon, the other, neere the Caspian Sea; *Quas* (saith he) *Sauromatidas appellant; Which the people call Sauromatidas.* The former of these two had the Cimerians for their Neighbours; *Certum est* (saith *Vadianus*, who hath commented vpon *Mela*) *illos proximos Amazonibus fuisse; It is certaine that the Cimerians were the next Nations to the Amazons.* *Ptolomy* lets them farther into the Land North-wards, neere the Mountaines Hippaci, not farre from the Pillars of *Alexander*. And that they had Dominion in Asia it selfe toward India, *Solinus* and *Pliny* tels vs; Where they gouerned a people called the Pandeans, or Padeans, so called after *Pandea* the Daughter of *Hercules*, from whom all the rest derine themselues. *Claudian* affirmes, That they commanded many Nations: For he speakes (largely perhaps as a Poet) thus:

Sol.c.27.&65.
Lib.1.
Ptol.lib.6.
Asiæ Tab.2.
Plin.l.6.c.20.
Claud.de cap. Proserpinæ.

Medis leuibusq; Sabeis
Imperat hic sexus: Reginarumq; sub armis,
Barbariæ pars magna iacet.

Ouer the Medes, and light Sabæans, reignes
This female sexe: and vnder armes of Queen,
Great part of the Barbarian Land remaines.

Diodorus Siculus hath heard of them in Lybia, who were more ancient (saith he) than those which kept the banks of Thermodoon, a riuer falling into the Euxine Sea, neere Heraclium.

Lib.2.

Herodotus doth also make report of these Amazons, whom he tels vs that the Scythians call *Æorpatas*, which is as much, as *Viricidas*, or Men-killers. And that they made incursion into Asia the lesse, sackt Ephesus, & burnt the Temple of *Diana*, *Manethon* & *Auentinus* report, which they performed forty yeares after Troy was taken. At the siege of Troy it selfe we read of *Penthesilea*, That she came to the succour of *Priamus*.

Æneiad.1.l.3.

Am. Marcellinus giues the cause of their inhabiting vpon the Riuer of Thermodoon, speaking confidently of the wars they made with diuers Nations, & of their ouerthrow.

L.22 c.4.

Plutarch in the life of *Theseus*, out of *Philochorus*, *Hellenicus*, and other ancient Historians, reports the taking of *Antiopa* Queen of the Amazons by *Hercules*, and by him giuen to *Theseus*, though some affirme, That *Theseus* himselfe got her by stealth, when she came to visit him aboord his ship. But in substance there is little difference, all confessing, That such Amazons there were. The same Author in the life of *Pompey* speakes of certaine companies of the Amazons, that came to aide the Albanians against the Romans, by whom after the battell, many Targets and Buskins of theirs were taken vp: and he saith farther, That these women entertaine the Gelæ and Lelages once a yeare, Nations inhabiting between them and the Albanians.

But

But to omit the many Authors, making mention of Amazons that were in the old times, *Fran. Lopez* who hath written the nauigation of *Orellana*, which he made down the riuer of Amazons from Peru, in the yeare 1542. (vpon which riuer, for the diuers turnings, he is said to haue sailed sixe thousand miles) reports from the relation of the said *Orellana*, to the Councell of the Indies, That he both saw those women and fought with them, where they sought to impeach his passage towards the East-Sea.

Histor. Ind. part. 1. c. 28.

It is also reported by *Vlrichus Schmidel*, that in the yeare 1542. when he sailed vp the Riuers of Paragna and Parabol, that he came to a King of that Country, called *Scherues*, inhabiting vnder the Tropick of *Capricorne*, who gaue his Captaine *Ernando Rieffere*, a Crowne of siluer, which he had gotten in fight from a Queen of the Amazons in those parts.

Ed. Lopez, in his description of the Kingdome of *Congo*, makes relation of such Amazons, telling vs, That (agreeable to the reports of elder times) they burne off their right brests, and liue a-part from men, saue at one time of the yeare, when they feast & accompany them for one moneth. These (saith he) possesse a part of the Kingdome of *Monomotapa* in Africa, nineteen degrees to the Southward of the line: and that these women are the strongest Guards of this Emperour, all the East Indian Portugals know.

I haue produced these authorities in part, to iustifie mine owne relation of these Amazons, because that which was deliuered me for truth by an ancient Cacique of Guiana, how vpon the riuer of Papamena (since the Spanish discoueries called Amazons) that these women still liue and gouerne, was held for a vaine and vnprobable report.

§. XVI.

How Alexander *fell into the Persian Luxury: and how he further pursued* Bessus.

NOw as *Alexander* had begun to change his conditions after the taking of Persepolis: so at this time his prosperity had so much ouer-wrought his vertue, as he accompted clemency to be but basenesse, & the temperance which he had vsed all his life time, but a poore & deiected humour, rather becomming the instructers of his youth, than the condition and state of so mighty a King, as the World could not equall. For he perswaded himselfe that he now represented the greatnesse of the gods; he was pleased that those that came before him, should fall to the ground & adore him; he ware the robes and garments of the Persians, & commanded that his Nobility should doe the like: he entertained in his Court & Camp, the same shamelesse rabble of Curtisans, and Sodomiticall Eunuchs, that *Darius* had done, & imitated in all things the proud, voluptuous, & detested maners of the Persians, whom he had vanquished. So licentious is felicity, as notwithstanding that he was fully perswaded, that the gods whom he serued (detesting the vices of the inuaded) assisted him in all attempts against them, he himselfe, contrary to the Religion he profest (which how Idolatrous soeuer it were, could not be but fearful vnto him by neglecting it) became by imitation, & not by ignorance or education, a more foule and fearfull Monster than *Darius*, from whose tyranny he vaunted to haue deliuered so many Nations. Yea, those that were dearest and nearest vnto him, began to be ashamed of him, entertaining each other with this, and the like scornfull discourse; That *Alexander* of Macedon was become one of *Darius* his licentious Courtiers; That by his example, the Macedonians were in the end of so many trauailes, more impouerished in their vertues, than inriched by their victories; & that it was hard to iudge whether the Conquerors, or the Conquered were the baser slaues. Neither were these opinions so reserued, but that the noise of them came to his eares. He therefore with great gifts sought to pacifie the better sort, and those of whose iudgments he was most iealous; and making it knowne to the Army, that *Bessus* had assumed the title of a King, and called himselfe *Artaxerxes*, & that he had compounded a great Army of the Bactrians, and other Nations, he had arguments enow to perswade them to goe on, to the end that all already gotten, might not with themselues (so farre ingaged) be cast away. And because they were pestered with the spoiles of so many Cities, as the whole Army seemed but the guard of their carriages, (not much vnlike the warfare of the French) hauing commanded euery mans fardels to be brought into the market-place, he, together with his owne, caused all to be consumed with fire. Certainly, this could not but haue proued

most dangerous vnto him, seeing the common-Souldiers had more interest in these things which they had bought with their painefull trauailes, and with their bloud; than in the kings ambition; had not (as *Seneca* often obserued) his happy temeritie ouercome all things. As he was in his way, newes came to him, that *Satribarzanes*, whom he had established in his former gouernment ouer the *Arrians*, was reuolted; whereupon leauing the way of *Bactria*, he sought him out; but the Rebell, hearing of his comming, fled to *Bessus*, with two thousand Horse. He then went on towards *Bessus*, and by setting a great pile of wood on fire, with the aduantage of a strong winde, won the passage ouer an high and vnaccessable Rocke, which was defended against him, with thirteene thousand foot. For the extremitie of the Flame and smoake, forced them from the place, otherwise inuincible. I saw in the third ciuill warre of *France*, certaine Caues in *Languedoc*, which had but one entrance, and that very narrow, cut out in the mid-way of high Rockes, which we knew not how to enter by any ladder or engine, till at last, by certaine bundels of straw, let downe by an yron chaine, & a waighty stone in the middest, those that defended it, vvere so smothered, as they rendred themselues with their plate, mony, and other goods therein hidden. There were also some three yeeres before my arriuall in *Guiana*, three hundred *Spaniards* well mounted, smothered to death, together with their Horses, by the Countrie-people, vvho did set the long dry grasse on fire to the Eastward of them, (the winde in those parts being alwayes East) so as notwithstanding their flying from the smoake, there was not any one that escaped. Sir *Iohn Barrowes* also, with a hundred *English*, was in great danger of being lost at *Margarita*, in the *West-Indies*, by hauing the grasse fired behinde him; but the smoake being timefully discouered, he recouered the Sea-shore with the losse of sixeteene of his men. I remember these things, but to giue caution to those that shall in times to come inuade any part of those Countries, that they alwayes, before they passe into the Land, burne down the grasse and sedge to the East of them; they may otherwise, vvithout any other enemy, than a handfull of straw set on fire, dye the death of hony-Bees, burnt out of the Hiue.

§. XVII.

A Conspiracie against Alexander. *The death of* Philotas *and* Parmenio.

ALexander was, after he parted hence, no where resisted, till he came into *Aria*, to the East of *Bactria*, where the chiefe Citie of that Prouince, called *Artacoana*, was a while defended against him, by the reuolt of *Satribarzanes*, but in the end he receiued the Inhabitants to mercy. At this place his Armie was re-enforced with a new supply of fiue thousand and fiue hundred foot, and neere fiue hundred Horse, out of *Greece*, *Thessalie*, and other places. His iourney out of *Persia* into these parts, is very confusedly described: For hauing (as all his Historians tell vs) a determination to find *Bessus* in *Bactria*, he leaues it at the very entrance, & takes the way of *Hyrcania*; from thence he wanders Northwards towards the obscure *Mardi*, vpon the *Caspian*-Sea, and thence ouer the Mountaine *Coronus* into *Aria*, and *Drangiana*.

At this time it was that the treason of *Dimnus* brake out, of which *Philotas* the sonne of *Parmenio* was accused, as accessarie, if not principall. This *Dimnus*, hauing (I know not vpon what ground) conspired with some others against the life of *Alexander*, went about to draw *Nicomachus*, a young man whom he loued, into the same treason. The Youth, although he was first bound by oath to secrecie, when he heard so foule a matter vttered, began to protest against it so vehemently, that his friend was like to haue slaine him for security of his owne life. So, constrained by feare, he made shew as if he had bin won by perswasion; and by seeming at length to like well of the busines, he was told more at large what they were, that had vndertaken it. There were nine or ten of them, all men of ranke, whose names *Dimnus* (to countenance the enterprise) reckoned vp to *Nicomachus*. *Nicomachus* had no sooner freed himself from the company of this Traitor *Dimnus*, than he acquainted his owne brother *Ceballinus* with the whole Historie: whereupon it was agreed between them, that *Ceballinus* (who might with least suspition) should goe to the Court, and vtter all. *Ceballinus*, meeting with *Philotas*, told him the whole busines; desiring him to acquaint the King therewith: which he promised to do;

but

but did not. Two dayes passed, and *Philotas* neuer brake with the King about the matter, but still excused himselfe to *Ceballinus* by the Kings want of leisure. This his coldnesse bred suspition, and caused *Ceballinus* to addresse himselfe to another, one *Metron*, Keeper of the Kings Armorie, who forth-with brought him to *Alexanders* presence. *Alexander*, finding by examination what had passed betweene *Ceballinus* and *Philotas*, did fully perswade himselfe that this concealement of the treason, argued his hand to haue kin in the businesse. Therefore when *Dimnus* was brought before him, he asked the Traitor no other question than this: *Wherein haue I so offended thee, that thou shouldest thinke* Philotas *more worthy to be King than I?* *Dimnus* perceiuing when he was apprehended, how the matter went, had so wounded himselfe, that he liued no longer, than to giue his last groane in the Kings presence. Then was *Philotas* called, and charged with the suspition, which his silence might iustly breede. His answer vvas, That vvhen the practice was reuealed vnto him by *Nichomachus*, he iudging it to be but friuolous, did forbeare to acquaint *Alexander* therewithall, vntill he might haue better information. This errour of his, (if it were onely an errour) although *Aexander*, for the notorious seruices of his Father *Parmenio*, of his brother *Nicanor* lately dead, and of *Philotas* himselfe, had freely pardoned and giuen him his hand for assurance; yet by the instigation of *Craterus*, he againe swallowed his Princely promise, & made his enemies his Iudges. *Curtius* giues a note of *Craterus* in this businesse; How he perswaded himselfe, that he could neuer find a better occasion to oppresse his priuate enemie, than by pretending pietie, and dutie towards the King. Hereof a Poet of our own hath giuen a note as much better, as it is more generall in his *Philotas*:

See how these great men cloathe their priuate hate,
In these faire colours of the publike good,
And to effect their ends, pretend the State,
As if the State by their affection stood:
And arm'd with power and Princes iealousies,
Will put the least conceit of discontent
Into the greatest ranke of treacheries,
That no one action shall seeme innocent:
Yea valour, honour, bountie, shall be made
As accessaries vnto ends vniust:
And euen the seruice of the State must lade
The needfull'st vndertaking with distrust;
So that base vilenesse, idle Luxurie,
Seeme safer farre, than to doe worthily, &c.

Now although it were so, that the king following the aduice of *Craterus*, had resolued the next day to put *Philotas* to torment, yet in the very euening of the same night in which he was apprehended, he called him to a banquet, and discoursed as familiarly with him as at any other time. But when in the dead of the night *Philotas* was taken in his lodging, and that they which hated him began to binde him, he cryed out vpon the king in these words: *O* Alexander, *the malice of mine Enemies hath surmounted thy mercy, and their hatred is farre more constant than the word of a King.* Many circumstances were vrged against him by *Alexander* himselfe (for the kings of *Macedon* did in person examine the accusations of treason) and this was not the least (not the least offence, indeede, against the kings humour, who desired to be glorified as a God) That when *Alexander* wrote vnto him concerning the title giuen him by *Iupiter Hammon*; He answered, That he could not but reioyce that he was admitted into that sacred Fellowship of the gods, and yet he could not but withall grieue for those that should liue vnder such a one as would exceede the nature of man. This was (saith *Alexander*) a firme perswasion vnto me, that his heart was changed, and that he held my glory in dispight. See what a strange Monster Flatterie is, that can perswade kings to kill those that doe not praise and allow those things in them, which are of all other most to be abhorred. *Philotas* was brought before the multitude, to heare the kings Oration against him: he was brought forth in vilde garments and bound like a Theefe; where he heard himselfe, and his absent Father the greatest Captaine of the World, accused, his two other Brothers, *Hector* and *Micanor* hauing beene lost in the present Warre. He was so greatly oppreſt with griefe,

as for a while, he could vtter nothing but teares, and sorrow had so wasted his spirits, as he sanke vnder those that led him. In the end, the king asked him, In what language he would make his defence; he answered, In the same wherein it had pleased the king to accuse him; which he did, to the end that the *Persians*, as well as the *Macedonians*, might vnderstand him. But hereof the king made his aduantage, perswading the assembly, that he disdained the language of his owne Country, and so with-drawing himselfe, left him to his merciless enemies.

This proceeding of the kings, *Philotas* greatly lamented, seeing the king, who had so sharply inueyed against him, would not vouchsafe to heare his excuse. For not his enemies onely were imboldened thereby against him, but all the rest, hauing discouered the kings disposition and resolution, contending among themselues, which of them should exceede in hatred towards him. Among many other arguments, which he vsed in his owne defence, this was not the weakest; That when *Nicomachus*, desired to know of *Dimnus*, what men of marke and power were his partners in the conspiracie (as seeming vnwilling to aduenture himselfe with meane and base Companions) *Dimnus* named vnto him *Demetrius* of the kings Chamber, *Nicanor*, *Amyntas*, and some others, but spake not a word of *Philotas*, who by being Commander of the Horse, would greatly haue valued the party, and haue incouraged *Nicomachus*. Indeede, as *Philotas* said well for himselfe, it is likely that *Dimnus*, thereby the better to haue heartned *Nicomachus*, would haue named him, though he had neuer dealt vvith him in any such practice. And for more certaine proofe, that he knew nothing of their intents that practised against the king, there vvas not any one of the Conspirators, being many, inforc'd by torments, or otherwise, that could accuse him; and it is true, that aduersity being seldome able to beare her own burden, is for the most part found so malicious, as she rather desires to draw others (not always deserting it) into the same danger, than to spare any that it can accuse. Yet at the last, howsoeuer it were, to auoide the extremity of resistlesse and vnnaturall torments, deuised by his profest enemies *Craterus*, *Cenus*, *Ephestion*, and others, *Philotas* accused his owne selfe; being perswaded that they would haue slaine him forthwith. But he failed euen in that miserable hope, and suffering all that could be laid on flesh and bloud, he was forced to deliuer, not what he knew, but whatsoeuer best pleased their eares, that were farre more merciless than death it selfe.

Of this kinde of Iudiciall proceeding S. *Augustine* greatly complaineth, as a matter to be bewailed, saith he, with Fountaines of teares. *Quid cum in sua causa quisque torquetur; & cum queritur verum sit nocens, cruciatur: & innocens luit pro incerto scelere certissimas pœnas: non quia illud commisisse detegitur, sed quia non commisisse nescitur? What shall we say to it, when one is put to torture in his own cause; and tormented whilest yet it is in question whether he be guilty, and being innocent, suffers assured punishment for a fault, of which there is no certaintie; not because he is knowne to haue committed the offence, but because others doe not know that he hath not committed it?* Aug. de Ciuit. Dei. l. 1. 9. c. 6.

It had beene enough for *Alexanders* safety, if *Philotas* had beene put to death without torment, the rest would not much haue grieued thereat, because he was greatly suspected. But *Heraclitus*, who afterward conspired against him, made the kings cruelty and delight in bloud, the greatest motiue of his owne ill intent. Therefore, *Seneca*, speaking of *Alexander*, saith thus: *Crudelitas minime humanum malum est, indignum ammiti animo; ferus ista rabies est sanguine gaudere & vulneribus, & abiecto homine, in siluestre animal transire. Cruelty is not a humane vice; it is vnworthy of so milde a spirit: It is euen a beastly rage to delight in bloud and wounds, and casting away the nature of man, to become a sauage Monster.* Sen. de Clem. l. 1.

For the conclusion of this Tragedie, *Curtius* makes a doubt, vvhether the confession that *Philotas* made, vvere to giue end to the torments which he could not any longer endure, or that the same was true indeede; For (saith he) in this case, they that speake truely, or they that deny falsly, come to one and the same end. Now, vvhile the kings hands vvere yet wet in bloud, he commanded that *Lynceſtes*, sonne-in-Law to *Antipater*, who had beene three yeares in prison, should be slaine: The same dispatch had all those that *Nicomachus* had accused: others there vvere that were suspected, because they had followed *Philotas*, but when they had answered for themselues that they knew no way so direct to winne the kings fauour, as by louing those whom the king fauoured; they vvere dismist. But *Parmenio* vvas yet liuing; *Parmenio*, vvho had serued

with great fidelitie as well *Philip* of *Macedon* the Kings Father; as himselfe; *Parmenio* that first opened the way into *Asia*; That had depreſt *Attalus* the Kings enemie; that had alwayes, and in all hazards, the leading of the Kings Vant-guard, that was no leſſe prudent in counſell, than fortunate in all attempts; A man beloued of the men of War, and, to ſay the truth, he that had made the purchaſe for the King of the Empire of the Eaſt and of all the glory and fame he had: That he might not therefore reuenge the death of his Sonne, though not vpon the King, (for it was vnlikely that he would haue diſhonoured his fidelity in his eldeſt age, hauing now liued threeſcore and ten yeares) yet vpon thoſe that by the witchcraft of flattery had poſſeſt themſelues of his affection; it was reſolued that he ſhould be diſpatcht. *Polydamas* was imployed in this buſineſſe, a man whom of all other *Parmenio* truſted moſt, and loued beſt, who (to be ſhort) finding him in *Media*, and hauing *Cleander* and other Murderers with him, ſlew him walking in his Garden, while he was reading the Kings letters. *Hic exitus* Parmenionis *fuit, militiæ domiq; clari viri; Multa ſine Rege proſperè, Rex ſine illo nihil magnæ rei geſſerat; This was the end of* Parmenio (ſaith Curtius) *who had performed many notable things without the King, but the King, without him did neuer effect any thing worthy of praiſe.*

Lib. 7.

§. XVIII.

How Alexander *ſubdued the Bactrians, Sogdians, and other people. How* Beſſus *was deliuered into his hands. How he fought with the Scythians.*

WHen theſe things had end, *Alexander* went on with his Armie, and brought vnder his obedience the *Araſpians* or *Euergitans*; he made *Amenides* (ſometime *Darius* his Secretarie) their Gouernour, then he ſubdued the *Arachoſians*, & left *Menon* to command ouer them. Here the Armie, ſometimes led by *Parmenio*, findes him, conſiſting of twelue thouſand *Macedons* & *Greeks*, with whom he paſt through ſome cold Regions with difficultie enough. At length he came to the foote of the Mountaine *Taurus* towards the Eaſt, where he built a Citie, which he honoured with his own name, and peopled it with ſeuen thouſand of his old *Macedons*, worne with age and with trauailes of the warre. The *Arians*, who ſince he left them were reuolted, he ſubdued againe by the induſtry and valour of *Caranus* and *Erigius*. And now he reſolues to finde out the new king *Beſſus* in *Bactria*. *Beſſus*, hearing of his comming, prepares to paſſe ouer the great Riuer of *Oxus* which diuides *Bactria* from *Sogdiana*; *Artabazus* is made Gouernour of *Bactria* abandoned by *Beſſus*; The *Macedonian* Armie ſuffereth for want of Water, inſomuch as when they came to the Riuer of *Oxus*, there died more of them by drinking inordinately, than *Alexander* had loſt in any one battaile againſt the *Perſians*. And it may well be; For (as *Clytus* did after obiect vnto him) he fought againſt women, not againſt men, and not againſt their perſons, but their ſhadowes. Hee found on the bankes of this great Riuer no manner of Timber or other materials, to make either boates, bridges, or raffe, but was forc't to ſew together the Hides that couered his carriages, and ſtuffe them with ſtraw, and on them in ſixe daies to paſſe ouer his Armie, which *Beſſus* might eaſily haue diſtreſt, if he had dared but to behold the *Macedonian* Army afar off. He had formerly complained againſt *Darius* for neglecting to defend the banks of *Tigris*, and other paſſages, and yet now, when this traiterous ſlaue had ſtyled himſelf a King, he durſt not performe any thing worthy of a ſlaue. And therfore thoſe that were neereſt vnto him, and whom hee moſt truſted, to wit, *Spitamenes*, *Dataphernes*, *Catanes*, and others the Commanders of his Army, moued both by the care of their own ſafety, and by the memory of *Beſſus* his Treaſon and cruelty againſt *Darius*, bound him in the like manner that he had done his Maſter, but with this difference, that he had the chain cloſed about his necke like a maſtiffe Dog, and ſo was dragged along to be preſented to his enemie.

In the meane while *Alexander* was arriued at a certaine Town inhabited with *Greeks* of *Miletum*, brought thither by *Xerxes*, when long before hee returned out of *Greece*; whoſe iſſues had well-neere forgotten their Country-language. Theſe moſt cruelly (after they had receiued him with great ioy) he put to the ſword, and deſtroyed their City. At this place he receiued *Beſſus*, and hauing rewarded *Spitamenes* with the reſt that deliuered him, he gaue the Traitor into the hands of *Oxatres*, *Darius* his brother, to be tormented.

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But while he now thought himſelfe ſecure, ſome twenty thouſand Mountainers aſſaulted his Campe; in repelling whom he receiued a ſhot in the legge, the arrow head ſticking in the fleſh, ſo as he was carried in a Horſe-Litter, ſometime by the horſemen, ſometime by the foote.

Soone after he came vnto *Maracanda*, which *Petrus Perondinus* takes to be *Samarchand*, the regall Citie of the great *Tamerlaine*. It had in compaſſe threeſcore and ten furlongs (*Curtius* ſaith.) Here he receiued the Embaſſadors of the *Scythians* (called *Auians*) vvho offered to ſerue him.

The *Bactrians* are ſhortly again with the *Sogdians* ſtirred to Rebellion, by the ſame *Spitamenes* and *Catanes*, who had lately deliuered into his hands, the Traitor *Beſſus*. Many Cities were reſoluedly defended againſt him, all which, after victory, he defaced & raſed, killing all therein. At one of theſe he receiued a blow on the necke, which ſtrucke him to the ground, and much diſabled him for many dayes after. In the meane while *Spitamenes* had recouered *Maracanda*, againſt whom he imployed *Menedemus* with three thouſand foote and eight hundred horſe.

In the heate of theſe tumults *Alexander* marched onſift we may believe *Curtius* and others) till he came to the Riuer of *Tanais*; vpon whoſe banke he built another *Alexandria*, threeſcore furlongs in compaſſe, which he beautified with houſes within ſeuenteen daies after the wals built. The building of this Citie is ſaid to haue bin occaſion of a war betweene him and the *Scythians*; the *Scythian* King perſwading himſelfe, that this new Towne was fortified of purpoſe to keepe him vnder. I doe not well vnderſtand, why the *Scythians*, offering war in ſuch terrible manner; that *Alexander* was iudged by his owne Souldiers to counterfeit ſickneſſe, for very feare, ſhould neuertheleſſe make ſuit for peace; neither finde I the reaſon why *Alexander* (not intending the conqueſt of thoſe Northerne deſarts, but onely the defence of his owne banke) ſhould refuſe to let them alone, with vvhom he could not meddle further than they ſhould agree to ſuffer him. Yet hereof is made a great matter; and a victory deſcribed; in purſuit of which the *Macedons* ran beyond the bounds and monuments of *Bacchus* his expedition.

The truth is, That *Curtius* and *Trogus* haue greatly miſtaken this Riuer, which they call *Tanais*. For it was the Riuer of *Iaxartes*, that runs betweene *Sogdiana* and *Scythia*, which *Alexander* paſt ouer, while *Menedemus* was imployed in the recouery of *Samarchand*: But *Tanais* which diuides *Aſia* from *Europe*, is neere two thouſand miles diſtant from any part of *Bactria* and *Sogdiana*, and the way deſart and vnknowne. So that *Alexander* had (beſides *Iaxartes*) the great Riuer of *Volga* and many others to ſwim ouer, ere he could recouer *Tanais*: vvhich (from the place where he was) he could hardly haue diſcouered with the Armie that followed him, if he had imploied all the time that he liued in *Aſia* in that trauaile.

Wherefore it is enough to believe, that the *Aſiatique Scythians*, making ſome offer to diſturbe the erection of this new Citie, vvhich vvas like to giue ſome hinderance to their excurſions, were driuen away by the *Macedonians*; and being naked of defenſiue Armes, eaſily chaſed ſome ten or twelue miles, which is the ſubſtance of *Curtius* his report. As for the limits of *Bacchus* his iournie; like enough it is that *Bacchus* (if in his life time he vvereas ſober a man, as after his death he was held a drunken god) went not very far into that waſt Country, where he could finde nothing but trees and ſtones, nor other buſineſſe than to ſet vp a monument.

Threeſcore of the *Macedons* are ſaid to haue bin ſlaine, and one thouſand one hundred hurt in this fight; which might eaſily be in paſſing a great Riuer, defended againſt them by good Archers. Of *Scythian* horſes one thouſand eight hundred were brought into the Campe, and many priſoners. It is forbidden by ſome Hiſtorians, and indeede it is hardly poſſible, to ſet down the numbers of ſuch as periſh in battell: yet *Cæſar* commonly did it. And where the diligence of the victors hath beene ſo inquiſitiue into the greatneſſe of their own ſucceſſe, that writers haue beene able to deliuer ſuch particulars by credible report, I hold it not vnlawfull to ſet downe vvhat vve finde; eſpecially when it ſerues to giue light to the buſineſſe in hand. The ſmall number vvhich the *Macedonians* loſt; the omiſſion of the number which they ſlew (a thing not vſuall in *Curtius*, who forbeares nothing that may ſet out the greatnes of *Alexander*) & the little bootie that was gotten, doe make it probable, that this war was no better than the repulſion of a few rouing *Tartars* (the like being yeerly performed by the *Moſcouite*, without

any

any boast) and therefore better omitted by some Historians, than so highly extolled as a great exploit, by others.

While *Alexander* was assuring himselfe of those *Scythians* bordering vpon *Iaxartes*, he receiued the ill newes that *Menedemus* was slaine by *Spitamenes*, the Armie (by him led) broken, and the greatest numbers slaine, to wit, two thousand foot, and three hundred horse. He therefore, to appease the rebellion, and to take reuenge of *Spitamenes*, makes all the haste he can; but *Spitamenes* flies into *Bactria*. *Alexander* kils, burns, & lases waste all before him; not sparing the innocent children, and so departs, leauing a new Gouernour in that Prouince.

To repaire this losse he receiued a great supply of nineteene thousand Souldiers out of *Greece*, *Lycia*, and *Syria*; with all which, & the old Armie, he returnes towards the South, and passeth the Riuer of *Oxus*; on the South-side whereof he built sixe Townes neere each other for mutuall succour, But he findes a new start vp Rebell, called *Arimazes*, (a *Sogdian*) followed with thirty thousand Souldiers, that defended against him a strong piece of ground on the top of a high Hill; whom when *Alexander* had sought in vaine to win by faire words, he made choice of three hundred young men, & promised ten talents to the first, nine to the second, and so in proportion to the rest, that could finde a way to creepe vp to the top thereof. This they performed with the losse of some two and thirty of their men, and then made a signe to *Alexander*, that they had performed his commandement. Hereupon he sent one *Cophes* to perswade *Arimazes* to yeeld the place, who, being shewed by *Cophes* that the Armie of *Macedon* was already mounted vp, yeelded simply to *Alexanders* mercy, and was (with all his kinred) scourged and crucified to death; which punishment they well deserued for neglecting to keepe good watch in so dangerous a time. For the place, as seemes by the description, might easily haue beene defended against all the Armies of the World. But, what strength cannot doe, Mans wit, being the most forcible engine, hath often effected; Of which I will giue you an example in a place of our owne.

The Iland of *Sarke*, ioyning to *Garnsey* and of that gouernement, was in Queene *Maries* time surprised by the *French*, and could neuer haue beene recouered againe by strong hand, hauing cattell and corne enough vpon the place to feed so many men as will serue to defend it, and being euery way so inaccessible, that it might be held against the Great *Turke*. Yet by the industry of a Gentleman of the *Netherlands*, it vvas in this sort regained. He anchored in the roade with one Ship of small burden, and pretending the death of his Merchant, besought the *French*, being some thirty in number, that they might burie their Merchant in hallowed Ground, and in the Chappell of that Isle; offering a present to the *French* of such Commodities as they had aboord; whereto (with condition that they should not come a-shore with any vveapon, no not so much as with a Knife) the *French men* yeelded. Then did the *Flemings* put a Coffin into their Boat, not filled with a dead carkesse, but with Swords, Targets, and Harquebusses; The *French* receiued them at their landing; and searching euery of them so narrowly as they could not hide a Pen-knife, gaue them leaue to draw their Coffin vp the Rockes with great difficulty; some part of the *French* tooke the *Flemish* Boat & rowed aboard their Ship, to fetch the commodities promised, & what else they pleased, but being entred, they were taken and bound. The *Flemings* on the Land, when they had carried their Coffin into the Chappell, shut the doore to them, and taking their weapons out of the Coffin, set vpon the *French*; they run to the Cliffe and cry to their Company aboord the *Fleming* to come to their succour, but finding the Boat charged with *Flemings*, yeelded themselues and the place. Thus a Fox-taile doth sometimes helpe well to piece out the Lions-skin, that else would be too short.

§.XIX.

How Alexander *slew his owne friends.*

After these *Sogdian* and *Scythian* Warres, vve reade of *Alexanders* killing of a Lion, and other friuolous matters, and that he committed the Gouernment of *Maracanda*, and the Country about it, to *Clytus*, and how he slew him soone after, for valuing the vertue of *Philip* the father before that of *Alexander* the son, or rather because he obiected to the King the death of *Parmenio*, and derided the Oracle of *Hammon*: for

for therein he toucht him to the quicke, the same being deliuered in publike, and at a drunken Banquet. *Clytus*, indeed, had deserued as much at the Kings hands, as any man liuing had done, and had in particular saued his life, vvhich the King vvell remembred when he came to himselfe, and when it vvas too late. Yet to say the truth, *Clytus* his insolencie was intolerable. As he in his Cups forgat whom he offended, so the King in his (for neyther of them were themselues) forgat whom he went about to slay, for the griefe whereof he tare his own face and sorrowed so inordinately, as, but for the perswasions of *Calisthenes*, it is thought he would haue slaine himselfe.

Wine begat Furie, Furie matter of Repentance: but preceding mischiefes are not amended by succeeding bewailing: *Omne vitium ebrietas & incendit, & detegit; obstantem malis conatibus verecundiam remouet; vbi possedit animum nimia vis vini, quicquid malis latebat, emergit: non facit ebrietas vitia, sed protrahit; Drunkennesse both kindles and layes open euery vice; it remooues out of the way that shame which giues impediment vnto badde attempts; where wine gets the mastrie, all the ill that before lay hidden breakes out: drunkennesse indeed rather discouers vices, than makes them.*

Soone after this, *Spitamenes*, who slew *Bessus*, and had lately reuolted from *Alexander*, vvas murdered by his Wife, and his head presented to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* being taken away, the *Dahans* also seized vpon his fellow-conspirator *Dataphernes*, and deliuered him vp. So *Alexander* being now freed from all these pettie-Rebels, disposed of the Prouinces which he past ouer, and went on with his Armie into *Gabaza*, where it suffered so much Hunger, Cold, Lightning, Thunder, and Storme, as he lost in one Tempest a thousand of his Traine. From hence he inuaded the *Sacans*, and destroyed their Country. Then came he into the Territorie of *Cohortanes*, vvho submitted himselfe vnto him, feasted him greatly, & presented him with thirtie beautifull Virgins, among whom *Roxane*, afterward his Wife; was one: which although all the *Macedonians* disdained, yet none of them durst vse any freedome of speech after *Clytus* his death. From hence he directed his course towards *India*, hauing so increased his numbers, as they amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand armed men.

In the meane while he would needs be honoured as a God: whereto that he might allure the *Macedonians*, he imployed two pernicious Parasites, *Hagis* and *Cleo*; whom *Calisthenes* opposed: For, among many other honest arguments vsed to the assembly, he told *Cleo*, That he thought, that *Alexander* would disdaine the gift of God-head from his Vassals; That the opinion of Sanctity, though it did sometime follow the death of those, who in their life-time had done the greatest things, yet it neuer accompanied any one as yet liuing in the world. He further told him, That neither *Hercules* nor *Bacchus* vvere Deified at a banquet, and vpon drinke, (for this matter was propounded by *Cleo* at a carowsing feast) but that, for the more than manly acts by them performed while they liued, they vvere in future and succeeding Ages numbred among the gods. *Alexander* stood behinde a partition and heard all that was spoken, waiting but an opportunitie, to be reuenged on *Calisthenes*, who being a man of free speech, honest, learned, and a louer of the Kings honour, was yet soone after tormented to death; not for that he had betraied the king to others: but because he neuer would condescend to betray the king to himselfe, as all his detestable flatterers did. For in a conspiracie against the king made by one *Hermolaus* and others (which they confest) he caused *Calisthenes* without confession, accusation, or triall, to be torne asunder vpon the racke: This deed vnworthy of a king, *Seneca* thus censureth. *Hoc est* Alexandri *crimen aternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum fœlicitas redimet. Nam quoties quis dixerit, Occidit Persarum multa millia: opponitur, &* Calisthenem: *Quoties dictum erit, Occidit* Darium: *opponitur, &* Calisthenem. *Quoties dictum erit, Omnia Oceano tenus vicit, ipsum quoque tentauit nouis elassibus, & Imperium ex angulo Thracie vsque ad Orientis terminos protulit: dicetur, sed* Calisthenem *occidit. Omnia licet antiqua Ducum Regumque exempla transierit, ex his quæ fecit nihil tam magnum erit quam scelus* Calisthenes; *This is the eternall crime of* Alexander, *which no vertue nor felicitie of his in warre shall euer be able to redeeme. For as often as any man shall say, He slew many thousand Persians; it shall be replied, He did so, and he slew* Calisthenes: *when it shall bee said, He slew* Darius, *it shall be replied, and* Calisthenes; *when it shall be said, He wanne all as farre as the very Ocean, thereon also he aduentured with vnusuall Naues; and extended his Empire from a corner of Thrace, to the vtmost bounds of the Orient, it shall be said withall; But he killed* Calisthenes. *Let him haue out-gone all the ancient*

examples

examples of Captaines and Kings; none of all his acts make so much to his glory, as Callisthenes *to his reproach.*

§. XX.

Of Alexanders *iourney into India. The battaile betweene him and* Porus.

WIth the Armie before remembred, of one hundred & twenty thousand foot and horse, *Alexander* did enter the borders of *India*, where such of the Princes, as submitted themselues vnto him, he entertained louingly, the rest he constrained; killing Man, Woman, and Childe, where they resisted. He then came before *Nisa* built by *Bacchus*, which after a few daies was rendred vnto him. From thence he removed to a Hill at hand, which on the top had goodly Gardens, filled with delicate fruits & Vines, dedicated to *Bacchus*, to vvhom he made feasts for ten daies together. Now when he had drunke his fill, he vvent on towards *Dedula*, and from thence to *Acadera*, Countries spoiled and abandoned by the Inhabitants; by reason whereof, victualls failing, he diuides his Armie: *Ptolomie* led one part, *Cenon*, another, and himselfe the rest. They take many Townes, whereof that of greatest fame was *Mazage*, which had in it 3. hundred thousand men; but after some resistance, it vvas yeelded vnto him by *Cleophe* the Queene, to whom againe he restored it; at the siege of this Citie he receiued a wound in the legge. After this, *Nora* was taken by *Polysperchon*, and a Rocke of great strength by himselfe: he wanne also a passage vpon one *Eryx*, who was slaine by his companie, and his head presented to *Alexander*. This is the summe of *Alexanders* doings in those parts, before such time as he arriued at the Riuer of *Indus*. Comming to *Indus*, he found there *Ephestion*, who (being sent before) had prepared boates for the transportation of his Army, and ere *Alexanders* arriuall, had perswaded *Omphis* King of that part of the Country, to submit himselfe to this great Conquerour. Therefore, soone vpon *Alexanders* comming, *Omphis* presented himselfe with all the strength of his Country, and sixe and fiftie Elephants, vnto him; offering him his seruice and assistance. He made *Alexander* know, that he vvas an Enemie to the next two great Kings of that part of *India*, named *Abiasares* and *Porus*; wherewith *Alexander* was not a little pleased, hoping by this dis-vnion to make his owne victorie by farre the more easie. He presented *Alexander* with a Crowne of gold, so did he the rest of his Commanders, and withall fourescore talents of siluer coyne; which *Alexander* not onely refused, but to shew that he was couetous of glory, not of gold, he gaue *Omphis* a thousand talents of his owne treasure, besides other *Persian* rarities. *Abiasares*, hauing heard that *Alexander* had receiued his enemie *Omphis* into his protection, resolued to make his owne peace also: For, knowing that his own strength did but equall that of *Omphis*, and that there was no other difference betweene them, than that which the chance of Warre gaue, he thought it an ill match vvhen *Alexander*, who had alreadie beaten vnder foote all the greatest Princes of *Asia*, should make himselfe a Party and Head of the quarrell. So had *Alexander* none now to stand in his way but *Porus*, to whom he sent a commandement, that he should attend him at the border of his kingdome, there to doe him homage. But from *Porus* he receiued this manly answer; That he vvould satisfie him in his first demand, which was to attend him on his borders, and that well accompanied; but for any other acknowledgement he vvas resolued to take counsell of his Sword. To be short, *Alexander* resolues to passe ouer the Riuer *Hydaspes*, and to finde *Porus* at his owne home. *Porus* attends him on the farther banke with thirtie thousand foot, fourescore & ten Elephants, and three hundred armed Chariots, and a great troop of Horse. If *Darius* had done the like on *Tigris*, *Alexander* had surely stayed somewhat longer ere he had seene *India*. The Riuer vvas foure furlongs broad, which makes halfe a mile, and withall deepe and swift. It had in it many Ilands, among which there vvas one vvell shadowed vvith vvood, and of good capacitie. *Alexander* sent *Ptolomie* vp the Riuer with a great part of the Army, showding the rest from the view of *Porus*: who by this deuice being drawne from his first intenamping, sets himselfe downe opposite to *Ptolomie*, supposing that the whole Armie of *Macedon* meant to force their passage there. In the meane while *Alexander* recouers the farther shore without resistance. He orders his troopes and aduanceth towards *Porus*, who at first rather beleeues, that *Abiasares* his Confederate (but now the Confederate of fortune) had bin come ouer *Hydaspes* to his aide, than that *Alexander* had past it. But

But he findes it otherwise, and sends his Brother *Hagis* with foure thousand horse, and a hundred armed waggons to entertaine him. Each waggon had in it foure to fight, and two to guide it; but they were at this time of little vse: for there had fallen so much raine, and thereby the fields were so moistned, as the horses could hardly trot. The *Scythians* and *Dahans* had the Vantguard, who so galled these *Indians*, as they brake their reines, & other furniture, ouerturning the waggons, and those in them. *Perdiccas* also gaue vp the *Indian* horse-men, and the one and the other were forc'd to recoile. *Porus* moues forward with grosse of his Armie, that those of his Vantguard scattered might recouer his Reare: *Alexander* being followed with *Ephestion*, *Ptolomie*, and *Perdiccas*, tooke on him to charge the *Indian* horse-men on the left wing, commanding *Cenus* or *Cenon* to inuade the right; *Antigonus* and *Leonatus*, he directed to breake vpon *Porus* his battaile of foot, strengthened with Elephants, *Porus* himself being carried vpon one of them, of the greatest stature. By these beasts the *Macedonian* foote were most offended; but the Archers and Darters being well guarded with the long & strong Pikes of the *Macedonians*, so galled them as being inraged, they turned head, and ranne ouer the foot that followed them: In the end, and after along and doubtfull fight, by the aduantage of weapon, and by the courage and skilfulnesse of the *Macedonian* Captaines, the victory fell to *Alexander*, who also farre exceeded *Porus* in number: for besides the *Macedonians* and other Easterne and Northerne Nations, *Porus* was assailed by his owne Confederate and Countie people. Yet for his owne person he neuer gaue ground otherwise than with his sword towards his enemies, till being weakened with many wounds, and abandoned by his Armie, he became a prisoner to the Conqueror, from whom againe he receiued his estate with a great enlargement.

§. XXI.

How Alexander *finished his expedition, and returned out of India.*

I Forbeare to trouble my selfe and others with a friuolous discourse of Serpents, Apes and Peacocks, which the *Macedonians* found in these their trauailes: or of those pettie Warres which *Alexander* made betweene the ouerthrow of *Porus*, and his sailing downe the Riuer of *Indus*. The descriptions of places about the head and branches thereof are better knowne vnto vs in this Age, by meanes of our late Nauigations into those parts, than they were in any former times. The magnificence and riches of those Kings we could in no sort be perswaded to beleeue, till our own experience had taught vs, that there were many stranger things in the World, than are to be seene betweene *London* and *Staines*.

Our great traueller *Mandeuile*, who died in the yeare 1372. and had seene so much of the World, and of the East *India*, we accompted the greatest fabler of the World; yet had he another reputation among other Nations, as well able to iudge as we. Witnesse the Monument made of him in the Couent of the Friers *Guillimius* in *Liege*, where the religious of that place keep some things of his, *Comme pour honorable memoire de son Excellence*; *For an honourable memorie of his Excellentie*, saith *Guichardine*. Guic. in Diss. of the Low Countries.

The Countries towards the Springs of *Indus*, and where those many Riuers of *Hydaspes*, *Zaradris*, *Acesines*, and the rest, fall into the maine streame, are now possest by the great *Mogor*, the ninth from *Tamberlaine*, who commands all that tract betweene *Persia* and *Indus* towards the West, as also a great extent of Countrie towards *Ganges*. In the mouth of *Indus*, the *Ascension*, a shippe of *London*, suffered shipwracke, in the yeare 1609. and some of the company trauelled ouer Land till they came to *Agra*, the same great Citie (as I take it) which our later Cosmographers call *Nagra*, being named of old *Dionysopolis*.

Philostratus in the life of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, speaking of the expedition of *Bacchus* and *Hercules* into the East *India*, tells vs, that those two great Captaines (whom *Alexander* sought by all means to out-fame) when they indeuoured to subiect to them the *Oxydracæ*, a people inhabiting betweene the Riuers of *Hyphasis* and *Ganges*, they were beaten from the assault of their Cities with thunder and lightnings. This may well be vnderstood by the great Ordinance that those people had then in vse. For it is now certainly knowne, that the great kings of the vttermost East, haue had the vse of the Canon many hundreds of yeares since, and euen since their first ciuiltie and greatnesse, vvhich vvas long before

Alexanders

Alexanders time. But *Alexander* pierc't not so farre into the East. It sufficed, that hauing alreadie ouer-wearied his Armie, he discouered the rest of *India* by fame. The *Indian* Kings whom he had subdued, informed him, that a Prince called *Aggramenes*, who commanded many Nations beyond the Riuer *Ganges*, was the powerfullest king of all those Regions: and that he was able to bring into the field two hundred thousand Foot, three thousand Elephants, twenty thousand Horse, and two thousand armed Chariots. With this report, though *Alexander* were more inflamed than euer to proceed in this discouery and conquest, yet all the art he had, could not persuade the Souldiers to wander ouer those great Desarts beyond *Indus* and *Ganges*, more terrible vnto them than the greatest Armie that the East could gather. Yet at the last contented they were, after many persuasiue Orations, to follow him towards the South, to discouer such part of the Ocean Sea, as was neerer at hand, whereunto the Riuer of *Indus* was their infallible guide. *Alexander* seeing that it would be no otherwise, deuised a prettie tricke, wherewith he hoped to beguile posteritie, and make himselfe seeme greater than he was. He enlarged his Campe, made greater trenches, greater cabbines for Souldiers, greater Horse-stalles, and higher mangers than Horses could feede in. He caused all furniture of Men and Horses to be made larger than would serue for vse, and scattered these Armours & Bridles about his Campe, to be kept as reliques, and wondred at by the Sauages. Proportionable to these he raised vp twelue great Altars to be the monument of his iournies end. This was a readie way to encrease the fame of his bignesse, to his greatnesse it could adde nothing saue a suspition, that it was lesse than is thought, seeing he stroue so earnestly to make it thought more than it was.

This done, he returned againe to the banke of *Acesines*, and there determined to set vp his fleet, where *Acesines* and *Hydaspis* incounter; where to testifie by a surer monument, how far he had past towards the East, he built by those riuers two Cities: the one he called *Nicæa*, & the other *Bucephalon*, after the name of his beloued Horse *Bucephalus*. Here againe he receiued a fourth supply of sixe thousand *Thracian* Horse-men, seuen thousand Foot, and from his Lieutenant at *Babylon* fiue and twenty thousand Armours, garnished with siluer and gold, which he distributed among his Souldiers. About these Riuers he wan many Townes, and committed great slaughter on those that resisted; It is then written of him, that assaulting a Citie of the *Oxidracans*, he lept from the top of the wall into it, and sought, I know not how long, against all the Inhabitants; tales like those of *Beuis* of *Southampton*, friuolous and incredible. Finally, he past downe the Riuer with his fleet, at which time also the newes came vnto him of a rebellion in *Bactria*, and then of the arriuall of an hundred Embassadours from a King of *India*, who submitted himselfe vnto him. He feasted these Embassadours vpon a hundred beds of gold, with all the sumptuosity that could be deuised, who soone after their dispatch, returned againe with a present of three hundred Horse, one hundred and thirty Waggons, and to each of them foure Horses, a thousand Targets, with many other things rare and rich.

Their entertainments ended, he sailed towards the South, passed through many obscure Nations, which did all yeeld vnto him either quietly, or compelled by force: among these he builded another *Alexandria*. Of many places which he tooke in this passage, *Samus* was one, the Inhabitants whereof fought against him with poysoned swords, with one of which *Ptolomie* (afterward king of *Egypt*) was wounded, and cured by an hearb which *Alexander* dreamt he had seene in the mouth of a Serpent.

When he came neere the out-let of *Indus* (being ignorant of the tides of the Sea) his Gallies as they were on a sudden, shuffled one vpon another by the Floud, so on the Ebbe they were left on the drie ground, and on the sandie bankes of the Riuer, wherewith the *Macedonians* were much amazed; but after he had a few daies obserued well the course of the Sea, he past out of the riuers mouth some few miles, and after Sacrifices offered to *Neptune*, returned: and the better to informe himselfe, he sent *Nearchus* and *Onesicritus*, to discouer the coast towards the mouth of *Euphrates*. *Arrianus* in the beginning of his sixt Booke hath written this passage downe the Riuer of *Indus* at length, with the manner of the Vessels, in which he transported his Army, the Commanders that were vsed therein, and other the maruellous prouisions made.

Neere the out-lets of this riuer, he spent some part of the Winter, and in eighteene daies march from thence recouered *Gedrosia*, in which passage his Armie suffered such miserie

miserie for want of foode, that of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and twelue thousand horse, which he carried into *India*, not the fourth part returned aliue.

§. XXII.

Of Alexanders *Riot, Crueltie, and death.*

FRom *Gedrosia*, *Alexander* led his Armie into *Carmania*, and so drawing neere to *Persia*, he gaue himselfe wholly to feasting and drinking, imitating the triumphs of *Bacchus*. And though this Swinish vice be hatefull enough in it selfe, yet it alwaies inflamed this King to Crueltie. *For (* saith *Curtius)* *the Hang-man followed the feast, for* Aspastes *one of his Prouinciall Gouernors he commanded to be slaine, so as neither did the excesse of voluptuousnesse qualifie his crueltie, nor his crueltie hinder in ought his voluptuousnesse.*

While he refreshed his Army in these parts, a new supply of fiue thousand foot and a thousand horse, was brought him by *Cleander*, and his fellows, that had bin imployed in the killing of *Parmenio*. Against these Murderers great complaint was made by the Deputies of the Prouinces, in which they had commanded; and their offences were so outragious, as *Alexander* was perswaded, that, had they not altogether despaired of his returne out of *India*, they durst not haue commited them. All men were glad of the occasion, remembring the vertue of him, whom they had slaughtered. The end was, That *Cleander*, and the other chiefe, with sixe hundred Souldiers by them imployed, were deliuered ouer to the Hang-man: euery one reioycing that the Ire of the King was at last executed on the ministers of his Ire.

Nearchus and *Onesicritus* were now returned from the coast, and made report of an Iland rich in gold, and of other strange things; whereupon they were commanded to make some farther discouerie: which done, that they should enter the mouth of *Euphrates*, and finde the King at *Babylon*.

As he drew neere to *Babylon*, he visited the Sepulchre of *Cyrus* in *Pasargada*, now called *Chalquera*: where he was presented with many rich gifts by *Orsines*, one of the Princes of *Persia*, of the race of *Cyrus*. But because *Bagoæ*, an *Eunuch* in especiall fauour with the King, was neglected, he not only practised certaine loose fellowes to witnesse against *Orsines*, that he had robbed *Cyrus* tombe, for which he was condemned to die; but he assisted the Hang-man with his own hands in tormenting him. At which time also *Alexander* caused *Phradites* to be slaine, suspecting his greatnesse. *Cæperat* (saith *Curtius*) *esse præceps ad repræsentanda supplicia, item ad deteriora credenda; He began head-longly to shed bloud, and to beleeue false reports.* It is true, that he tooke a way to make all men weary of his gouernement, seeing crueltie is more fearefull, than all aduentures that can be made against it.

Arrianus hath a farre different description of *Cyrus* Tombe.

At this time it is said, that *Calanus* the Philosopher burnt himselfe, when he had liued threescore and thirteene yeares. Whether herein he followed the custome of his Countrie, being an *Indian*, or sought to preuent the griefe and incommoditie of elder age, it is vncertaine: but in this the Historians agree, that fore-seeing and fore-shewing *Alexanders* death, he promised to meet him shortly after at *Babylon*.

From *Pasargada* he came to *Susa*, where he maried *Statira*, *Darius* his eldest Daughter, giuing her younger sister to his beloued *Ephestion*, and fourescore other *Persian* Ladies to his Captaines. There were sixe thousand guests inuited to the feast, to each of which he gaue a cup of gold. Here there came vnto him three thousand young souldiers, out of his conquered Prouinces, whereat the *Macedonians* greatly murmured. *Harpalus*, his Treasurer in *Babylon*, hauing lauishly consumed the monies in his keeping, got him going with fiue thousand Talents, and sixe thousand hired Souldiers; but he was rejected in *Greece*, and there slaine. *Alexander* greatly reioyced at the fidelity of the *Greeks*, whom *Harpalus* with these forces and treasures could not stirre: yet he sent commandement, that they should againe receiue their banished men, whereunto (fearefull of his indignation) all submitted themselues (except the *Athenians*) though they resolued, that it was a manifest preparation towards their bondage. After this there followed a maruellous discontentment in his Army, because he had resolued to send into *Macedon* all those old Souldiers which could no longer endure the trauell of War, and to keepe the rest in *Asia*. He vsed many Orations to satisfie them, but it was in vaine during the tempest

tempest of their fury. But afterward, as Whales are drawne to the Land with a twine-threed, when they haue tumbled a while, so are the vnconsiderate multitude easily conducted when their first passions are euaporate. With such as were licenced to depart, he sent *Craterus*, to whom he gaue the Lieutenantship of *Macedon*, *Thessaly*, and *Thrace*, vvhich *Antipater* had held from his first departure out of *Europe*, who had beaten the rebellious *Greeks* in his absence, discharged the trust committed vnto him with great fidelitie, and sent him so many strong supplies into *Asia* from time to time. Certainely if *Alexander* had not taken counsell of his cups, he would haue cast some better colour on this alteration, and giuen *Antipater* a stronger reason for his remoouе, than to haue imployed him in the conduction of a new supply to be brought him to *Babylon*, the Warre being now at an end. For *Antipater* saw nothing in this remoue, but the Kings disposition to send him after *Parmenio*, and the rest. With this *Antipater*, the King, notwithstanding his great courage, had no great appetite to grapple: Princes, though iealous, doe not stand in doubt of euery man ill affected, though valiant: but there is a kinde of kingly courage, compounded of hardinesse and vnderstanding, which is many times so fearefull vnto them, as they take leaue both of Law and Religion, to free themselues thereof.

After he had sent for *Antipater*, he made a iourney into *Media* to settle things there; where *Ephestion*, whom he fauoured most of all men, dies. The King according to the greatnesse of his loue, laments his losse, hangs his Physician, and bestowes vpon his Monument twelue thousand talents: After which he returnes to *Babylon*. Thither *Antipater* came not, but sent; and not to excuse himselfe, but to free himselfe. For if we beleeue *Curtius* (whom *Plutarch* and others gaine-say) *Antipater* by his sonnes, *Cassander*, *Philip*, and *Iolla*, who waited on *Alexanders* cup, gaue him poyson; *Thessalus* (vvho vvas of the conspiracie) hauing inuited him to a drinking feast of purpose. For after he had taken a carouse in *Hercules* his cup, a draught of drinke stronger than *Hercules* himselfe, he quitted the World within a few daies.

Certainly the Princes of the World haue seldome found good, by making their Ministers ouer-great, and thereby suspicious to themselues. For he that doth not acknowledge fidelitie to be a debt, but is perswaded, that Kings ought to purchase it from their Vassalls, will neuer please himselfe vvith the price giuen. The onely restoratiue, indeed, that strengthens it, is the goodnesse and vertue of the Prince, and his liberality makes it more diligent; so as proportion and distance be obserued. It may be that *Antipater* hauing commanded two or three kingdomes ten or twelue yeares, knew not how to play any other part; no more than *Cæsar* did, after he had so long a time gouerned the *Gaules*, where he vtterly forgat the art of obedience. A most cruell and vngratefull traitor *Antipater* was, if *Curtius* do not belie him: For though he feared some ill measure vpon his remoue (the Tragedies of *Parmenio*, *Clytus*, and *Callisthenes*, hauing bin so lately acted) yet he knew nothing to the contrary, but that the king had resolued to haue giuen him some other great gouernment in *Asia*: The old Souldiers thence returned, hauing perchance desired to be gouerned by *Craterus*, whom they had followed in all the former Warre.

§.XXIII.

Of Alexanders *person and qualities.*

HOwsoeuer it vvere, *Alexanders* former cruelties cannot be excused, no more than his vanitie to be esteemed the sonne of *Iupiter*, with his excessiue delight in drinke and drunkennesse, which others make the cause of his feuer and death. In that he lamented his want of enterprising, and grieued to consider what he should doe when he had conquered the World, *Augustus Cæsar* found iust cause to deride him, as if the well-gouerning of so many Nations and kingdomes, as he had already conquered, could not haue offered him matter more than abundant, to busie his braines withall. That he was both learned and a louer of learning, it cannot be doubted. Sir *Francis Bacon*, in his first booke of the Aduancement of Learning, hath prooued it sufficiently. His liberalitie I know not how to praise, because it exceeded proportion. It is said, That when he gaue a whole Citie to one of his seruants, He, to whom it was giuen, did out of modesty refuse it, as disproportionable to his fortune: to whom *Alexander* replied, That he did not enquire what became him to accept, but the King to giue: of which *Seneca*; *Animosa*

Animosa vox videtur & regia, cum sit sublimissima. Nihil enim per se quenquam decet, refert, quid, cui, quando, quare, vbi, &c. sine quibus festi ratio non constabit; habeatur personarum & dignitatum proportio, & cum sit vbique, vt hic modus, cui peccat quod excedit, quam quod deficit; It seemes a braue and royall speech, whereas indeed it is very foolish. For nothing simply considered by it selfe beseemes a man. We must regard what, to whom, when, why, where, and the like; without which considerations no act can be approued. Let honours be proportioned vnto the persons: for whereas were the is euer limited by measure; the excesse is as faulty as the defect. Re-l.2.de Ben.c.1.

For his Person, it is very apparant, That he was as valiant as any man, a disposition taken by it selfe, not much to be admired; For I am resolued that he had ten thousand in his Army as daring as himselfe. Surely, if aduenturous natures were to be commended simply, we should confound that vertue with the hardinesse of Theeues, Ruffians, and mastiffe Dogges. For certainely it is no way praise-worthy but in daring good things, and in the performance of those lawfull enterprises, in which we are imployed for the seruice of our Kings and Common-weales.

If we compare this great Conqueror with other troublers of the World, who haue bought their glory with so great destruction, and effusion of blould, I thinke him far inferiour to *Cæsar*, & many other that liued after him, seeing he neuer vndertooke any warlike Nation, the naked Scythians excepted; nor was euer encountred with any Army of which he had not a most mastring aduantage, both of Weapons & Commanders, euery one of his Fathers old Captaines by far exceeding the best of his Enemies. But it seems, Fortune and Destinie (if we may vse those terms) had found out and prepared for him, without any care of his owne, both heapes of Men, that willingly offered their necks to the yoke, and Kingdomes, that inuited and called in their owne Conquerours. For conclusion, we will agree with *Seneca*, who speaking of *Philip* the Father, and *Alexander* the Son, giues this iudgment of them: *Quid non minores fuere pestes mortalium quam inundatio, qua planum omne perfusum est, quam conflagratio qua magna pars animantium exaruit; They were no lesse plagues to mankinde, than an ouerflow of Waters, drowning all the leuell; or some burning drought, whereby a great part of liuing creatures are scorched vp.* Natur.quæst. l.3.q.1.

CHAP. III.

The reigne of Aridæus.

§.I.

Of the question about succession to Alexander.

THE death of *Alexander* left his Army (as *Demades* the Athenian then compared it) in such case, as was that monstrous Giant *Polyphemus*, hauing lost his onely eye. For, that which is reported in fables of that great *Cyclops*, might well be verified of the Macedonians: their force was intolerable, but for want of good guidance vneffectuall, and harmfull chiefly to themselues. The causes wherof (vnder the diuine ordinance) were, partly the vncertainty of Title to succession in the Kingdome of Macedon, partly the stubborne pride of *Alexander* himselfe, who thinking none worthy to be his Heire, did refuse to establish the right in any one, leauing euery one to his owne fortune: but especially the great ambition of his followers, who all had learned of their Master to suffer no equalls; a lesson soon taught vnto spirits reflecting vpon their owne worth, when the reuerence of a greater obiect faileth.

It hath formerly beene shewed, That *Philip* (the Father of *Alexander*) gouerning in Macedon as Protector, assumed vnto himselfe the Kingdome, not rendring it vnto *Amyntas*, (the Sonne of his elder brother *Perdiccas*) when he grew to mans estate; but onely bestowing vpon him in marriage a Daughter of his owne: by which bond, and much more by his owne proper strength, he assured the Crowne vnto himselfe; *Amyntas* neuer attempting ought against *Philip*; though (with price of his life) he did

against *Alexander* in the beginning of his reigne. Wherefore *Eurydice*, the sole issue of this marriage, ought in reason to haue beene acknowledged Queen after *Alexander*; as hauing better Title thereto, than either He or *Philip* had, when they liued, vnlesse (peraduenture) some Law of that Nation forbad the reigne of Women. But the excellent vertue of these two Princes had vtterly defaced the right of all Pretenders, not claiming from their owne bodies: and so great were their conquests, that Macedon it selfe was (in regard of them) a very small Appendix, and no way deseruing to be laid in ballance against the demand of their posterity, had they left any able to make challenge of the Royall seate.

Alexander hauing taken many wiues, had issue by none of the principall of them. *Barsine* the Daughter of *Artabazus* a Persian had borne vnto him a young Son: and *Roxane* the Daughter of *Oxyartes* (whom he had more solemnly married) was left by him great with childe. But the basenesse of the Mothers, and contempt of the conquered Nations, was generally alleaged in Barre of Plea made for them, by some that would (perhaps) haue wrought out their owne ends, vnder the name of *Alexanders* children.

Cleopatra a sister of *Alexander*, widow to the King of Epirus, & *Aridæus* his base brother (son to *Philip* by a Concubine of no account) who had married the Lady *Eurydice* before mentioned, were next in course. Of *Cleopatra* there was no speech, which may giue suspition, that either Law or Custome had made that sexe vncapable of the Soueraignty: *Aridæus* (besides his bastardy) was neither for person nor quality fit to rule as King; yet vpon him the election fell, but slowly, and (as happeneth often) for lacke of a better: when the Counsailors hauing ouer-laboured their disagreeing wits in deuising what was best, were content for very wearinesse to take what came next to hand.

Ptolomy (soon after King of Egypt) concurring with them who reiected all mention of the halfe-Persian brood, King *Alexanders* children, was of opinion, that the rule of all should be giuen to the Captaines; that going for law which by the greater part of them should be decreed: so farre was he from acknowledging any one as true Heire to the Crowne.

This *Ptolomy* was called the sonne of *Lagus*, but reputed of *Philip*: who hauing vsed the company of *Arisinoë Ptolomie's* mother, deliuered her in marriage to *Lagus* being great with childe. Therefore, vvhether it were so, that he hoped well to worke his own fortune out of those dissensions, which are incident vnto the consultations of many ambitious men, equall in place, forcing them at length to redeeme their quiet with subiection to one, deseruing regard by his bloud, and trust for his euen carriage; or whether he desired onely to get a share to himselfe, which could not haue come to passe, had all been giuen to one: plaine enough it is, that he thought not on preferring *Aridæus* before himselfe; and therefore gaue such counsaile as fitted his owne and other mens purposes. Yea, this deuice of his tooke place indeed, though not in forme as he had propounded it: For, it vvas in effect all one, to haue assembled at *Alexanders* empty chaire, as *Ptolomy* had conceiued the forme of their consultations, or to set in the chaire such a King as *Aridæus*, no wiser than the chaire it selfe. Also the controuersies arising were determined by the greater part of the Captaines; by the greater part if not in number, yet in puissance.

But as these counterfeit shewes of dissembling aspirers, doe often take checke by the plain dealing of them, who dare to go more directly to worke: so was it like to haue fared with *Ptolomy* & the rest, when *Aristonus*, another of the Captaines, interpreted the very words of *Alexander*; saying, That he left his Kingdom to the worthiest, as designing *Perdiccas*, to whom (lying at the point of death) he deliuered his ring. It seemed good in reason, that *Alexander* should be disposer of his owne purchases: and those tokens of *Alexanders* purpose appeared plain enough, so long as no man would interpose anothers construction: euery one being vncertain how the secret affections of the rest might be inclined. Many therefore, either out of their loue, or because they would not be of the latest, vrged *Perdiccas* to take vpon him the estate Royall. He was no stranger to the Royall bloud; yet his birth gaue him not such reputation, as the great fauour of his dead King, with whom he had bin very inward, & that especially since the death of *Ephestion* (a powerful Minion) into whose place he was chosen. For his own worth he might wel be commended, as a good man of Warre, and one that had giuen much proofe of his priuate valour. But very surly he was: which quality (ioyned with good fortune) carried a shew of Maiesty:

Maiesty: being checkt with misaduenture, it was called by a true name Pride; and rewarded with death.

In the present businesse a foolish ouer-weaning did him as great harme, as it had been great happinesse to haue succeeded *Alexander*. For not content to haue the acclamation of the Souldiers, approuing the sentence of *Aristonus*, he would needs counterfeit modesty; thinking that euery one of the Princes would haue intreated him to take the waighty burden of an Empire, which would be the less enuious, the more solemnity he vsed in the acceptance. It is truely said; He that faineth himselfe a Sheep, may chance to be eaten by a Wolfe. *Meleager*, (a man by nature enuious, and bearing a particular hatred to *Perdiccas*) tooke aduantage of his irresolute behauiour, and very bitterly enueighed against him. In conclusion, he pronounced, That whosoeuer was Heire to the Crowne, the Souldiers ought to be Heires to the treasure; and therefore he inuited them, who were nothing slow, to share it. This disturbed all the Consultation. The Captaines were left alone, farre enough from agreeing, and not able to haue brought any conclusion to good effect without consent of the Souldiers, who greedy of spoile thronged about *Meleager*.

§. II.

The Election of Aridæus, *with the troubles there-about arising; the first diuision of the Empire.*

DVring this vp-roare, mention was made of *Aridæus* by some one, and entertained with good liking of many, vntill at last it grew to the voice of the Army. *Meleager* hauing withdrawne himselfe tumultuously from the company of the Lords, was glad of so faire an occasion to make himselfe great: therefore he produced *Aridæus*, commended him to the Souldiers, who called him by his Fathers name *Philip*, and brought him into the Palace, inuesting him in *Alexanders* Robes, and proclaiming him King. Many of the Nobles withstood this election, but in vaine: for they could not resolue what course to follow, reiecting this. Only *Python*, a hot-headed man, tooke vpon him to proclaime the Sonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, according to the counsaile which *Perdiccas* at first had giuen, appointing *Perdiccas* and *Leonatus* his Protectors. But this childe was not yet borne, which made that attempt of *Python* vaine. Finally, *Perdiccas* with sixe hundred men, and *Ptolomy* with the Kings Pages tooke vpon them to defend the place where *Alexanders* body lay: but the Army conducted by *Meleager*, who carried the new King about whither he listed, easily brake in vpon them, and inforced them to accept *Aridæus* for their Soueraigne Lord. Then by the intercession of the ancient Captains, a reconciliation was propounded and admitted, but on neither side faithfully meant.

Leonatus, who was of Royall bloud, a goodly Gentleman and valiant, issued out of Babylon, being followed by all the horse, which consisted (for the most part) of the Nobility. *Perdiccas* abode in the City (but standing vpon his guard) that he might be ready to take the opportunity of any commotion, that should happen among the infantry. The King (who was gouerned by *Meleager*) commanded or gaue leaue to haue *Perdiccas* made away; which attempt succeeded ill, being neither secretly carried, nor committed to sure executioners. Their comming was not vnexpected: and they were by *Perdiccas* rebuked with such grauity, that they departed honester than they came; being sorry for their bad enterprise. Vpon the newes of this attempt the Campe was in an vp-roare, which the King seeking to pacifie, wanted authority, as hauing newly got the Crowne by them, and holding it by their courtesie. The matter it selfe afforded no good excuses, and his indiscretion made them worse. He said, that no harme was done, for *Perdiccas* was aliue: but their exclamations were against the tyrannous enterprise, which he imputed to *Meleager*; abandoning the surest of his friends to the rage of the multitude, who were not appeased, vntill the King by offering to resigne his estate vnto them, renued out of their pitty that fauourable affection, which had moued them to set him vp at the first.

Perdiccas hauing now ioyned himselfe with *Leonatus*, kept the fields, intending to cut off all prouision of victuals from the City. But after sundry Embassies passing betweene the

the King and the Nobles, (they requiring to haue the Authors of sedition giuen vp into their hands; the King, that *Meleager* might be ioyned with *Leonatus* and *Perdiccas*, as a Third in gouernment of the Army) things were compounded according to the Kings desire. *Meleager* should haue done well to consider, That such men as had one day demanded his head, were not like the day following to giue him a principall place among them without any new occasion offered, had not some purpose of treachery lurked vnder their great facility. Generall peace was renewed, and much loue protested where little was intended. The face of the Court was the same which it had beene in *Alexanders* time: but no longer now did the same heart giue it life; and windy spirits they were which moued in the arteries. False reports were giuen out by appointment of *Perdiccas*, tending to his owne disgrace, but in such termes as might seeme to haue proceeded from *Meleager*: who finding part of the drift, but not all, tooke it as an iniury done to himselfe; and (as desirous of a true friendship) desired of *Perdiccas*, that such authors of discord might be punished. *Perdiccas* (as a louer of peace) did well approue the motion; and therefore agreed that a generall Muster should be made, at which time the disturbers of the common quiet should receiue their punishment (as was the manner for Souldiers offending) in presence of the Army. The plot was mischieuously laied. Had *Meleager* giuen way to seditious rumours, he must needs haue incurred the generall hatred of all, as a sower of dissension, & therby with a publike approbation might haue bin cut off, as hauing often offended in that kind: his Prince being too weake a Patron. Now seeking redresse of these disorders, he hastened his owne ruine, by a lesse formall, but more speedy way. This kinde of Muster was very solemne, and practised with many ceremonies, as for cleansing of the Army. The Horse-men, the Elephants, the Macedonian foot, the Mercenaries, were each according to their quality set in aray, apart from others, as if they had beene of sundry sorts, met at aduenture: which done, the maner was to skirmish (as by way of exercise) according to the direction of their seuerall Captaines. But at that time the great battaile of Macedonian Pikes, which they called the *Phalanx*, led by *Meleager*, was of purpose bestowed in a ground of disaduantage; and the countenance of the Horse and Elephants beginning to giue charge vpon them, was such, as discouered no iesting pastime nor good intent. Kings were alwaies wont to fight among the horse-men: of which custome *Perdiccas* made great vse that day, to the vtter confusion of his enemies. For *Aridæus* was alwaies gouerned by him, which for the present had him in possession. Two or three daies before, he sought the death of *Perdiccas* at the instigation of *Meleager*: now hee rides with *Perdiccas* vp and downe about the foot-men, commanding them to deliuer vnto the death all such as *Perdiccas* required. Three hundred they were who were cast vnto the Elephants, and by them slaine, in the presence of the King, who should haue defended them, and of their affrighted companions. But these three hundred were not the men whose punishment *Meleager* had expected: they were such as had followed him, when he disturbed the first consultation that was held about the election of a new King, and some of them his especiall friends. Hauing therfore kept himself quiet a while, as vnwilling to giue offence to them which had the aduantage; when he saw their proceedings tend very manifestly to his destruction, he fled away into a Temple, which he found no Sanctuary: for thither they sent and slew him.

The Army being thus corrected was led into the City, where a new Councell of the Princes was held, who finding what maner of man their King was, diuided all the Prouinces of the Empire among themselues; leauing to *Aridæus* the office of a Visitor, and yet making *Perdiccas* his Protector, and Commander of the forces remaining with him. Then were the funerals of *Alexander* thought upon; whose body hauing bin seuen daies neglected, was opened, and embalmed by the Egyptians: no signe of poison appearing, how great soeuer the suspition might be. The charge of his buriall was committed to *Aridæus*: one of the Captains, who was two yeares preparing of a great and costly shew, making a stately Chariot in which the corps was laid; many coarses of his friends being layed in the ground before that of *Alexander* was bestowed in Alexandria, a City of his owne building, in Egypt.

§.III.

§.III.

The beginning of the Lamian Warre.

WHilest these things were in doing, or presently after, *Antipater* & *Craterus*, two principall Noble-men, and inferior to none of *Alexanders* followers, if not greater than any of the rest, were busied in Greece with a war, which the Athenians more brauely than wisely had begun in *Alexanders* life, but now did prosecute more boldly than before, vpon the courage which they had taken by his death. *Alexander*, not long before he died, had commanded that all the banished Greekes (few excepted) should be restored vnto their former places. He knew the factious quality of the Grecian Estates, & therfore thought so to prouide, that in euery City he would haue a sure party. But it fell out otherwise: For he lost the hearts of many more than he wan by this proud iniunction. His pleasure indeede was fulfilled; yet not without great murmuring of the whole Nation, as being against all order of Law; and a beginning of open tyranny. The Athenians greatly decayed in estate, but retaining more than was needfull of their ancient spirits, forbad the execution of this decree in their Dominions; so did also the Ætolians, who were valiant men, and inhabited a Region well fortified by nature: yet neither of them tooke Armes, but seemed to beare themselues, as men that had done no more than they might well iustifie by reason: neuertheless to preuent the worst, the Athenians gaue secret instructions to *Leosthenes* a Captaine of theirs, willing him to leuie an Army, but in his owne name, and to keepe it in a readinesse for their vse. This was no hard thing for *Leosthenes* to doe: great numbers of Greek Souldiers being lately returned from the Asian Warre in poore estate, as defrauded of their pay by the Captaines. Of these he had gathered vp eight thousand, when the certain newes were brought of *Alexanders* death: at which the City of Athens declared it selfe, and more honourably than wisely, proclaimed open War against the Macedonians for the liberty of Greece. Hereupon *Leosthenes* drew in the Ætolians, and some other Estates, gaue battaile to the Bœotians, who sided with *Antipater*, and ouerthrew them; growing so fast in reputation, and so strong in Adherents; That *Antipater* (arming in all haste, yet suspecting his owne strength) was faine to send into Asia to *Craterus* for succour.

Nothing is more vaine than the feares and hopes of men, shunning or pursuing their destinies afarre off, which deceiue all mortall wisedome, euen when they seem neere at hand. One month was scarcely past, since nothing so heauily burthened the thoughts of *Antipater* as the return of *Craterus* into Macedon; which hee then feared as death, but now desired as the most likely assurance of his life. *Craterus*, whom *Alexander* held as of all men the most assured vnto him, was sent into Macedon to conueigh home the old Souldiers (that was the pretence,) & to succeed *Antipater* in the gouernment of Macedon and Greece. The suspitions were strong that he had a priuy charge to put *Antipater* to death: neither did that which was commonly published sound much better; which was, That *Antipater* should be sent vnto the King, as Captaine of the young Souldiers, newly to be leuied in Europe. For *Alexander* was much incensed against him by his Mother *Olympias*: and would sometimes giue out speeches, testifying his owne ielousie and hatred of him; but yet he stroue to smother it, which in a cruell Prince betokeneth little good. Few of *Alexanders* Lieutenants had escaped with life: most of them indeed were meane persons in regard of those who followed him in his Indian expedition, and were therefore (perhaps) remoued to make place for their betters. But if the Kings rigour was such, as could finde rebellious purposes (for so he interpreted euen lewd gouernment) in base persons; little might *Antipater* hope for, who hauing sitten Vice-roy ten yeares in the strongest part of the Empire, was called away to the presence of so fell a Master, and the enuy of a Court, wherein they had beene his inferiours, which would now repine to see him their equall. Therefore whether his feare drew him to preuention, working first the Kings death by poyson, giuen by his sonne *Iolaus*, *Alexanders* Cup-bearer; or whether it brake not foorth vntill opportunity had changed it into the passion of reuenge, which was cruelly performed by his son *Cassander*: great cause of much feare he had; which I note in this place, as the ground of effects to be produced in very few yeares.

At the present *Craterus* was sent for, and all the Captaines of companies lying neere,

solicited to make haste. Not without cause; For in Macedon there could not at that time be raised more than thirteene thousand foot, and sixe hundred horse; which Muster was of raw Souldiers, all the force of the Country being emptied into Asia. The Thessalians indeed who had long stood firme for *Philip* & *Alexander*, who also were the best horsemen of Greece, furnished him with very braue troops, that might haue done great seruice, had their faith held out, which they changed for the liberty of Greece. With these forces did *Antipater* in Thessaly trie the fortune of a battaile with *Leosthenes*, rather (as may seem) fearing the increase of his enemies power and rebellion of the Greeks, were they not checkt at the first) than presuming on his strength. For *Leosthenes* had of Athenians, Ætolians, and Mercenaries, two and twenty thousand foot, besides the assistance of many petty Signories, and of some Illyrians, and Thracians: of horse he brought into the field about two thousand and fiue hundred; but ouer-strong he was that way also, when once the Thessalians had reuolted vnto him. So *Antipater* lost the day: and his losse was such, that he neither was able to keep the field, nor to make a safe retrait into his owne Country: therefore he fled into the Towne of Lamia, which was well fortified, and well prouided of all things necessary to beare out a siege. Thither did *Leosthenes* follow him, present him battaile againe, and vpon refusall close vp the Towne with earth-works, and a wall. There will we leaue him for a while, trauailing in the last honourable enterprise that euer was vndertaken by that great City of Athens.

§. IV.

How Perdiccas *employed his Army.*

KIng *Aridæus* liuing vnder the rule of *Perdiccas*, when all the Princes were gone each to his owne Prouince, kept a naked Court: all his greatnesse consisting in a bare title, supported by the strength of his Protector, who cared not for him otherwise than to make vse of him. *Perdiccas* had no Prouince of his owne peculiar, neither was he like to be welcome to any whom he should visit in his gouernment. A stronger Army than any of the rest he had, which he might easily hope in that vnsettled condition of things to make better worth to him, than many Prouinces could haue bin. The better to accomplish his desires, he closely sought the marriage of *Cleopatra*, the sister of *Alexander*; yet about the same time he either married *Nicæa* the Daughter of *Antipater*, or made such loue to her as blinded their eyes, who did not somewhat narrowly search into his doings. *Ariarathes* the Cappadocian, the second of that name, & tenth King of that Country, had continued faithful to the Persian Empire as long as it stood: following the example of his forefathers, euen from *Pharnaces* the first that reigned in Cappadocia, who married *Atossa* sister to the great *Cyrus*. Some of his Ancestors had (indeed) beene oppressed by the Persians: but what Fortune tooke from them at one time, Vertue restored at another, and their faithfull Princes had much increased all. But now in the fatall Period of so great an Empire, with much wisdome, and (*Darius* being slain) with sufficient honour, he might haue acknowledged the Macedonian in the Persians roome. This he did not; neither did *Alexander* call him to account, being occupied with great cares. But *Perdiccas*, who had no greater businesse wherin to entertain his Army, found it expedient both for the honour of the Empire, to take that in-land Kingdome, surrounded with Prouinces of the Macedonian conquest, & for his owne particular to haue one opportune place of sure retrait, vnder the gouernment of a stedfast friend. Therefore he entred Cappadocia, fought with *Ariarathes*, who drew into the field thirty thousand foot, and fifteene thousand horse (a strong Army, had it not encountred a stronger, and better trained) wan the victory, and therby the whole kingdome. But with much cruelty did he vse the victory: for hauing taken *Ariarathes* prisoner with many others, he crucified him, and as many of his Kindred as he could light vpon; and so deliuered that Prouince to *Eumenes*, whom of all men liuing he trusted most.

Another part of his forces he had committed to *Python*, rather as to the most honourable of such as remained about him, than as to the most assured. *Python* was to subdue the Greeks, rebelling in the high Countries of Asia. About twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse they were, (all old Souldiers) who, planted in Colonies by *Alexander*, to bridle the barbarous nations, were soon weary of their vnpleasant habitations, & the rude people

people, among whom they liued; and therefore tooke aduantage of the present troubles to seeke vnto themselues a better fortune. Against these *Python* went, more desirous to make them his owne, than to destroy them: which intent of his, *Perdiccas* discouering, did both giue him in charge to put all those Rebels to the sword, giuing the spoyles of them to his Souldiers, and further enioyned it vnto *Pythons* Captaines (his owne creatures) that they should see this commandement executed. These directions for vse of the victory might haue proued needlesse; so vncertaine was the victory it selfe. A Captaine of the Rebels commanding ouer three thousand, corrupted by *Python*, did in the heate of the fight (which was very doubtfull) retire without necessity to a hill not farre off. This diminished the rest, and gaue the day to *Python*: who being farre enough from *Perdiccas*, offered composition to the vanquished, granting vnto them their liues and liberty, vnder condition of laying downe their armes; and hereupon he gaue them his faith. Being master of these Companies, he might well haue a good opinion of his own power: all power being then valued by strength in followers, when as none could vaunt himselfe as free Lord of any Territory. He had thirteene thousand foot, and eight thousand eight hundred horse, besides these new Companions, whom needlesse feare without great losse had caused to leaue the field: but in true estimation all the greatnesse wherof *Python* might thinke himselfe assured, was (and soon appeared to be) inherent in *Perdiccas*. For by his command were ten thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, of those which followed *Python*, leuied; the Rulers of the Prouinces carefully obeying the letters of *Perdiccas*, by which they were enioyned to giue assistance to that businesse: and by vertue of the precept giuen vnto them by *Perdiccas*, did the Macedonians cut in pieces all those poore men who had yeelded themselues; leauing *Python* as naked as he came forth to returne vnto his great Master.

Now was *Perdiccas* mighty aboue the mighty, and had faire leasure to pursue his hopes of marriage with *Cleopatra*, and thereby to make himselfe Lord of all: but this must be secretly carried for feare of opposition. How it succeeded, will appeare when the Lamian warre taketh ending.

§. V.

The processe of the Lamian warre.

WE left *Antipater* hardly besieged, wanting means to free himselfe without succours from his friends in Asia. Those helps not appearing so soon as he expected, he came to parley with *Leosthenes*, and would haue yeelded vnto any termes of reason, wherewith men possessed with hope of victory, do seldome limit their desires. *Leosthenes* willed him without further circumstance to submit himselfe to discretion. This was too much for him, that had once commanded ouer them, who now required of him such a dishonourable composition. Wherefore knowing that the extremities, from which as yet he was farre enough, could bring no worse with it, *Antipater* prepared for the defence; and the other for winning the Towne, which felt great want of victuals.

In this lingring warre, the Ætolians (whether weary of sitting still at a siege, or hauing businesse which they pretended at home) tooke their leaue, and returned into their own Country. Their departure left the trenches so thinly manned, that *Antipater* found meanes to sally out vpon his enemies to their great losse: for many were slaine, and *Leosthenes* himselfe among them, ere he could be repulsed into the Towne. Yet hereby the Macedonians were nothing relieued, their victuals wasted, and they were not strong enough to deale with the Greeks in open fight. *Craterus* was long in comming. *Lysimachus*, who was neerest at hand in Thrace, had worke too much of his owne, leading no more than foure thousand foote, and two thousand horse, against *Seuthas* the Thracian King, who brought into the field aboue foure times that number; and though *Lysimachus*, not without losse, had gotten one victory, yet the enemy abounding in multitude, felt not the blow so much as might abate his courage. Therefore *Leonatus* was earnestly sollicited by *Antipaters* friends, to make all haste to the rescue. He had the gouernment of Phrygia the lesse, and was able to raise an Army of more than twenty thousand foot, and two thousand fiue hundred horse, whether leuied out of his Prouince, or appointed vnto him out of the maine Army, it is vncertaine. Certaine it is, that he was more willing

ling to take in hand the iourny into Greece, than *Antipater* was to haue him come. For *Cleopatra* had written vnto him, desiring his presence at Pella, the chiefe City of Macedon, and very kindly offering her self to be his wife; which letters he kept not so close as had bin requisite, and therfore brought himselfe into great suspition, that soon ended with his life. *Antiphilus*, chosen Generall by the Athenians in place of *Leosthenes*, hearing of his approach forsooke the siege of Lamia, and took the ready way to these great Conquerers of Asia, with purpose to giue them an euill welcome home, before *Antipater* and they should ioyne in one. He had (notwithstanding the departure of the Ætolians) the aduantage of *Leonatus* in horse, by the ods of 2000. Thessalians; in other things he was equall with him; in cause he thought himselfe Superior; in the fortune of that day he proued so: for he wan a great victory (chiefly by vertue of the Thessalians) which appeared the greater by the end of *Leonatus* himselfe; who fighting valiantly was driuen into a marish piece of ground, where he found his death, which he desperately had sought among the Indians, but it waited for him at home, not far from the place of his natiuity. He was the first of *Alexanders* Captaines which died in battell, but all, or most of the rest, shall follow him the same way. After this day, the Athenians did neuer any thing sutable to their ancient glory.

The vanquished Macedonians were too weake to renew the fight, and too proud to flie. They betooke themselues to high grounds, vnfit for seruice on horse backe, and so abode in the sight of the enemy that day; the day following *Antipater* with his men came into their Campe, and tooke the charge of all. The Athenians perceiuing their strength to be at the greatest, and fearing lest that of the enemy should increase, did earnestly seeke to determine the matter quickly by another battaile. But still *Antipater* kept himselfe on ground of aduantage; which gaue more than reasonable confidence to the Greeks, many of whom departed to their homes, accounting the Enemy to be vanquished. This wretchlesness (incorrigible in an Army of voluntaries) was very inexcusable; seeing that the victories by Land were very much defaced by losses at Sea, where the Athenians labouring to haue made themselues once againe Masters, vvere put to the worst.

But now the fatall captiuity of Greece came on, of which she neuer could be deliuered vnto this day. *Craterus* with a strong Army hauing made great marches from Cilicia, passed ouer into Europe, and comming into Thessaly, ioyned himselfe with *Antipater*. The forces of *Leonatus*, *Antipater*, and *Craterus*, being ioyned in one, contained forty thousand weightily armed, three thousand light-armed men, and fiue thousand horse; of which numbers the Greekes wanted a thousand and fiue hundred in horse, in foote eighteen thousand. Carefully therefore did *Antiphilus* labour to auoid the necessity of a battaile, vntill such time as the Towns confederate, should returne vnto the Camp those bands which had straggled from it. But those companies were so slow in comming, and *Antipater* so vrgent vpon the Greekes, that compelled they were to put the matter in hazzard without further attendance. Like enough it is, that with a little more help they had carried away the victory: for the Thessalians had the vpper hand, and held it, vntill such time as they perceiued their battailes (ouer-laid with multitude) retire vnto the higher ground, which caused them also to fall back. So the Macedonians became Lords of the field, hauing little else to boast of, considering that with the losse of an hundred & thirty men, they had only purchased the death of some fiue hundred enemies. Yet hereof was great vse made: For the Greeks, as not subiect vnto the full command of one Generall, and being euery one desirous to preserue his owne estate, and City; concluded to make a treaty of peace with *Antipater*; who being a subtile Artificer, and well vnderstanding their aptnesse to diuision, refused to harken to any generall composition, but willed euery City to deale apart for it selfe. The intent of his deuice was so apparant, that it was reiected; the Greeks choosing rather to abide the comming of their Assistants, whose vnreasonable carelesnesse betraied the cause. *Antipater* and *Craterus* besieging and winning some Townes in Thessaly, which the Army of the Confederates wanted means and courage to relieue, wearied that Nation from attending any longer vpon other mens vnlikely hopes, with their owne assured and present calamity.

§.VI.

§.VI.

Of the peace granted to Athens by Antipater. *Of* Demosthenes *his death.*

THe Thessalians falling off, all the rest soone followed seuerely, and sued for peace; the gentle conditions giuen to the most forward, inuiting such as were slacke. Onely the Athenians and Ætolians held out. Little fauour could they hope for, hauing beene Authors of this tumult: and their feare was not great; the seat of the warre being farre from them. But the celerity of *Antipater* confounded all their imaginations; who sate still at Athens, deuising vpon courses of prosecuting the Warre to come, which came to their doors, before their consultation could finde issue. He was ready to enter vpon their Frontiers; they had no ability to resist, and were as heartlesse as friendlesse. All that remained was to send Embassadours, desiring peace vpon some good termes: necessity enforcing them to haue accepted euen the very worst. *Phocion*, with *Demades* the Orator, and *Xenocrates* the Philosopher, were chiefe of this Embassage; *Phocion* as the most Honorable; *Demades* a strong Perswader; (both of them well respected by *Antipater*) and *Xenocrates*, as one admired for wisedome, grauity of manners, and vertue; but all these ornaments consisting in speculation, and therefore of lesse regard, when their admiration was to cost them much in reall effects.

Antipater calling to mind the pride of *Leosthenes*, required of the Athenians, that they should wholly submit themselues to his pleasure; which being (perforce) granted, he commanded them to defray the charges of the warre past, to pay a fine, and entertaine a Garrison. Further, he abrogated the popular estate, committing the gouernment of the City to those of most wealth, depriuing of the right of suffrage all such as wanted a conuenient proportion of riches.

About nine thousand they were, all men of good substance, to whom the administration of the Common-wealth was giuen; a number great enough to retaine the name and forme of a Democratie. But the rascall multitude of beggarly persons, accustomed to get their liuings out of the common troubles, being now debarred from bearing offices and giuing their voices, cried out, that this was a meere Oligarchie, the violent vsurpation of a few incroaching vpon the publike right. These turbulent fellowes (of whom King *Philip* had beene wont to say, That warre to them was peace, and peace warre) *Antipater* planted in Thrace; and gaue them lands to manure; leauing as few of them as he could to molest the quiet of Athens.

To the same end (yet withall for satisfying his owne suspitions and hatred) he caused *Demosthenes* and *Hyperides*, famous Orators, with some others, to be slaine. Had the death of these two, especially of *Demosthenes*, beene forborne, the rest of his proceedings in this action might well haue passed for very milde: whereas now all such, as either are delighted with the Orations of *Demosthenes*, or haue sur-rendred their iudgements to Authors iustly admiring him, as the most eloquent of all that euer did speake and write, condemne him vtterly, calling him a bloudy tyrant. Such grace and reputation doe the learned arts finde in all ciuill Nations, that the euill done to a man, famous in one of them, is able to blemish any action, how good soeuer otherwise it be, or honourably carried.

Demosthenes had taken Sanctuary in the Temple of *Neptune*, in the Isle of Calauria; there did *Archias* (sent with Souldiers by *Antipater* for the purpose) finde him, and gently perswaded him to leaue the place; but not so preuailing, he threatned violence. Then *Demosthenes* entreating a little respite as it had beene to write somewhat, secretly tooke poison, which he had kept for such a necessity, and so died; rather choosing to do the last execution vpon himselfe, than to fall into the hands of such as hated him. Only this act of his (commendable, perhaps in a Heathen man) argued some valour in him; who was otherwise too much a coward in battaile, howsoeuer valiant in perswading to enterprises, wherein the way to very honourable ends was to be made through passages exceeding dangerous. He loued money well, and had great summes giuen him by the Persian, to encourage him, in finding worke for the Macedonians at home. Neither did he ill (me thinkes) in taking from the Persians which loued not his Country, great reward, for speaking such things as tended to his Countries good; which he did not

cease

cease to procure, when the Persians were no longer able to giue him recompence. Such as in tender contemplation of his death can endure no honourable, though true, mention of *Antipater*, may (if they can) beleeue *Lucian*, who tells vs, That it was *Antipaters* purpose to haue done him great honour. Sure it is, that he was a stedfast enemy to the Macedonians; therefore discretion required that he should be cut off.

The matters of Athens being thus ordered, the chiefe command was left in the hands of *Phocion*, a vertuous man, and louer of his Country, yet applying himselfe to the necessity of the times; by which commendations he had both at other times done the City much good, and now procured this peace, which (though grieuous to free-men, yet fauourable to the vanquished) he endeuoured carefully to preserue.

§. VII.

How Craterus *and* Antipater *were drawne from their Ætolian Warres into Asia. The grounds of the first Ciuill Warre betweene the Macedonian Lords.*

SO *Antipater* with *Craterus* returned into Macedonia, where they strengthned their friendship with a new alliance; *Craterus* taking *Phila*, the Daughter of *Antipater*, to Wife.

Shortly after they went against the Ætolians, whose pouerty was not so easily daunted, as the luxurious wealth of the more powerfull State of Athens had beene. Their Country was rough and mountainous, hauing many places of great fastnesse, into which they conueied such of their goods as they most esteemed, and of their people, as were least fit for warre: with the rest they fortified the strongest of their Cities, and so abode the comming of the Macedonians, whom they manfully resisted. With great obstinacy did the Macedonians contend against the difficulties of the places, which the Ætolians made good as long as their victuals held out. But when *Craterus* had shut vp all passages, and vtterly debarred them of reliefe, then were they put to a miserable choice; either to descend from their strong holds, and fight vpon equall ground, with vnequall numbers, or to endure the miseries of hunger & cold, against which they could make no long resistance; or to yeeld themselues to the Macedonians: who incensed by the losse of many good Souldiers, were not like to leaue so stubborne enemies in places, which might giue confidence to rebellion. In cases of extremity, much fineneſse of wit apprehending all circumstances of danger, commonly doth more hurt than a blunt consideration of that only, which at the present is in hand. These Ætolians did not as yet want meat: but their enemies daily molested them: wherefore as yet they thought vpon nothing but fighting. Fortune was gracious to their courage. For such newes came out of Asia into the Macedonian campe, as made *Antipater* & *Craterus* thinke euery houre a moneth, till they had rid their hands of these Ætolians, giuing them whatsoeuer conditions they would aske: yet with purpose to call them to seuere account; yea, to roote them out of Greece by death, or by captiuity, when once they should haue setled the affaires of Asia; as they hoped and desired. But of mens purposes God is disposer: in whose high counsell it was ordained, that this poore Nation should continue a troublesome barre to the proceedings of Macedon and Greece, and (when time had ripened the next Monarchie) an open gate to let the Roman Conquerors into those and other Prouinces. Likewise concerning the matters of Asia, the reformation intended by *Antipater* and *Craterus*, was so far from taking effect, that it serued meerly as an introduction to all the ciuill wars ensuing.

The grounds of the Asiatique expedition, which did set the world in an vp-roare, were these. *Antipater* and *Craterus* were of *Alexanders* Captaines the mightiest in reputation: The one, in regard of his ancient precedency, and the present rule which he bare in the parts of Europe. The other, as of all men the best beloued, and most respected, both of *Alexander* and of the whole Army. Next vnto these had *Perdiccas* been; whom the aduantage of his presence at the Kings death did make equall, or superiour, to either of these, if not to both together. The first intents of *Perdiccas* were, to haue consorted with these two, and to haue beene with them a third partner in the gouernment of all; to which purpose he entertained the discourse of marriage with one of *Antipaters* Daughters. But feeling in short space the strength of that gale of winde which bore him vp, he began to take wing and soare quite another way. *Aridæus* was a very simple man, yet

yet serued well enough to weare the title of that Maiesty, whereof *Perdiccas* being Administrator, and hoping to become proprietary, the practice was more seuere than had beene in the dayes of *Alexander*: the desire to seeme terrible, being very familiar with weake Princes, and their ambitious Officers, who know no other meanes of preseruing themselues from contempt, and of giuing such a fiery lustre to their actions, as may dazel the eyes of the beholders. How cruelly the poor Greeks in the higher Asia were all put to the sword; and how tyrannously the King and Princes of Cappadocia were crucified, hath already been shewed. The Pisidians were the next who felt the wrath of these counterfeit *Alexanders*. One City of theirs was vtterly razed; the children sold for slaues, and all the rest massacred. The Isaurians by this example growne desperate, when after two or three dayes triall they found themselues vnable to continue the defence, lockt themselues into their houses, & set the Town on fire, into the flame whereof the young men did throw themselues, after that they had a while repelled the Macedonians from the wals.

These exploits being performed, the Army had no other worke than to sift the ashes of the burnt City for gold and siluer; but *Perdiccas* had businesse of greater importance troubling his braines. Nothing was more contrary to his ends, than to sit still without imploiment: letting his Souldiers grow idle about him, whilest others grew great, and tooke deepe roote in their seuerall Prouinces. He purposed therefore to transport his forces into Europe, vnder pretence of bringing the King into Macedonia, the seat of his Ancestors, and head of the Empire. The Kings presence would make the Offices of his Vice-royes (during the time) actually voide; *Antipater* with *Craterus* being once in case of priuate men, and onely *Perdiccas* holding authority, the match with *Cleopatra* might easily be made. So should greatnesse meet with a good title; and what more could be wished? Some impediment the power of *Ptolomy* might giue, who held Egypt well fortified with men, but much better with loue of the people, yet if the businesse prospered in Macedonia, like enough it was that either *Ptolomy* would follow of himselfe, or be driuen to come to reason. *Antigonus* likewise then gouerning in Phrygia, a busie-headed man, and ill affected to the side, was to be looked into, and made away, for feare of further trouble. So thought *Perdiccas*, and was deceiued in so thinking. *Antigonus* was as good a man of warre, of as deepe a iudgement, as high a spirit, and as great vnderta-king, as any of *Alexanders* Captaines. His imploiments had beene lesse than some of theirs, which made him also the less respected. But his thoughts were as proud as theirs: for, he valued himselfe by his owne worth, not by the opinions of other men; with carefull attention had he watched *Perdiccas*, and sounded the depth of his purposes, which it was now high time to discouer. For *Perdiccas* hauing with a ielous eye pried into the demeanour of *Antigonus*, and finding him no way fit for his turne, caused him to bee charged with such accusations, as might suffice to take away his life, especially by a Iudge that sought his death. This deuice *Antigonus* would not seeme to perceiue, but prepared himselfe in shew to make answer; indeede, to make escape, which easily he did, putting himselfe and his sonne *Demetrius* aboord of some Athenian Gallies, that carried him to *Antipater*, laden with such tidings, as finished the Ætolian warre before mentioned.

As the comming of *Antigonus* made *Craterus* and *Antipater* manifestly perceiue their owne danger: so his slight gaue *Perdiccas* to vnderstand that his intentions were laied open, and must now be iustified by the sword. Therefore he prepared as fast as he could, not onely for defence, but (as hauing on his side the Kings name) to meet with them at home, who were nothing slacke in prouiding to encounter him. *Ptolomy* being aduertised of these proceedings, and considering how neerely they concerned him, sided with *Antipater*. To his gouernment of Egypt he had annexed the Dominion of Cyrene, not without consent of the chiefe Citizens; and now in the middest of these garboiles he celebrated the funerall of *Alexander* with great solemnity, purchasing thereby to himselfe much good will and many partakers, notwithstanding the terrible report of the Kings Army comming against him.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

Perdiccas his voyage into Egypt, and his death.

PErdiccas, vncertaine which way to bend his maine power, at length resolued to set vpon *Ptolomy*; leauing *Eumenes* to keepe to his vse against *Craterus* and *Antipater*, the parts of Asia bordering vpon Europe.

It may seem strange, that he did not rather make head against those who were to come out of Greece with a great number, and of more able men than *Ptolomy* could bring. Perhaps he thought to make a quicke end with *Ptolomy*; or beleeued that *Craterus* would not be ready for him soone enough. Sure it is that he tooke a bad course, and made it worse with ill handling.

Ptolomy by his sweet behauiour allured many to his party, without helpe of any bad arts. *Perdiccas* contrariwise was full of insolency, which neuer failed to be rewarded with hatred; that is truely defined, An affection founded vpon opinion of an vniust contempt. The whole story of his proceedings in Egypt is not worth relation: for he did nothing of importance; but (as a wilfull man) tired his followers, and wasted them in hard enterprises without successe. His most forceable attempt was vpon a little Town, called the *Camels wall*: thither he marched by night, with more haste than good speed; for *Ptolomy* preuenting him, did put himselfe into the place, where behauing himselfe not only as a good Commander, but as a stout Souldier, he gaue the foile to *Perdiccas*, causing him to retire with losse; after a vehement, but vaine, assault continued one whole day. The night following, *Perdiccas* made another iourny, (which was his last) and came to the diuisions of Nilus, ouer against Memphis. There with much difficulty he began to passe ouer his Army into an Iland, where he meant to incampe. The current was strong, the water deepe, and hardly foordable. Wherefore he placed his Elephants aboue the passage, to breake the violence of the streame, and his horse-men beneath it, to take vp such as were carried away by swiftnesse of water. A great part of his Army being arriued on the further banke, the channell began to waxe deepe; so that whereas the former companies had waded vp to the chin, they who should haue followed could finde no footing. Whether this came by rising of the water, or flitting away of the ground, (the earth being broken with the feete of so many Men, Horse, and Elephants) no remedy there was, but such as had passed must repasse again, as well as they might; for they were too weake for the enemy, and could not be relieued by their fellowes. With great confusion therefore they committed themselues to the Riuer, wherein aboue two thousand of them perished, a thousand were deuoured by Crocodiles, a miserable spectacle euen to such as were out of danger; such as were strong & could swim, recouered the Campe; many were carried downe the streame, and driuen to the contrary banke, whereby they fell into the hands of their enemies.

This misfortune exasperated the Souldiers against their Generall, giuing liberty to their tongues, which long time had concealed the euill thoughts of their hearts. While they were thus murmuring, news came from *Ptolomy*, which did set them in an vp-roare. *Ptolomy* had not onely shewed much compassion on those who fell into his hands aliue, but performed all rights of funerall to the dead carcases, which the Riuer had cast vpon his side; and finally, sent their bones and ashes to be interred by their Kinsmen or Friends. This did not onely moue the common Souldiers, but made the Captaines fall to mutiny, thinking it vnreasonable to make warre vpon so vertuous and honourable a person, to fulfill the pleasure of a Lordly ambitious man, vsing them like slaues. The sedition growing strong wanted onely a head, which it quickly found. *Python* was there, who inwardly hated *Perdiccas*, for the disgrace which he had suffered by his procurement, after the victory vpon the rebellious Greeks. *Python* had liued in honourable place aboue *Alexander*; he was in the diuision of the Prouinces made Gouernour of Media; he had followed *Perdiccas*, and being in all things (the Protectorship excepted) equall to him, had neuertheless beene scornfully vsed by him, which now he requited. Drawing together a hundred of the Captaines, and a good part of the Horse, which consisted of the Gentry, (the footmen hauing declared themselues before) he entred the Tent of *Perdiccas*, where without further circumstance they all ranne vpon him, and slew him. Such end had the proud mis-gouerning authority of *Perdiccas*. He might haue liued

as great as any, could he haue suffered any as great as himselfe; yea, peraduenture master of all, had he not been too masterly ouer those which were already his.

The next day *Ptolomie* came into the Campe, where he was ioyfully receiued; he excused himselfe of things past, as not hauing beene Author, or giuen cause of the Warre; and was easily beleeued: the fauour of the Armie beeing such toward him, that needes they would haue made him Protector in the roome of *Perdiccas*. But this hee refused. It was an Office fit for one that would seeke to increase his greatnesse with his trouble. *Ptolomie* was well enough already; wherfore, for his own quiet he forbare to accept it, and for their well-deseruing of him he procured that honourable charge to *Python*, & to *Aridæus* the Captaine, who hauing had some companies of Souldiers, to furnish with their attendance the solemnities of *Alexanders* Funerals, did with them adhere to him against *Perdiccas*.

In the middest of these businesses came newes of two great victories obtained by *Eumenes*; which newes, had they arriued two or three daies sooner, had been entertained with ioyfull acclamations; and would haue giuen such reputation to *Perdiccas*, as had caused both his priuate maligners to continue his open flatterers, and his open enemies to haue accepted any tolerable composition. But these good tidings cõming in ill time, when death had stopped the eares which would haue giuen them welcome, found bad acceptance, as shall be shewed hereafter.

§. IX.

Victories of Eumenes *in the lower Asia.*

BEfore wee proceede in the relation of things, happening about the person of the King, it is meete that we speake of those businesses in the lower Asia, which were handled by *Eumenes* with notable dexteritie, whilest *Perdiccas* was occupied in the Ægyptian warres. *Alcetas* the brother of *Perdiccas*, and *Neoptolemus*, had receiued command from *Perdiccas* to bee assistant to *Eumenes*, and to follow his directions. But *Alcetas* made flat answer that he would not, alleaging the backwardnesse of his men to beare Armes against so great a person as *Antipater*, and a man so much honoured as *Craterus*. *Neoptolemus* was content to make faire shew, but inwardly hee repined at the precedencie giuen to *Eumenes*, as thinking himself the better man. *Eumenes* discouering, through the counterfeited looks of *Neoptolemus*, the mischiefe lurking in his heart, wisely dissembled with him, in hope to winne him by gentle behauiour, and sweet language, that commonly are lost, when bestowed vpon arrogant creatures. Yet the better to fortifie himselfe, that he might stand vpon his owne strength, hee raised out of the Countries vnder his iurisdiction, about six thousand horse, giuing many priuiledges to such as were seruiceable, and training them well vp. Not without great need. For when vpon aduertisement of the great preparations made by *Craterus* & *Antipater* (who had newly passed the Hellespont) for the inuasion of his Prouinces, he willed *Neoptolemus* to come to him with all his power; *Neoptolemus* did (indeed) aduance, but in hostile maner, though vnprouoked, presented him battell. *Neoptolemus* had secretly couenanted with *Antipater* to lay open the way for him to the conquest of Asia, which now intending to performe, he was shamefully disappointed. For though his footmen, being all Macedonians, had much the better, and preuailed far vpon *Eumenes* his battailes; yet were his horse driuen out of the field, and himselfe compelled, with a few of them, to run away, leauing naked the backes of his Macedonian foot-men, to be charged by *Eumenes* who forced them in such wise, that casting downe their Pikes, they cried for mercy, and gladly took their oath to doe him faithfull seruice. *Antipater* and *Craterus* endeauoured with many goodly promises to draw *Eumenes* into their societie, who contrariwise offered himself, as a meane of reconciliation, betweene *Perdiccas* and *Craterus*, whom he dearly loued; professing withall his hatred to *Antipater*, and constant faith to the cause which he had vndertaken to maintaine.

Whilest these negotiations were on foote, *Neoptolemus* came with his broken crue to *Antipater*, and his Associates, vilifying *Eumenes*, & calling him a Scribe (at which foolish railing they laught,) but extolling the vertue of *Craterus* (as well hee might) with high commendations; assuring them, that if *Craterus* did but once appeare, or that his voyce were but heard by any Macedonian in *Eumenes* his Campe, the victory was wonne; for

they would all forth-with reuolt vnto him. Earnestly therefore he desired them to giue him aide against *Eumenes*, and especially requested that *Craterus* might haue the leading of the Army to be sent. Their owne affections did easily lead them to condescend to his motion; and good hope there was, that the reputation of *Craterus* might preuaile as much, as the force which he drew along. For he had in the middest of *Alexanders* vanities, when others (imitating their King) betooke themselues to the Persian fashions of garments and customes, retained the ancient Macedonian form of behauiour, and apparrell; whereby he became very gracious with the common Souldiers, who beheld these new trickes of Asia, with discontented eies, as reproachfull and derogatory to the manners of their natiue Country. So *Antipater* tooke the way toward Cilicia, to hold *Perdiccas* at bay, and to ioyne with *Ptolomy*. *Craterus* vsed great celerity, to haue taken *Eumenes* reuelling (as he hoped) according to the common fashion of Captaines, after a great victory. But he had a wary and well aduised enemy to encounter, who kept good espiall vpon him, and with much wisedome fore-saw all that was to be feared, and the meanes of preuention, which his courage did not faile to execute. *Eumenes* was not ignorant, that *Craterus* was able to defeat him without battell, yea without stroke; him therefore he feared more than the Army following him: (yet the Army following him was such, as much exceeded his own in footmen, but was inferior in horse-men) & thought it more vneasie to keep the Macedonians from reuolting to him, than from knowing him. Hereupon he took in hand a strange peece of work, which desperation of all courses else taught him, & wise managing, prosperously accomplished. He gaue out reports, that *Neoptolemus* was returned with such company as he could gather together, & had gotten *Pigres* (a Captain of no great estimation, who lay not far off) to ioyn with him. Hauing animated his men against *Neoptolemus*, whom he knew to be despised & hated among them, (as hauing bin vanquished by some of them, & forsaken others in plain field, whilest they valiantly fought in his quarrel) he took great care to keep them from receiuing any intelligence of the enemies matters. Peremptorily he commanded, that no messenger nor trumpeter should be admitted; and not herewith satisfied, he placed against *Craterus* no one Macedonian, nor any other that much would haue regarded him had he bin known: but Thracians, Cappadocians, & Persians, vnder the leading of such, as thought more highly of none, than of *Perdiccas* & himselfe. To these also he gaue in charge, that without speaking or hearkning to any word, they should run vpon the enemy, & giue him no leisure to say or do any thing, but fight. The directions which he gaue to others, he did not faile to execute in his own person: but placing himself in the right wing of his battell, opposite to *Neoptolemus*, who (as he vnderstood) conducted the left wing on the contrary side, he held the Macedonians arranged in good order, & ready to charge the enemy as soon as the distance would giue leaue. A rising piece of ground lay between them, wch hauing ascended, the Armies discouered each other: but that of *Eumenes* euery way prepared for the fight, the other wearied with long iournies, which ouer-hastily they had made, seeking the deceitful issue of friuolous hopes. Then was it high time for *Craterus* (hauing failed in surprising them as enemies) to discouer himselfe to his old friends & fellow-souldiers, of whom he could see none. *Phœnix* a Tenidian, & *Artabazus* a Persian, had the leading of that side, who mindefull of their instructions, began to giue vpon him, with such countenance as told him his error; which to redeem, he bad his men fight & redeem the day, & take the spoyl to themselues. But the Bear whose skin he sels is not yet caught. The ground whereon the battel was fought gaue most aduantage to the horse, who encountred very roughly on all parts: especially about *Eumenes* and *Neoptolemus*; who as soon as they had discouered one another, could not containe themselues, but with great rage met body to body, & letting loose their bridles, grappled so violently together, that their horses ran from vnder them, leauing both of them tumbling on the ground. *Neoptolemus* rose first vp, but *Eumenes* had his sword first drawn, wherwith he houghed the other, causing him to fal down & fight vpon one knee. In this conflict they receiued many wounds, but *Neoptolemus* giuing slight ones tooke such as were deadly, by which he died in the place, and was there (being halfe-dead halfe-aliue) stripped by his mortall enemie, whose reuilings hee requited, lying euen at the last gaspe, with one wound in the groine, dangerous had it not wanted force. The death of *Neoptolemus* caused his followers to runne away vpon the spurre, and seeke shelter behinde the battailes of their foote. They were nothing hotly pursued. For *Eumenes* pained himselfe to carie succour

succour to his left wing, which he suspected much to be distressed; but found accompanied with the same fortune, that had assisted him when he fought in person. *Craterus* had gallantly borne himselfe a while, and sustained the impression of *Artabazus* and *Phœnix*, with more courage than force; holding it nothing agreeable with his honour to retire and protract the fight, when he was charged by men of little estimation or note. Otherwise it is not vnlikely, that he might haue either carried the day, or preserued himself to a better aduenture by giuing ground, as the rest (when hee and *Neoptolemus* were slaine) did. But whilest he sought to preserue his reputation, hee lost his life by the fall of his horse, or his falling from his horse, through force of a wound receiued; vpon which accident hee was trampled vnder foote by many that knew him not, and so perished vnknown, till it was too late to know it. *Eumenes* coming to the place where he lay, made great lamentation, as hauing alwaies loued and honoured *Craterus*, of whose death hee was now become the instrument. The vanquished Armie entertained a treatie of peace with *Eumenes*, making shew of willingness to become his followers; but their intent was only to refresh themselues, which (by his permission) hauing done, they stole away by night, and fled toward *Antipater*.

This battaile fought within ten daies of the former, wanne to *Eumenes* more reputation than good will: for his own Souldiers tooke the death of *Craterus* heauily; and the Armies lying further off were inraged with the newes. But other matters there were which incensed men against him, besides the death of *Craterus*, wherof it manifestly appeared, that he was as sorry as any that pretended greater heauinesse. His Armie wanted pay. This was a great fault; which he wisely amended by giuing to them the spoyle of such Townes as were ill-affected to him. So he redeemed the loue of his own men, who of their meere motion appointed vnto him a guard for defence of his person. Others were not so easie to be reconciled. They who had been Traitors to *Perdiccas*, hated him for his faithfulnesse, as greatly, as they thought he would hate them for their falshood; neither found they any fairer way of excusing their late reuolt, than by accusing & condemning the side which they had forsaken. Wherfore they proclaimed *Eumenes* a Traitor, and condemned him to die: but it was an easier matter to giue that sentence, than to put it in execution.

§. X.

Quarrels between Eurydice *the Queene, and* Python *the Protector.* Python *resignes his office, into which* Antipater *is chosen.*

Python and *Aridæus* being chosen Protectors of King *Aridæus* and the children of *Alexander*, tooke the way to Asia the lesse, conducting the Armie through Syria. Of these two, *Python* was the greater in reputation, yet farre too weake to sustain so important a charge. For *Eurydice*, wife to King *Aridæus*, was come to her husband, a Ladie of a masculine spirit, vvell vnderstanding vvhat she vvas or should be, and thinking her self able to support the weight which Fortune layed vpon her foolish husband, being due to her owne title. Her Mother *Cyna*, sister to *Alexander*, by her Father King *Philip*, was married (as hath beene shewed) to *Amyntas*, who was the right Heire to the Kingdome of Macedon, beeing the onely sonne of King *Perdiccas*, *Philips* elder brother.

This *Cyna* was a warlike woman; she had led Armies, and (as a true sister of *Alexander*) fighting hand to hand with *Caria* Queene of the Phrygians, a *Virago* like vnto her selfe, had slaine her. Shee brought vp this *Eurydice* in the same vnwomanly Art of Warre, who now among the Souldiers beganne to put in practice the rudiments of her education, to the small contentment of *Python*, that could not brooke her too curious intermedling in his charge. Whether it were so, that *Python* had some purpose to aduance the sonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane*, to the Kingdome; (as once he had sought to do) or whether the Queene did suspect him of some such intent; or whether only desire of rule caused her to quarrell with him; quarrell shee did, which disturbed the proceeding against *Eumenes*. The Armie hauing shaken off such a ranke-rider as *Perdiccas*, would not afterward bee reined with a twined thred. *Python* bearing himselfe vpon his office, tooke vpon him to giue directions in the Kings name, which the Queen did oftentimes controll, vsing the same name, with more authoritie, and better liking of the Souldiers.

Python,

Python, seeing this, would needes resigne his office, whether vpon wearinesse of the contentions daily growing, or on purpose to bring the Queene into enuie, it is vncertaine. Perhaps hee thought, that now being the far worthiest man in the Campe, hee should be intreated to retaine the place, and haue his authoritie confirmed, or (as might be) increased, were it but for want of a fit Successor. *Eurydice* was nothing sorrie at this course; for now shee thought to manage the affaires of the Empire at her owne will, being freed from the troublesome assistance of a Protector. But the Souldiers disappointed both her and *Python*, of their contrary expectations: choosing *Antipater*, the onely powerfull man of *Alexanders* Captaines, then liuing, into the roome of *Python*. Hereat the Queen fretted exceedingly, & began to deale earnestly with the Macedonians, that they should acknowledge no Lord saue only the King their Soueraigne. Yet shee failed of her purpose, being hindred (as may seeme) by three things: the apparant weaknesse of her husband: the growth of *Alexanders* children, who (though borne of out-landish women) were bred in the Macedonian Campe; and the mightinesse of *Antipater*, who commanding a great Armie neere at hand, arriued in few daies at the Campe, and enforced *Eurydice* to hold her selfe content. *Antipater* was of such power, that he needed not to work by any close deuices, as *Perdiccas* had done: he had no concurrents, all the Gouernours of Prouinces that remained aliue, acknowledged him their better: yea, many of them he displaced out of hand, putting others in their roomes. This done, he tooke the King, Queene, and Princes along with him into Macedonia, leauing *Antigonus* Generall of the Royall Armie: to whom for his good seruices done, and to be done against *Eumenes*, he gaue the rule of Susiana, besides his former Prouinces, and committed into his hands the gouernment of Asia during that warre.

§. XI.

Antigonus *Lieutenant of Asia, winnes a battell of* Eumenes, *and besieqeth him in Nora: He vanquisheth other followers of* Perdiccas.

HEre begins the greatnesse of *Antigonus*, whose power in few yeares ouer-growing the rest, wanted little of spreading it selfe ouer the whole Monarchie. Hee was to make warre vpon *Eumenes*, *Alcetus* the brother, and *Attalus* the brother in-law to *Perdiccas*: worke enough to keep his Armie imployed in the publike seruice, till such time as he might finde occasion to make vse of it in his own businesse. The first of these which hee vndertooke was *Eumenes*, with whom *Alcetus* and *Attalus* refused to ioyne, hauing vnseasonably contended with him in time of common danger about the chiefe place. *Eumenes* had an Army strong in number, courage, and all needfull prouisions; but obedient only at discretion. Therefore *Antigonus* tried all waies of corrupting his Souldiers; tempting first the whole Army with letters: which practice failing by the cunning of *Eumenes* (who made shew as if hee himselfe had scattered abroad those letters, to trie the faith of his men) he dealt apart with such Captaines, as he thought most easie to be wonne. Of these Captaines one rebelled, breaking out too hastily before any helpe was neere him, yet looking so carelessly to himselfe, that hee and his were surprised, when he thought his enemies farre off. Another follower of *Eumenes* (or rather of good fortune, which he thought now to bee in company with *Antigonus*) kept his treachery secret, reseruing it for the time of execution. Vpon confidence of the treason which this false man *Apollonides* had vndertaken, *Antigonus* presented battel to *Eumenes*; in the heat wherof *Apollonides*, General of the Horse to *Eumenes*, fled ouer to the contrary side, with such as he could get to follow him: but was closely followed by some, whose company he desired not. *Eumenes*, perceiuing the irrecouerable mischief which this traiterous practice had brought vpon him, pursued the villain, & cut him off before he could thrust himselfe into the troups of *Antigonus*, and boast of his treachery. This was some comfort to *Eumenes* in the losse of that battell, which disabled him vtterly to keepe the field, & left it very hard for him to make a safe retrait. Yet one thing he did which much amazed his enemies, and (though a matter of small importance) caused *Antigonus* himselfe to admire his high resolution. It was held no small part of the victory to get possession of the dead bodies. *Eumenes*, whilest *Antigonus* held him in chase, turned out of the way, and fetching a compasse, returned to the place where the battaile had beene fought; there he burned (according to the manner of the time) the bodies of his owne men,

men, and interred the bones and ashes of the Captaines, and common Souldiers, apart, raising vp heapes of earth as mountaines ouer them, and so went his way. As this bold aduenture bred in the Macedonians, (returned to their campe) great admiration of his braue spirit: so the newes wch *Menander* (who was set to look vnto their carriags) brought and published among them, enticed them to loue him as their honourable friend. Hee had found *Menander* in an open Plaine, carelesse, as after an assured victory, and loaden with the spoyles of many Nations, the rewards of their long seruice; all which he might haue taken: but fearing lest such a purchase should proue a heauie burden to him, whose chiefe hope consisted in swift expedition, he gaue secret warning to *Menander* to flie to the mountains, whilest he detained his men (whom authority could not haue restrained) by this sleight, setting them to bait their horses. The Macedonians extolled him for this courtesie, as a noble Gentleman, that had forborn when it lay in his power to strip them out of all their wealth, and make their children slaues, and to rauish their wiues: but *Antigonus* told them, that he had not forborne to doe this out of any good wil to them; but out of meere subtiltie had auoyded those precious fetters, which would haue hindred his speedy flight. He told them true. For *Eumenes* did not only thinke all cariages to be ouer-burdensome, but the number of his men to be more troublesome than auaileable in his intended course. Wherefore he sent them from him as fast as he could, wishing them to shift for themselues; and retaining only fiue hundred horse, and two hundred foot. When hee had wearied *Antigonus* a while in following him vp and downe, he came to Nora: where againe, keeping no more about him, than necessity required to make good the place, he louingly dismissed all the rest. Nora was a little Fortresse in the borders of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, so strongly situated, that it seemed impregnable, & so wel victualed and stored with all necessaries, that it might hold out for many yeares. Thither did *Antigonus* follow him, with more desire to make him his friend, than to vanquish him in warre. To this purpose hee entertained parlee with him, but in vaine. For, whereas *Antigonus* offered him pardon, and his loue; *Eumenes* required restitution of his Prouinces, which could not be granted without *Antipaters* consent. Then was Nora closed vp; where *Antigonus* leauing sufficient strength for continuance of the siege, tooke his iournie into Pisidia against *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, with whom he made short worke. He came vpon them vnexpected, and seized on passages, which wanted not men, but such a Captaine as *Eumenes*, to haue defended them. *Alcetus* and *Attalus*, as they had been too secure before his comming, so were they too aduenturous, in fighting at the first sight, vpon all disaduantages: and their folly was attended with sutable euent. *Attalus* with many principall Captains was taken; *Alcetus* fled to the City of Termesus, where the loue of the yonger sort toward him was so vehement, that stopping their eares against all persuasions of the ancient men, they needs would hazzard their liues and their Countrey in his defence. Yet this auailed him nothing: For the Gouernors of the Town hauing secretly compounded with *Antigonus*, caused the yong men to sally out; and vsing the time of aduantage, they with their seruants did set vpon *Alcetus*, who vnable to resist slew himselfe. His dead body was conueyed to *Antigonus*, and by him barbarously torn, was cast forth without buriall. When *Antigonus* was gone, the yong men interred the carcasse with solemne funerals, hauing once been minded to set on fire their owne town in reuenge of his death. Such fauour had he purchased with courteous liberalitie: but to make an able Generall, one vertue, how great soeuer, is insufficient.

§. XII.

Ptolomie *winnes Syria and Phœnicia. The death of* Antipater.

WHilest these things were in doing, the rest of the Princes lay idle, rather seeking to enioy their Gouernments for the present, than to confirme or enlarge them. Only *Ptolomie* looking abroad, wan all Syria and Phœnicia: an action of great importance, but not remarkeable for any circumstance in the managing. He sent a Lieutenant with an Armie, who quickly tooke *Laomedon* prisoner, that ruled there by appointment of *Antipater*, and formerly of *Perdiccas*; but (as may seeme) without any great strength of Souldiers, far from assistants, and vainly relying vpon the authoritie which had giuen him that Prouince, & was now occupied with greater cares, than with seeking to maintaine him in his Office.

Antipater was old and sickly, desirous of rest, and therefore contented to let *Antigonus* pursue the dispatch of those businesses in Asia. He had with him *Polysperchon*, one of the most ancient of *Alexanders* Captaines, that had lately suppressed a dangerous insurrection of the Ætolians, which Nation had stirred in the quarrel of *Perdiccas*, preuailing fat at the first, but soon losing all that they had gained, whilest *Antipater* was abroad in his Cilician expedition. In this *Polysperchon*, *Antipater* did repose great confidence; so far forth, that (suspecting the youth of his own Sonne *Cassander* of insufficiencie in so great a charge) he bequeathed vnto him on his death-bed the Gouernment of Macedon and Greece, together with his office of Protectorship. So *Antipater* died, being foure-score yeeres old, hauing alwaies trauelled in the great affaires of mighty Princes, with such reputation, that *Alexander* in all his greatnesse was iealous of him, and the successours of *Alexander* did either quietly giue place vnto him, or were vnfortunate in making oppositions. In his priuate qualities he was a subtile man, temperate, frugal, and of a Philosophicall behauiour, not vnlearned, as hauing been Scholler to *Aristotle*, and written some Histories. Hee had beene much molested by *Olympias*, *Alexanders* mother, whom after the death of her Son, he compelled to abstaine from comming into Macedonia, or entermedling in matters of Estate: yea, at his own death he gaue especiall direction, that no woman should bee permitted to deale in the administration of the Empire. But this precept was soone forgotten; and yet ere long, by sorrowfull experience approued to haue been sound and good.

§. XIII.

Of Polysperchon, *who succeeded vnto* Antipater *in the Protectorship. The insurrection of* Cassander *against him.*

Polysperchon was very skilfull in the Art of Warre, hauing long time beene Apprentrise in that occupation; other qualities, requisite in so high an Office as hee vnder-went, either Nature had not giuen to him, or Time had robbed him of them. He managed his businesse more formally than wisely, as a man of a second wit, fitter to assist, than command in chiefe. At the first entrance vpon the stage, he called to counsaile all his friends, wherein, for weighty considerations (as they who weighed not the contrary reasons held them) the Queene *Olympias* was reuoked out of Epyrus into Macedon, that the presence of *Alexanders* mother might countenance and strengthen their proceedings. For, the condition of the times requiring, that the Gouernours of Prouinces abroad should keepe greater Armies, than were needfull or easie to be retained about the person of the King in Macedonia; it seemed expedient, that the face of the Court should be filled with all Maiestie, that might giue authority to the Iniunctions from thence proceeding, and by an awful regard containe within the limited bounds of dutie such as could not by force haue beene kept in order, being strong, and lying too farre off.

Such care was taken for preuention of imaginarie dangers and out of sight, whilest present mischiefe lay vnregarded in their bosomes. *Cassander*, the Sonne of *Antipater*, was not able to discouer that great sufficiencie in *Polysperchon*, for which his father had reposed in him so much confidence: neither could he discerne such oddes in the quality of himselfe and *Polysperchon*, as was in their fortune. He was left Captaine of one thousand; which Office by practice of those times was of more importance, than the title now seemes to imply. Hee should thereby haue beene as Campe-master, or Lieutenant generall to the other; a place no way satisfying his ambition, that thought himself the better man. Therefore he began to examine his own power, and compare with the forces likely to oppose him. All that had relied on his father, were his owne assured, especially such as comanded the Garrisons bestowed in the principall Cities of Greece. The like hope was of the Magistrates, and others of principall authoritie, in those Common-weales, whose formes had beene corrected by *Antipater*, that they would follow the side, and draw-in many partakers; it concerned these men in their owne particular to adhere vnto the Captaines, by whom their faction was vp-held; and by whom the rascall multitude, couetous of re-gaining the tyrannous power which they had formerly exercised ouer the principall Citizens, were kept in order, obeying their betters perforce. Besides all these helpes, *Cassander* had the secret loue of Queene *Eurydice*,

Eurydice, who had in priuate rendred him such curtesie, as was due only to her husband. But neither the Queenes fauour, nor all his other possibilities, gaue him confidence to breake out into open rebellion; because hee saw *Polysperchon* much reuerenced among the Macedonians, & strong enough to suppresse him, before he could haue made head. Therefore he made shew of following his pleasures in the Countrie, and calling many of his friends about him, vnder pretence of hunting, aduised with them vpon the safest course, and most free from all suspition. The necessitie was apparant of raising an Armie, before the businesse was set on foote; and to doe this, opportunitie presented him with faire meanes. *Ptolomie* had by fine force, without any commission, annexed Syria to his gouernment of Egypt and Cyrene: this was too much either for the King to trust him with, or for him to part with. *Antigonus* vpon the first newes of *Antipaters* death, began to lay hold vpon all that he could get, in such sort, that he manifestly discouered his intent of making himselfe Lord of all Asia. These two therfore stood in need of a ciuill Warre; which *Cassander* well noted, and presumed withall, That the friendship which had passed betweene his father and them, would auaile him somewhat. Whereupon he secretly dispatched messengers to them both; & within a little while conueyed himselfe on a sudden ouer the Hellespont, that he might in person aduance the businesse with greater speede. Much perswasion is needlesse in winning a man to what hee desireth. *Antigonus* coueteth nothing more, than to find *Polysperchon* work, by raising some commotion in Greece. Yet (as formalities must not be neglected) *Cassander* did very earnestly presse him, by the memory of his Father, and all requisite coniurations, to assist him in this enterprise; telling him, that *Ptolomie* was ready to declare for them, and vrging him to a speedy dispatch. *Antigonus* on the other side repaied him with the same coine; saying, That for his own sake, and his dead Fathers, whom he had very dearely loued, he would not faile to giue him all manner of succour. Hauing thus feasted one another with words, they were nothing slacke in preparing the common meanes, leading to their seuerall ends.

§. XIIII.

The vnworthy courses held by Polysperchon, *for the keeping down of* Cassander.

GReat necessity there was of timely prouision. For, *Polysperchon* needed no other instructions to informe him of *Cassanders* drift, than the newes of his departure. Hee was not ignorant of the ready disposition, which might be found in *Antigonus* and *Ptolomie*, to the strengthening of rebellion; and well he knew that one principall hope of *Cassander* was reposed in the confidence of such as ruled in the Græcian Estate. Therefore (louing to worke circumspectly) he called another Councell, wherein it was concluded, That the Popular forme of Gouernment should be erected in all the Cities of Greece; the Garrisons withdrawn; and that all Magistrates & principal Men, into whose hands *Antipater* had committed the supreme authoritie, should forthwith be either slaine or banished. This was a sure way to diminish the number of *Cassanders* friends, and to raise vp many enemies to him in all quarters. Yet hereby was disclosed both an vnthankefull nature in *Polysperchon*, and a factious malice in his adherents. For, how could he be excused of extreame ingratitude, that for hatred of the son went about to dishonour the Fathers actions, whose onely bountie had inabled him to doe it? Or what could be said in their defence, who sought to destroy many worthy men, friends to the State, by whom the Greekes were held restrained from stirring against the Macedonians? and in opposition to their priuate Enemie, gaue the rule of things to base Companions, and such as naturally maligned the Empire? But as in mans body, through sinewes newly issuing from one branch, a finger is more vexed by inflamation of his next neighbour, than by any distemper in the contrary hand: so in bodies politique, the humours of men, subdiuided in faction, are more inraged by the disagreeable qualities of such as curbe them in their neerest purposes, than they are exasperated by the generall opposition of such as are diuided from them in the maine trunke. Hereby it comes to passe, that contrary religions are inuited to helpe against Neighbour Princes; bordering enemies drawn-in, to the part in ciuill warres; and ancient hatred called to counsaile against iniurious friends. Of this fault Nature is not guiltie; she hath taught the arme to offer it selfe vnto manifest losse in defence of the head: They are depraued affections,

affections, which render men sensible of their own particular, and forgetful of the more generall good, for which they were created.

The decree, whereby the Greekes were presented with a vaine shew of libertie, ran vnder the Kings name; but so, as one might easily discerne, that *Polysperchon* had guided his pen. For the maine point was, That they should follow such directions, as *Polysperchon* gaue, and treate with him about all difficulties. In the rest it contained such a deale of kindnesse, as proceeding on a sudden from those who had kept them in hard subiection, might well appeare to haue some other root than the pretended good will; and was of it selfe too base and vnfit for a King to vse toward his conquered Subiects, and often-subdued Rebels. 10

§.XV.

Of the great commotions raised in Athens by Polysperchons *decree. The death of* Phocion.

NEuertheleſſe the Athenians with immoderate ioy entertained this happy-seeming Proclamation, & sought how to put it in execution without further delay. But *Nicanor*, Captaine of the Garrison, which kept one of their Hauens, called Munychia, in the lower part of the Town, would needs take longer time of deliberation, than was pleasing to their hastie desires.

Nicanor, as a trusty follower of *Cassander*, was by him shifted into the place, and *Menillus* (that was Captaine there before) discharged, when *Antipater* was newly dead. His comming to Athens was no way gratefull to the Citizens, who soone after hearing the newes of *Antipaters* death, cried out vpon *Phocion*, saying, That he had sufficient intelligence of that accident, and might by aduertising them in due time, haue put into their hands a faire opportunity of thrusting out the Macedonians. But these exclamations argued no more than a desire to shake off the Macedonian yoke. Farre more grieuously would they haue beene offended, had they known the instructions which *Cassander* had giuen to *Nicanor*, & his resolution to follow them. It was concluded, That he should not onely retaine Munychia, any iniunction to the contrary notwithstanding; but that hee should finde meanes to thrust some companies into Piræus, and fortifie that also, which was the principall hauen, against the high-town. How to accomplish this, he rather wanted some reasonable pretence, than good ability. But the Athenians were not long in giuing him sufficient cause to do that, which he would haue done without any cause giuen. They desired him to come vnto their councell, assembled in the Piræus, there to consider of the Kings Proclamation: whither vpon *Phocions* word and safe conduct he came, and earnestly pressed them to hold with *Cassander* in the war which was ready to break forth. Contrariwise they vrged him first of all, to make them masters of their own, which how to vse, they might consult afterwards. Each of them refusing to condescend vnto the others demand; the Athenians (who did alwaies measure iustice by profit, yet seldome thriued by that course) practised with *Dercillus*, a Captain following *Polysperchon*, and then lying neere at hand, that he should enter into the Town, and take *Nicanor* prisoner. But *Phocion*, who then gouerned in Athens, a man very vnlikely to the rest of the Citizens, being nothing pleased with such a tricke of politique dishonesty, did quietly suffer him to depart and saue himselfe.

Nicanor hereupon began to deuise vpon taking Piræus; not as following now the proiect of *Cassander*, but prosecuting his own iust reuenge. He leuied as many Souldiers as he could, and drew them closely into Munychia; which done, he issued into Piræus, took it, and intrenched himselfe threin, to the exceeding discomfort of the Athenians, who lately impatient of his keeping the one Hauen, saw him now Master of both. *Alexander*, the son of *Polysperchon*, came thither shortly after with an Army. Then were the Citizens in great hope of recouering all, and addressed themselues vnto him; who made faire shewes, intending meere mischiefe, which they perceiued not, being blinded with the vaine Epistles of his Father, and of *Olympias* the old Queene. *Olympias* taking vpon her to command, before she durst well aduenture to returne into Macedon, had peremptorily charged *Nicanor* to restore to the Athenians the places which hee held: but hee would first consider more of the matter. *Polysperchon* had further ordained, that the Ile of Samos should be rendred vnto them: a goodly offer, had it accorded with his power and

and meaning. He was (indeed) so farre from purposing to let them haue Samos, that as yet he did not throughly intend to let them haue themselues. The commoditie of their Hauens was such, as hee would rather get into his owne hands, than leaue in theirs; yea rather wished in theirs, than in *Cassanders*. His Son *Alexander*, not ignorant of this, made faire shew to the Athenians, and spent much labour in comuning with *Nicanor*, but suffered not them, for whom he seemed to labour, to intermeddle with the businesse. Hereupon the Citizens grew iealous, and the displeasure they conceiued against him, they powred out vpon *Phocion*, depriuing him of his office. This was done with much tumult: banished men and strangers, thrusting themselues into the assembly of the Citizens, who 10 distracted with sundry passions, growing out of their present misfortunes, thought euery one that best could inueigh against things past, a most likely man to finde some remedie for the euill threatning them. In this hurly-burly was *Alexander* deuising how he might come to some good point of composition with *Nicanor*, & held much priuie conference with him; which he could not so secretly carry, but that his negotiation was discouered, whereby the vp-roare in the Town was so far increased, that *Phocion* with many of his friends, were accused, and driuen to seek safeguard of their liues by flight. So they came to *Alexander*, who entertained them gently, and gaue them his letters of commendation to his Father, desiring him to take them into his protection.

Polysperchon was in the Country of Phocis, ready to enter with an Army into Attica. 20 Thither came *Phocion* with his compamons, hoping well that the letters which they brought, and their own deserts, (hauing alwaies been friends to the Macedonians, as far as the good of their Countrie gaue leaue) should be enough to get patronage to their innocencie. Besides all this, *Dinarchus* a Corinthian, *Polysperchons* familiar friend, went along with them (in an euill houre) who promised to himselfe and them great fauour, by meanes of his acquaintance. But *Polysperchon*, was an vnstable man, very earnest in what he tooke in hand, yet, either for want of iudgement in following them, or of honesty in holding the best of them, easily changing his intended courses, and doing things by the halues, which made him commonly faile of good successe. For fear of *Cassander*, he had offered wonderfull kindnesse to the Athenians; this had caused them to loue him: out of 30 their loue he gathered hope of deceiuing them, which made him to change his minde, and seeke how to get into his owne hands those Keyes, with which *Cassander* held them fast lockt vp: finding himself disappointed of this purpose, and suspected as a false dishonourable man, hee stood wauering betweene the contrary allurements of profit and reputation. To keepe the Athenians perforce at his deuotion, would indeed haue done well: but the effecting of this began to grow desperate, and many Towns of importance in Greece began to cast their eyes vpon his proceeding in that action. Wherefore hee thought it the wisest way to redeeme their good opinion, by giuing all contentment vnto the popular faction, which was then growne to bee Master of that City. And in good time for this purpose were the Athenian Embassadours come; treading 40 (as one may say) vpon *Phocions* heeles, whom they were sent to accuse. These had solemne audience giuen to them in the Kings presence, who was attended by many great Lords, and for ostentations sake was glorified vvith all exteriour shewes of Maiestie; yet all too little to change *Aridæus* into *Alexander*: for hee did nothing there, but either laugh or chafe, as he saw others doe. For beginning of the businesse *Polysperchon* commanded that *Dinarchus* should bee tortured and slaine. This was enough to testifie his hearty affection to the Commonaltie of Athens, in that hee spared not his old acquaintance for their sake; vvhose Embassadours hee then bad to speake. When their errand vvas done, and answer to it made by the accused, vvho had no indifferent hearing, *Phocion* and the rest vvere pronounced guiltie of treason; but to giue sentence, 50 and doe the execution vpon them, was (for Honours sake) referred vnto the Citie of Athens, because they vvere Burgesses. Then vvere they sent away to Athens, where the rascall multitude, not suffering them to speake for themselues, condemned them to dye. So they perished being innocent. But the death of *Phocion* beeing very conspicuous, made the fortune of the rest to bee of the lesse regard. Fiue and fortie times had hee beene chosen Gouernour of the Citie, neuer suing for the place, but sent for when hee was absent: so well was his integritie knowne, and so highly valued, euen of such as were no pretenders to the same vertue. He was a good Commander in War, wherein though his actions were not very great, yet were they of good importance, and

and neuer vnfortunate. Neuer did the Citie repent of hauing followed his counsdile: nor any priuate man of hauing trusted his word. *Philip* of Macedon highly esteemed him; so, and much more did *Alexander*, who (besides other signes of his loue) sent him two hundred talents of siluer, & offered to bestow vpon him of foure Cities in Asia any one which he would choose. But *Phocion* refused these & other gifts, howsoeuer importunately thrust vpon him; resting well contented with his honest pouerty; wherein he liued aboue fourescore yeares, and then was compelled by the vniust iudgement of wicked men to drink that poyson, which by iust iudgement of the righteous God, so infected the City of Athens, as from that day forwards it neuer brought forth any worthy man resembling the vertue of their Ancestors.

§. XVI.

Of Polysperchon *his vaine expedition against* Cassander.

NOt long after these things were done, *Cassander* with such forces as *Antigonus* lent him, entred into Piræus; which newes drew *Polysperchon* head-long into Attica, with a great Army, but so ill victualled, that he was faine to depart without any thing done. Only he had giuen some impediment to the enemie; who, not contented with defending what hee held, began to looke out, and make new purchases abroad. Finding therefore himselfe vnable to driue *Cassander* out of Athens, hee left his Son *Alexander*, with such number of men, as exceeded not the proportion of victuals, to withstand his further increaching. The greatest part of his Armie hee carried into Peloponnesus, to make the Countrey sure to himselfe, wherein *Cassander* had many Friends.

His doings in Peloponnesus were such, as they had been in other parts of Greece. First, he began to fight with Edicts, restoring the Democratie, or Popular forme of gouernment. He commanded that the principall Citizens, that had by *Antipater* been made Rulers, should be either slaine, or driuen into exile. This decree tooke immediate effect in most places: The vulgar sort being very ready to seale the Charter of their freedome and authority, with the bloud of those who had kept them in subiection. Yet many Cities there were, which delighted in the rule of the chiefe Citizens; and many which wished well to *Cassander*, especially they of Megalopolis, on whom *Polysperchon* meant to inflict an exemplarie punishment of disobedience to him, which he tearmed Rebellion. Megalopolis had in it fifteen thousand seruiceable men, well furnished of necessaries, & resolued to endure the worst. And neede there was of such resolution. For *Polysperchon* comming thither with all his power, did so much, that he ouerthrew, by a Mine, three of their Bulwarks, and all the space of wall between them. But the Defendants manfully repelled the Macedonians which came vp to the breach; and at the same time with great labour they raised vp an inner wall, to beare out the next assault. The Assailants hauing failed to carry the Town at the first attempt, took much paine to cleare the ground, and make fair way for their Elephants, whose violence was likely to ouerthrow all that came in their way. But the Townsmen perceiuing their drift, prepared boords driuen through with long nails, which they vsed as gal-throps, bestowing them sleightly, couered with the points vpwards, in the way by which the beasts were to passe. Neither did they set any to encounter them in front, but appointed certaine light-armed men to beare vpon their sides with Arrows and Darts, as they were instructed by some that had learned the manner of that fight in the Asian Wars. Of these prouisions they made happy vse in the next assault. For, by them were the Elephants (wherin the enemy chiefly trusted) either sorely hurt, or driuen back vpon the Macedonians, whom they trampled vnder feet. *Polysperchon* came as ill furnisht for long abode to Megalopolis as before to Athens. Therefore being neither able to dispatch the businesse quickly, nor to take such leisure as was requisite, he forsook the siege, with some losse, and much dishonour, leauing some part of his Armie to lye before the Town for his credit.

After this he sent *Clitus*, his Admirall, to Sea, to ioyne with *Arideus* that was come out of Phrygia, and to cut off all succour which might come to the enemy out of Asia. *Cassander* also sent his whole fleet vnder *Nicanor*, who taking along with him some ships of *Antigonus*, came to the Propontis, where he fought with *Clitus*, and was beaten. But *Antigonus* hearing of the ouer-throw, gathered together the ships that were escaped, and

and manning them very well, sent out *Nicanor* againe, assuring him of the victory, as well he might. For he sent out sufficient numbers of light-armed men, whom he caused to be wafted ouer the streights in small Vessels by night; these before day-light setting vpon *Clitus*, draue his men, that lay securely on the land, head-long into their ships; in which tumult *Nicanor* arriuing did assaile them so lustily, that few or none escaped him.

This losse at Sea, together with his bad successe by Land, brought *Polysperchon* into great contempt. He had a good facilitie in penning bloudy decrees, but when the execution was referred to his own sword, he could finde the matter more difficult. Wherfore the Athenians, perceiuing that he had left them to shift for themselues, and was not able to giue them protection against the enemy which lay in their bosomes, came to agreement with *Cassander*; accepting a Gouernour of his appointment; and restoring all things to the same state wherein *Antipater* had left them. The like inclination to the party of *Cassander*, was found in very many Cities of Greece, which daily and willingly reuolted vnto him; as to an industrious man, and likely to preuaile in the end. Thus was the whole Country set in a combustion, vneasie to be quenched; which presented vnto *Antigonus* an opportunitie, that he neglected not, of making himselfe Lord of Asia.

§. XVII.

Antigonus *seekes to make himselfe an absolute Lord: and thereupon treates with* Eumenes, *who disappointeth him. Phrygia and Lydia won by* Antigonus.

ANtigonus had in *Antipaters* life time a firm resolution, to make vnto himselfe the vtmost benefit that he might of the Army committed to his charge. And in fair season for aduancement of his purposes came the newes of *Antipaters* death; euen then; when all the businesse in Pisidia was dispatched, and no more imployment for the Armie remaining, saue onely the continuance of the siege of Nora, a small thing of it selfe, but as hard as a greater matter; and requiring few men, but much time; when time of all things was most precious. *Eumenes* lay in that Fort of Nora, able to make the place good, and hoping that the mutabilitie, to which the present estate was manifestly subiect, would in continuance of some years (which he might abide) worke more for him, than his enemies in that space could worke against him. His most feare was, that for want of exercise in that narrow Castle, his men & horses might grow sickly and vnseruiceable: which made him to practise many deuises of keeping them in health and lustie. But when he had continued shut vp in this manner about a yeare, his hopes came to good passe, and he was eased of his cares by *Antigonus* himselfe, whose forces held him besieged.

Antigonus knowing the great sufficiencie of *Eumenes*, and considering his fidelitie shewed vnto *Perdiccas*, thought that hee could not finde in all the world a fitter man than him, to imploy in managing those high designes, wherein he doubted not that he should be withstood by the mightiest Princes of the Empire. Hee sent therefore to *Eumenes* by one that was friend to them both, acquainting him with some part of his intent, and promising to make him a better Lord than euer hee had beene, and the next man to himselfe, if things fell out as hee desired; in regard whereof hee required onely his friendship, and thereupon sent him an oath to take; which done, hee might at his good pleasure issue safely out of Nora, and enioy his perfect libertie. *Eumenes* perusing the forme of the oath, did perceiue the meaning of *Antigonus*; which was, rather to make him his follower than his fellow. For whereas, in a few words, it mentioned the King and Princes of the bloud, rather to keepe the *Decorum*, than vpon any loyall intent; the binding words & summe of all were such, as tied him fast only to *Antigonus*, omitting all reseruation of dutie to the King or any other. This hee liked not, holding it vnseemely to become a sworne man to him, with whom hee had fought for the masterie; and being assured that his voluntary assistance, which way soeuer hee gaue, would be more acceptable, and farre more honourable, than the course propounded. Yet would he not therefore breake off for the negotiation, and waite for some better occasion of inlargement, which might perhaps be long in comming: but seeming to be well agreed with *Antigonus*, he prepared to giue vp his Hold and depart. As for the oath it selfe, when he came to take it, he made shew of dislike, in that it was not solemne enough

enough for such personages as they were, who could not be too ceremonious in testifying their Allegiance. The Macedonians which lay incamped before Nora, liked his words, and gaue him leaue to put in *Olympias*, and the children of *Alexander*, binding himselfe to them and their adherents, as well as to *Antigonus*; and so hee departed.

Antigonus had taken vpon him, as soone as he came downe to the Sea-side, to remoue some of the Gouernours of the Prouinces, behauing himselfe according to the authoritie which he had receiued of *Antipater*, to exercise in the time of warre. Neither did he want sufficient pretence whereby to iustifie his proceedings. For if *Polysperchon* might lawfully hold the Protector-ship, which the old man doting on his death-bed bequeathed vnto him, as a legacie, without consent of the Princes or Souldiers; why 10 might not he himselfe as well retaine the Lieutenantship of Asia, that was granted vnto him for the generall good of the State, in presence of the whole Armie, by the King, and by *Antipater*, who had power to ordaine what should seeme conuenient whilest he liued; not to dispose of things that should happen after his death? To giue a faire colour to his ambition, this was enough: if any were not herewith satisfied, hee had threescore thousand footmen, ten thousand horse, and thirtie Elephants in a readinesse to answer them.

The first that perceiued his drift, and prouided to resist him, was *Arideus* Gouernour of Phrygia, who fortified the Townes of his owne Prouince, and sought to haue won Cy- 20 zicus, a faire Hauen Town, and seated very conueniently for him, but was faine to goe away without it. Hereupon *Antigonus* tooke occasion to command him out of the Country. *Arideus* was so far from obeying him, that he sent forces to relieue *Eumenes*. Neuertheless finding that he was vnable of himselfe to make long resistance, he took such companies as he could draw along with him, & so passed ouer into Europe, to complain at the Court. The like fortune had *Clitus*, who ruled in Lydia, & sought the like remedy of his fortune, with some hope at the first (for both of them were entertained with very good words) which quickly vanished, & grew desperate, when they were beaten at Sea, as hath already been declared. 30

§. XVIII.

Antigonus *pursues* Eumenes. Eumenes *hauing authoritie from the Court, raiseth great War against* Antigonus *in defence of the Royall house.*

ANtigonus hauing thus gotten into his hands all, or most of all Asia the lesse, was able to haue entred Macedon, and seized vpon the Court; which that hee forbare to doe, it proceeded (as may seeme) for some of these reasons. It would haue bred as much iealousie in *Cassander*, as feare in *Polysperchon*, which might haue brought them to termes of reconciliation; It would aske more time than he could spare; and the enuie which followed the Protector-ship was such, as he that had power enough 40 without the Office, ought rather to shun, than to pursue. Besides all this, it was manifest that *Eumenes* would not onely refuse to take his part, but would make war vpon him in defence of the Royall house, to which it was found that *Antigonus* did not stand wel-affected. Against him therfore he bent his course, and with an Army of twenty thousand foot, & foure thousand horse, made great haste toward Cilicia, hoping to suppresse him before he should be able to make head.

Eumenes was one of those few that continued faithfull to their dead master, which being well known in the Court, he had commission sent vnto him from thence to raise an Armie, and make war vpon *Antigonus*, taking of the Kings treasure as much as he should 50 neede. Other letters also there were directed to all the Gouernours of Prouinces, requiring them to giue assistance to *Eumenes*, and be ordered by his direction: especially to the Captaines of the old Souldiers, called the Argyraspides, or siluer-shielded bands, commandement was giuen to bee at his appointment. Hee had of his old followers gathered together two thousand foot, and fiue hundred horse, before this authoritie was giuen him: but now hee purposed with all the strength which hee could make, to fight with *Antigonus* in defence of the Royall bloud. *Olympias* had written to him, desiring him to bring helpe to her and to her Nephew the Son of *Alexander*; and in the mean time to giue her his aduice in that which *Polysperchon* required of her: for shee was desirous

desirous to returne into *Macedon*, but suspected his ambition, as noncontained within lawfull bounds. *Eumenes* therefore counselled her to remaine in *Epirus*, till such time as he could bring the warre to a good issue; which done, he promised that his faith and care should not be wanting to the seede of *Alexander*.

Strange it is to consider, that in all the Empire, scarce any one could be found among the Noble men, in whom *Alexanders* mother, wiues, and children, might repose iuste confidence, sauing onely this *Eumenes*, a stranger to the *Macedonian* bloud, borne at *Cardia*, a Citie of *Thrace*. His reputation was no more than his owne vertue had made it; his followers obeyed at their owne discretion; and compelled he was to trauaile as 10 farre as *Persia*, to gather together an Armie sufficient to resist the enemies that pursued his heeles.

§. XIX.

How the Princes of Macedon stood affected mutually. Olympias *takes* Aridæus *and* Eurydice, *whom she cruelly put to death.*

NOW, forasmuch as in this present Warre all the Rulers of the Prouinces did entermeddle; and great alterations happened, not onely in the parts of *Asia*, but *Macedon* it selfe, which brought a new face vnto the State, by the extirpation of the royall house of *Philip* and *Alexander*: I hold it conuenient in this place, before we enter into the particulars of the Warre it selfe, to shew briefely how the great ones did mutually stand affected; and by what passions they were drawne into those courses, which ouer throw most of them and out of their 30 ruines built the greatnesse of a few: as likewise to what extremitie the faction brake out in *Macedon* it selfe, about the maine controuersie of the title to the Crowne, whereupon all other quarrels were or should haue beene depending.

Aridæus the King, beeing simple and fearefull, did onely what hee was bidden.

Polysperchon, desirous to continue long in Office, had a purpose to aduance the sonne of *Alexander* by *Roxane* to the kingdome, and become Gouernour to a King of his own making.

Eurydice the Queene discouering plainely this intent, and meaning nothing lesse than to let her husband serue as a Stale, keeping the throne warme till another were growne old enough to sit in it, grew acquainted with *Cassander*, who hated the memory of *Alexander*, and was therefore the fitter for her turne.

Cassander held fresh in minde the danger wherein his family had beene through *Alexanders* malice, together with the indignitie offered to himselfe by *Alexander*, who 40 knocked his head against a wall for deriding one that adored him after the *Persian* manner. The displeasure hereof, and the pleasure which he tooke in the amorous Queene, made him to resolue, both to suppresse the linage which he hated, and to maintaine his beloued mistresse, either by supporting her weake husband, or by taking her to be his owne wife.

The rest of the Lords held it a thing indifferent who reigned ouer all, so as they might reigne in their seuerall Countries, & establish their authority in such wise, that it might not be taken from them.

Among these, *Ptolomie* and *Antigonus* were well enough already, if their ambition would haue suffered them to see it.

Pithon and *Seleucus* lying farre off, and being strong, had some good hope to encroach vpon their neighbours. Against these, *Peucestes*, and some others, with much adoe hardly made resistance, vntill such time as *Eumenes* came to them; who propounded to himselfe great matters, which he liued not to accomplish.

Olympias the old Queene (as it is common with step-dames) hated the children of her husband by his other wiues. It was thought that she had giuen poyson to *Aridæus*, which failing to take away his life, had much impaired both his body and wits. Now she considering, that *Eumenes* was too full of businesse to come home so soone as she wished that he should; and that *Cassander* daily preuailed in *Greece*: thought it the best way to ioyne vvith *Polysperchon*, and set vp, as King, her Nephew *Alexander*, the son of *Roxane*, remouing *Aridæus* before *Cassander* were able to defend him. To this intent she procured men among her kindred in *Epirus*, and so tooke her way towards *Polysperchon*, who ioyning with her, entred into *Macedon*.

Eurydice hearing these newes, wrote very earnestly to *Cassander*, praying him to set aside all other businesse, and come to succour her. She her selfe by entreatie, gifts and promises, drew to her partie as many of the *Macedonians* as she could, vntill she thought her owne side strong enough; and then taking her husband with her, vvent boldly forth against *Olympias*, and the Traitor *Polysperchon*.

These two Queens met armed, as if the matter should haue beene determined by their own hands, which ended without any stroke stricken, by the reuolt of those who followed *Eurydice*. For as soone as the *Macedonians* beheld *Olympias*; calling to minde her former Estate, and the victorious reignes of her husband and sonne, they refused to lift any weapon against her. *Eurydice* finding her selfe thus forsaken, fled towards *Amphipolis*, but was intercepted and made prisoner with her husband.

Olympias hauing obtained this victory without bloud, thought that all things would succeed as easily, and vpon the same considerations for which they had refused to beare Armes against her, the *Macedonians* would not sticke to maintaine her, whatsoeuer her proceedings were. Hauing therefore shut vp *Aridæus* and his wife in a close roome, where they could scarce turne round, she fed them through a little hole, till after a while it came in her head, (for feare lest the people should haue commiseration of him, that had reigned almost sixe yeares and a halfe) to put them to death. So she deliuered *Aridæus* to some barbarous *Thracians*, who tooke away his life by cruell torments: to *Eurydice* she sent a sword, a halter, & a cup of poyson, willing her to choose the instrument of her owne death; who praying that the like presents might one day be sent to *Olympias*, yeelded her necke to the halter, hauing spent her last curses not in vaine. *Nicanor* the brother of *Cassander*, and a hundred the chiefe of his friends, did *Olympias* then choose out, all vvhom she commanded to be slaine. His brother *Iolaus* that was already dead & buried, she accused of poyson giuen to *Alexander*, & thereupon caused his Tombe to be thrown downe, and his bones to be scattered abroad. The *Macedonians* wondering at this furie, began to condemne themselues, and the folly of *Polysperchon*, who had, quite contrarie to *Antipaters* charge giuen on his death-bed, called this outragious woman to the gouernement of the Empire.

§. XX.

How Cassander *was reuenged vpon* Olympias.

†. I.

The great expedition of Cassander. Olympias *shuts her selfe into Pydna, where* Cassander *besieged her.* Æacides *King of Epirus, comming to succour* Olympias, *is forsaken, and banished by his owne Subiects.*

Cassander at that time lay before *Tegea*, in *Peloponnesus*; vvhither when all these ill tidings vvere brought to him, he neuer staied to take the Citie, nor to giue order for the State of things in that Countrie, (though *Alexander* the sonne of *Polysperchon* vvere there with an Armie) but compounding with them of *Tegea*, he willed his associates to looke to themselues as well as they could, till his returne; and so in all haste he tooke his iourney toward *Macedon*, carried headlong with the greedie desire, of iust reuenge. The *Ætolians* had taken the Streights of *Thermopyla*, in fauour of the Queene and *Polysperchon*, to hinder his passage; but he, not willing to mis-spend any time in

in dealing with them, got together as many shippes as he could, great and small, vvith which he transported his Army into *Thessaly*. There he diuided his companies, appointing some vnder *Callas*, a subtile Captaine, to hold *Polysperchon* busied, who then lay incamped neere to *Perhebia*; with the rest he marched directly against *Olympias*. She, hauing once preuailed by the respect giuen to her dignitie, tooke more care how to appeare Maiesticall, than to make her selfe strong. To this end she made a solemne progresse to *Pydna*, a Sea-towne, and well fenced, hauing in her companie all the flowre of the Court, especially the great Ladies, among whom was *Roxane*, & her young son *Alexander*, heire to the great *Alexander*, by his grandmothers designement: who, during his minority kept the Soueraigne power in her own hands. But all this pompe serued to little vse; against the violence of the enemy, that soone presented himself before the wals; onely it fed the besieged with a vaine hope of succour, that would from all parts arriue, to rescue persons of their quality. And hereof there soone appeared faire likelihood, which as soone vanished, and went away in smoake.

For *Æacides* King of *Epirus*, made great haste to bring succour to *Olympias*, his cousen, with whom *Deidamia* his daughter was also shut vp. Neuertheless, his Subiects were nothing forward in this expedition; but finding certaine passages taken in the way by *Cassanders* men, they called vpon him to retire, & quit the enterprise. The Kings importunitie vrging them to proceede, and the obstinate refusall of the Armie, brake out at length into such termes, that when he had raged in vaine against the multitude, his authority, with which he thought to haue preuailed vpon them, was by them taken from him, and he compelled to forsake his Kingdome, and to wander vp and down in forraine Countries a banished man, his people ioyning with the enemy, against whom he had led them forth to war.

Pydna in the meane time was closed vp streighly, both by Sea and Land, so that neither any could issue out of the Citie, nor any relieſe be conueyed into it; but it held out as long as any food was left, no memorable seruice being done there, whilst great actions were mannaged abroad.

†. II.

A continuation of Olympias *her storie.* Polysperchon *defeated. Extreame famine in Pydna.* Olympias *yeelded to* Cassander.

Now, though order of time require it, that we should rehearse the doings of *Eumenes* & *Antigonus* in this place, leauing *Olympias* yet a while to the houre of her destiny; which growes the faster vpon her, because she may discerne it comming: yet that we may not be compelled to interrupt the course of our narration, by inserting her Tragedie in the midst of things, not manifestly coherent with it; we will here (as elsewhere we haue done, and elsewhere must) continue to an end one History, that we may not be therewith distracted, when vve shall come to the relation of another. All the hope of the besieged, remaining in *Polysperchon*, was in like manner disappointed, as their former trust had bin, which was reposed in the succours of the *Epirot*. For *Callas*, who was sent against him, found the meanes to corrupt the greatest part of his Armie with mony, leauing him within a little while so slenderly accompanied, that he was fit for no other businesse of warre, than a swift retrait. When famine had so farre preuailed in the Citie, that the horses were killed as a precious food, many men feeding on the dead carcasses of their fellowes, and saw-dust being giuen to the Elephants for prouender; some of the Souldiers obtaining the Queenes leaue, (who could not denie it) others, without asking leaue, yeelded themselues to the enemie, and vvere by him gently relieued, and sent abroad into the Country. The newes of the Queenes affaires, dispersed by these men, did so affright her wel-willers, that such as had resetted themselues to the euent, came in apace, and submitted them to *Cassander*. At length, when the mortalitie was so great in the Towne, that the liuing were euen poysoned with the noysome sent of the dead; *Olympias* bethought her selfe of stealing away by Sea in a Galley that she had: wherewith her successe was as bad as in the rest. For God had appointed this Towne, by her chosen as a place of refuge, to be vnto her as a house of torment, and a Iaile, out of which she should not be deliuered, but vnto an euill death. Being therefore vtterly broken with miseries, which daily afflicted her

her & the other Ladies, vnaccustomed to so wretched a kind of life, she offered composition, & with much labor hardly obtained of *Cassander* (who hauing fetcht her Gally out of the Hauen, accounted himselfe as good as master of her body) a grant of her own life. Immediately vpon her apprehension, *Pella*, the chiefe Citie of the kingdome, was yeelded to *Cassander*. *Amphipolis* did stand out; for *Aristonus* (to whom *Olympias* had giuen charge of such forces as were left abroad in the Country, taking courage from the successe of some petty seruices wherein he had preuailed) began to promise himselfe great vnlikelihoods. But *Olympias*, to win *Cassanders* fauour, very earnestly required him vpon his faith to her, that he should giue it vp. He did so, and presently after was killed by his priuate enemies, that were set on by *Cassander*, vvho partly hated him vpon old respects, partly doubted him, as a man likely to seeke innouation.

†. III.

The death of Olympias, *and her conditions.*

WHen *Olympias* had now heard sorrowfull tidings of all her friends, she her self was called into question, & accused in an assembly of the *Macedonians*, for the murthers (they were so stiled in her affliction, which in time of prosperitie she called iustice) by her committed. There was she (being not heard, nor called to speake) condemned to die. The suite was commenced and prosecuted against her, by the kindred of those whom she had slaine. But it was at *Cassanders* instigation, who (to hasten the execution) sent her word, that he would furnish her with a ship, & other necessaries, to saue her self by flight: which when she refused, saying, that she would plead for her self, & tel her own tale; he dissembled no longer, but sent vnto her such men as hated her most, who tooke away her miserable life. She was daughter, and sister, vnto two kings of *Epirus*; vvife, & mother, vnto two the mightiest kings, of that, or many other ages; a stout Lady, and of vnreproueable chastitie; but her ambition vvas boundlesse, her hatred vnappeasable, and her furie in reuenge, most vnwomanly. Her peruerse conditions made her husband seeke other vviues and Concubines, vvhich caused her to hate both him, and them. She vvas thought priuie to her husbands death; after vvhich, very cruelly she slew his late wife *Cleopatra*, hauing first murdered one of her two children in her armes, and with a beastly fury broiled the other aliue in fire, in a copper bason. For these things, her sonne *Alexander* (otherwise louing her vvell) forbad her to meddle in the gouernment of *Macedon*. But God more seuere vnto cruell Tyrants, than only to hinder them of their vvils, permitted her to liue and fulfill the rest of her vviekednesse, (vvhich vvas his iustice vpon the adulteries of *Philip*, and the oppression done by him and others;) after all vvhich, He rewarded her malice, by returning it vpon her owne head.

†. IIII.

Cassander *celebrates the funerall of* Aridæus *and* Eurydice; *and seekes to make himselfe King of Macedon.*

AFter her death, *Cassander* gaue honourable buriall to *Aridæus* and *Eurydice*, among their Progenitors, Kings of *Macedon*. And looking further into his own possibilities of greatnesse, he married the Lady *Thessalonica*, whom he had taken at *Pydna*, being the daughter of King *Philip*, by another of his wiues; that by her he might haue some title to the Crowne. For the same end he committed *Roxane*, and her young son to close prison, remouing thereby some part of his impediment. And, the better to encrease his fame, and purchase loue, built a Citie, called by his own name *Cassandria*, that soone grew to be very great and powerfull. He re-edified likewise *Thebes* in *Greece*, and restored it vnto the old inhabitants, after it had laine twenty yeares waste, being vtterly razed by *Alexander*. By these meanes, especially by the restauration of *Thebes*, whereunto all *Greece* voluntarily contributed, he grew so strong, that few remained enemies vnto him; and they, with much labour, hardly could resist him. Leaue him therefore daily preuailing in *Greece*, we will returne to them, who contended in *Asia*, for lesse titles, but larger Prouinces, with greater forces.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the great Lordship which ANTIGONVS *got in Asia.*

§. I.

The iourney of Eumenes *into Persia. His wise dealing with those that ioyned with him.*

EVmenes, hauing ioyned vnto his company the *Argyraspides*, made haste into the Easterne parts, to take possession of those Countries, according to his commission, and strengthen himselfe against *Antigonus*. He tooke his iourney through *Cœlosyria* and *Phœnicia*, hoping to reclaime those Prouinces, vsurped with the rest of *Syria* (as hath beene shewed) by *Ptolomie*, to the Kings obedience. But to effect this, his haste of his passing forward was too great, his Armie too little, and the readinesse of the poeple, to returne to their due obedience, none at all. Besides all which impediments, one inconuenience troubled him in all his proceedings, making them the lesse effectuall. The Captaines of the *Argyraspides* were so froward, that they scorned to repaire to him, and take his directions; and their fidelity was so vnsteady, that he might more easily haue dealt vvith open traitors. It was not expedient, that he, being Generall, should weaken his authority by courting them; neither lay it in his power to keepe them in order by compulsion. Therefore he fained, that *Alexander* had appointed vnto him a dreame, a place for their meeting, namely, in a rich pauilion, wherein an emptie throne vvas placed, as if *Alexander* himselfe had beene present at their consultations. Thus he freed himselfe from their vaine pride; but of their faith he could haue no assurance. Yet vvhen *Ptolomie* requested them, and *Antigonus* bribed them to forsake him, they continued (though not without considering of the matter) to take his part. So he marched on, sending before him the Kings vvarrant; vvhich *Pytho* and *Seleucus* refused to obey; not as reiecting the kings authority, but excepting the person of *Eumenes*, as a man condemned to die by the *Macedonian* Armie, for the death of *Craterus*. *Eumenes*, knowing well that he was not to rely vpon their assistance, vvho stood otherwise affected than his affaires required, and vvere not to bee dealt vvith by perswasion, sought passage by strong hand, through the Country of *Babylon*, in such vvise that *Seleucus*, hauing in vaine assailed to hinder him, by opening the sluces of *Euphrates*, vvas glad at length to grant him friendly way, as desirous to be rid of him. Thus he came to *Peucestes* and the rest of the Easterne Lords, vvho were glad of his companie, because of the differences betweene *Pytho*, *Seleucus*, and themselues. Yet the contention about superiority, grew very hot among them, euery one finding matter enough to feede his owne humour of selfe-worthinesse. But the former deuice of assembling in one pauillion, made all quiet; the conclusion euer being sure to follow that vvhich *Eumenes* propounded, vvho vvas both vviseſt in giuing aduice, and best able to reward, by meanes of the authoritie giuen him, to take what he pleased of the Kings treasures. By these meanes he won to himselfe many of those, who had most power to doe good or hurt.

§. II.

How Antigonus, *comming to set vpon* Eumenes, *was driuen off with losse.*

ANtigonus, hearing that *Eumenes* lay in the Prouince of *Susa*, had an earnest desire to follow him, and driue him further from the Kings treasures, which were kept there. To vvhich end, as soone as he had made himselfe strong enough, he remoued out of *Mesopotamia*, where he had wintered; and taking to him *Pytho* and *Seleucus*, vvith their men, he marched directly against the enemies, with intent to giue them battell. *Eumenes* had fortified the Castle of *Susa*, & was retired back toward *Persia*,

keeping the Riuer of *Tygris* betweene him and his pursuers. The passages of the Riuer were well guarded, and good espiall kept vpon *Antigonus*, to obserue which way he took. Before he came to *Tygris* it selfe, he was to passe ouer *Coprates*, a great Riuer, and not foordable, vvhich he sought to doe by small vessels, whereof he had no great store. A great part of his Armie had gotten ouer, when *Eumenes*, who kept a bridge vpon *Tygris*, came with a thousand horse, and foure thousand foot, to see their demeanour: and finding them out of order, charged them, brake them, and draue them headlong backe into *Coprates*, wherein most of them vvere drowned; very few escaping with life, except foure thousand that yeelded themselues prisoners, in sight of *Antigonus*, that was not able to relieue them. This losse made *Antigonus* glad to fall off, and the heate of that Countrie in the dog dayes, breeding diseases in his Armie, by which many perished, caused him to remoue as farre as into *Media*. So he tooke *Python* with him; (leauing *Seleucus* to besiege the Castle of *Susa*) and seeking to goe the neerest way, passed through sauage Nations, that continually vexing him with skirmishes, slew great numbers of his men, before he could arriue in *Media*, vvith his troupes that were quite heart-broken.

§. III.

Of Eumenes *his cunning. A battaile betweene him and* Antigonus.

After his departure, *Eumenes* with his associates fell into consultation, about the remainder of their businesse. Faine he would haue had them to enter vpon those Prouinces, which *Antigonus* had left behinde him; to which also the Captaines of the *Argyraspides* or *Siluer-shields* were very inclinable, as desiring to draw neerer to *Greece*. But *Peucestes*, and the rest, whose dominions lay in the high Countries, had more care of their owne particular Estates, and would needes march Eastvvard. These carried it; for the Armie was not strong enough to diuide it selfe into parts.

When they came into *Persia*, *Peucestes*, ruling there, feasted them royally, and sought by all meanes to win the Souldiers loue to himselfe. *Eumenes* perceiuing whereunto those doings tended, suffred him a while to keep good cheare, till the time of war drew neere. Then did he faine an Epistle, directed, as from *Orontes* Gouernor of *Armenia*, to *Peucestes* himselfe: The purport whereof was; that *Olympias*, had vanquished *Cassander*, & sent ouer a great Armie vnder *Polysperchon*, to ioyne with *Eumenes*. These newes, as they filled the Campe with vaine ioy, so they wrought in all mens mindes a great willingnesse to obey *Eumenes*, by vvhom was the likeliest apparance of their preferment; wherein they dealt wisely, he being farre the most sufficient Commander, as they found soone after. For when *Antigonus*, comming out of *Media*, drew neere vnto them, *Eumenes* by some mischance was fallen sicke, and faine to be carried in a Litter; the Armie marched in very bad array, and was likely to haue beene forced to take battaile in that disorder. But *Eumenes*, when the rest of the Captaines were amazed, was carried about the Armie in his Litter, and vpon the sodaine did cast his men into so good forme, that *Antigonus*, perceiuing him a far off, could not refraine from giuing him deserued commendations. Yet he did not cease to promise great rewards to the Captaines, and all sorts of men, if they would forsake *Eumenes*: which hopes deceiuing him, he came to the triall of a battaile. *Eumenes* had more Elephants than *Antigonus*; otherwise, he was inferiour in number both of horse and foote by a third part. The battaile vvas fought vvith variable successe, and great losse on both sides, continuing a great part of the day, and of the night following. Yet the victory was vncertaine. For *Eumenes* could not force his men to lye farre from their carriages: by which meanes *Antigonus* (who had a more absolute command ouer his) incamping on the ground wheron they fought, had in his power the dead bodies; vvhich was accounted the signe of victorie; for he buried his owne, and gaue leaue to his enemies crauing it, to doe the like. But a greater signe of victory had *Eumenes*. For he abode still in the same place, and not onely buried his men very honourably, at great leasure, but held the Countrie round about; whereas *Antigonus* vvas glad (hauing tarried but one day) to steale away by night, and returne into *Media*, from whence he came.

of

§. IV.

Of diuers stratagems practised by Antigonus, *and* Eumenes, *one against the other.*

THus did the Warre continue doubtfull, and was protracted to a greater length, each part hauing stout Souldiers, and skilfull Generals: but the side which had hitherto preuailed, beeing hindred by the equall authoritie of many, from pursuing all aduantages to the best. *Antigonus* grew daily weaker, in men and reputation, so that to repaire himselfe he could finde no way safer, than to put all to aduenture. He knew that his enemies lay in their wintering places, quartered far asunder, so that if hee could suddenly come among them, he was likely to put them in great distresse. Between him & them, the way was not long, being only nine daies iourny, but very bad, through a rough drie wildernesse, hardly passable. Another way, fairer and leading through a Country well peopled, but requiring 25. daies iourny, he forsook, partly for the length, partly, and chiefly, because he would come vndiscouered. So therfore taking his iourny in the dead of winter, he forbade vnto his men the vse of fire by night, because he would not haue them descried a farre off. This commandement had been well obserued foure or fiue daies, when continuance of time (as commonly) breeding negligence, & the cold weather pinching them, they were bold to cherish themselues, being neer to their waies end. The light of these fires gaue notice of their comming; which being reported to *Peucestes*, and other Captaines, they were so astonished with the sudden danger, that in all haste they betooke themselues to flight. But *Eumenes*, meeting with the newes, began to hearten his affrighted companions, promising to make *Antigonus* march leisurely, and willing them to abide, and draw vp their men together. They could scarce beleeue him; yet they were content to be ruled, and did as he appointed, who failed not in making his word good. He tooke with him some companies of the readiest men, wherewith he occupied certaine tops of mountaines, looking toward the Campe of *Antigonus*: there hee chose a conuenient ground to incampe vpon, and made great store of fires in sundry places, as if the whole Armie had beene present. This was a sorrowfull spectacle to *Antigonus*, who thought himselfe preuented of his purpose; and began to feare lest he should be compelled to fight, whilest his men were tyred with a long and painful iourny. Therfore he resolued to turne aside, and take the way to such places, as might better serue to refresh his Armie. This he did with great care and circumspection, at the first, as knowing how ready *Eumenes* would be vpon all aduantages. But after a while, considering that no enemie stirred about him, he began to pause, and think in himselfe, that somewhat or other was not fallen out according to his opinion. To be the better informed in the matter, he caused some inhabitants of that desert to bee taken, and brought before him; of whom he learned, that they had seene no other Armie than his thereabout, but onely a few men that kept fires on the hil-tops. It vexed him exceedingly to finde that hee had been so deluded. Therefore hee went against these troupes with great fury, meaning to take sharpe vengeance on them, for hauing so deceiued him. But by this time, sufficient strength was arriued there, which could not be forced without much businesse, and long stay. All the Armie was come, saue only *Eudamus*, Captaine of the Elephants, who, besides those beasts, had no more than foure hundred horsemen in his company. *Antigonus* hearing of this supply comming to his enemies, sent aboue two thousand horse, and all his light-armed footmen, to cut it off by the way. *Eudamus* being fallen into this danger, was faine to place his Elephants round about his carriages, & so to defend himself as well as he could; for his horsemen, ouerlaied with multitudes, were quickly broken, and driuen to run away vpon the spurre. Neither knew they, vvho sate vpon the Elephants, which vvay to turne them; for on all sides they receiued vvounds, and were not able to requite them with the like. In this extremitie there appeared braue troupes of horse and foot, that came vnexpected to the rescue; and charging the assailants vpon the backe, draue them to seeke their owne safety by speedy flight. These were sent by *Eumenes*; who though he knew not what his aduersarie meant to doe, yet he knew very well what was fittest for him to doe: and therefore, playing both games himselfe, prouided the remedie.

§. V.

§. V.

The conspiracie of Peucestes *and others against* Eumenes *his life.*

BY these meanes *Eumenes* wanne great honour, and was by the whole Armie acknowledged a most expert Generall, and well worthy of the chiefe command. But *Peucestes*, and the other Captaines, guilty of their owne much insufficiency, were so transported with enuie, that they could no longer containe their vile thoughts, but held communication, as vpon a necessary point, how they might finde meanes to murder him.

Surely, it is great iniustice to impute the mischiefe contriued against worthy men, to their own proud carriage, or some other ill deseruing: For, though it often happen, that small vices do serue to counterpoyse great vertues; (the sense of euill being more quick and lasting than of good) yet he shall bewray a very foolish malice, that, wanting other testimonie, will thinke it a part of wisedome, to finde good reason of the euills, done to vertuous men, which oftentimes haue no other cause than vertue it selfe. *Eumenes*, among many excellent qualities, was noted to be of singular courtesie, of a very sweet conuersation among his friends, and carefull by all gentle meanes to winne their loue, that seemed to beare him any secret ill affection. It was his meere vertue that ouerthrew him, which euen they that sought his life acknowledged. For they concluded that he should not be slaine, before the battaile were fought with *Antigonus*, wherein they confessed that it stood best with their safety, to be gouerned by his direction. Of this treason he was quickly aduertised by *Eudamus*, to whom he had done many pleasures, and by some others of whom he vsed to borrow mony when he needed not, to the end that they should be carefull of his good, for feare of losing their owne. Considering therefore, and discoursing with himselfe of the villany intended against him, he made his last Will, and burnt all his Writings that contained any matter of secret: which done, he reuolued many things in his minde, being doubtfull what course he were best to follow. All the Nobles of the Empire stood ill affected to the Royall bloud, excepting those which were with him, that were more in number than in worth. How things at that time stood in *Macedon* and *Greece*, either he knew not, or, knowing the truth, knew nothing that might incourage him to seeke their helpe, that needed his. To make his owne peace with *Antigonus*, had beene against his faith to *Olympias*, and the Princes, that had committed this great power into his hands. For which cause also it may be thought, that he forbare either to lose the battaile willingly, or to flie into *Cappadocia*, and make shift for himselfe among his old friends. At length he resolued to do his best against the common enemy, and afterwards to looke to himselfe as well as he might.

§. VI.

The last battaile betweene Antigonus *and* Eumenes.

THe Souldiers, especially those old bands of the *Siluer-shields*, finding *Eumenes* perplexed, and not knowing the cause, entreated him not to doubt of the victorie, but onely to bring them into the field, and set them in array; for the rest, they alone would take sufficient order. The like alacritie was generally found in the common Souldiers faces; but the chiefe Commanders were so mischieuously bent against him, that they could not endure to thinke of beeing beholding to him for the victorie. Yet he ordered the battaile so well, that, without their owne great fault, they could hardly faile of getting the vpper hand.

Before the Armies came to ioyning, a horse-man from the side of *Eumenes*, proclaimed with a loud voice vnto the followers of *Antigonus*, That their wickednesse in fighting against their own Fathers, would now be punished, as it well deserued. This was not spoken in vaine. For the *Siluer-shields* were men of threescore or seuenty yeares old, and strengthened more by continuall exercise than decayed by age, and excelling in courage, as hauing passed through greater dangers, than any like to be presented in that fight. Therefore *Antigonus* his men (who had often beene beaten by them, and were now to trie their last hope with these resolute warriours, the most Ancient and best regarded of all *Alexanders* Souldiers) grew very pensiue, and aduanced heauily,

heauily; suspecting their owne cause, and fearing that the threatnings vttered would proue true.

Antigonus was now againe farre the stronger in horse, which gaue him cause of great hope; the ground, on which they were to fight, being a plaine fuelled field. Placing therfore himselfe and his son *Demetrius* in the right wing, and committing the left wing to *Python*, he did see forward couragiously against the Enemies, that were ready to giue him a sharp entertainment.

Eumenes took vnto him *Peucestes*, with the rest of the Lords, and stood in the left wing of his battaile, in the face of *Antigonus*; meaning both to preuent the Traitors, his Companions, of all meanes to make head against him on the sudden; and (withall) to giue proofe of his owne valour, which perhaps he should no more doe, in the face of all his Enemies. In the right wing, opposite vnto *Python*, he bestowed the weakest of his Horse and Elephants, vnder one *Philip*, an honest man, and (which was enough at such a time) obedient: commanding him to protract the fight, and make a reasonable retrait, expecting the euent of the other side.

So they ioyned very fiercely; *Antigonus*, labouring to make himselfe master of all; *Eumenes*, to dye an honounrable death, or to win such a victory vpon his open enemies, as might giue him leisure and opportunity to deale with his false friends.

The foormen of *Antigonus*, being euen in their owne opinions, far inferiour to those whom they must encounter, were at the first brunt presently defeated by the *Siluer-shields*, who slew aboue fiue thousand of them, losing of their owne not one man. But in Horse, *Eumenes* was so ouer-matched, that he could not repell *Antigonus*, who pressed him very hard, but was faine to stand wholly vpon defence. Yet his courage wrought so well by example, among his followers, that the Enemy could not win one foot of ground vpon him, vntill such time as *Peucestes*, with one thousand fiue hundred Horse, withdrew himselfe out of the battell, leauing his companions fighting to defend his backe.

Then did *Eumenes* desperately rush amongst his Enemies, labouring to break open the way vnto *Antigonus* himself. And though he failed of his purpose, yet with great slaughter he did so beat vpon them which came in his way, that the victory hung a long time in suspence, vncertaine which way to incline.

The ground whereon they fought, being of a slight sandie mould, through the trampling of horses, men, and Elephants, did cast vp such a cloud of dust, as hindred the prospect, so that no man could see what was done a little from him. *Antigonus* finding this aduantage, dispatched away some companies of horse, that passed vndiscouered beyond *Eumenes* his battailes, and came to his carriages, which lay about halfe a mile from the place of fight, slenderly guarded, (for that the whole body of the Army lay betweene them and danger) and therefore easily taken. Had *Peucestes* retired himselfe no further than vnto the carriages, he might not only haue defended them, but peraduenture haue surprised those which came to surprise them, and so haue done as good a piece of seruice as a better man. But he vvas gotten somewhat further, to a place, where out of danger he might expect the euent: and *Eumenes* was so ouer-laboured both in body and minde that he could not possibly giue an eye to euery place, being not well able to continue where he vvas.

It happened so, that the Elephants meeting together, those of *Antigonus* had the better hand; whereupon *Eumenes*, finding himselfe euery way ouer-charged, beganne to giue backe, and withdrew himselfe and his companies in good order, to the other side of the battaile, where *Philip* (as he was directed) had by fighting and retiring together, kept that wing from losse. The *Antigonians* had felt so much of *Eumenes* that day, that they were well content to let him depart quietly, and wished not to see him come againe; as faine he vvould haue done.

The losse of the carriages was reported vnto him, as soon as he had any leisure to heare how things vvent: whereupon he presently ordered his men for a fresh charge, and sent for *Peucestes* that vvas not far off, requesting him to bring in his men, and renew the fight, whereby he trusted, not only to recouer their owne goods, but to enrich themselues with the spoyles of the enemies. *Peucestes* not onely refused to ioyne with him, but immediately withdrew himselfe into a safer place, vvhere he might be further from such dangerous temptations.

By

By this, the night grew on; and both Armies, wearied with fighting, were desirous to returne into their Campes. Yet *Antigonus* conceiued hope of doing somewhat more; & therfore taking halfe his horsemen, he waited vpon *Eumenes* a part of his way homewards, but found no opportunity to offend him: the other halfe he committed to *Python*, willing him to set vpon the *Siluer-shields* in their retrait; which yet he forbare to do, because it appeared too full of danger. So the battaile ended; wherein *Antigonus* had not so much the better in horse, as the worse in foot: but the spoyle which he got, by surprising his enemies carriages, made amends for all his other losses.

§. VII.

How Eumenes *was betrayed to* Antigonus, *and slaine.*

Eumenes, comming into his Campe, and finding the *Siluer-shields* extreamely discontented with their misfortune, began to cheere them vp, and put them in hope of recouering all with aduantage. For their braue demeanour that day had so crushed the enemie, that he had no power left, wherewith to abide them in open field, and was much lesse able to draw their Carts after him, through that great wildernesse, ouer the high mountaines.

But these perswasions auailed nothing. *Peucestes* was gone; the other Captaines would needes return into the high Countries; and the Souldiers had no desire either to flie or to fight, but onely to recouer their goods. Wherefore *Teutamus*, one of the two Captaines of the *Siluer-shields*, (who had in former times readily consented vnto traiterous motions, in hope of gaine, but was letted by his partner *Antigenes*) finding, as hee thought, a fit occasion of making himselfe great, and winning the loue of those bands, dealt secretly with *Antigonus*, requesting him to restore vnto those old Souldiers their goods, which hee had taken, being the onely reward of their seruices, in the warres of *Philip* and *Alexander*.

Antigonus, as a subtile man, knew very wel, that they which requested more than they had reason to expect, would also with little entreatie, performe a great deale more than they promised; and therefore he louingly entertained the messengers, filling them with hopes of farre greater matter than they desired, if they would put *Eumenes* into his hands, by whom they were seduced to make warre against him. This answer pleased them so well, that they forthwith deuised how to deliuer him aliue. Wherefore comming about him, as at other times, to doe their dutie, and pretending more ioy of their victorie, than sorrow of their losse, which they said they would redeeme by another fight; in the midest of this goodly talke, they leapt vpon him, caught hold of his sword, & bound him fast. So they haled him away; and stopping their eares against all perswasions, would not yeeld so far, as to loosen one of his hands and let him kill himselfe, but brought him aliue (that was their own Generall, vnder whom they had obtained many victories) as it had been in triumph, into the Campe of their enemies.

The presse of men, running out of the Campe to see him, was so great, that *Antigonus* was faine to send a guard of horsemen and Elephants, to keep him from being smothered; whom he could not suddenly resolue, either to kill or saue. Very few they were that sued for his life; but of these, *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus* was one; the rest were desirous to be rid of him quickly; thinking belike, that if he were saued, he would soone be the chiefe in reputation, for his great abilitie. So after long deliberation, *Antigonus* concluded, that it was the safest way, to put him to death; which intending to haue done by famine (perhaps because he would keepe it a while in his owne power, to reuerse the sentence, as desiring, if it might be, to haue him liue his friend) haste of other businesse made him do it by the sword.

To this end came all the trauailes of that worthy Generall *Eumenes*; who had with great wisedome, fidelity, & patience laboured in vaine, to vphold the family which God had purposed to cast down. Hee is reckoned among the notable examples of Fortunes mutabilitie; but more notable was his gouernment of himselfe, in all her changes. Aduersitie neuer lessened his courage, nor Prosperitie his circumspection. But all his vertue, industrie, and wit, were cast away, in leading an Army, without full power, to keepe it in due obedience. Therefore it was not ill answered, by *Gaspar de Colignie*, Admirall of *France* in our daies, to one that foretold his death, which ensued soon after in the massacre

of *Paris*; That rather than to leade againe an Armie of Voluntaries, he would die a thousand times.

Antigonus himselfe gaue to the body of *Eumenes* honourable Funerall; and rewarded the Treason, wrought against him, with deserued vengeance. One chiefe Captaine of the *Siluer-shields* he burnt aliue; many of the other Captaines he slew; and to the whole multitude of the *Siluer-shields*, that had betraied so worthy a Commander, he appointed a Leader that should carry them into farre Countries, vnder pretence of warres; but with a priuie charge, to consume them all, as periured wretches, letting none of them returne aliue vnto his friends and kindred, or so much as once behold the Seas that beate vpon the shores of *Greece* and *Macedon*.

§. VIII.

How Antigonus *slew* Python, *and occupied Media. How he remoued Gouernours of Prouinces, and made himselfe Lord of Persia, carrying away* Peucestes.

THe two Armies being ioyned thus in one, were carried into *Media*, where they spent the rest of the Winter; the common Souldier idly; the principall men intentiuely bent vnto the businesse ensuing. *Python* began to consider his owne deseruings; for that the whole warre had beene chiefly maintained by the strength and riches of his Prouince. Besides, he thought himselfe as good a man as *Antigonus*, vnlesse it were in the Souldiers opinion, which he iudged easie to be purchased with gifts, and therefore spared not to assay them with great liberality. But in following this course, he was driuen by necessitie to trust many, of whom he stumbled vpon some, that were vnsecret, and others, bearing him no sincere affection. Thus was his purpose discouered to *Antigonus*, who (nothing like to *Python*) dissembled his indignation, and rebuked the informers, as breeders of dissention betweene him, and his honourable friend, vnto whom he meant to commit the Gouernment of all those Countries: his owne businesse calling him into the lower *Asia*. These reports, comming daily to his eares, did finely delude *Python*. By his greatnesse with *Alexander*; his authority in that Prouince where they lay, whereof he was Gouernor; and the loue of the Souldiers which he had bought with money; he was strong enough to maintaine, euen an offensiue warre. But what need had he to vse the sword, when he was likely without contention, to obtaine more than his owne asking? Therefore he came as soone as he was sent for, to take his farewell of *Antigonus*, and to diuide the Prouinces with him, that meant nothing lesse than to yeeld to any such diuision. As soone as he came, he was taken, and accused, condemned to die, and slaine out of hand. For *Antigonus*, hauing begun with *Eumenes* his ancient friend, was not afterward restrained by any consideration of old acquaintance, from cutting downe indifferently all that stood in his way; but swamme carelesly through the bloud, wherein at the first he doubtfully waded.

When this businesse was ended, he appointed a new Gouernour in *Media*, to order the Prouince, and a Captaine, to suppresse all commotions: thinking belike, that the power and authoritie, so diuided, would hardly agree in one against him, from whom both were deriued.

After this he marched into *Persia*, where he was entertained, as absolute Lord of *Asia*. There began he to shew how well he vnderstood his owne mightinesse. For he placed and displaced at his owne pleasure, Gouernours in all Prouinces, leauing none in Office, that were not his own creatures, exception such as lay too farre off to be disloged easily.

Peucestes, who ruled in *Persia*, thought with good cheere to redeeme old offences, but was deceiued, hauing to doe with one that could not be taken with such baites: he was carried away, and feasted with goodly words of promise, that neuer after tooke effect. Thus he, that enuied the vertue of his friend, was driuen to flatter (in vaine) the fortune of his enemie, after which he led a most contemptible life, till he died obscurely a man forgotten.

§. IX.

How Seleucus *was chased out of Babylon by* Antigonus. *The great riches of* Antigonus.

SEleucus was the next in this visitation; one that had from time to time continued in the same tenor of good will to *Antigonus*, and now gaue proofe of his hearty affection toward him, by making the Captaine of the Castle of *Susa*, to meete him on the way, rendring vnto him that strong Peece, and all the treasures therein bestowed. This offer was so great, that *Antigonus* (though hauing in his hands the Keeper of the place) could hardly beleeue it; but vsed him with excessiue kindnesse, for feare so good a mood should change. In that Castle he found all the treasures of *Alexander*, with the Iewels of the *Persian* Kings, which, added to his former store of mony, made vp 25. thousand talents. Hauing all this, he might well account himselfe a happy man, if riches were sufficient to happinesse. But large dominion was the marke at which he aimed; therefore he proceeded, with intent to leaue no Country behinde his backe, that should not acknowledge him for Soueraigne Lord. Comming to *Babylon*, he was entertained by *Seleucus* with all possible demonstration of loue, and honoured with presents, beseeming the Maiestie of a king. All this he accepted with great grauitie, as being due to him; and began so require an account of the reuennues of that Prouince. This demand *Seleucus* held vnreasonable; saying, That it was not needfull for him to render vnto any man an account of that Prouince, which was giuen vnto him, in respect of his many good seruices to the State. But whether he spake reason or no, it sufficed, that *Antigonus* was powerfull, who vrged him daily to come to a reckoning. Manifest it was, that neither want of money, nor any other necessity, moued *Antigonus* to presse him thus, but onely the desire to picke matter of quarrell against him, whereof it was likely that he should finde such issue, as *Python* and *Peucestes* had done. Therefore taking with him onely fifty horse, he conueied himselfe away, and fled into *Ptolomies* Dominions; desiring him to protect him from such a man as went about to oppresse all, that in former times had beene his betters, or at least his equalls. *Antigonus* was glad of his flight; for now all those Countries were yeelded vnto him without battaile, whereas to fight with *Seleucus* for them, he wanted all pretence; and to kill him it was not his desire, hauing receiued many benefits of him, and those not intermixed, as commonly it happens, with any iniuries. Yet it is reported, that the *Chaldæans* brought a strange Prophesie to *Antigonus*, bidding him look well to himselfe, and know, that if *Seleucus* did escape his hands, he should recouer *Babylon*, yea, winne all *Asia*, and kill *Antigonus* in battaile. Easie beleeuers may giue credit to this tale. Had it beene true, me thinkes, *Antigonus* rather should haue hanged those *Chaldæans*, for giuing him no warning till it was too late, than sent pursuers (as they say that he did) after him, whom the destinies preserued for so great purposes. When he had settled things at *Babylon*, he tooke his iournie into *Cilicia*, where he wintered. There he took vp ten thousand talents more of the kings treasures, and casting his accounts, found his yearely in-come to amount vnto eleuen thousand Talents.

Chap. V.

Of the great Warre betweene Alexanders *Captaines: and how they assumed the name and state of Kings.*

§. I.

The combination of Ptolomie, Cassander, *and others against* Antigonus. *Their demands and his answer.*

THis great riches, and the rest of his power, made *Antigonus* dreaded, enuied, and suspected, whereby he quickly was embarked in a new Warre. *Ptolomie*, *Cassander*, and *Lysimachus*, had priuily combined themselues together, intending to hinder his further growth, and bring him to more reason than of his owne accord he seemed like to yeeld vnto. Of their practices he had some notice; the good

good entertainment giuen vnto *Seleucus*, giuing him sufficient cause of mistrust. Therefore he sent Embassadors to them seuerally, entreating them to continue firme in their loue toward him, that would be ready to requite them with the like. The cold answers which they made, occasioned his hasty preparation against the most forward of them, which was *Ptolomy*, it being likely that a good army should preuaile more than a faire message. Therefore, as soone as the season of the yeare would permit, he tooke the way toward Syria, & was encountred by Embassadors from them all. These told him, that their Lords did much reioyce at his victory, obtained against *Eumenes* their common enemy, and the honour that he had thereby gotten: In which warre, forasmuch as they being his Confederates, must haue endured great losse, with hazzard of their whole Estates, if the contrary faction had preuailed; they held it very iust, that all should be partakers in the fruits of that voyage, wherein they had been all aduenturers. Wherefore they desired him, that making between them all an equall diuision of the treasures, that were in his hands, (a thing easie to be done) he would also take some conuenient order for enlarging their Dominions, according to the rate of his new purchases. This might best be to euery ones liking, if he would make ouer Cappadocia, with Lycia, to *Cassander*, & Phrygia, bordering vpon the Hellespont, to *Lysimachus*; for whereas his own Dominions were so much extended Eastward by his late victory, he might well spare some of those westerne Prouinces, to those that were seated in the West. As for *Ptolomy*, he would not craue any new addition, but rest contented within his own Territories. Prouided alwaies, that *Seleucus* their common friend, and partner in the late warre, might be restored to his owne, out of which he had beene driuen so iniuriously, that all of them were forced to take it deeply to heart, requiring amends, with his friendly consent vnto their demands, which otherwise they must labour to obtaine with armed hands.

Antigonus knew, that after many losses receiued, he should yet be able to redeeme peace when soeuer he listed, with these, or perhaps with easier conditions. Neither was hee so weake, to giue away quietly any part of his strength into the hands of such bad friends, for feare only, lest it should be taken from him perforce. Rather he hoped that he should be able to finde them worke, more than enough to defend their owne. Therefore he roundly answered the Embassadors, that it was no part of his meaning to communicate with other men the profit of that victory, which he alone without other mens help had obtained. Though indeed they had alreadie sufficiently gained by him, if they could see it, hauing by his meanes kept their gouernments, whereof they were like to be dispossessed by *Polysperchon*, and the councell of estate in Macedon. But what maruell was it, if they considered not how he had saued them, seeing one of them had forgotten the time, when comming to him as a fugitiue, and begging succour, he was by his meere bounty releued, and enabled to get all that he now held? *Cassander* did not (said he) in those dayes command me to surrender Prouinces, and giue him his equall share of my treasures; but (for his Fathers sake) desired me to pitty him, and helpe him against his enemies: which I did, by sending him an Army, and Fleet, on confidence whereof he now presumes to threaten me. As for *Seleucus*, how can he complaine of wrong, that durst not stay to plead his right? I did vse him well, but his conscience told him that he had deserued ill: else he would not haue fled. Let them that so curiously search into my doings, consider well their owne, which some of them can hardly iustifie. I am now in the way to Syria, meaning to examine *Ptolomies* proceedings, and after him to deale with others, if they continue to prouoke me.

§. II.

The preparation and beginnings of the warre.

When the Embassadors were dismissed with this answer, nothing was thought vpon but Warre. *Antigonus* perceiuing that he should haue no aide from Europe, as soone as hee was entred into Syria, left his Nephew *Ptolomy* to guard the Sea-coasts, & hinder *Cassander* from landing in Asia; giuing him also in charge to driue out of Cappadocia some that were already sent ouer to molest him. Like wise he dispatched Messengers into Greece & Cyprus, not vnfurnished of money, to diuert friends to his side, & raise vp troubles to his enemies. Especially he laboured to make himself the

strongest by Sea; to which purpose he rather hastened, than foreslowed his iourny into Syria, that he might get possession of Mount Libanus, which afforded many excellent commodities for building of a Nauie. Therefore, hauing erected Beacons, and laid post-horses throughout all Asia, to giue swift aduertisement of all occurrences, he inuaded Syria, that was not held against him by any power sufficient to maintaine the field.

Ptolomy lay in Egypt, the strength and heart of his Dominion, where he was beloued and honoured of the people as their naturall Lord: his other Prouinces he kept with a few Garrisons, better seruing to containe the people within obedience, than to confront a forraine enemy. So *Antigonus* tooke many Cities, and Places, of that Country, and began to set great numbers of Artificers on worke in making ships, which was one of his most earnest cares. In these businesses he consumed a yeare aud three moneths; not idlely. For he took Ioppe, and Gaza, which were yeelded vnto his discretion, and well vsed. The strong city of Tyrus held out long, but was compelled in the end by famine, to render it selfe vpon composition, that *Ptolomies* Souldiers might depart with their Armes; which was permitted.

Ptolomy was not asleep, whilest these things were in doing, though he kept himselfe within the bounds of Egypt, as indeed it behooued him to do. His forces were not able to stand against *Antigonus* in plaine field, but likely they were to increase, which made him willing to protract the time. Neuertheless by Sea (where his enemy was as yet vnready) he sent his Fleet into all quarters, whereof *Seleucus* had the chiefe command.

Seleucus passed with an hundred saile along the coast of Syria, in the full view of *Antigonus*, and his Army, to their no little discomfort. He landed in Cyprus, which was then gouerned by many petty Lords; of whom the greatest adhered to *Ptolomy*; the rest were by the Factors of *Antigonus*, bought for him with gold, but now redeemed by the Egyptian with sharp steele.

The same commodity of aide by Sea encouraged the President of Caria (called also *Cassander*, but not the son of *Antipater*, howsoeuer by the painfull and learned writer *Reinerus Reineccius*, he is by some ouersight, counted for the same) to declare for *Ptolomy* and his Confederates, and busily imploy in their quarrell all his forces, which he had hitherto kept in good neutrality, and thereby enioyed rest; but now he threw himselfe into dangerous warre, choosing rather to vndergoe trouble at hand, than to fall vnder certaine ruine, though somewhat further distant, which would haue ouerwhelmed him, if *Antigonus* had beaten all the rest.

§. III.

How each party sought to winne the assistance of Greece. Antigonus *his declaration against* Cassander. Alexander *the sonne of* Polysperchon *reuolteth from* Antigonus *who had set him vp.*

IN the meane season all care possible was taken on both sides, to assure vnto them the people of Greece, whose aide, which way soeuer it inclined, was of great importance. Herein at the first, *Antigonus* sped so well by large effusion of his treasure, that he drew to him the Lacedæmonians, and other Peloponnesians, of whom hee waged eight thousand, & caused *Polysperchon* (who had a good while made hard shifts) to rowse himselfe again, and taking vpon him the title of Captain of Peloponnesus, to make head against *Cassander*.

These hopefull beginnings encouraged him to proceed further in the same kinde. Wherefore to make *Cassander* the more odious, he called together both his owne Souldiers, and all the Greeks & Macedonians that were to be found thereabouts. To these he declared, that *Cassander* had very cruelly slaine *Olympias*, mother to the great *Alexander*, and not herewith contented, had shut vp in close prison the poore Lady *Roxane*, *Alexanders* wife, and his sonne begotten on her body. That all this proceeded from a desire to make himselfe King ouer the Macedonians; which well appeared by his enforcing the Lady *Thessalonica*, Daughter to King *Philip*, a match vnfit for a man of no greater parentage than he, to ioyne with him in marriage. That in meere despight of those dead Princes, *Philip* and *Alexander*, he had planted the Olynthians, rooted out by *Philip*, in a new City by him built, and called by his own name Cassandria; and had re-edified the City of Thebes, which for the great treason of the inhabitants, was leuelled with the ground by

by the victorious hand of *Alexander*. For these reasons he required them to make a decree, that *Cassander* should restore to absolute libertie the Lady *Roxane*, and her son; and should yeeld obedience to the Lord Lieutenant General of the Empire, (by which name *Antigonus* himselfe was vnderstood) or else should be reputed a Traitor, and open Enemie to the State. Furthermore he propounded, that all the Cities of Greece should bee restored into freedome; this hee did, not because he was carefull of their good, but for the need which he had of their assistance.

These things being decreed, *Antigonus* was perswaded, that not onely the Greekes would adhere vnto him, as to their louing Patron, and fall off from *Cassander*; but that the rulers of Prouinces, who had hitherto suspected him as a man regardfull of nothing but his own benefit, would correct their opinion, and think him the most faithfull of all others to the Royall bloud. But concerning his loyaltie to the yong Prince, the world was too wise to be decoiued with vaine shewes. His vndertaking for the libertie of the Greekes was more effectuall, and got easie beliefe, in regard of his present hatred to *Cassander*. Yet herein also *Ptolomie* strouc to be as earnest as he, making the like decree, in hope to win to himself that valiant Nation, which afforded men farre more seruiceable in war, than were to be found in any Prouince of the Empire.

And this indeed was the point, at which both sides aimed. Wherin *Antigonus* thinking to make all sure, deceiued himselfe, not without great cost. For hee gaue to *Alexander* the son of *Polysperchon* fiue hundred talents, willing him to set the war on foot in Peloponnesus, whereby it might appeare, that on his side was meant nothing else, than what was openly pretended.

In Peloponnesus, *Cassanders* men had with much bloud shed, grieuously afflicted the contrary faction; and he himself perceiuing, that they were more easily spoyled as enemies, than retained as friends, thought it the best way to make what vse he could of them, that were not long like to continue his. Finally, perceiuing that *Alexander* came furnished with plentie of gold, wherewith he was able, not onely to win the doubtfull, but to corrupt such as might seeme best assured: he thought it a part of wisedome, to surrender vpon faire conditions, that which he could not assure himself to hold any long time by force. Therefore he sent one to deale with *Alexander*, about the matters in controuersie, telling him, that *Antigonus* was very skilfull in setting men together by the eares, not caring who preuailed, but onely desiring to haue them weary themselues, whilest he was busied elsewhere; that so at length he might find opportunity to seiz vpon the stronger. If therefore *Alexander* were so wise, as to keep in his purse the fiue hundred Talents which he had, and without stroke stricken, to receiue the whole Lordship of Peloponnesus; it should be freely put into his hands by *Cassander*. Prouided, that he should from thenceforth renounce all confederacy made with *Antigonus*, & enter into a sure & faithfull league with *Ptolomy*, *Cassander*, & the rest of the Confederates. Otherwise he might well perswade himselfe, that the Country which his Father could not keepe, when he was indeede the Lieutenant of the Empire, should not in haste be won by him, that was onely the Factor of a proud auarious man, so stiling himselfe, but not acknowledged by others.

Alexander had liued a while with *Antigonus* since the beginning of these wars; among whose followers it was not hard to discouer the intent, (which he did not carry very secret) of making himselfe absolute Lord of all. Therefore he was soone entreated to accept so good an offer; and did not sticke to enter into that league, whereby he was to become a free Lord, and subiect vnto no mans controll.

Howbeit, this his honour continued not long, ere he lost both it and his life together, by treason of the Sicyonians, who thinking thereby to haue made themselues free, were soone after vanquished in battaile by *Cratesipolis*, *Alexanders* wife, a discreet and valiant Lady. Shee in reuenge of her husbands death, crucified thirty of the Citizens taken in fight; and hauing by seuerity taught them obedience, did afterwards continue her Army in good order, and gouerned those places that she held, with the commendation of her Subiects and Neighbours.

§. IV.

The Ætolians rise against Cassander *in fauour of* Antigonus, *and are beaten. A fleet and land-army of* Antigonus, *vtterly defeated by* Ptolomies *Lieutenant. In what termes the warre stood at this time.* Antigonus *drawes neerer to Greece.*

ANtigonus, when he found, that with so much money he had only bought an enemy, began to raise troubles to *Cassander* and his other aduersaries in Greece, by stirring vp the Ætolians against them: Likewise he laboured to winne to his party the Ilands in the Greek Seas, by whose assistance he might be the better able to deale with *Ptolomy*, that greatly preuailed by reason of his strong Fleet. But neither of these attempts had the successe which he expected. The Ætolians, a factious Nation, & alwaies enuying the greatnesse of their Neighbours, were often in commotion, but so, that commonly their gaines equalled not their losses. *Cassander* wan some of their owne Country; fortified the Acarnanians against them, & compelled *Glaucias*, King of the Illyrians, whom hee vanquished in battaile, to forsake their side, and binde himselfe to beare no Armes against *Cassanders* friends.

On the other side, as many petty Ilands were drawne to ioyne with *Antigonus*: so the Fleet of the Rhodians vnder *Theodatus*, who was Admiral to *Antigonus*, passing along the coast of Asia towards Cyprus, with an Army vnder conduct of *Perilaus* marching on the shore for mutuall assistance, was quite ouerthrowne by *Ptolomies* Nauie. *Polyclytus*, who in *Ptolomies* behalfe had been sent into Peloponnesus against *Alexander*, finding no need of his seruice in that Country, because *Alexander* was come ouer to their side, returned homewards, & by the way heard of the course which these Antigonians held, whom he very cunningly surprised. Hee rode with his Fleet behind a Cape, which the enemies were to double; his Land-forces he placed in ambush, wherinto *Perilaus* falling was taken prisoner, with many of his men, & many were slain, making little resistance. *Theodatus* the Admirall perceiuing this, made all haste to help his fellowes that were on Land; but whilest he with all his Fleet were intentiue onely to that businesse, *Polyclytus* appeared at their backs; who as soon as he perceiued their disorder, hastened about the Cape, and charging them behinde, suffered not one of them to escape him. These ill tidings caused *Antigonus* to deale with *Ptolomy* about some composition. First, he sent Embassadors; afterwards they met in person. But *Antigonus* would not yeeld vnto the demands of *Ptolomy*: so the parley was vaine.

Hitherto each part seemed to haue indifferently sped in the warre, and therby to haue equall cause of hope and feare. This late victory with the good successe of his affaires in Cyprus, did seem to make amends to *Ptolomy* for his losses in Syria. Likewise the reuolt of *Alexander* from *Antigonus* did equall the confederacy, made between the Ætolians & him; as also those petty skirmishes, that had been in Asia the lesse, to *Antigonus* his aduantage, were sufficiently recompensed by others of like regard, but aduerse to him; and by the troubles brought vpon his estates in those parts by the two *Cassanders*.

Contrariwise, *Antigonus* valued the losse of his men, mony, and ships, no otherwise than as the paring of his nailes, that were left long enough, and would easily grow againe; but the enlargement of his Territory by addition of Syria, he prized at a higher rate, as if thereby he had fed vpon a limbe of *Ptolomy* his enemy, and strengthened the body of his owne Empire. Concerning other accidents, whereof the good were hitherto sufficient to counterpoyze the bad, he meant to proceed as occasion should direct, which commonly is not long wanting to them, that want no mony.

That which most molested him, was the attempts of his enemies vpon Asia the lesse; wherein though as yet they had gotten little, yet had he cause to feare, lest the people being tied vnto him by no bond of allegeance, might vpon smal occasion reuolt from him, to men of as honourable reputation as he himselfe. To preuent this, and to be neere to Greece, he held it expedient for him to be there in person, where his affaires did seem to prosper the worse, by reason of his absence. Therfore he left part of his Army in Syria vnder his son *Demetrius*, to whom, being then but two and twenty years old, he appointed many ancient Captaines or assistants, or rather as Directors: the rest he carried with him into Phrygia, where he meant to winter.

§. V.

§. V.

How Lysimachus *and* Cassander *vanquished some enemies, raised against them by* Antigonus. *The good successe of* Antigonus *in Asia and Greece: with the rebellion of many Cities against* Cassander.

THe comming of *Antigonus* into those parts, wrought a great alteration in the processe of his businesse thereabouts. For his enemies had short leisure to thinke vpon molesting him in Asia: they themselues were held ouer-hardly to their owne worke on Europe side. *Seuthes* a King of the Thracians, ioyning with some Townes that rebelled against *Lysimachus*, brought also the bordering Scythians into the quarrell. All these relyed vpon *Antigonus*, who was to help them with mony and other aide. The Ætolians likewise tooke courage, and rose against *Cassander*, hauing *Æacides*, lately restored to the Kingdome of Epirus, their assistant. But *Lysimachus* gaue vnto his Rebels no time to confirme themselues. Hee suddainly presented himselfe before two of the Cities that had rebelled, and compelled them by feare to returne vnto their former duty. Hee fought a battaile with the Scythians, and wilde Thracians, and drauethem out of the Country. Finally, hee ouercame *Seuthes*; and following the heate of his victory, slew *Pausanias* in battaile, whom *Antigonus* had sent ouer with an Army; and all his men he did either put to ransome, or fill vp with them his owne Bands. The like successe had *Philip*, *Cassanders* Lieutenant, against the Ætolians. For hee wasted their Country; fought with the Epirotes, that came to helpe them: and after the victory, fought againe with their forces ioyned in one, ouerthrowing them, and killing *Æacides* that vnfortunate King. Finally, he draue the Ætolians out of most of their Country, and forced them to seek their safety among the wilde Mountaines. Of the Epirotes he sent as prisoners to *Cassander*, the principall authors of the Kings restitution, and of the present War.

Yet these actions required some time, and wearied *Antigonus* his aduersaries with painfull trauaile; after which they remained only sauers. *Antigonus* himselfe at faire leisure wan all Caria the whilest, and sent Armies into Peloponnesus, and other parts of Greece, bestowing liberty vpon all the Cities he tooke out of *Cassanders* hands. The whole Country of Peloponnesus (excepting Sicyon and Corinth) with the Isle of Eubœa, and many places of the firme Land, were by those means won to be his in true and vehement affection, ready to doe or suffer any thing for him that had made so euident a demonstration of his readinesse, to giue them the liberty in deed, which others had promised in idle words. Many States desirous of the same benefit, would faine haue shewed their good will; but they were kept in by *Cassanders* Garrisons, who was too wise to trust them loose. Therefore *Antigonus* made shew as if he would passe ouer into Macedon: by which terrour hee forced *Cassander* to repaire thither in all haste, with the best of his strength, leauing many good Towns of Greece so weakly guarded, that well they might take courage to help themselues, if any forraine succour appeared. The aide which they desired was not long wanting. The Lieutenant of *Antigonus*, taking the aduantage of *Cassanders* departure, entred the Country; draue his Garrisons out of diuers Cities; forced the Gouernour of Athens to enter into league with their Lord; wanne the Citadell of Thebes, and set the people at liberty. This last action was somewhat remarkeable. For Thebes had not long before bin raised out of her old ruines by the meere power of *Cassander*; of which act he was accused by *Antigonus*, as if it had been some hainous crime. Yet now the same *Antigonus* winneth the City, and the loue of the Inhabitants; only by expelling him that was their Founder. So much are men readier to thanke the Increaser, than the Author of their good; and rather to looke forward vpon those hopes, which vainly they extend beyond all measure, than backward vpon their miserable nullity, that held them vncapable of being any thing.

§. VI.

Victories of Ptolomy *by Sea. A great battaile at Gaza, which* Ptolomy *and* Seleucus *won, against* Demetrius *the son of* Antigonus.

AS the presence or neernesse of *Antigonus* gaue life to his affaires in the lower Asia and Greece; so the designes of his enemies, taking aduantage of his absence, ruined the very foundations of those great workes in the Easterne parts, wherewith in the yeare preceding he had ouer-topped them. The Isle of Cyprus, whose Princes wauered betweene contrary affections, inclining one while to *Antigonus*, another while faintly regarding their couenant with *Ptolomy*, was visited by an Egyptian Fleet, wherewith *Ptolomy*, in his owne person easily reduced them to a more setled order, putting some to death, carrying others away prisoners, and leauing a Lieutenant of his own appointment, Gouernour of the whole Country. With the same Fleet hee ran alongst the Sea-coasts, wasting a great part of Caria & Cilicia, with the spoiles of which he enriched his followers, and returned loaden to Cyprus. *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus*, hearing frequent reports of the miseries, wherwith his Fathers subiects were oppressed, made all haste out of Syria to the rescue, taking only his Horse and light-armed Foote with him, because the businesse required expedition. But in vaine did hee tire himselfe and his followers, in hasty seeking of one, that by lanching out into the deep, could in a few minutes delude the labour of so many dayes, if need had so required. Answerable to the vanity of this expedition was the successe. For *Ptolomy* was gone, before *Demetrius* came into Cilicia. Neither was it certain, whether hauing lightned his ships of their burthen in Cyprus, he would return vpon those maritime Countries; or make towards Syria, where his comming was expected. He was indeed gone into Egypt, and there with *Seleucus* was describing a Royall Army, which he leuied with all conuenient speed, for the recouery of Syria. This was more than *Demetrius* knew. Therefore hee was faine to choose out of vncertainties the most likelihood, and returne the way that he came, vvith all his companies, which were fitter for seruice in the open field, than to be bestowed in Garrisons among the Cilicians. He had scarce refreshed his Men and Horses in Syria, vvhen the newes arriued of *Ptolomies* comming with a puissant Army, to giue him battaile. Hereupon he called to counsaile his principall friends, who aduised him to giue way to the time, and expect some better opportunity in the future: being a young man, and weakly furnished with meanes to resist such ancient and famous Generals, as *Ptolomy* & *Seleucus*. This counsaile seemed rather to proceed from the cold temper of those aged men that gaue it, than from any necessity growing out of the present businesse. For *Demetrius* considering himselfe to be the son of *Antigonus*, and now Generall of his Fathers Army, thought his own title weighty enough to be laid in ballance against the bare names of those two great Cõmanders. Neither found he much reason that should moue him to distrust his forces, as insufficient. His men were better exercised than the enemies, and promised as much as could be required. Therefore perswading himselfe, that such oddes of number, and of great fame, would rather serue to adorne his victory, than hinder him in obtaining it, he resolued to put the matter to triall, without expecting the aduantage of more helpe. So animating his Souldiers with hope of spoile and rewards, he abode the comming of the Enemies at Gaza; with purpose to encounter them, as soon as they had finished their wearisome iourny ouer the Deserts of Arabia.

Ptolomy and *Seleucus* issuing out of so rich a Prouince, as Egypt, came so well prouided of all necessaries, that their Army felt not any great grieuance of the euil way, when battaile was presented them, which confidently they vndertooke. In all things else they had the ods of *Demetrius*; of Elephants they were vtterly vnprouided. But how to deale with those beasts they were not ignorant. They had prepared a kinde of Palisado, fastened strongly together with chaines, and sharpened in such a manner, that the Elephants could not seeke to breake vpon it, without receiuing much hurt. The rest of their forces, (which (besides that they had aduantage in multitude) vvere heartened with many fortunate seruices, by them performed that yeare, whilest the enemies had wearied themselues, either with vaine iournies, or long and dulling expectation,) they disposed in such order, as best answered to the forme, wherein *Demetrius* was embattailed. The fight began, and was maintained with equall courage, for a long time, each part striuing

striuing more to win honour, than to satisfie any other passion, as hauing little cause of hatred, or reuenge. But after some continuance, the greater number holding better out, the errour of *Demetrius*, who vpon no necessity would needes fight a battaile vvith disaduantage, began to appeare by his losses. Hee had committed himselfe to Fortune, hauing more to lose by her than he could get: but in this fight shee vvas idle, and left all to be decided by strong hands; vnlesse it may be said, that the terror brought vpon his men, by the losse of his Elephants, was bad lucke. Those beasts were in that kinde of warre hardly to be resisted on plaine ground; and therefore at the first they made great spoile amongst *Ptolomies* men. Afterward seeking to breake through the Palisado, they were sorely hurt, and euery one of them taken. This disaster caused the Horse-men of *Demetrius* to faint. They had laboured hard, & preuailed little, till now perceiuing that all must lye vpon their hands, who were ill able to make their owne places good, they began to shrinke, and many of them to prouide for their safety by timely flight, vvhich example the rest quickly followed. When *Demetrius* had strouen so long in vaine to make his men abide, that he himselfe was likely to be lost; he was faine to giue place to the stronger, making a violent retrait as far as to Azotus, which was about thirty miles from the place of battaile. A great part of his carriages was in Gaza, whither some of his company turned aside, hoping to saue such goods, as in haste they could pack vp. This foolish couetousnesse was their destruction, and the losse of the Towne. For whilest they forgetfull of the danger, had filled the streets with sumpter-Horses, and cloyed vp the gates, thronging, some to get in and fetch; others, to carry out what they had already loaden; *Ptolomies* Army brake in without resistance, taking them with their goods and the City altogether.

This victory restored vnto *Ptolomy* the best part of Syria, a Prouince more easie in those times to get, than to keep; and opened the way vnto all the greatnesse of *Seleucus*. For between Gaza and Phœnicia no place offered resistance. In Cœlosyria & Phœnicia, some Townes held out a while, but were soon taken in by *Ptolomy*. Among these were the great Cities of Tyrus & Sidon; of which Sidon was giuen vp by the Inhabitants: Tyrus by the Garrison, falling to mutiny against their Captaine, vvho trusting to the strength of it, had made great vaunts, but was pardoned by *Ptolomy*, and honourably entertained, in respect of his fidelity.

§. VII.

How Seleucus *reconered Babylon, and made himselfe Lord of many Countries in the highest Asia. The* Æra *of the* Kingdome of the Greekes, *which began with the Dominion of* Seleucus.

WHile *Ptolomy* followed this businesse with such prosperity, *Seleucus* tooke leaue of him, and went vp to Babylon, to try his owne fortune; which he found so fauourable, that recouering first his owne Prouince, he became at length master of the better part of *Alexanders* purchases.

This expedition of *Seleucus* was very strange, and full of vnlikelihoods. His train consisted of no more than eight hundred foot, and two hundred horse, a number too small to haue been placed as Garrison, in some one of those maine great Cities, against which he carried it into the higher Asia. But little force is needfull, to make way into strong places, for him that already stands possessed of their hearts which dwel within the wals. The name of *Seleucus* was enough; whom the Babylonians had found so good a Gouernour, that none of them would finde courage to resist him; but left that worke to *Antigonus* his owne men, wishing them ill to speed. Some of the Macedonians that were in those Countries, had the like affection; others made a countenance of warre, vvhich by easie compulsion they left off, and followed new Ensignes. This added courage to the people, who came in apace, and submitted themselues ioyfully to *Seleucus*. In a defection so generall, it was not a safe course for the Antigonians, to thrust themselues into the Townes of most importance: for euery man of them should haue been troubled vvith daily enemies, in his owne lodging. It remained that they should issue forth into the field, and try the matter by fight. But the treason of one principall man, who reuolted to the enemy, with more than a thousand Souldiers following him, so dismaied the rest, that

that they did no more than seeke to make good one strong place, wherein were kept the Hostages and Prisoners, that *Antigonus* held for his security in those quarters. This Castle, belike, they had not fortified in times of leisure, against dangers, that were not then apparant. *Seleucus* quickly tooke it; aud so got the entire possession of Mesopotamia and Babylon.

Antigonus had bestowed in Media and Persia, forces conuenient for defence of those Prouinces, that were the vtmost of his Dominion. In the Countries about Euphrates he had not done the like: for his owne great Army lay betweene them and all enemies. Therefore when the victory at Gaza had opened vnto *Seleucus* the way into those parts; hee found little impediment in the rest of his businesse. Hauing now gotten what he sought; it behooued him to seeke how he might keepe his gettings: for his owne forces were too small, and his friends were ill able to lend him any more. That which his friends could not doe for him; his enemies did. *Nicanor*, to whom *Antigonus* had committed his Army in Media, ioyning vnto himselfe, out of Persia and other Countries, all needfull help, came, with ten thousand Foot, and seauen thousand Horse, either to saue all from being lost, or to driue *Seleucus* out of that which he had won.

Against this power, *Seleucus* had onely foure hundred Horse, and somewhat aboue three thousand Foote, wherewith to oppose himselfe: his large Conquest of vnwarlike Nations hauing yeelded him many louing Subiects, but few Souldiers. Therefore when his enemies were neere to the Riuer of Tygris, hee withdrew himselfe from the place where his resistance was expected, into certaine marishes not farre off; where he lay secretly waiting for some aduantage. *Nicanor* thought that he had been fled, and was the lesse carefull in fortifying his Campe. In recompence of this vaine security, his Campe was taken by surprise, the first night of his arriuall; the *Satrapa*, or Lieutenant of Persia, together with sundry of the Captaines, were slaine; hee himselfe was driuen to flee for his life into the Desarts, and the whole Army yeelded vnto *Seleucus*: whose gentle demeanour, after the victory, drew all Media, Susiana, and the Neighbour Prouinces, to acknowledge him their Lord without any further stroke stricken.

This victory of *Seleucus* gaue beginning vnto the new stile, of *The Kingdome of the Greekes*, an accompt much vsed by the Iewes, Chaldæans, Syrians, and other Nations in those parts. I will not make any long disputation about the first yeare of this *Æra*. The authority of that great Astrologer *Ptolomy*, from which there is no appeale, makes it plaine, that *the fiue hundred and nineteenth yeare of* Nabonassar, *was the foure score and two yeare of this accompt*. Other inference hereupon is needlesse, than that note of the learned *Gauricus*, *That the first of these yeares was reckoned compleat, at Babylon, together with the end of foure hundred thirty and eight yeares after* Nabonassar. With the obseruation of the *Saturne*, recorded by *Ptolomy*, agrees (as it ought) the calculation of *Bunting*; finding the same Planet to haue been so placed in the signe of *Virgo*, as the Chaldæans had obserued it, in the same year; which was from *Nabonassar* the fiue hundred and nineteenth; from *Seleucus* the foure score and two yeare; and the last of the hundred thirty and seauenth Olympiad. These obseruations of the Celestiall bodies, are the surest markes of time: from which he that wilfully varies, is inexcusable. As for such occurrences in History, and the yeares of succeeding Princes (that are not seldome ambiguous, by reason of vnremembred fractions) if they seem to bee here-against, it is not greatly materiall. Yet thus much is worthy of note; that these years of the Greekes were not reckoned in all Countries from one beginning; as plainly appears in the difference of one year, that is found between actions, related by the seuerall Authors of the two Books of the *Machabees*, who follow diuers accompts. He that shall adhere to the time defined by *Ptolomy*, may apply the other supputations thereunto, as being no farther from it, than a yeares distance.

Ptol. Almag. l.11.c.7.&8.

L.Gauric.in annotat.ad locum citatum.

§.VIII.

§.VIII.

How Ptolomy *lost all hee wonne in Syria. what the causes were of the quiet obedience, performed vnto the Macedonians, by those that had beene subiect vnto the Persian Empire. Of diuers petty enterprizes, taken in hand by* Antigonus *and* Demetrius, *with ill successe.*

IN a happy houre did *Seleucus* aduenture to goe vp to Babylon, with so few men as his friend could then well spare: for had he staied longer vpon hope of getting more Souldiers, *Ptolomie* could haue spared him none at all. *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus*, hauing lost the battaile at Gaza, receiued from *Ptolomy* all his owne goods, his Pages, and Seruants, in free gift, and therewithall a courteous message, to this effect: That no personall hatred was the ground of this War, which he and his Confederates held with *Antigonus*; but only termes of honour, wherin they would seek to right themselues after such maner, that other friendly Offices, without reference to the quarrell, should not be forgotten.

This Noble dealing of *Ptolomy*, did kindle in *Demetrius* an earnest desire of requiting him, with some as braue liberality. Which to effect, he gathered together the remainder of his broken troups; drew as many as could be spared, out of the Garrisons in Cilicia, or other Prouinces thereabouts, and aduertising his Father of his misfortune, besought him to send a new supply, wherewith he might redeeme his honour lost. *Antigonus* vpon the first newes of this ouerthrow, had said, That the victory which *Ptolomy* won vpon a beardlesse Boy, should be taken from him by bearded men: yet vpon desire that his son, whom he tenderly loued, should amend his owne reputation, he was content to make a stand in Phrygia. *Ptolomy* hearing of *Demetrius* his preparations, did neuertheless follow his owne businesse in Cœlosyria; thinking it enough to spend part of his Army vnder *Cilles* his Lieutenant, against the remnant of those, that had been already vanquished, when *Cilles* too much vnder-valued the power of such an Enemy. Hee thought that this young Gallant, hauing lately saued his life by flight, would now bee more carefull of hauing a faire way at his backe, than aduenturous in setting further forward, than vrgent reason should prouoke him. In this confidence he passed on without all feare; as one that were already Master of the field, and should meet with none, that would issue out of their places of strength, to make resistance. When *Demetrius* was informed of this carelesse march; he tooke the lightest of his Army, and made his iourny with such diligence, one whole night, that early in the morning, he came vpon *Cilles* vnexpected, and was on the suddaine, without any battaile, Master of his Campe; taking him aliue, with his Souldiers, and their carriages all at once.

This exploit serued not only to repaire the credit of *Demetrius*, which his losse at Gaza had almost ruined; but further it enabled him, to recompence the bounty of *Ptolomy*, with equall fauour, in restoring to him *Cilles*, with many other of his friends, accompanied with rich presents. But neither was *Ptolomy* so weakened by this losse, nor *Demetrius* so emboldened by his victory, that any matter of consequence thereupon ensued. For *Demetrius* feared the comming of *Ptolomy*, and therfore he fortified himselfe in places of aduantage: *Ptolomy* on the other side was loth to engage himself in an enterprise, wherein he might perceiue, that if the comming of *Antigonus* found him entangled, he should either be driuen to make a shamefull retrait, or a dangerous aduenture of his whole estate, in hope of not much more than already he possessed. *Antigonus*, indeede, was nothing slow in his way towards Syria; whither hee made all haste, not so much to relieue his sonne, as to embrace him. For he reioyced exceedingly, that the young man had so well acquitted himselfe; and being left to his owne aduice, performed the office of a good Commander. Wherefore to increase the reputation of this late victory; he brought such forces, as might serue to re-conquer all Syria: meaning, that the honour of all, should be referred vnto the good foundation, layed by his son; whom from this time forwards, he imployed in matters of greatest importance.

Ptolomy had now lesse reason to encounter with *Antigonus*, than before his comming to haue assailed the Campe of *Demetrius*. Yet he made it a matter of consultation; as if he

he had dared more than he meant. But all his Captaines aduised him to retire into Egypt; alleaging many good arguments to that purpose: which they might well perceiue to be agreeable to his owne intent, by his propounding that course; not without remembrance of the good successe against *Perdiccas*, in the like defensiue warre. So he departed out of Syria, preseruing his honour; as being rather led by mature deliberation, than any suddaine passion of feare: and he departed at faire leisure, not only carrying his treasures along with him, but staying to dismantle some principall Cities, that he thought most likely to trouble him in the future. All the Country that he left at his backe, fell presently to *Antigonus*, without putting him to the trouble of winning it by pieces: so easie was it in those times, for the Captain of a strong Army, to make himselfe Lord of a great Prouince.

We may iustly wonder, that these Kingdomes of Syria, Media, Babylon, & many other Nations, (which the victory of *Alexander* had ouer-run, with so hasty a course, as gaue him not leisure to take any good view of them) were so easily held not onely by himselfe, but by the Captaines of his Army after him. The hot contentions for superiority betweene the King of Israel, and those of Damascus; betweene Egypt, and Babylon; Babylon and Nineue; the Persians, and many Countries; argue a more manly temper, to haue once beene in those people; which are now so patient of a forraigne yoke, that like Sheep or Oxen, they suffer themselues to be distributed, fought for, won, lost, and againe recouered by contentions Masters; as if they had no title to their owne heads, but were borne to follow the fortune of the Macedonians. This will appear the more strange, if we shall consider, how the seuerall States of Greece (many of which had neuer possessed so large Dominion, as might cause their spirits to swel beyond their ability) did greedily embrace all occasions of liberty; and how these proud Conquerours were glad to offer it, desiring to haue them rather friends than seruants, for feare of further inconuenience.

It must therefore be noted, that most of these Countries had alwayes beene subiect vnto the rule of Kings, or petty Lords, whom the Babylonians and Persians long since had rooted out, and held them in such bondage, that few of them knew any other Law, than the command of forraigne Masters. This had vtterly taken from them all remembrance of home-borne Princes, & incorporated them into the great body of the Persian Empire: so that wanting within themselues all soueraigne power, or high authority, the life and spirit of euery Estate; they lay as dead, and were bereaued of motion, when that Kingdome fell, whereof they lately had been members.

Why the Persian *Satrapæ*, or Princes of that Empire, did not when *Darius* was taken from them, as the Macedonian Captains, after the death of *Alexander*, striue to lay hold vpon those Prouinces, which had many ages bin subiect vnto them, & scarce foure years in quiet possession of their enemies; or why at least they contended not (when the terrible name of that great Conquerour did cease to affright them) to get their shares among his followers, if not wholly to dispossesse them of their new purchases: it is a question, wherein, who is not satisfied, may finde no lesse reason to suspect the History, than authority to confirme it. For we seldome reade, that any small Kingdome, prevailing against a farre greater, hath made so entire a conquest, in the compasse of ten yeares, as left vnto the vanquished no hope of recouery, nor meanes to rebell; especially when such disorders, or rather vtter confusion hath ensued, by the fury of ciuill warre among the Victors.

The cause why the Macedonians held so quietly the Persian Empire, is well set down by *Machiauell*; and concernes all other Kingdomes, that are subiect vnto the like forme of Gouernment: the summe whereof is this; Wheresoeuer the Prince doth hold all his Subiects vnder the condition of slaues, there is the conquest easie, and soone assured: Where ancient Nobility is had in due regard, there is it hard to winne all, and harder to keepe that which is won. Examples of this are the Turkish Empire, and the Kingdome of France. If any Inuader should preuaile so farre vpon Turkie, that the great Sultan and his Children (for Brethren he vseth not to suffer aliue) were taken or slaine: the whole Empire would quickly be wonne; and easily kept, without any danger of rebellion. For the Bassaes, how great soeuer they may seeme, are meere slaues; neither is there in all that large Dominion, any one man, whose personall regard could get the people to follow him in such an attempt, wherein hope of priuate gaine should not

counteruaile all apparant matter of feare. Contrariwise, in France, it were not enough for him that would make a conquest, to get into his hands the King and his Children; though he further got the better part of the Country, and were by farre the strongest in the field. For, besides the Princes of the Royall bloud, there are in that Kingdome store of great men; who are mighty in their seuerall Countries, and hauing certaine Royalties and Principalities of their owne, are able to raise Warre in all quarters of the Realme; whereunto the remembrance of their owne ancient Families, and long continued Nobility, will alwayes stirre vp and inflame them: so that vntill euery one piece were won, and euery one (an endlesse worke) of the chiefe Nobility, brought vnder or destroyed, the victory were not compleat, nor wel assured. It is true, that such power of the Nobility, doth often-times make way for an Inuader; to whom the discontentments of a few can easily make a faire entrance. But such assistants are not so easily kept, as they are gotten: for they looke to be satisfied at full, in all their demands; and hauing what they would, they soone returne to their old allegeance, vpon condition to keepe what they haue, vnlesse they be daily hired with new rewards: wherin it is hard to please one man, without offending another as good as himselfe. The Turke, on the other side, needs not to fear any peril, that might arise from the discontented spirits of his principal men. The greatest mischiefe that any of them could worke against him, were the betraying of some frontier Towne, or the wilfull losse of a battaile: vvhich done, the Traitor hath spent his sting, and must either flye to the enemy, whereby he loseth all that he formerly did hold; or else, in hope of doing some further harme, he must aduenture to excuse himselfe vnto his Master, who seldome forgiues the Captaine, that hath not striued by desperate valour against misfortune. As for making head, or arming their followers against the great Sultan, and so ioyning themselues vnto any Inuader; it is a matter not to be doubted: for none of them haue any followers or dependants at all, other than such, as are subiect vnto them, by vertue of their Offices and Commissions. Now as this base condition of the principall men, doth leaue vnto them no meanes, whereby to oppose themselues against the flourishing estate of their Prince; so would it weaken both their power and their courage in giuing him assistance, if aduersity should make him stand in need of them. For there is scarce any one among the Turks Bassaes, or Prouinciall Gouernours, that knowes either from whence he was brought, or from whom descended, nor any one among them, that by the losse & vtter ruine of the Turkish Empire, can lose any foote of his proper inheritance; and it is the proper inheritance of the subiect, which is also a Kingdom vnto him, which makes him fight with an armed heart against the Conquerer, who hath no other deuice painted on his Ensigne, than the picture of slauery.

As in the Turkish Empire, so was the Persian, voide of liberty in the Subiects, and vtterly destitute of other Nobility, than such as depended vpon meere fauour of the Prince. Some indeede there were of the Royall bloud, and others, descended from the Princes that ioyned with *Darius*, the Sonne of *Hystaspes*, in oppressing the *Magi*: these were men of reputation in Persia, but their reputation consisted only in their Pedigree, and their safety in not medling with affaires of State, which made them little esteemed. In what small account these Persian Princes were held, it may appear by this, that the Kings Vncles, Cousin Germans, and Brethren, were called by the Kings, *Their Slaues*, and so did stile themselues, in speaking vnto these great Monarchs. That vpon euery light occasion of displeasure they were handled as Slaues; it is easie to bee discerned, in that example of cruelty, practised by *Xerxes* vpon his owne brother *Masistes*, which hath been formerly noted, in place more conuenient. As for the *Satrapæ*, or Gouernours of the Prouinces, it is needlesse to cite examples, prouing them to haue beene meer slaues: it may suffice, that their heads were taken from them at the Kings will; that is, at the will of those Women and Eunuchs, by whom the King was gouerned.

To this want of Nobility in Persia, may be added the generall want of liberty conuenient among the people: a matter no lesse auaileable, in making easie and sure the conquest of a Nation, than is the cause assigned by *Machiauel*. For as *Æsope* his Asse did not care to run from the enemies, because it was not possible, that they should load him with heauier burthens, than his Master caused him daily to beare: so the Nations, that endure the worst vnder their owne Princes, are not greatly fearfull of a forraigne yoke;

Nor will be hasty to shake it off, if by experience they finde it more light, than was that whereunto they had been long accustomed. This was it that made the Gascoignes bear such faithfull affection to the Kings of England; for that they gouerned more mildely than the French: this enlarged the Venetian iurisdiction in Lombardy; for the Towns that they wan, they wan out of the hands of Tyrannous oppressours: and this did cause the Macedonians, with other Nations, that had been subiect vnto the posterity of *Alexanders* followers, to serue the Romans patiently, if not willingly; for that by them they were eased of many burthens, which had been imposed vpon them by their owne Kings.

So that of this tamenesse, which we finde in those that had been subiects of the Persian Kings, the reasons are apparant. Yet some of these there were, that could not so easily be contained in good order by the Macedonians: for they had not indeed been absolutely conquered by the Persian. Such were the Sogdians, Bactrians, and other Nations about the Caspian Sea. Such also were the Arabians bordering vpon Syria: against whom *Antigonus* sent part of his Army; thinking therewith to bring them vnder, or rather to get a rich booty. The Captains that he sent, fell vpon the Nabathæans, at such time as they were busied in a great Mart; wherin they traded with the more remote Arabians, for Myrre, Frankincense, & other such commodities. All or most of these rich wares, together with fiue hundred talents of siluer, and many prisoners, the Macedonians laid hold vpon: for their comming was sudden & vnexpected. But ere they could recouer Syria, the Nabathæans ouertook them, & finding them weary with long marches, made such a slaughter, that of foure thousand foote, and sixe hundred horse, onely fifty horse escaped. To reuenge this losse, *Demetrius* was set out with a greater power: yet all in vaine; for he was not resisted by any Army, but by the naturall defence of a vaste Wildernesse, lacke of water, and of all things necessary. Therefore he was glad to make peace with them; wherein he lost not much honour: for they craued it, and gaue him presents. Returning from the Nabathæans, he viewed the Lake Asphaltites, whence he conceiued hope of great profit that might be raised, by gathering the Sulphure. With this good husbandry of his son, *Antigonus* was well pleased, and appointed men to the worke: but they were slaine by the Arabians, and so that hope vanished.

These petty enterprises, with the ill successe accompanying them, had much impaired the good aduantage against *Ptolomy*: when the newes of *Seleucus* his victories in the high Countries, marred all together. For neither was the losse of those great & wealthy Prouinces, a matter to be neglected, neither was it safe to transport the warre into the parts beyond Euphrates, wherby Syria and the lower Asia should haue been exposed, to the danger of ill-affected Neighbours. A middle course was thought the best, and *Demetrius* with fifteene thousand foot and three thousand horse, was sent against *Seleucus*. These forces being sent away, *Antigonus* did nothing, and his son did lesse. For *Seleucus* was then in Media; his Lieutenants about Babylon withdrew themselues from necessity of fight; some places they fortified and kept; *Demetrius* could hold nothing that he got, without setting in Garrison more men than he could spare, neither did he get much; and therefore was faine to set out the brauery of his expedition, by burning and spoiling the Country; which he did thereby the more alienate, and as it were acknowledge to belong vnto his enemy, who thenceforth held it as his owne assured.

Antigonus had laid vpon his son a peremptory commandement, to returne vnto him at a time prefixed: reasonably thinking (as may seeme) that in such an vnsetled state of things, either the Warre might be ended, by the fury of the first brunt; or else it would be vaine to striue against all difficulties likely to arise, where want of necessaries should frustrate the valour, that by strength of time was like to become lesse terrible to the Enemy. *Demetrius* therefore leauing behinde him fiue thousand foot, and a thousand horse, rather to make shew of continuing the warre, than to effect much, where himselfe, with greater forces could doe little more than nothing, forsooke the enterprise, and went backe to his Father.

§. IX.

A generall peace made and broken. How all the house of Alexander *was destroyed.*

THese ambitious heads, hauing thus wearied themselues with vneffectual trauaile, in seeking to get more than any one of them could hold; were contented at length to come to an agreement: wherein it was concluded, that each of them should hold quietly, that which at the present he had in possession. As no priuate hatred, but meere desire of Empire had moued them to enter into the warre; so was it no friendly reconciliation, but onely a dulnesse growing vpon the slow aduancement of their seuerall hopes, that made them willing to breathe a while, till occasion might better serue to fight againe.

Besides that maine point, *Of retaining the Prouinces which euery man held*, there vvere two Articles of the peace, that gaue a faire, but a false colour, to the businesse; *That the sonne of* Alexander *by* Roxane, *should be made King, when he came to full age*; and, *That all the Estates of Greece should be set at liberty.* The aduancement of young *Alexander* to his Fathers kingdome, seemes to haue bin a matter, forceably extorted from *Antigonus*; in whom was discouered a purpose, to make himselfe Lord of all. But this, indeede, more neerely touched *Cassander*. For in his custody was the young Prince and his Mother: neither did he keepe them in sort answerable to their degree; but as close prisoners, taken in that warre, wherein they had seene the old Queene *Olympias* taken and murdered, that sought to put them in possession of the Empire. The mutuall hatred and feare betweene them, rooted in these grounds, of iniuries done, and reuenge expected; vpon this conclusion of peace, grew vp faster than any time before, in the heart of *Cassander*: who saw the *Macedonians* turne their fauourable expectation, towards the sonne of their late renowned King.

All this, either little concerned *Antigonus*; or tended greatly to his good. The young Prince must first haue possession of *Macedon*: whereby *Cassander* should be reduced to his poore office, *of Captaine ouer a thousand men*, if not left in worse case. As for them that held Prouinces abroad, they might either doe as they had done vnder *Aridæus*; or better, as being better acquainted with their owne strength. He in the meane time, by his readinesse to acknowledge the true Heire, had freed himselfe from that ill-fauoured imputation, of seeking to make himselfe Lord of all that *Alexander* had gotten.

The like aduantage had he in that Article, *of restoring the Greeks to their liberty.* This libertie had hitherto beene the subiect of much idle discourse: but it neuer tooke effect. *Antigonus* held scarce any Towne of theirs, *Cassander* occupied most of the Countrie: which if he should set free, he must be a poore Prince; if not, there was matter enough of quarrell against him, as against a Disturber of the common peace.

In the meane season, the Countries lying between *Euphrates* and the *Greeke* seas, together with a great Armie, and mony enough to entertaine a greater, might serue to hold vp the credit of *Antigonus*, and to raise his hopes, as high as euer they had beene.

With much disaduantage doe many men contend, against one that is equall to them all in puissance. *Cassanders* friends had left him in an ill case; but he could not doe without all: for where euery one mans helpe is necessary to the warre, there may any one make his own peace; but no one can stand out alone, when all the rest are weary. The best was, that he knew all their affections: which tended to no such end as the becomming Subiects vnto any man; much lesse to the sonne of an *Asiatique* woman, of whom they had long since refused to heare mention. Therefore he tooke a short course, and caused both the child and his Mother to be slaine: freeing thereby himselfe in a trice, from the dangerous necessity of yeelding vp his gouernment, which he must haue done when the childe had come to age. *Roxane* was a Lady of singular beauty, vvhich vvas perhaps the cause, why *Perdiccas* desired to haue her sonne, being as yet vnborne, proclaimed Heire to the great *Alexander*. Immediatly vpon the death of *Alexander*, she had vsed the fauour (if it were not loue) of *Perdiccas*, to the satisfying of her owne bloudy malice, vpon *Statira*, the Daughter of King *Darius*; whom *Alexander* had likewise married, according to the custome of those Countries, wherein pluralitie of wiues is held no crime. For, hauing by a counterfeit letter, in *Alexanders* name, gotten this poore Lady into her hands, she did, by assistance of *Perdiccas*, murder her and her Sister, and threw their

bodies into a Well, causing it be filled vp with earth. But now, by Gods iust vengeance, were she and her son made away, in the like secret fashion; euen at such time, as the neer approaching hope of a great Empire had made her life, after a wearisome imprisonment, grow dearer vnto her than it was before.

The fact of *Cassander* was not so much detested in outward shew; as inwardly it was pleasing vnto all the rest of the Princes. For now they held themselues free Lords, of all that they had vnder them; fearing none other change of their estates, than such as might arise by chance of warre; wherein euery one perswaded himselfe of successe, rather better than worse. Hereupon all of them (except *Lysimachus* and *Seleucus*, that had worke enough at home) began to rowze themselues: as if now the time were come, for each man to improue his owne stocke. *Antigonus* his Lieutenants were busie in *Peloponnesus*, and about *Hellespont*: while their Master was carefull in following other, and some greater matters that were more secretly to be handled. He pretended the liberty of *Greece*: yet did the same argument minister vnto *Ptolomy*, matter of quarrell, against both him and *Cassander*; *Ptolomy* complaining (as if he had taken the matter deeply to heart) that *Antigonus* had put Garrisons into some Townes, which ought, in faire dealing to be set at liberty. Vnder colour of redressing this enormity, he sent an Army into *Cilicia*; where he wan foure Townes, and soon after lost them, without much labour of his owne or his enemies.

After this, putting to Sea with a strong Fleet, he ran along the coast of *Asia*, winning many places: & in that voyage allured vnto him a nephew of *Antigonus* (a good Commander, but discontented with the ill requitall of his seruices) whom finding shortly, as false to himselfe as he had been to his owne Vncle, he was faine to put to death. But in doing these things, his desire to set the *Greekes* at liberty, appeared not so plaine, as he wished that it should: for their case was no way bettered, by his molesting *Antigonus* in *Asia*. Therefore to get the loue of that valiant Nation, He made at the last an expedition into *Greece* it selfe: where hauing set free some little Ilands, and landed in *Peloponnesus*, he raised so great an expectation of finishing the long desired work, that *Cratesipolis*, the Widow of *Alexander*, *Polysperchons* son, gaue vp into his hands the Towns of *Sicyon* and *Corinth*.

Ptolomy had conceiued a vaine beliefe that the *Greeks*, emboldened by his countenance and assistance, would all of them take heart, and rise vp in armes: whereby vvith little labour, their liberty might be gotten; & he be acknowledged as Author of this immortall benefit. But long seruitude had wel-neere extinguished the ancient valour of that Nation: and their ill fortune, in many likely attempts to recouer freedome, had so tired their spirits, that they would no more stirre in pursuit therof; but sate idlely stil, as wishing it to fall into their mouthes.

The *Lacedæmonians*, about these times, began to fortifie their Towne with wals; trusting no longer in their vertue (for both it, & the discipline that vpheld it were too much impaired) that had been a wall to their Towne and Territory.

The *Athenians* were become as humble seruants, as they had been, in times past, insolent Masters: erecting as many statuaes in honour of *Demetrius Phalereus*, as there vvere daies in the yeare. This *Demetrius* was now their Gouernour; & he gouerned them with much moderation: but in spight of their hearts, as being set ouer them by *Cassander*. By this base temper of the principall Cities, it is easie to gather, how the rest of the Country stood affected. *Ptolomy* could not get them to set their helping hands to their own good, and to furnish him with the promised supplies of mony and victuals. Credible it is, that he had a true meaning to deliuer them from thraldome; as iudging the commodity that would arise by annexing them to his party, a matter of more weight, than the losse that *Cassander* should receiue thereby, who could hardly retaine them, if once *Antigonus* took the worke in hand. But when he found such difficulty in the businesse, he changed his purpose: and renewing his former friendship with *Cassander*, he retained *Sicyon*, and *Corinth* in his owne possession.

Before the comming of *Ptolomy* into *Greece*, *Cassander* had beene held occupied with very much vvorke. For (besides his paines taken in warres among barbarous Princes) hee found meanes to allure vnto himselfe, the Lieutenants of *Antigonus*, that were in *Peloponnesus*, and about *Hellespont*: making his owne aduantage, of their discontentments. By the like skilfull practice, Hee freed himselfe from a greater danger, & made those

those murders which he had committed seeme the lesse odious, by teaching his enemies to doe the like. Old *Polysperchon*, that had made so great a stirre in the reigne of *Aridaus*, did after the death of *Roxane* and her Childe, enter againe vpon the Stage: leading in his hand another sonne of the great *Alexander*, and meaning to place him in his Fathers Throne.

The name of this young Prince was *Hercules*: he was begotten on *Barsine* the Daughter of *Artabazus* a *Persian*; but had beene lesse esteemed than the sonne of *Roxane*, either for that his Mother was held no better than a Concubine, or else perhaps, in regard of the fauour which *Perdiccas*, and after him *Olympias*, did beare vnto *Roxane*. At this time the death of his brother had moued such compassion, and regard of his being *Alexanders* onely liuing childe, had procured vnto him such good will, that the demand which *Polysperchon* made in his behalfe, was deemed very iust and honourable. There were indeed more hearts than hands, that ioyned with this yong Prince: yet wanted he not sufficient strength of hands, if the heart of him that least ought, had not beene most false. *Cassander* had raised an Armie, to withstand his entrie into *Macedon*: but little trust could he repose in that Armie, whose wishes he perceiued to be with *Hercules*. Therefore he assailed *Polysperchon* himself, with gifts and promises; wherewith at length he preuailed so far, that the old Villaine was contented to murder his Pupill; choosing rather with many curses, and foule dishonour, to take the offered Lordship of *Peloponnesus*, and Commander of an Armie; than to purchase a Noble fame with dangerous trauaile, in maintaining his faith, vnto both his dead and liuing Soueraignes.

Antigonus had not all this while ben asleepe; though his losses were hitherto the chiefe witnesses, of his hauing beene a stirrer in these commotions. He thought it enough for him at the present, to retaine his owne: and therefore tooke order for the recouerie of those places, which *Ptolomie* had taken paines to winne. As for the rest, it no way grieued him, to see *Cassander* incur the generall hatred of men by committing those murders of which the profit was like to redound vnto him that was the most powerfull, or to see *Polysperchon* and *Ptolomie* sweat, in a busie warre against *Cassander*. If they would haue continued their quarrels, he could well haue affoorded them leisure, and haue thought the time well spent, in beholding their contentions. For he was throughly perswaded that when the rest had wearied themselues in vaine with long strife, his armies and treasures, wherein he exceeded them all, would bring all vnder. According to these haughtie conceipts, he demeaned himselfe among his followers; looking big vpon them, and like a King before his time. This was it that caused so many of them to reuolt from him: but it was no great losse to be forsaken by those that looked with enuious eyes vpon that fortune whereon their owne should haue depended. Against this enuie of his men, and the malice of others, *Antigonus* busily sought a remedy, such as was like to giue him a goodly title to the whole Empire.

Cleopatra, Sister vnto the great *Alexander*, lay for the most part in *Sardes*: vvhom he had a great desire to take to wife. This his desire was not without good hope: for howsoeuer she discouered much vnwillingnesse thereunto, yet was she in his power, and might therefore be entreated, were it only for feare of being enforced. But it was not his purpose, to get her by compulsiue meanes: either because his fancie, being on old man, was not ouer-violent; or rather because his ambition, whereunto all his affections had reference, could haue made small vse of her, by doing such apparant wrong. She had beene married vnto *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, after whose death she came to her brother in *Asia*; hoping belike, to finde a new husband in his Campe. But neither any of those braue Captaines, that were, in times following, so hot in loue with her, durst then aspire vnto her marriage: nor did her brother, full of other cares, trouble himselfe vvith prouiding her of an husband. She therefore, being a lustie vvidow, suffered her bloud, so farre to preuaile against her honour, that she supplied the want of an husband by entertainment of Paramours. *Alexander* hearing of this, turned it to a iest; saying, That she was his sister, and must be allowed this liberte, as her portion of the Empire. When by his death, the Empire lay in a manner, voide, and the portion due to her therein, grew, in mens opinion, greater than it had beene: then did many seeke to obtaine her, while she her selfe desired onely a proper man, with whom she might leade a merry life. To this purpose did she inuite *Leonatus* vnto her; who made great haste; but was cut off by death, ere he came to her presence. Now at the last, after long

 tarrying,

tarrying, she had her choise of all the great Commanders: *Antigonus*, *Ptolomy*, *Lysimachus*, and *Cassander*, being all her earnest wooers. All these (*Antigonus*, excepted) had wiues already; *Ptolomy* had many wiues, and many Concubines, whom he respected as much as his wiues, being noted of too much dotage in that kind. This hindred not his suite: peraduenture it aduanced it, by giuing to *Cleopatra*, some hope of mutuall toleration. To him therfore she bequeathed her self, and vvas taking her iourny from *Sardes* towards him; when *Antigonus* his Deputie in that Citie, made her to stay, vntill his Masters further pleasure should be known. *Antigonus* had now a Wolfe by the eares: he neither could well hold her, nor durst let her goe. She would not be his vvife; he had no honest pretence to force her; and to keepe her prisoner, had bin the vvay, by vvhich he might haue incurred a generall hatred, lasting perhaps beyond her life; as the course taken by *Cassander* against *Roxane* (a Lady lesse respected than *Alexanders* own sister) did well testifie. Therefore he thought it the wisest way to procure her death: for to let any other enioy the commoditie of so faire a title to the kingdome, it was no part of his meaning. To this purpose he sent instructions to the Gouernour of *Sardes*, willing him in any case to doe it secretly. So the fact was committed, and certaine women about her put in trust with the murder: which women afterwards were put to death, as mischieuous conspirers against the life of that good Lady. So vvas *Antigonus* freed from blame, at the least, in his owne opinion: but the world was lesse foolish, than to be so deluded. How the murther was detected, we need not aske: for seldome is that bloody crime vnreuealed, and neuer so ill smothered, as when great persons are the Authors.

Thus was the whole race of *Philip* and *Alexander* the Great extinguished, and it vvas extinguished by the hands of such as thought vpon nothing lesse than the execution of Gods iustice, due vnto the cruelty of these powerfull, but mercilesse Princes. Wherfore the ambitious frames, erected by these Tyrants, vpon so wicked foundations of innocent bloud, were soone after cast down, ouer-whelming themselues or their children, vvith the ruines, as the sequele will declare.

§.X.

How Demetrius, *the sonne of* Antigonus, *gaue libertie to Athens, expelling the Garrisons of* Cassander *out of those parts. The immoderate honour decreed by the Athenians to* Antigonus *and* Demetrius.

NOne being left aliue, that had any title to the Kingdome; it stood with good reason, that they which were Lords of the Prouinces, acknowledging no Superiour, should freely professe themselues Kings in name, as they were already in substance. Yet had this name ill beseemed the weaker, while the strongest of all did forbeare it: neither seemed it conuenient in the iudgement of *Antigonus*, to crowne his last action with such a title, as if he had attained vnto greatnesse by that foule murder, the infamie whereof he was carefull how to discharge from his owne head. He purposed therfore to vndertake a plausible enterprise, euen the liberty of *Greece*: whereby it was apparant, that he might get such honour as would not onely drowne all bad reports, but make him be thought equall to any name of royalty, vvhereof in seeming modestie, he vvas not couetous. To this purpose, he deliuered a strong Armie, with a Nauie of two hundred and fiftie saile, and fiue thousand talents of siluer, vnto *Demetrius* his sonne: willing him to begin at *Athens*, and thence to proceede, in setting all the Countrie free.

Demetrius came to *Athens* before he was expected: so that without resistance he entred the Hauen; it being thought that a fleet of *Ptolomie*, *Cassanders* good friend, had bin arriued. But when it was knowne, both who he vvas, and vvhat vvas the cause of his comming; the ioy of the Citizens brake out into loud acclamations; *Demetrius Phalereus* forsooke the Towne, and withdrew himselfe to *Thebes*, vnder safe conduct; only the Garrison in *Munychia* stroue to make good that piece, vvhich after a while was wonne vpon them by force. During the siege of *Munychia*, *Demetrius* went to *Megara*; whence he expelled the Garrison of *Cassander*, and so restored the Citie to libertie.

I thinke it not impertinent, sometimes to relate such accidents, as may seeme no better than meere trifles: for euen by trifles, are the qualities of great Persons as well disclosed

disclosed, as by their great actions; because in matters of importance, they commonly straine themselues, to the obseruance of generall commended rules; in lesser things they follow the current of their owne Natures. The Lady *Cratesipolis* lay in *Patræ*, and had a great desire to see *Demetrius*; hoping, belike, that she might, by his meanes, better her estate, and recouer her Townes of *Sycion* and *Corinth*, detained by *Ptolomy*; to vvhose Lieutenant, in those places, *Demetrius* before his departure out of *Greece*, offered mony for the surrender of them. Yet the onely businesse pretended vvas loue. He being aduertised hereof, left his forces in the Countrie of *Megara*, and taking a company of his lightest armed, for guard of his person, made a long iournie to meete with her. This troupe also, he caused to lodge a great way from his Tent, that none might see her vvhen she came. As closely as the businesse was carried, some of his enemies had gotten knowledge of it; whereby they conceiued good hope, that the diligence of a very few men, might ouerthrow all the great preparations of *Antigonus*; and bring him to any tearmes of reason, by taking his deare sonne prisoner. Their proiect fell but a little short of the effect. For they came so suddenly vpon him, that he had no better shift, than to muffle himselfe in an old cloake, and creepe away disguised; leauing them to ransacke his Tent. There was in this Prince a strange medly of conditions; especially an extreame dissoluteness in wanton pleasures and a painefull industry in matter of warre. He was of a most amiable countenance, a gentle nature, and a good wit; excellent in deuising Engines of warre, and curious in working them with his owne hands. He knew better how to reforme his bad fortune, than how to rule his good. For aduersitie made his valour more actiue: prosperity puffed him with ouerweening, wherein he thought, that he might do what he listed. His fortune was changeable, as were his qualities: turning often round, like the picture of her wheele, till she had wound vp the threed of his life, in such manner as followeth to be shewed.

Returning to his Campe, and finishing his businesse at *Megara*; he resolued no longer to attend the issue of a siege, to assaile *Munychia* by force, that so he might accomplish the liberty of *Athens*: which, vntill it was fully wrought out, he refused to enter into the Citie: *Munychia* was strongly fortified: yet by continuance of the assault, the multitude without, through helpe of their Engines that scoured the wals, preuailed vpon the resolution of those that lay within it, and wan the place in two dayes. The wals, and all the defences of that piece against the Citie, were leuelled with the ground, & so was it freely put into the Citizens hands, to whom withall was giuen their liberty, with promise to aide them in maintaining it.

The fame of this action was lowder, than of any other victory, gotten by *Demetrius* with greater skill & industry. For the *Athenians*, hauing forgotten how to employ their hands, laboured to make vp that defect with their tongues: conuerting to base flattery, that eloquence of theirs, which the vertues of their Ancestors had suted vnto more manly arguments.

They decreed, vnto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, the name of Kings; they consecrated the place, in which *Demetrius* leaped from his Chariot, when he entred their Citie, and built there an Altar, calling it of *Demetrius the a-lighter*; they called them by the Names of the *gods their Sauiours*, ordaining that euery yeare, their should be chosen a Priest of these gods; and further, that such as were employed by their State, in dealing with either of these two Princes, should not be called Embassadours, but *Theori*, or *Consulters with the gods*; like as were they, whom they sent vnto the Oracle of *Iupiter* or *Apollo*.

It were a friuolous diligence, to rehearse all their flatteries; these being so grosse. Hereby they not onely corrupted the young Prince; but made that acclamation, which best would haue pleased the old man, to be of no vse. For he could not handsomely take vpon him the name of King, as imposed by the *Athenians*; vnlesse he would seeme to approue their vanity, in loading him with more than humane honors. Yet was he so tickled with this their fine handling him, that when their *Theori*, or *Consulters* came shortly after, desiring him to relieue them with Corne, & Timber to build ships; he gaue them almost a hundred thousand quarters of wheate, and matter sufficient to make a hundred Gallies. So gracious was his first Oracle: or rather, so weake is great power in resisting the assaults of flatterie.

§. XI.

The great victory of Demetrius *against* Ptolomy *in Cyprus. How* Antigonus *and* Demetrius *tooke vpon them the stile of Kings; wherein ot hers followed their example.*

FROM this glorious worke, *Antigonus* called away *Demetrius*, vnto a businesse of greater difficulty; meaning to imploy his seruice against *Ptolomy*, in *Cyprus*. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he was willed to establish a generall Counsaile, that should treate of matters concerning the common good of the Countrie. About the same time *Antigonus* withdrew his owne Garrison out of *Imbros*, committing their libertie entire, into the peoples hands; whereby it might appeare, that as he would not permit any other to oppresse the Greekes, so would he be farre from doing it himselfe. This was enough, to holde his reputation high, among these new purchased Friends: it followed, that he should conuert his forces, to the winning of ground vpon his Enemies.

A pittifull Tragedy had lately hapned in *Cyprus*; through the indiscretion of *Menelaus*, *Ptolomies* brother, and his Lieutenant in that Isle. *Nicocles*, king of *Paphos*, was entred into some practice with *Antigonus*: yet not so farre that he thought himselfe past excuse; by which confidence, he was perhaps the more easily detected. To cut off this negotiation, and the false-hearted King of *Paphos* at one blow, *Menelaus* was sent thither: who surrounding *Nicocles* his house with Souldiers, required in *Ptolomies* name, to haue him yeelded to the death. *Nicocles* offered to cleare himselfe; but *Menelaus* tolde him, that dye he must, and bad him come forth quietly. This desperate necessity, caused the vnhappie King to rid himselfe of life: and his death strooke such an impression into his wife, that she not onely slew her selfe, but perswaded the wiues of her husbands brethren to do the like. Also those Brethren of *Nicocles*, vnto whom *Ptolomie* had intended no ill, being amazed with the sodainnesse of this calamity, did shut vp the Palace, and setting it on fire, consumed it, with all that was in it, and themselues together.

Whatsoeuer the crime obiected was; *Nicocles* perished as a man innocent, because he was not suffered to make his answer. Of this sad accident, though *Menelaus* deserued the blame, for his rigorous proceeding: yet is it to be thought, that much dislike fell also vpon *Ptolomie*: as men that are grieued, cast an ill affection, euen vpon those, that gaue the farthest remoued occasion.

Not long after this, *Demetrius* came into *Cyprus*, with a power sufficient, against any opposition that *Ptolomie* was like to make. The *Cypriots* did little or nothing against him: either because they had smal strength, or for that they held it a matter indifferent, whom they acknowledged as their Lord, being sure that they should not themselues haue the rule of their owne Country. *Menelaus* therefore, out of his Garrisons, drew foorth an Army, and fought with *Demetrius*. But he was beaten, and driuen to saue himselfe within the wals of *Salamis*, where he was so hardly besieged, that without strong succour, he had no likelihood to make good the place, much lesse to retaine possession of the whole Iland. His greatest helpe at the present was the fidelity of his Souldiers; whom no rewards could win from him, nor good vsage (when any of them were taken prisoners, and inrolled in the enemies bands) keepe from returning to him, with the first opportunitie. Most of them were Mercenaries: but all their goods were in *Egypt*, which was enough to keepe them faithfull. Yet could not this their resolution haue stood long against the ods of number, which *Demetrius* had of men as resolute, and against his terrible Engines of battery, if *Ptolomie* had not hasted to the rescue.

Ptolomie brought with him, a hundred and forty Gallies, besides two hundred ships of burden, for transporting his Army and Carriages. This Fleete made a terrible shew, when it was descried a farre; though more than halfe of it was vnfit for seruice, in fight at Sea. Wherfore to make the opinion of his forces the more dreadfull, *Ptolomie* sent vnto *Demetrius*, a threatning message: willing him to be gone, vnlesse he would be ouerwhelmed with multitudes, and trampled to death in a throng. But this young Gallant repaied him with words of as much brauery, promising to let him escape, vpon condition, that he should withdraw his Garrisons out of *Sycion* and *Corinth*.

Demetrius had no more than one hundred and eighteene Gallies; but they were, for the most part, greater than those of *Ptolomy*; better stored with weapons fit for that seruice;

uice; and very well furnished with Engines in the prows, to beate vpon the enemie. Neuertheless he stood in great doubt of threescore gallies that lay in the Hauen of *Salamis*, lest *Menelaus* with them should set vpon his backe: in which case, it was very likely that all should go very ill with him. Against this mischiefe, he bestowed ten of his own Gallies in the mouth of that Hauen, to keepe *Menelaus* from issuing forth, and setting his horsemen on the shore, to giue what assistance they could, he with the rest of his Fleete, puts to Sea against *Ptolomie*.

The fight began early in the morning, and continued long, with doubtfull successe. The Generals were not ranged opposite one to the other; but held each of them the left wing of his own fleete. Each of them preuailed against the squadron wherewith he encountred; but the successe of *Demetrius* was to better purpose. For his victorie in one part was such, as caused others to fall out of order, and finally draue all to betake themselues vnto speedy flight. As for *Ptolomy*, hee was faine to leaue his aduantage vpon the enemy in one part of the fight, that he might relieue & animate those of his own which needed him in another. Wherein he found his losse ouer-great to be repaired, by contending any longer against the fortune of that day; and therefore he laboured only to saue himselfe, in hope of better euent, that might follow some other time.

There fell out in this battell no vnusuall accident; yet was the victorie greater than could haue been expected. The occasions wherof were, partly the great skill in Sea-seruices, which the *Greekes* and *Phœnicians*, that were with *Demetrius*, had, aboue those which followed *Ptolomy*: partly the good furniture of the Ships, wherein consisted no lesse, than in the quality of those with whom they were manned. Further, wee may reasonably iudge, that the two hundred ships of burthen, carrying the strength of *Ptolomies* Army, did not more encourage his own men, and terrifie his enemies the day before the fight; than breed in each part the contrary affections, when in the beginning of the fight they fell off, and stood aloofe. For though it were fitting, that they should so do; yet a multitude, prepossessed with vaine conceits, wil commonly apprehend very slight occasions, to think themselues abandoned. Besides all this, the expectation, that *Menelaus* issuing with his fleete out of *Salamis*, should charge the enemies in sterne, was vtterly frustrate. He was kept-in perforce, by the ten ships appointed to bar vp the mouth of the Hauen: which they manfully performed, as great necessity required.

Such disappointment of expectation, doth much abate the courage of men in Fight; especially of the assailants: whereas on the contrary, they that finde some part of their feares vaine, do easily gather hopeful spirits, and conceiue an opinion of their own ability, to do more than they thought vpon, out of their not suffering the harme that they had imagined.

Whatsoeuer the causes of this victorie were, the fruit was very great. For *Ptolomie* had no more than eight Gallies that accompanied him in his flight: all the rest of his fleet was either taken or sunk. Neither did *Menelaus* any longer striue against the violence of fortune; but yeelded vp all that hee held in *Cyprus*, together with his Armie, consisting of twelue thousand foote, and a thousand and two hundred horse, and those Gallies in the Hauen of *Salamis*. The same dejection of spirit was found in the common Souldiour, as well that was taken at Sea, as that had serued the *Egyptian* by Land; none of them reposing any more confidence in *Ptolomie*, but willingly becomming followers of a new Lord, whose Army they now increased.

It was generally beleeued, that much more depended on the euent of this fight, than the Isle of *Cyprus*; for which they contended. Wherfore the common expectation was great; especially *Antigonus*, whom it most concerned, was deepely perplexed with cares, thinking euery day a yeare, till he were aduertised of the issue. In this mood *Aristodemus* found him, a noble flatterer, whom *Demetrius* had honoured with the Message of these good newes. *Aristodemus* had bethought himselfe of a tricke, whereby to double the welcome of his ioyfull errand: He caused his ships to ride at Anchor, a good distance from the shore; he himselfe landed in a Cock-boat, which he sent immediately back to the ship; and so all alone, he went forward, looking very sadly that no part of his tidings might appeare in his countenance. Report of his arriuall (for it was not known where he had been) came presently to *Antigonus*, who sent Messenger after Messenger, to meete him on the way, and bring speedy word how all went. But neither any answer, nor so much of a looke, as might intimate the purport of his errand, could hee won from this demure

demure Gentleman. Thus marched he faire and softly forward with a great throng at his heeles (that serued well to set out his Pagent) vntill he came in sight of *Antigonus*; who could not containe himselfe, but went downe to meete him at the Gate, and heare the newes. Then did *Aristodemus*, vpon the suddaine, with a high voyce salute *Antigonus* by the name of King; vttering the greatnesse of the victorie (with as much pomp, as before he had couered it with silence) in the hearing of all the people; who with loude acclamations, gaue that name of King, both to *Antigonus* and his sonne *Demetrius*. *Antigonus*, in requitall of the long suspence, wherein *Aristodemus* had held de him, sayd, That it should also be long ere he receiued his reward. But the Title of King, together with the Diademe, which his friends did set on his head, he could not wish a fayrer occasion to assume: wherefore he readily accepted them, and sent the like to his sonne.

When it was once noysed abroad, that *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* called themselues Kings; it was not long ere their fellowes were ready to follow the good example. *Ptolomie* his friends would by no meanes endure, that their Lord should be thought a man deiected for the losse of a fleet; therefore they saluted him also King. *Lysimachus* in *Thrace* had boldnesse enough, to put the Diademe about his own head. *Seleucus* had, before this time, among the barbarous people, taken vpon him as King: but now he vsed the stile indifferently, as well among the *Greekes* and *Macedonians*, as in dealing with others. Only *Cassander* held himselfe contented with his own name: whereby howsoeuer he might shadow his pride, he no way lessened the fame of his cruelty against his Masters house. But the name which he forbore, his sonnes after him, were bold to vsurpe, though with ill successe, as will appeare, when they shall enter vpon the Stage; wheron these old Tragedians, vnder new habits, as no longer now the same persons, begin to play their parts, with bigger lookes, and more boisterous actions, not with greater grace and iudgement, than in the Scenes already past.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Warres betweene the kings of Egypt, Asia, Macedon, Thrace, and others: vntill all Alexanders *Princes were consumed.*

§. I.

The Expedition of Antigonus *against Egypt, with ill successe.*

ALL the rest of these Kings had taken that name vpon them, in imitation of *Antigonus* himselfe, as beseeming his greatnesse: which was such as gaue him hope to swallow them vp, together with their new titles. Being not ignorant of his owne strength, he resolued to single out *Ptolomie*, and make him an example to others: who should hardly be able to stand, when the greatest of them was fallen. To this purpose he prepared an Armie of eighteene thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, with fourscore and three Elephants: as likewise a fleet of a hundred and fifty Gallies, and a hundred ships of burthen. The Land-forces he commanded in person: of the Nauy *Demetrius* was Admirall.

When all was ready for the iourney, the Sea-men aduised him to stay yet eight dayes longer, and expect the setting of the *Pleiades*. But his hastie desire to preuent all preparations for resistance that *Ptolomie* should make, reiected this counsaile; imputing it rather to their feare than skill: wherfore he departed from *Antigonia* (a Towne which he had built in *Syria*, and called after his own name, that was soone changed into *Seleucia*, by his mortall enemie) and came to *Gaza*, where he met with his Fleet. The neerer that he drew to *Egypt*, the more haste, he made: thinking by celeritie to preuaile more than by his great power. He caused his Souldiers to carrie tenne dayes prouision of Victuals; and had many Camels loaden with all necessaries for passing the Desarts, ouer

ouer which he marched with no small toile, though he met with no resistance. At Mount *Cassius*, which is neere adioyning to *Nilus*, he saw his Fleet riding at Anchor, not farre from the shore; in ill case, and many shippes wanting. It had beene sorely beaten with foule weather, wherein some were lost, others driuen backe to *Gaza*, or scattered elsewhere into such creekes, as they could recouer: *Demetrius* himselfe, with the best and strongest vessels, did so long beat it vp against the wind, that all his fresh water was spent; in which extremity, he and all his must haue perished, had not the tempest ceased when it did, and *Antigonus* appeared in sight, from whom these ouer-wearied, thirsty and Sea-beaten Souldiers receiued reliefe. After these painfull trauailes, there followed a warre no lesse painfull than to little purpose; for *Ptolomy* had so fortified all the passages vpon the Riuer of *Nilus*, as he assured himselfe either to end the warre there, or if his guardes should happen to be forc't, yet could it not be done, but so much to the weakning of the Assailants, as he should afterward, with a second Armie (which he held entire) entertain the Inuader vpon aduantage enough. All that *Antigonus* sought, was to come to blowes speedily: *Ptolomie* on the contrary, to beat *Antigonus* by the belly. It is true that *Nilus* gaue him water enough, but wood he had none to warme it, and while *Antigonus* assaulted the Rampiers raised vpon the Riuer in vaine, *Ptolomy* assaied the faith of his souldiers, with good successe, for with great gifts & greater promises, he ferried them ouer so fast; as had not *Antigonus* thrust some assured Regiments, vpon the passages next the enemy, and in the meane while taken a resolution to returne, *Ptolomy* had turned him out of *Egypt* ill attended.

Some of them indeede he laid hands on, in the way of their escape, and those he put to death with extreme torments; but in all likelihood with the same ill successe that *Perdiccas* had formerly done, when he inuaded *Egypt*: had he not readily remoued his armie further off, from the noise of their entertainment, that had already bin won from him. To preuent therfore as wel the present danger of his stay, as the shame following a forc't retrait, he secretly practised the aduice of his Councell, vpon whom the burthen must be laid of his entrance, and leauing *Egypt*.

It is indeede lesse preiudiciall in such like cases, that errours, dishonours, and losses, be laid on Counsellors & Captaines, than on Kings; on the Directed, than on the Director: for the honour and reputation of a Prince is farre more precious, than that of a Vassall. *Charles* the sift, as many other Princes haue done, laid the losse and dishonour he receiued in the inuasion of *France*, by the way of *Prouence*, to *Antonie de Leua*, whether iustly or no, I know not; but howsoeuer, all the Historians of that time agree, that the sorrow thereof cost that braue Captaine his life. Certainly to giue any violent aduice in doubfull enterprises is rather a testimony of loue, than of wisdome, in the giuer; for the ill successe is alwaies cast vpon the Councell, the good neuer wants a Father, though a false one, to acknowledge it. Yet I haue sometime known it, that great Commanders, vvho are for the present in place of Kings, haue not onely beene dissuaded, but held, in a kind by strong hand, from hazarding their own persons, and yet haue those kinde of Mutiners neuer been called to a Marshals Court.

§. II.

How the Citie of Rhodes was besieged by Demetrius.

THis departure of *Antigonus*, left behind it many dead carcasses, and a great deale of ioy in *Egypt*. *Ptolomy* held a solemne Feast, and sent Messengers abroad, loaden with glad newes, to *Seleucus Lysimachus*, and *Cassander* his Confederates: strongly encouraging all that side, with the report of this his late felicity, though it appeared but in a defensiue Warre. *Antigonus* on the contrary, flattered himself with another interpretation, calling the ioyes of his enemies for witnesses of his owne greatnesse, seeing they arose but from so little things: his enemies being but bare sauers by the last bargaine, and himselfe, as he supposed, hauing lost but a little time, and no part of his honour in the late retraite. Howsoeuer it were, yet he meant to follow his affayres henceforth in another fashion; for that which he could not cleaue a-sunder by great blowes, he purposed by little and litle to pare off, by cutting off the branches first, to fell the Tree it selfe with the more facilitie. To effect which, he resolued (leauing the great ones to grow a while) to roote vp the Dependants of his Enemies: Dependants, vvhom the

the forenamed Confederates should be forc't, either to relieue, or to lose; and hereby he doubted not, to draw them into the field, where the aduantage of power, and of all other warlike prouisions, promised him victorie.

At this time the Citie of *Rhodes* was very mightie, being well gouerned, and hauing long held it self in good Neutralitie, it drew the better part of all the trade of those parts, and therin a great deale of riches to it selfe, to maintaine which, and to increase it, it furnished and kept on the Seas a Fleet of well armed shippes, by which it not onely beate off all Pyrates and pettie Theeues, but the reputation of their strength vvas thereby so much increased, as all the neighbour Princes sought their alliance and confederacie.

In this so dangerous a time (in which they must either refuse all that sought them, and so stand friendlesse and apart, or ioyne themselues to some one; and thereby forgoe the peace, by which their greatnesse had growne) their affections carried them to the *Egyptian*: both because the greatest part of their trade lay that way, as also for that *Antigonus* his disposition, greatnes, and neighbourhood was fearefull vnto them. This affection of theirs, with some other passages, more apparant; gaue argument of quarrell to *Antigonus*, who began to declare himself against them by pettie iniuries, of taking some of their ships, with such other grieuances, while he made a more weighty preparation, to pursue the warre against them, openly and strongly. All things soon after ordered according to the greatnesse of the enterprise, he employed his sonne *Demetrius* against them in their owne Iland, who brought such terror vpon the Citizens, that laying aside all respect of friendship and honour, they offered him their assistance & seruice, against whomsoeuer. *Demetrius*, who knew from whence this change came, and that the alteration was perswaded by feare, & not by loue; raised his demands to an intolerable height, requiring a hundred Hostages to be deliuered him, and liberty to lodge in their Port as many ships of warre as himselfe pleased. These conditions more properly to bee imposed vpon a State already conquered, than on those who as yet had heard of nothing but a constrained assistance, restored vnto the *Rhodians* their lost courage, & made them resolue to defend their libertie to the last man: this taught them to infranchise all their able bondmen, and wisely rather to make them their fellow-Citizens, than to make themselues fellow-slaues with them.

Demetrius hauing refused the faire conditions offered, (as the *Rhodians* the fearefull ones propounded vnto them) makes preparation for a long siege, and finding no appearance to carrie the place in furie, he set in hand with his Engines of batterie; in the inuention and vse of which, he did neuer shew himselfe a greater *Artisan*, than in this warre. But in conclusion, after the Citizens had sustained all the assaults giuen them for a whole yeare, after many braue sallies out of the Towne, and the famine vvhich they endured within the Towne, which had proued farre more extreame, if *Ptolomie* had not with many hazards relieued them, *Demetrius* by mediation of the *Grecian* Embassadors, gaue ouer the siege; a hundred Hostages they gaue him for performance of the peace made, but with exception of all the Magistrates and Officers of the Citie.

Hereunto *Demetrius* was brought by the vsuall policie of warre, and state: for while with the flowre of all his fathers forces he lay before *Rhodes*, *Cassander* recouered many of those places in *Greece*, which *Demetrius* had formerly taken from him; neither did *Cassander* make the warre as in former times, by practice and surprise, but by a strong and well compounded armie, which he himselfe ledde as farre as into *Attica*, and therewith greatly distressed & indangered *Athens* it selfe. On the other side (though with lesse successe) did *Polysperchon* inuade *Peloponnesus*. These dangerous vndertakings vpon *Greece*, aduised the *Athenians* and *Ætolians* to dispatch their Embassadours towards *Demetrius*, and aduised *Demetrius*, rather to abandon the enterprise of *Rhodes*, than to abandon the great honour which he had formerly gotten, by setting all *Greece* at libertie.

Demetrius was no sooner out of the Iland, than that the *Rhodians* erected statues in honour of *Lysimachus* and *Cassander*; but for *Ptolomy*, whom they most affected, and from whom they receiued their most relief, they consulted with the Oracle of *Iupiter*, whether it were not lawfull to call him a *god*. The Priests which attended in the Temple of *Hammon*, gaue the same fair answer for *Ptolomy*, which they had formerly done for *Alexander* his

his Master; for as *Alexander* consulted the *Oracle* with an Army at *his* heeles, so was *Ptolomy* at this time Lord of the soile: and yet was this a *far* more cleanly creation, than that done by the *Athenians*, who Deified *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, by decree of the people. A mad age it was, when so many of *Alexanders* Captaines could not content themselues with the stile of Kings, but that they would needs be called gods.

§. III.

How Demetrius *preuailed in Greece.* Cassander *desires peace of* Antigonus, *and cannot obtaine it. Great preparations of warre against* Antigonus.

DEmetrius comming with a strong Fleet and Army into *Greece*, quickly draue *Cassander* out of *Attica*; and pursuing his fortune, chased him beyond the straits of *Thermopyla*. Herein his reputation did much auaile him; which was so great, that sixe thousand of his enemies Souldiers reuolted vnto him. So partly by the greatnesse of his name, partly by force, he recouered in short space all that *Cassander* held in those straits, and giuing liberty vnto the people, he bestowed vpon the *Athenians* those peeces, which had been fortified against them, to blocke them vp. Then went he into *Peloponnesus*, where he found the like, or more easie successe: for he suddenly tooke *Argos*, *Corinth*, *Sicyon*, and the most of the Country, bestowing liberty vpon such as needed it. The Towne of *Sicyon* he translated by consent of the Citizens, from the old seat into another place, and called it after his owne name *Demetrius*. This done, he betooke himselfe to his pleasure. At the *Isthman* games, he caused himselfe to be proclaimed Captaine Generall of *Greece*, as *Philip* and *Alexander* had beene in former times: whereupon (as if he were now beeome as great as *Alexander*) hee despised all others, making it a matter of iest, that any, saue himselfe or his father, should vsurpe the name of King. But in his behauiour he was so farre vnlike to a King, that in all the time of his leisure, he deserued none other name than of a drunken *Palliard*. Yet were the *Athenians* as ready as euer to deuise new honours for him: among which they made one Decree, That whatsoeuer King *Demetrius* should command, ought to be held sacred with the gods, and iust with men.

All *Greece* being now at the disposition of *Antigonus*, *Cassander* stood in great feare, lest the war should fall heauily vpon him in *Macedon*: which to auoid, he knew no better way than to make peace with his Enemies betimes. And to that purpose he sent Embassadours, but had no better answer from *Antigonus*, than that he should submit his whole estate to his discretion. This proud demand made him looke about him, and labour hard in solliciting his friends, both to assist him, and take heed to themselues; neither found he them slow in apprehending the common danger: for *Lysimachus* knew that if once *Cassander* had lost *Macedon*, *Demetrius* would soon be master of *Thrace*. Neither were *Ptolomy* and *Seleucus* ignorant of that, which was like to befall them, if *Antigonus* were suffered to put himselfe in quiet possession of those Prouinces in *Europe*. Wherefore it was agreed, that with ioynt forces they should all together set vpon the common Enemy.

Hereof *Antigonus* had notice: but scorned all their preparations, saying, That he would as easily scatter them, as a flocke of birds are driuen away with a stone. With these conceipts he pleased himselfe, & no way hindred the proceedings of his Enemies. He lay at that time in his Towne of *Antigonia* (a name that it must shortly lose) where he was carefully prouiding to set out some stately game and Pageants, in ostentation of his glory. But thither was brought vnto him the tumultuous newes of *Lysimachus* his victories about *Hellespont*. For *Cassander* had committed vnto *Lysimachus* part of his forces, wherewith to passe ouer into *Asia*, while he himselfe with the rest should oppose *Demetrius* on *Europe* side. So *Lysimachus* passing the *Hellespont*, began to make hot Warre vpon the subiects of *Antigonus*; getting some of the Cities in those parts, to ioyne with him by faire meanes: winning others by force, and wasting the Country round about.

To represse this vnexpected boldnesse, *Antigonus* made hasty iournies, and came soone enough to recouer his losses, but not strong enough to driue *Lysimachus* home, or compell him to come to battaile. *Lysimachus* waited for the comming of *Seleucus*; keeping

ping himselfe the whilest from necessity of fighting. But *Babylon* was farre off; and *Seleucus* his preparations were too great to be soone in a readinesse. The Winter also did hinder his iourney: which inforced them on both sides to rest in some quiet, without performing any matter of importance. This delay of debating the quarrell in open field, held all those Nations in a great suspence, & bred much expectation. Yet might all haue come to nothing, had not *Antigonus* bin so forward, that he refused to yeeld vpon any peaceable conditions. At length *Seleucus* drew neere with a mighty Armie of his owne (for he had gathered strength in that long time of leysure, which *Antigonus* had giuen him) and with great aid from *Ptolomie*, that was ioyned with his forces.

To helpe in this needfull ease, *Demetrius* was called ouer into *Asia* by his Fathers letters: which he readily obeyed. Before his departure out of *Greece*, he made peace with *Cassander*, vpon reasonable termes: to the end he might not be driuen to leaue any part of his Army for defence of the Countrie; and that his iourny might be without any such blemish of reputation, as if he had abandoned his Dependants: for one Article of the peace was, That all the Cities of *Greece* should be at libertie. *Cassander* was glad to be so ridde of an Enemy that was too strong for him. Yet would this league haue done him little good, if things had fallen out contrariwise than they did in *Asia*; seeing the ratification thereof was referred vnto *Antigonus*. It sufficed, that for the present, euery one found meanes to cleere himselfe of all incumbrances else-where, to the end that each of them might freely apply himselfe to the triall of the maine controuersie in *Asia*.

§. IIII.

How Antigonus *was slaine in a great battaile at Ipsus, neere vnto Ephesus; wherein his whole estate was lost.*

SEleucus, with his sonne *Antiochus*, ioyning with *Lysimachus*, compounded a great Armie, which was (all considered) not inferiour to that of the Enemie. In greatnesse of name (that helpeth much in all warres, but especially in the Ciuill) they were rather vnanswerable, than vnequall to their aduersaries: for *Antigonus* had of long time kept them vnder with a mastering spirit, and had bin reputed a King indeed, when the rest were held but Vsurpers of the title. Likewise *Demetrius* was generally acknowledged a braue Commander, hauing giuen proofe of his worth in many great seruices of all kinds, and inriched the Art of war with many inuentions, which euen his enemies, and particularly *Lysimachus*, did much admire. *Seleucus*, who had sometimes flattered *Antigonus*, & fearefully stolen away from him to saue his life; with young *Antiochus*, a Prince not heard of before this iournie; and *Lysimachus*; that had liued long in a corner, hardly keeping his owne from the wilde *Thracians*; wanted much in reputation, of that which was yeelded to their opposites: yet so, that as ancient Captaines vnder *Philip* and *Alexander*, two of them were held worthy enough, to receiue any benefit that fortune might giue, and the third a Prince of great hope, whereof he now came to make experience.

The Souldiers, on both sides, were for the most part hardy & well exercised: many of them hauing serued vnder *Alexander*; though of those old Companies, the long space of two and twenty yeares had consumed the greatest number. But concerning their affections, the followers of *Seleucus* were easily perswaded, that in this battaile they must either get the vpper hand, or put in extreame danger all that belonged vnto the Confederate Princes: whereas *Antigonus* his men could discerne no other necessitie of fighting, than the obstinate qualitie of their Lord, that needes would be Master of all. *Antigonus* had about three-score and ten thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and three-score and fifteene Elephants. His enemies were sixe thousand short of him in number of their foot; in horse they had the oddes of fiue hundred; of Elephants they had foure hundred, and an hundred and twenty armed Chariots of warre; which helpes, though they little had auailed the *Persians*, yet were they not to be despised, in the hands of a good Captaine.

Antigonus himselfe, either troubled with the vnexpected greatnesse of his enemies forces, or presaging little good like to ensue, grew very pensiue, communing much in priuate

priuate with his sonne whom he commended to the Army as his Successor: whereas in former times he had neuer been so iocund, as towards the houre of battaile, nor had been accustomed to make his son, or any other, priuate to his counsaile, before it required execution. Other tokens of bad lucke, either foregoing the fight, or afterwards deuised, I hold it needlesse to recount: *Diana* of Ephesus dwelt neere to the place of battel, a busie goddesse in many great fights; and therefore likely to haue been thrust into the fable, if any matter, neerly resembling a miracle, had chanced.

It is easie to beleeue, that these two so gallant Armies, containing well neere all the strength of *Alexanders* whole Empire, performed a notable fight, being led by such worthy Commanders, and whom the issue thereof did highly concerne. Yet are few of the particulars recorded: an easie losse in regard of the much variety, wherewith euery story aboundeth in this kinde. The most memorable things in the battaile, were these: *Demetrius* with his best force of horse, charged valiantly vpon young *Antiochus*; whom when he had broken, and put to flight, he was so transported with the heat of his good successe, that he neuer gaue ouer his pursuit; but left his Father naked, and lost thereby both him, and the victory. For when *Seleucus* perceiued this aduantage, hee enterposed his Elephants, betweene *Demetrius* and the Phalanx of *Antigonus*; and with many troupes of horse offering to breake vpon the enemies battaile, wheresoeuer it lay most open, he did so terrifie the Antigonians, that a great part of them rather chose to reuolt from their Lord, whilst they were fairely inuited, than to sustaine the fury of so dangerous an impression. This cowardize, or rather treason of some, discouraged others; and finally, cast them all into flight; exposing their Generall to the last end of his destinies. *Antigonus* was then foureſcore yeares old, very fat and vnweildy, so that he was vnapt for flight, if his high spirit could haue entertained any thought thereof. He had about him some of his most trusty followers, and as many others as he could hold together. When one that perceiued a great troupe making towards his person, told him, *Sir King, yonder company meanes to charge you*; he answered, *well may they; for who defends me? but anone* Demetrius *will relieue vs.* Thus expecting, to the very last, that his son should come to the rescue, he receiued so many Darts into his body, as tooke away his lately ambitious, but then fearfull hopes, together with his troublesome life.

His great ability in matter of Armes, together with his vnsatiable desire of Empire, haue sufficiently appeared in the whole Volume of his actions. He was more feared by his enemies, than loued by his friends; as one that could not moderate his fortune, but vsed insolence towards all alike, as if it had bin some vertue neerest representing a Kingly Maiesty. This was the cause that so many of his followers reuolted to his enemies; and finally, that a great part of his Army forsooke him in his last necessity. For those Kings and Princes that call all the carefull indeauours of their Vassals, only duty and debt; and are more apt to punish the least offences, than to reward the greatest seruices: shall finde themselues vpon the first change of fortune, (seeing it is loue only that staies by aduersity) not only the most friendlesse, but euen the most contemptible, and despised of all other. This *Antigonus* found true in part, while he liued; in part he left it to be verified vpon his son.

§. V.

How Demetrius; *forsaken by the Athenians after his ouerthrow, was reconciled to* Seleucus *and* Ptolomy, *beginning a new fortune, and shortly entring into quarrels.*

FOr *Demetrius*, at his returne from the idle pursuit of young *Antiochus*; finding all quite lost, was glad to saue himselfe, with foure thousand horse and fiue thousand foot; by a speedy retrait vnto Ephesus, whence he made great haste vnto Athens; as to the place, that for his sake would suffer any extremity. But whilest he was in the middest of his course thither, the Athenian Embassadours met him with a decree of the people, which was, that none of the Kings should be admitted into their Citie. These were Embassadours; not *Theori*, or Consulters with the Oracle. It was a shamelesse ingratitude in the Athenians, to reward their Benefactor, in his misery, with such a decree: neither did any part of his calamity more afflict the vnfortunate Prince, than to see his aduersity despised by those whom hee had thought his sureſt friends.

friends. Yet was he faine to giue good words. For he had left many of his ships in their Hauen, of which he now stood in great need; & therfore was faine to speak them faire, that somtimes had grosly flattered him. But he shal liue to teach them their old language, & speake vnto them in another tune. When he had gotten his ships, he sailed to the *Isthmus*, where he found nothing but matter of discomfort. His Garrisons were euery where broken vp; the Souldiers hauing betaken themselues to his enemies pay. So that he was King only of a small Army and Fleet, without money or meanes wherewith to sustaine him & his follo wers any long time. All the rest, or the greatest part of his Fathers large Dominion, was now in diuiding among the Conquerers, and those few places which as yet held for him (hauing not perchance heard the worst of what had happened) he no way knew how to relieue: for to put himselfe into the field on that side of the Sea, he had no power; and to inclose himselfe in any of them, how strong soeuer, were but to imprison his fortune, and his hopes, or therein indeede to bury himselfe and his estate: He therefore creeping thorow those bushes that had fewest briers, fell vpon a corner of *Lysimachus* his Kingdome, whereof hee gaue all the spoyle that vvas gotten, to his Souldiers, his owne losses hauing beene too great to be repaied againe by small prizes.

In the meane while the Confederate Princes had wherewithall to busie themselues, in the partition of those Prouinces, of which their late victory had made them Lords: wherein *Seleucus* had a notable aduantage by being present, and Master of the field; for neither *Ptolomy* nor *Cassander* were at the ouerthrow giuen, hauing onely sent certaine troupes to re-inforce the Army which *Seleucus* led, who tooke hold of a part of Asia the lesse, and all Syria, being no otherwise diuided from his owne Territory, than by the Riuer of Euphrates. For there had not any order beene taken by the Confederates, for the diuision of all those Lands: because they did not expect so prosperous an issue of that warre, which they made onely in their owne common defence. It was therefore lawfull for *Seleucus*, to make the best benefit that hee could of the victory, at which, neuertheless others did repine; and though they neither could nor durst accuse him of ill dealing for the present, yet seeing the ouer-greatnesse of *Seleucus* brought no lesse danger to the rest of the new Kings, than that of *Antigonus* had done, they consulted vpon the same reason of State as before, how to oppose it in time. Neither was *Seleucus* ignorant of what they had determined; for he read it in the Law vniuersall of Kingdomes and States, needing no other intelligence. Hereupon they forget friendships on all sides, and cure themselues of all vnprofitable passion, the hatred of each to other, and their loues being laid on the one side, against their profits on the other, were found so far too light, as *Seleucus*, who had to day slaine *Antigonus* the father, and driuen *Demetrius* the son out of Asia, sought to morrow how to match himselfe with *Stratonica*, *Demetrius* his daughter, and so by *Demetrius* to serue his turne against *Lysimachus*.

The story of this *Stratonica*, with whom young *Antiochus*, the sonne of *Seleucus* fell so passionately in loue, and so distempered, as *Seleucus* his father, to saue his sonnes life, gaue her (though she were his wife) vnto him; and how his passion was discouered by his pulse, is generally noted by all Writers. But neither did this alliance betweene *Seleucus* and *Demetrius*; betweene *Ptolomy* and *Lysimachus*; betweene *Demetrius* and *Cassander*; betweene *Demetrius* and *Ptolomy*; though for the present it brought him againe into the ranke of Kings; otherwise tye any of them to each other, than the marriages betweene Christian Kings haue done in later times, namely between the Austrians, the Aragonians, the French, & other Princes; neither haue the Leagues of those elder times beene found more faithfull, than those of the same later times haue beene; as in the stories of *Charles* the eighth of France, and of *Charles* the Emperour, of *Francis* the first, and of the Kings of Naples, Dukes of Millan and others, the Reader may obserue: betweene whom from the yeare of our Lord, *One thousand, foure hundred, ninety and fiue*, when *Charles* the eighth vndertooke the Conquest of Naples, to the yeare *One thousand fiue hundred fifty and eight*, when *Henry* the second died; the Histories of those times tell vs, that all the bonds, either by the Bedde or by the Booke, either by Weddings, or Sacramentall Oathes, had neither faithfull purpose nor performance. Yet did *Demetrius* reap this profit by giuing his daughter to his enemy *Seleucus*, that he recouered Cilicia from *Plistarchus*, the brother of *Cassander*, who had gotten it as his

his share in the diuision of *Antigonus* his possessions: for the Intruder vvas not strong enough to hold it by his proper forces from him, that entred vpon it as a lawfull Heire, neither would *Seleucus* lend him any helpe, as by the rule of Confederacy hee should haue done against the common enemy. So *Plistarchus* with very angry complaint, as well against *Seleucus* as *Demetrius*, went vnto *Cassander*; whither *Phila*, their sister, followed him shortly, to pacifie them both, and keepe all quiet; being sent for that purpose by *Demetrius* her husband, that was not strong enough to deale with *Cassander*; and therefore glad to make vse of that bond of aliance betwixt them, whereof in his owne prosperity, he neuer tooke notice to the others good. About the same time hee tooke to Wife a daughter of *Ptolomy* (plurality of Wiues being familiar with these Macedonians, that had learned it in their Easterne conquests) and so was hee by two marriages rather freed from two enemies, than strengthened with two friends; for neither of them wished him any good, otherwise than might seeme to aduance their owne ambitious desires.

Seleucus and *Ptolomy* could both of them haue been contented better, that *Demetrius*, with helpe of their countenance, should seeke his fortune somewhat farther off, than settle his estate vnder their noses. Particularly, *Seleucus* thought that Cilicia lay very fitly for himselfe: and *Ptolomy* had a great appetite (which yet he concealed a while) to the Isle of Cyprus. Now whether it were so, that *Seleucus* would faine haue set his new father-in-law vpon the necke of *Lysimachus*; or whether he were indeede greedy of the bargaine, he offered to buy of *Demetrius* for ready money, his late purchase of Cilicia. Hereunto *Demetrius* would not harken, but meant to keep as much Land as he could, hauing already found in Cilicia twelue thousand talents of his fathers treasure, that would serue him to make sport a while. This refusall so displeased *Seleucus*, that in angry terms he demanded the Cities of Tyre and Sidon, to be surrendred vnto him; which were the onely places in Syria, that had not followed the fortune of the late great battaile. In stead of giuing them vp, *Demetrius* took present order to haue them better manned; and spake it stoutly, That were he ouercome a thousand times, yet would he not hire *Seleucus* to become his Son-in-law. In this quarrell *Seleucus* was generally reprehended, as one of a malignant disposition, that would breake friendship with his Father-in-law for two Townes, from whom he had already taken more than well he knew how to gouerne. But the fire consumed it selfe in words, which had it fastned vpon armes, like it is that the weaker should haue found friends out of enuie to the stronger.

§. VI.

How Demetrius *wan the City of Athens, and preuailed in Greece, but lost in Asia. Of troubles in Macedon following the death of* Cassander.

IN the meane while, the Athenians not knowing how to vse the liberty, which *Demetrius* had bestowed on them, were fallen by sedition, vnder the tyranny of *Lachares*. Through which alteration their distempered City was so weakened, that it seemed ill able to keep off the punishment due to their late ingratitude. This aduantage hastened him, whom they had once called their *God and Sauiour*, to present himselfe vnto them, in the habit of a reuenging fury. He brought against them all the force that hee could well spare from other employments; which were at that time perhaps the more, because his doubtfull Easterne friends, were vnwilling to giue impediment to any businesse, that might entangle him in Greece. His first enterprise in Athens had ill successe; a great part of his fleet perishing in a tempest. But he soone repaired the losse; and (after some victories in Peloponnesus, where he wan diuers Towns that had fallen from him) returning to the enterprize, wasted the Country of Attica, and cut off all relieſe from the City, both by Land and Sea.

Athens was not able to feed the great multitude within it, any long time: for it stood in a barren soile, and wanted now the command of those Ilands, and places abroad, from whence it was wont to be stored with victuals; being also destitute of means to keep such a Nauie, as might bring in supply, or dare to do any thing at Sea, against that of *Demetrius*. Yet was there some hope of succour from *Ptolomy*, who (trusting thereby to win the loue of Greece) had loaden a hundred and fifty ships with corne, and sent them to relieue

the hungry City. But these hundred and fifty were vnable to deale with three hundred good fighting ships, which *Demetrius* had; rather they feared to become a prey to him, and therfore hasted them away betimes, as hauing done enough, in aduenturing to come so neere that they might be descried. This brake the heart of the people, among whom the famine was so extreame, that a Father and his Son did fight for a dead Mouse, which dropped downe between them from the house top. Wherefore they sent Embassadors to yeeld vp the Towne, and craue pardon; hauing so farre offended, that out of desperation, they made it a capitall offence, to propose any motion of peace. Yet were they fain to abolish this decree: rather because they knew not what else to do, than because they hoped to be forgiuen.

Demetrius, contented with the honour of the victory, did not only forbeare to take away the liues of these vnthankfull men, which they had submitted vnto his mercy; but out of his liberality gaue them food, & placed in Office amongst them such as were most acceptable to the people. Neuertheless he was growne wiser than to trust them so far as he had done in times past. And therefore, when (among other flattering acclamations) they bade him take their Hauens, and dispose of them at his pleasure; hee was ready to lay hold vpon the word, & leaue a sure Garrison within their wals, to keep them honest perforce. After this he went into Peloponnesus, vanquished the Lacedæmonians in two battailes, and was in very faire possibility to take their City: when the dangerous newes called him in all haste, of *Lysimachus* and *Ptolomy*; that preuailed faster vpon him elsewhere, than himselfe did vpon his enemies in Greece. *Lysimachus* had won many Towns in Asia; *Ptolomy* had gotten all the Isle of Cyprus, except the City of Salamis, wherein *Demetrius* had left his Children & Mother, that were straightly besieged. Whilst he was bethinking himselfe which way to turne his face, a notable piece of businesse offered it selfe, which thrust all other cares out of his head.

Cassander was lately dead in Macedon, and soon after him, *Philip* his eldest son, whose two younger brethren, *Antipater* & *Alexander*, sought for the Kingdome. In this quarrell *Thessalonica* the Daughter of King *Philip*, whom *Cassander* had married, seemed better affected to *Alexander*, than to her elder son: who thereupon grew so enraged, that most barbarously he slew his owne Mother. The odiousnesse of this fact gaue a faire lustre to *Alexanders* cause: drawing the generality of the Macedons to take his part, as in reuenge of the Queens death, vpon that wicked parricide *Antipater*. But *Antipater* was so strongly backed by *Lysimachus*, whose daughter he had married; that *Alexander* could not hope to make his party good without some forraigne aide. For which cause he called in both *Pyrrhus* and *Demetrius*; who how they dealt with him, it will soon appeare in the following Tragedy, of him and his brother. Their Father *Cassander* had been one that shifted well for himselfe, at such time as euery man sought how to get somewhat, in the ill ordered diuision of the Empire. He was cunning in practice, & a good Souldier: one of more open dealing than were his Companions, but withall more impudent, rudely killing those, whom others would more wisely haue made away. He deeply hated the memory of *Alexander*, that had knocked his head against a wal, vpon some opinion of contempt. With *Olympias* he had an hereditary quarrell, deriued from his Father, whom she could not abide. Her feminine malice did so exasperate him, by cruelty, that she vsed against his friends, both aliue and dead; as it made him aduenture vpon shedding the Royall blood: wherewith, when once he had stained his hands, he did not care how farre he proceeded in that course of murder. His carefulnesse to destroy those women and children, whose liues hindred his purpose, argues him to haue been rather skilfull in matters of Armes, than a valiant man: such cruelty being a true marke of cowardize, which feares a-far off the dangers, that may quietly passe away: and seeks to auoide them by base and wicked meanes, as neuer thinking it self safe enough, vntil there be nothing left, that carries likelihood of danger. Of *Olympias* and *Roxane* it may be said, that they had well deserued the bloudy end which ouer-tooke them; yet ill beseemed it *Cassander* to doe the office of a Hang-man. But *Alexanders* children had by no law of men, deserued to die for the tyranny of their Father. Wherfore, though *Cassander* died in his bed, yet the diuine Iustice brought swords vpon his wife and children, that well reuenged the cruelty of this bloudy man, by destroying his whole house, as he had done his Masters.

§. VII.

§. VII.

Of Pyrrhus *and his doings in Macedon. The death of* Cassanders *children.* Demetrius *gets the Kingdome of Macedon; preuailes in warre against the Greekes; Loseth reputation in his warre against* Pyrrhus, *and in his ciuill Gouernment, and prepares to win Asia. How all conspire against* Demetrius. Pyrrhus *and* Lysimachus *inuade him, his Army yeelds to* Pyrrhus, *who shares the Kingdome of Macedon with* Lysimachus.

Pyrrhus, the Sonne of that vnfortunate Prince *Æacides*, which perished in warre against *Cassander*, was hardly preserued, being a suckling Infant, from the fury of his Fathers enemies. When his Fosterers had conueighed him to *Glaucias* King of Illyria; the deadly hatred of *Cassander* would haue bought his life with the price of two hundred Talents. But no man can kill him that shall be his Heire. *Glaucias* was so farre from betraying *Pyrrhus*, that he restored him by force to his Fathers Kingdome, when he was but twelue yeares of age. Within the compasse of fixe years, either the indiscretions of his youth, or the rebellious temper of his Subiects, draue him out of his Kingdome, and left him to trie the world anew. Then went he to *Demetrius* (who married his sister) became his Page, followed him a while in his warres; was with him in the great battell of Ipsus, whence he fled with him to Ephesus, & was content to be hostage for him, in his reconciliation with *Ptolomy*. In Egypt he so behaued himselfe, that he got the fauour of *Berenice*, *Ptolomies* principall wife; so that he married her Daughter, & was therupon sent home, with mony & men, into Epirus; more beholding now to *Ptolomy*, than to *Demetrius*. When he had fully recouered the Kingdome of Epirus, and was settled in it, then fel out that businesse between the children of *Cassander*, which drew both him and *Demetrius* into Macedon.

Antipater, the elder of *Cassanders* sons, was so farre too weake for *Pyrrhus*, that hee had no desire to attend the comming of *Demetrius*, but made an hasty agreement, and diuided the Kingdom with his younger brother *Alexander*; who likewise felt the aide of *Pyrrhus* so troublesome, that he was more willing to send him away, than to call in such another helper. For *Pyrrhus* had the audacity to request, or take as granted, by strong hand, Ambracia, Acarnania, and much more of the Country, as the reward of his pains: leaning the two brethren to agree as well as they could about the rest. Necessity enforced the brethren to composition: but their composition vvould not satisfie *Demetrius*, who tooke the matter hainously, that he was sent for, and made a foole, to come so farre with an Army, and finde no vvorke for it. This was a friuolous complaint; whereby it appeared, that *Demetrius* had a purpose to doe as *Pyrrhus* had done, and so much more, by how much he was stronger. Hereupon it seemed to *Alexander* a vvise course, to remoue this ouer-diligent friend, by murdering him vpon some aduantage. Thus *Demetrius* reported the story, and it might be true; though the greatest part, and perhaps he wisest, beleeued it not. But the issue was, that *Alexander* himselfe was feasted and slaine by *Demetrius*; who tooke his part of the Kingdome, as a reward of the murder; excusing the fact so well, by telling his owne danger, and vvhat a naughty man *Cassander* had beene, that all the Macedonians grew glad enough to acknowledge him their King. It fell out happily, that about the same time *Lysimachus* was busied in warre with a King of the wilde Thracians: for therby he was compelled to seek peace of *Demetrius*, which to obtaine he caused the remainder of Macedon to bee giuen vp; that is, the part belonging to *Antipater*, his Son-in-law. At this ill bargaine *Antipater* grieuously stormed, though he knew not how to amend it: yet still he stormed; vntill his Father-in-law, to saue the labour of making many excuses, took away his troublesome life. Thus in haste, with a kinde of neglect, and as it were to auoide molestation, vvere slaine the children of *Cassander*: of *Cassander* that had slaine his owne Masters children; in a wise course of policy, with carefull meditation (so much the more wicked as the more long) studying how to erect his owne house, that fell downe vpon his graue, ere the earth on it vvas throughly setled.

It might be thought, that such an accesse of Dominion, added much to the greatnesse of *Demetrius*. But indeed it shewed his infirmity; and thereby made him neglected by many, and at length hated by all. For he had no Art of ciuill Gouernment: but thought (for shewed by his actions that he thought) the vse and fruit of a Kingdome, to be none

other,

other,than to doe what a King listed. Hee gaue himselfe ouer to Women and Wine, laughing openly at those which offered to trouble him with supplications, & the tedious discourse of doing iustice. He had more skill in getting a Kingdome,than in ruling it: war being his recreation,and luxurie his nature. By long rest (as sixe years reigne is long to him, that knowes not how to reigne one yeare) he discouered so much of his worst conditions, as made the people both weary of his idlenesse; and the Souldiers, of his vanity. He was freed from care of matters in Asia, by hearing that all was lost: though more especially, by hearing that *Ptolomy* had with great honour,entertained and dismissed his mother and children. This afforded him the better leisure, of making war in Greece: where he vanquished the Thebans, and won their City twice in short space, but vsed his victory with mercy. Against *Lysimachus* hee would faine haue done somewhat (the peace betweene them notwithstanding) at such time as hee was taken by the Thracians; but *Lysimachus* was freely dismissed,and in good case to make resistance ere *Demetrius* came; so as this iourney purchased nothing but enmity. Another expedition he tooke in hand against *Pyrrhus*,with no better,or rather with worse euent. *Pyrrhus* held somewhat belonging to Macedon,which he had indeed as honestly gotten, as *Demetrius* the whole Kingdome;he had also made excursions into Thessaly. But there needed not any handsome pretence of quarrell, seeing *Demetrius* thought himselfe strong enough, to ouer-run his enemies Country, vvith two great Armies. It is a common fault in men, to despise the vertue of those, whom they haue knowne raw Nouices in that faculty, wherein themselues are noted as extraordinary. *Pyrrhus* was a Captaine, whom later ages, and particularly the great *Hannibal*,placed higher in the ranke of Generals,than either *Demetrius*, or any of *Alexanders* followers. At this time, hee missed that part of the Army,which *Demetrius* led,and fell vpon the other halfe: which he ouerthrew, not vvith more commendations of his good conduct,than of his priuate valour,shewed in single combat against *Pantauchus*, *Demetrius* his Lieutenant; vvho being a strong man of body, challenged this young Prince to fight hand to hand, and was vtterly beaten. The losse of this battaile did not so much offend the Macedonians, as the gallant behauiour of *Pyrrhus* delighted them. For in him they seemed to behold the liuely figure of *Alexander* in his best quality. Other Kings did imitate, in a counterfeit manner, some of *Alexanders* graces, and had good skill in wearing Princely vestures: but (said they) none,saue *Pyrrhus*,is like him in deed, in performing the office of a Captaine.

These rumours vvere not more nourished by the vertue of the Epirot, than by dislike of their owne King; whom they began to dis-esteeme,not so much in regard of his vnprofitable iourny into Epirus (for he had wasted much of the Country, and brought home his Army in good case)as of his insolence,that grew daily more and more intolerable. His apparrell seemed, in the eyes of the Macedons, not only too sumptuous and new-fangled, but very vnmanly; and seruing chiefly to be a daily witnesse,how much he contemned them and their good opinions. Of his Souldiers liues hee was retchlesse: & suffered vnwisely this vn-princely sentence to escape out of his mouth; That *the more of them died, the fewer he was to pay.* He made a mockery of iustice; and (as it were, to publish vnto all his Subiects, how little he esteemed it or them) hauing by a shew of popularity inuited Petitioners,and with a gracious countenance entertained their Supplications, he led the poore suters after him in great hope, till comming to a bridge, he threw all their writings into a Riuer; pleasing himselfe, in that he could so easily and so boldly delude the cares of other men. By these courses hee grew so odious, that *Pyrrhus* gathered audacity, and inuading Macedon, had almost wonne it all with little resistance. *Demetrius* lay then sicke in his bed: who recouering health, and taking the field, had such great oddes of strength,as made *Pyrrhus* glad to forsake his winnings and be gone.

At length he began to haue some feeling of the generall hate; vvhich to redresse, he did not (for he could not) alter his owne conditions; but purposed to alter their idle discourses of him, by setting them on worke in such an action, wherein his best qualities might appeare; that is, in a great War. His intent was to inuade Asia, with a Royall Army: wherein the fortune of one battaile might giue him as much, as the fortune of another had taken from him. To this end,he first made peace with *Pyrrhus*; that so hee might leaue all safe and quiet at home. Then did he compose a mighty Army, of

of almost a hundred thousand foot, and twelue thousand horses with a Nauie of fiue hundred saile, wherein were many ships, farre exceeding the greatnesse of any that had bin seen before; yet so swift and vsefull withall,that the greatnesse was least part of their commendation.

The terrible fame of these preparations,made *Seleucus* and *Ptolomy* suspect their owne forces,and labour hard with *Lysimachus* and *Pyrrhus*,to ioyne against this ambitious son of *Antigonus*; that was like to proue more dangerous to them all,than euer was his father. It was easily discerned,that if *Demetrius* once preuailed in Asia,there could be no security for his friends in Europe,what league soeuer were of old concluded. Therfore they resolued to begin with him betimes,& each to inuade that quarter of Macedon,that lay next his owne Kingdome. *Lysimachus* came first, and against him went *Demetrius* with a great part of his Army: but whilst he was yet on the way, newes were brought into his Camp,that *Pyrrhus* had won Berrhæa. The matter was not ouer great: were it not, that minds prepared with long discontent,are ready to lay hold vpon small occasions of dislike. All the campe was in vproare: some wept,others raged,few or none did forbear to vtter seditious words,and many desired leaue of *Demetrius*,to go to their owne houses,meaning indeed to haue gone to *Lysimachus*.

When *Demetrius* perceiued the bad affection of his Army, he thought it the wisest way,to lead the Macedonians further off from *Lysimachus* their own countriman,against *Pyrrhus* that was a stranger: hoping by victory against the Epirot,to recouer the loue of his followers,in such sort that he might afterwards at leisure deale with the other. But herein his wisedome beguiled him. For the Souldiers were as hasty as he, to meet with *Pyrrhus*; not intending to hurt him,but longing to see that noble Prince,of whom they daily heard the honourable fame. Some spake of his valour; some enquired,others answered, of his person,his armour,and other tokens whereby hee might be knowne; as particularly,by a paire of Goats hornes, that he wore on his crest. It was not likely,that these men should hurt him. Diuers of them stole away, and ran ouer into *Pyrrhus* his campe: where the newes that they brought, were better welcome than their persons. For they said, and it was true, that if the Macedonians might once get sight of *Pyrrhus*, they would all salute him King. To trie this, *Pyrrhus* rode forth, and presented himselfe bareheaded in view of the campe, whither some were sent before to prepare his welcome. The newes of his arriuall found a generall applause,and euery one began to looke out,with desire to set eye on him. His face was not so well knowne as his Helmet; therefore he was admonished to put it on: which done,all came about him, and proffered their seruice; neither were there any,that spake for *Demetrius*; onely some(and they the most moderate of tongue) bad him be gone betimes, and shift for himselfe. So *Demetrius* threw aside his maskers habit,and attyring himselfe poorly, did fearfully steale away out of his owne campe, deseruing well this calamity: whether it were so, that he would not harken to the good counsaile of his friends,or whether his behauiour deprived him of such friends, as would dare to let him heare the vnpleasant sound of necessary truth.

Whilest *Pyrrhus* was making this triumphant entry into the Kingdome of Macedon; *Lysimachus* came vpon him very vnseasonably,and would needs haue halfe: saying,that he had done as much as *Pyrrhus* in the warre; and therefore had reason to challenge his part of the gaine. The bargaine was quickly made,and the diuision agreed vpon: each of them being rather desirous to take his part quietly,than to fight for the whole; as hoping each of them,to worke his fellow quite out of all,vpon better opportunity.

§. VIII.

How Demetrius *gathering forces,enterprised many things with ill successe, in Greece and Asia. How he was driuen vpon* Seleucus, *and compelled to yeeld himselfe. His imprisonment and death.*

THe Athenians, were as vnthankfull to *Demetrius* in this his aduersity, as they had beene in former times. For they presently forsooke his friendship,and called *Pyrrhus* out of Macedon to be their Patron. *Demetrius*, when hee went against *Lysimachus*, had left a great part of his forces in Greece, vnder his sonne *Antigonus*. Therefore it is like,that he had soone gotten an Army, though *Phila* his wife (who

(vvho is highly commended for a wise and vertuous Lady) did poyson her selfe, vpon desperate griefe for his misfortune. The first, vpon whom he attempted to shew his anger, were the Athenians that had well deserued it. He began to lay siege to their Town: but was pacified by *Crates* the Philosopher, whom they had made their spokes-man; & taking faire words in stead of satisfaction, passed ouer into Asia, vvith eleuen thousand Souldiers, meaning to trie his fortune against *Lysimachus*, for the Prouinces of Lydia and Caria.

At his first comming into those parts, fortune seemed to smile vpon him. For many good Townes, willingly, or by compulsion, yeelded to his obedience. There were also some Captaines that fell from *Lysimachus* to him, vvith their companies and treasures. But it was not long ere *Agathocles* the sonne of *Lysimachus*, came vpon him with an Army so strong, that it was not for *Demetrius* his good, to hazzard his last stocke against it. Wherfore, he resolued to passe through Phrygia and Armenia, into Media, and the Prouinces of the higher Asia; trusting to finde a Kingdome somewhere in those remote quarters. The execution of this counsaile was grieuously impeached by *Agathocles*: who pursued him close, and cut off all his prouisions, driuing him to take which waies he could, without following his intended course. In many skirmishes *Demetrius* vanquished this troublesome Enemy: neuertheless, he could not be shaken off, but continued afflicting the poore titulary King, with extreame famine. At length, in passing the riuer Lycus, so many of *Demetrius* his men were lost, that the rest could no longer make resistance: but were driuen to trauaile with such speed as might well be called a plain flight. So that with famine, pestilent diseases following famine, and other accidents of warre, eight thousand of them were consumed: the rest, with their Captaine, escaped into Cilicia. *Seleucus* had gotten possession of Cilicia, whileft *Demetrius* was occupied in Greece: yet was it no part of *Demetrius* his errand, to lay claime to the Country; but vvith vehement and humble letters he besought his son-in-law, to call to mind their alliance, and to pitty him in his great misery. These letters, at the first wrought well with *Seleucus*, and he condescended to the request: yet considering further how *Demetrius* had carried himselfe, when he recouered strength after the battell at Ipsus, he changed his purpose, and went against him with an Army.

Many treaties were held between them; of which none tooke effect, through the iealousie of *Seleucus*. Therefore, meere desperation enforced *Demetrius* to fight like a mad man, and his furies got him some victories, though of small importance. At length sicknesse tooke and held him forty daies, in which time, a great number of his few men, ran to the enemy. This notwithstanding he still held out, and once had like to haue taken *Seleucus* in his bed, had not his comming been discouered by fugitiues, that gaue alarme. Finally, when all his Army had forsaken him, and left him with a few of his friends to shift for himself, he was compelled by the last of those adherents (for euen some of those few forsooke him) to yeeld vnto *Seleucus*.

Seleucus hearing this, was exceeding glad, and sent him very comfortable messages. But the approbation of his owne humanity, by his followers, was such, as renewed his ialous thoughts; and hindred him from admitting *Demetrius* to his presence, though otherwise he vsed him with as much fauour, as any prisoner could wish. He was kept vnder sure guard in a demy-Iland, wherein were goodly Walkes, Orchards, and Parkes for hunting. Hee had all that he asked royally, and friends allowed to visit him, at his, and their pleasure. Onely his liberty was reserued vnto the comming of young *Antiochus* and *Stratonica*, out of the high Countries. In this sort he spent three yeares, liuing merrily all the while (as one that now enioyed the happinesse, which with so much trauaile and bloud-shed, hee had sought in vaine) and then dyed, leauing to his sonne *Antigonus*, the same which his father had left vnto himselfe; that is, friends and hope. His ashes were honourably buried in Corinth; his qualities haue appeared in his actions, and the fortune of his House will shew it selfe hereafter, in times and places conuenient.

§. VIII.

§. IX.

The death of Ptolomy, *of* Lysimachus, *and of* Seleucus, *that was last of* Alexanders *Captaines: with other occurrences.*

About the same time that *Demetrius* died, died also *Ptolomy* King of Egypt, a vertuous Prince, warlike, gentle, bountifull, and (which in those times was a rare commendation) regardfull of his word. He had, by many Wiues and Concubines, many children, out of whom he selected *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and caused him to reigne together with himselfe, two or three years before he died, that so he might confirm him in the inheritance of the Kingdome. At this, *Ptolomy Ceraunus* (for all of that house assumed the name of *Ptolomy*) was grieuously incensed. But no man cared for his anger. Therefore he went to *Seleucus*, who gaue him louing entertainment. There were now only two of *Alexanders* Captains left, *Seleucus* and *Lysimachus*. These two needs would fight for it, who should be the longest liuer of that braue Company. The true ground of their quarrell, was, their meere equality of strength, and want of one to part them. The pretence was the murders which *Lysimachus* had committed vpon many of his Nobles, together with his poysoning *Agathocles* his eldest son: whose wife and children fled vnto *Seleucus* for aide.

The Macedons after seuen Moneths pause, hauing spent their first heat of admiration, began to harken so well to *Lysimachus*, their naturall Country-man, that they forsooke *Pyrrhus*, vpon none other ground than because he was an Alien. This they had knowne well enough before: but they did him no great wrong in taking lightly from him, that they lightly gaue him. *Lysimachus* had reigned about fiue yeares alone, when the City of Lysimachia (built by him, and called after his name) falling by an earth-quake, appeared, by euents, to haue foreshewed the fall of his house. His owne iealousie, and the instigation of a Mother-in-law, caused him to poyson his Son *Agathocles*; which drew vpon him that War, wherein (after the losse of all his fifteen children that were taken away by diuers accidents) he perished himselfe.

Seleucus was encountred by *Lysimachus* on Asia side, where one battell concluded the warre, with *Lysimachus* his death. It pleased *Seleucus* more than the victory, that he was the last of all the great Heroes that followed *Alexander*. For now he seemed to himselfe, as Lord and Heire of all the conquered World. So he passed ouer into Macedon, to take possession of Europe, where there was none to withstand him. But there he ended his dayes, and within seuen Moneths followed *Lysimachus*, and other of his fellowes, by a bloudy death, being treacherously slaine by *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, whose friend and Patron he had bin. Seuenty and seuen year old he was, when he fought with *Lysimachus*; and *Lysimachus* was seuenty and foure. With them ended the generation of old Captaines, that had seen the daies as it were of another World vnder the Persian: yet was there left one equall to any of them in the Art of Warre; euen *Pyrrhus* the Epirot, of whom we spake before; that is now ready to enter into warre with the Romans, a more warlike people, than *Alexander* himselfe did euer encounter. Of which warre, and of which people, it is needfull that we here make mention, as of a story more important, than any likely to ensue in Greece, or in the great Kingdomes that were held by *Alexanders* Successours, with lesse (and still decreasing) vertue, than was that, by which they were first purchased.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The growth of Rome: and setling of the Easterne Kingdomes.

§. I.

How the Romanes enlarged their Dominion in Italy, from the death of Tullus Hostilius, *vnto such time as they were assailed by* Phyrrhus.

HOw Rome was founded by *Romulus*; setled in good order by *Numa Pompilius*; and by many, though small, victories, it gathered strength; vnto such time as it became the head of Latium; by the conquest of Alba, in the reigne of of *Tullus Hostilius*: it hath beene already noted; in due order of time. But whereas now the Roman greatnesse beginneth to encounter the power of Greece; and extending it selfe out of Italy, to ouerwhelme the Dominions of other States and Princes: I hold it conuenient (as in like cases I haue done) briefly to set downe the growth of this mighty City, in a compendious relation, of those many actions, which could not haue been deliuered in the ages, wherein they were seuerally performed, without much interruption of the History, that was then occupied in matter more important.

After the death of *Tullus Hostilius* (who when he had reigned two & thirty years vvas burnt together with his house by lightning) *Ancus Martius*, Grandchilde to *Numa Pompilius* by his daughter, and not much vnlike him in disposition, succeeded in the Kingdome of Rome. He walled the City about; enlarged it with the hill Auentine, which he enclosed; built a bridge ouer Tybris, & the City of Ostia vpon the Sea, sixteene miles distant from Rome. Finally, hauing reigned foure and twenty yeares, he died, and by his last Will he left his children in charge with one *Lucumon*, the son of *Damaratus*, a Corinthian, who auoyding *Cypselus* King of Corinth his tyranny, had fled into Hetruria, & dwelt in Tarquinii, by the name of vvhich Towne he was afterwards called *Tarquinius*. From that City in Hetruria comming to Rome, & encouraged by some ominous occurrents, together with his wife *Tanaquils* prophecy, he grew a fauorite of *Ancus Martius*; by his Grecian wit humouring the factions of the Romane Court, insomuch that after his decease, he became not only Protector to the children, but Gouernour to the City. He doubled the number of Senatours, and enlarged the Centurions of Horsemen: neither was he lesse eminent in warre, than in peace: for he preuailed often against the Tuscans, and from his victories, the chiefest ornaments of triumph tooke their originall. When this *Lucius Tarquinius* had reigned eight and thirty yeares, he was slaine by the sons of *Ancus Martius*, to whom he had been left Guardian. But *Tanaquil* his wife, perceiuing what was done, enformed the people, from out of an high Turret, that her Husband was wounded, and sicke, but not dangerously. And withall signified vnto them, that in the *interim* of his sicknesse, one *Seruius Tullius*, whom from his birth she alwaies prophecied to be borne to great hopes, (the sonne of *P. Corniculanus* and *Ocrisia*, a well descended, but captiue woman) brought vp in her house, and husband vnto her daughter, should supply her husbands place, in gouerning the State, vntill his recouery: vvhich gouernment, being thus at first obtained by cunning, he afterwards vsurped as his right. He first ordained Ratements, Subsidies, and valuations of the peoples wealth; among whom, at that time, fourescore thousand were mustered, of which number consisted their whole corporation; and by distinction of Dignities, Ages, Trades, and Offices, hee managed the Kingdome in as good sort, as if it had been a priuate household. At length, hauing two daughters of different natures, the one milde and gentle, the other fierce and outragious: and finding also that the two sonnes of *Tarquinius Priscus*, *Sextus* and *Aruns*, which had beene committed vnto his tuition, were of different dispositions, proportionably answering to his daughters; hee (willing to adde water, not oyle, to fire) gaue the milde daughter to *Sextus* the hot-headed sonne; and the violent, to *Aruns* the gentle in marriage. But whether by intended courses, or by accident, it hapned; the two milde ones being made away, the furious natures were readily ioyned in marriage: who soon

soone concurring, and calling the Senate together, began to lay claime to the Kingdome. Vpon this tumult, *Seruius Tullius* hastning to the Senate, (where hee thought by authority to haue bridled insolency) was throwne downe the staires, and going home sore bruised, was slain by the way; when he had reigned forty and foure years. Then *Tullia* his daughter, first proclaiming her husband *Tarquinius Superbus* king; returning home, enforced her Coach-man to driue his Chariot ouer her fathers corpes; whereupon the street had the denomination of wicked street. This *Tarquine*, exercising cruelty without iustice, and tyranny without mercy, vpon the people and Senators; hauing tired himselfe and them at home, vsed the same rage of treachery vpon his borders. He tooke Ocriculum, Suessa, Pometia, and the Gabij. The issue of besieging Ardea, a towne eighteene miles distant from Rome, was of bad successe. In the heat of which warre, his sonne *Sextus Tarquinius* violently rauished that chaste Lady *Lucretia*, his kinsman *Collatines* wife: who in way of expiation for so vnchaste a deed, thought good to wash out those spots of infamy with her owne bloud; so (hauing first bequeathed the reuenge vnto her father *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, her husband *Collatine*, & *Iunius Brutus*) she kil'd her self: whereupon (chiefly by *Iunius Brutus* his resolution) *Tarquinius Superbus*, with his wife and children, was deposed and banished; and fled to *Porsenna* king of Hetruria for succour, in the fiue and twentieth yeare of his reigne, and the two hundred forty and fourth from the building of their City: in which space Rome had scarce gotten possession of fifteene miles round about her.

Iunius Brutus by the helpe of *Collatine*, hauing expelled *Tarquine*, and freed his Countrey from that heauie yoke of bondage, inforced the people by solemne oath, neuer to admit any gouernment by Kings amongst them: whereupon they ransacked their Kings goods, consecrated their fields to *Mars*, and conferred the gouernment of the State vpon *Brutus* and *Collatine*. But because the name of King was odious in their eares, they changed the manner of their gouernment, from perpetuall to annuall, and from a single gouernour to a double; lest perpetuall or sole dominion might bee some motiue to vsurpation; & in stead of Kings they called them Consuls, signifying, as it may be interpreted, Prouiders: that their titles might remember them of their place, which was to bee alwayes mindefull of their Citizens welfare. And yet was it so hard setling of troubled waters, that the people, after this innouation of State, scarce daring to assure themselues of their owne security, enforced *Tarquinius Collatine* to resigne vp his authority, fearing that tyranny would bee hereditary, and supposing that the very name and affinity with the house of *Tarquine*, sauoured already of their condition. In his roome was substituted *Valerius Publicola*, who that hee might (as his name importeth) be gracious in the peoples eyes, gaue liberty, in matters of controuersie, to appeale from the Consuls to the people: and that hee might as well in goods as in person, auoide occasion of suspition, caused his owne house to bee pulled downe, because it was built in a place defensible, as if it had beene a Cittadell. Neither was *Brutus* any wayes deficient in matter of greater moment; which concerned as well the peoples safety, as their fauour: for hauing got intelligence, that some greener wits, and in the first ranke his owne sonnes, were itching after innouations, hoping to restore the banished kings; hee caused them, publikely in the Market-place, to be whipt, and then to bee brought all vnpartially to the blocke.

Hitherto the Romans, hauing by the vnblemished integrity of *Brutus*, wel appeased all inbred quarrels at home, now hereafter imploy their military designements against Forraigners; first, for their liberty; secondly, for enlarging of their possessions; and lastly, for defending their confederate Prouinces, and extending their Empire. For Rome, situated as it were in the mid-way betweene Latium and the Tuscans; hauing as yet but narrow bounds; being in her minority, could not but giue occasion of offence to her neighbours; vntill by maine opposition, hauing preuailed against her borderers, shee vsed them as instruments, whereby to obtaine the rest.

Their first warre, in the first yeere of Consuls, was against *Porsenna* king of Hetruria: who being ouer-perswaded by *Tarquines* lamentation, came to Rome, together with the banished king, and with great forces, to seate him againe in his Kingdome.

In the first conflict, *Horatius Cocles*, hauing long time borne the maine brunt of his enemies, on the bridge ouer Tibris; at length, feeling himselfe too faint to stand against so many, caused the bridge behinde him to be broken downe, and with his armour, leaping into

into the Riuer, like a hunted Stagge, refreshed his hot spirits, and returned safe to his fellowes, with the like resolution to sustaine a new charge. *Porsenna*, although by this he had well-nigh won the hill Ianiculus, which is the very entrance into the City, and found the victory, in a maner, assuredly his owne: yet admiring their valour, and terrified by the constant resolution of *Mutius Scæuola* (who hauing by errour slaine *Porsenna* his Secretary, in stead of the King himselfe, did in scorne of torments threatned, burne off his owne hand) he thought it not any whit preiudiciall, either to his safety, or credit, to enter league with them at the worst hand. And yet the edge of *Tarquinius* his spleen, was not quite abated, though *Aruns* his sonne, and *Brutus* his enemy, in single combat, had slaine each other. And here the Romans, although they lost *Brutus*, got the field; 10 and their Ladies, whose Champion he was, for their chastity, not for beauty, mourned the losse of him one whole yeare. Into his place, for the residue of his yeare, was subrogated *Sp. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, father to *Lucretia*: and in his roome (deceasing naturally before the yeare expired) *Horatius Puluillus*.

Tarquine, vpon his ouerthrow, feeling the fates disastrous, thought it no boot to striue against the streame, but spent the residue of his time, which was about fourteene years, priuately at Tusculum. Yet his sonne-in-law *Mamilius Tusculanus*, stomaching a-fresh at those old repulses, because *Porsenna* had made peace with the Romans, and denied further succour vnto the Tarquines, mustred vp his Latines, & gaue battell to the Romans, at the Lake Regillum; where the conflict was fierce, and the issue vncertaine, vntill *Aulus Posthumus*, the Roman Dictator, (for they had created this Magistracy greater than Consuls, purposely for this Warre, when first it was expected) to exasperate his Souldiers courage, threw their owne Ensignes amidst the Enemies; and *Cossus* or *Spurius Cassius* (master of the Horse-men, an assistant Officer to the Dictator) commanded to take off their bridles, that they might run with free violence, to recouer againe their Ensignes. This fight was so well performed, that a report went of *Castor* and *Pollux*, two gods, who came on milke-white Steeds, to be eye-witnesses of their valour, and fellow-helpers of their victory; for the Generall consecrated a Temple to them, as a stipend for their paines. After this the Romans fierce spirits, hauing no obiect of valour abroad, reflected vpon themselues at home; and the sixteenth yeare after the Kings expulsion, vpon instigation of some desperate banckrouts, thinking themselues wrongfully oppressed by the Senate and Consuls, they made an vproare in the holy Mount; vntill by *Meuenius Agrippa*, his discreet allusion, of the inconuenience in the head and bellies discord, to that present occasion; they were reconciled to the Senate: with condition, that they might haue some new Magistrates created, to whom they might appeale in cases of variance, and make them Solicitors in all their controuersies, the Consuls authority notwithstanding. This was enacted, and they were called the Tribunes of the people. After this attonement among themselues, they had continuall War with the Latines, concerning their bounds and limits, and with other neighbouring States. Amongst these, the *Volsci* and *Æqui* held them longest; who made Warre of themselues vpon the Romans: whereby they lost the best City in their whole iurisdiction, Corioli.

In this conquest, *T. Martius* got the firname of *Coriolanus*: a name honorable then, as deriued from a great victory; although, by reason of the pouerty of the Towne, a Roman Generall, in after-times, would haue bin ashamed of that title. But yet these graces had bin no occasion of disparagement, had he not afterwards in a great time of dearth, aduised to sell corne, which they procured from Sicil, at too high a rate, to the people, whereupon, *Decius Mus*, their Tribune, in their behalfe, accused him, & after iudgement banished him. *Coriolanus* flying to the *Volsci*, whom lately before he had vanquished, incensed them to renue their forces againe; which being committed vnto him, and to *Attius Tullus*, he preuailed in field, so far forth, that he was come within foure or fiue miles of the City. Incamping there, he made so sharp war, and was at such defiance with his Country, that he would not relent by any supplication of Embassadors, vntill his Mother *Veturia*, & *Volumnia* his Wife, with a pittifull tune of deprecation, shewing themselues better Subiects to their Country, than friends to their Son and Husband, were more auailable to Rome, than was any force of Armes. Hereupon *Coriolanus* dismissing his Army, was after put to death among the *Volsci*, as a Traitor, for neglecting such opportunity: or (as others surmise) liuing with them vntill old age, he died naturally.

Not

Not long after this, the Veij in Hetruria, prouoked the Romans, against whom the Fabij, three hundred and sixe in number, all of one Family, intreated and obtained, that they only might be imployed, as it had bin in a priuate quarrell. These Fabij, after some good seruices, lying incamped at Cremera, were circumuented, and all slaine: one only of that whole house, had bin left, by reason of infancie, at home; from whom afterward sprang *Fabius Maximus*, who vanquished *Hannibal*.

In processe of time, the Romans were also troubled with the *Volsci*, at the hill of Algidum, two miles from Rome; where *Lucius Minutius* their Consul, with his whole Army, had beene discomfited, had not *L. Quintius Cincinatus* chosen Dictator, and taken from 10 the plough to the highest honour in Rome, with successe answerable to his expedition dispersed his enemies, & freed his Countrie in the space of sixteen daies. In the continuance of this Volscian warre it was, that *Appius Claudius*, one of the ten men, whom they had two yeares before chosen Gouernours of the State, and inactors of *Solons* lawes amongst them, procured from Athens (abrogating in the meane while the Consuls, & all other Magistrates) would haue rauished *Virginia*, the daughter of *T. Virginius*, Captaine of a company, and lying then in Campe at Algidum. Hereupon the people, in an vproare, tooke the Hill Auentine, and after much variance, enforced the ten men, to resigne vp their authoritie againe, to new Consuls.

After this, either new quarrels, or desire to reuenge old losses, drew the Romans into a 20 new war, against the Veientes, and their adherents, vpon whom hauing tried their forces, with diuersitie of Captaines, and varietie of euent, they vanquished the Falisci, and the Fidenates, and vtterly subdued the Veientes. In conquering the Falisci, *Furius Camillus* shewed no lesse integritie than fortitude. For when a Schoolemaster, by trayning forth into the Roman campe, many children of the principall Citizens, thought to betray the Towne, yeelding them all vp as Hostages: *Camillus* deliuered this Traitor bound vnto his Schollers, willing them to whip him backe into the Citie; which forthwith yeelded vnto him in reuerence of his iustice. The siege of Veij was ten yeers, and so troublesome, that the Romans were there first enforced to winter abroad vnder beasts skins (to which they were the more easily induced, because then first they receiued pay) & to make vowes 30 neuer to return without victorie.

At length winning the City by a Mine, they got so large spoiles, that they consecrated their tenths to *Apollo Pythius*: & the whole people in generall, were called to the ransacking of the Citie. But yet they were no lesse vnthankfull to *Camillus* for his seruice, than before they had beene to *Coriolanus*; For they banished him the Citie, vpon some occasion of inequalitie in diuiding the spoyles: yet he requited their vnkindnesse with a new peece of seruice, against the fury of the Gaules, who being a populous Countrie, and very healthfull, the fathers (as sometimes now) liued so long, that the sonnes, destitute of meanes, were enforced to roaue abroad, seeking some place, where to set vp their rest: and withall being a Nation vaste in body, rude by nature, and barbarous in conditions, 40 wandred as Rouers ouer many Countries. Some of them lighting on Italy, set vpon Clusium, a Town in Hetruria: whereof Rome hauing information, (and being carefull of her Confederate Townes) sent Embassadours, warning them to desist from such iniurious enterprises. But the barbarous people, not regarding the message, vpon some iniurie offered by the Romane Embassadours, conuerted their forces from Clusium towards Rome; and giuing a great ouerthrow vnto the Romans, by the Riuer Allia, vpon the sixteenth day before the Calends of August (which day was after branded for vnlucky, and called *Alliensis* in the Romane Kalendar) they hastened towards the Citie. Then was Rome the true map of miserie and desolation. For some leauing the Citie; some creeping into holes; Priests hiding their reliques; and euery one shifting for himselfe, ere the 50 enemie came; Rome was abandoned, as indefensible. The Vestall Virgins, in this tumult, were safely conueyed away; the Ancients of the Citie, gathering boldnesse out of desperate feare, did put on their Robes, and taking their leaue of the world, did seat themselues in Thrones, in their seueral houses, hourely expecting the messengers of death, & meaning to dye, as they had liued, in State. The yonger sort, with *M. Manlius* their Captaine, tooke vpon them to make good the Capitoll.

By this, the Gaules were entred the Citie, who seeing all quiet, at first suspected some ambush; afterward finding all secure, they fell to the spoyle, committing all to the fire and sword. As for the old Senatours, they sate in their Maiestie, with a graue resolution:

hauing first reuerenced them as gods, anon they tried whether they would dye like men. When the Citie was throughly riffled, they attempted the Capitoll: which held them worke for the space of seuen moneths. Once they were like to haue surpised it by night, but being descried by the gagling of Geese, *M. Manlius* did awaken, and kept them from entrance. At length a composition was agreed vpon: the Gaules being weary, and the Romans hungry. The bargaine was, that the Gaules should take a thousand pound weight in gold, to desist from their siege. Whilest the gold was in weighing, the Gaules, with open insolencie, made their weights too heauie: *Brennus*, their Captaine, casting his sword into the ballance, and, with a proud exprobration, saying, that the vanquished must be patient perforce. But in the midst of this cauilling came *Furius Camillus*, with an Armie, from Ardea, (where he had liued in his banishment) and fell vpon the Gaules, with such violence, that hee dispersed their troups, quenched the fire of the Citie with their blood, forcing them to restore the spoyles with aduantage, and forbeare the gold, in accepting which, they had lately beene so nice. Further hauing rid the Citie of them, he so hotly pursued them, through a great part of Italie, that the remainder of their Armie, which escaped from him, was very small. Other Armies of the Gaules, which followed this first, had the like ill successe. They were often beaten by the Romans; especially the victories of *M. Torquatus*, and of *M. Valerius Corvinus* (each of which in single fight slew a seuerall Champion of the Gaules) abated their presumption, and restored courage to the Romans. *Camillus*, for his notable seruice, was afterwards accompted a second *Romulus*.

The people, after this destruction of their Citie, were earnestly bent to goe to the Veij to inhabite; but *Camillus* dissuaded them.

About the same time, somewhat before the siege of Veij, they changed their gouernment from Consuls to militarie Tribunes. The gouernment of these also, after some yeares, was by ciuill dissension interrupted: so that one while Consuls ruled, another while there was an Anarchie: Then the Tribunes were restored and ruled againe, till after many yeares expired, the Consular authoritie was established, it being enacted, that one of the Consuls should alwaies be a Plebeian. This was after the building of the City 365. yeeres. And now Rome by suppression of her neighbour countries, creeping well forward out of her Minoritie, dares set forth against the warlike Samnites, who dwelt almost one hundred and thirtie miles off: situated between Campania and Apulia. These did so strongly inuade the Campanians their Neighbours, that they forced them to yeeld themselues subiects to Rome, and vndergoe any conditions of Tribute, or whatsoeuer else to obtaine protection: which the Romans, although both Countries had beene their Confederates, yet not willing that the greater, like fish, should deuoure the lesse, easily allowed of; aiming themselues at the good situation of Campania, the aboundance of Corne and Wine, pleasant Cities and Townes, but especially Capua it selfe, the fairest Citie then in all Italie.

The families of the *Papyrij* and *Fabij* were most imployed in the managing of this warre, which endured the space of fiftie yeeres. And in this season were the Romans oftentimes dangerously encountred by the Samnites, as when *T. Veturius* and *Sp. Postumius* were Consuls, and discomfited by *Pontius* at Caudium, with no small ignominie: and when *Q. Fabius Gurges* lost the field with three thousand men. But for those losses, many great victories made large amends: The greatest whereof were gotten by *L. Papyrius*, and by *Quintus Fabius Maximus*.

The Samnites drew the Hetrurians into their quarrell. But the force of the Samnites was well broken, ere the Hetrurians (the greater and richer, but lesse warlike Nation) began to stir. So the one and the other of these two Countries, became at length, tributary to Rome. In the continuance of this long warre it was, (though in time of truce between the Romans and Samnites) that the Latines began to challenge equall freedome in the Corporation of Rome, and right in bearing office, so that they required to haue one of the Consuls yeerely chosen out of them.

This demand of the Latines, was not vnreasonable. For the Romans themselues were a Latine Colonie; besides all which, they made offer, to change their name, and to bee all called Romans. But the Romans were too proud, to admit any such capitulation. So a great battaile was fought betweene them: wherein the fortune of Rome preuailed, by the vertue of the Consuls.

Manlius

Manlius Torquatus, and the elder *Decius*, were then Consuls, whom the Soothsayers aduertised, that the side should be victorious which lost the Generall in fight. Hereupon *Decius* the Consull, exposed his life to the Enemie, and purchased victorie (as was beleeued) by his death. In which kinde of deuoring himselfe for his Armie, the sonne of this *Decius* being after Consull, did imitate his father, in the Hetrurian warre. But (as *Tullie* well notes) it was rather the desperate resolution of these *Decij*, that purchased victorie, by rushing into the midst of the enemies, wherein their Souldiers followed them, than any great commendation of such a religion, as required the liues of so worthy Citizens, to be sacrificed for their Countrie. The discipline of *Manlius* was no lesse resolute, than the valour of *Decius*. He forbad any one to forsake his place, and fight single with an enemie. For breach of which order he caused his owne sonne to be put to death, who had slaine a Captaine of the Latines, being challenged in single fight.

When the Latines, the Æqui, Volsci, Hernici, Campani, Samnites, and Hetrurians, with some other people, were brought vnder obedience; it was a vaine labour for any people of Italie, to contend against the Romans.

Yet the Sabines aduentured to trie their fortune; and found it bad. For *Curius Dentatus*, the Roman Consull, wasting all their Countrie with fire and sword, from the Riuer Nar and Velia, to the Adriatique Sea, brought them into quiet subiection.

The last of the Italians, that made triall of the Roman Armes, were the Tarentines, and their adherents. These had interposed themselues as mediatours, betweene the Romans and Samnites; with a peremptorie denunciation of Warre, vnto that partie, which should dare to refuse peace, by them tendred. These threats which discouered their bad affection vnto Rome, ended in words; but when the Samnites were vtterly subdued, matter enough of quarrell was found, to examine their abilitie of performance.

The Romans complained that certaine ships of theirs were robbed, and sent Embassadours vnto Tarentum, to require amends. Vpon some wrong done to these Embassadours, was laid the foundation of that Warre; wherein the Lucans, Messapians, Brutians, and Apulians, ioyning with the Tarentines, procured the Samnites, and other Subiects of Rome, to rebell, and take their part. But some experience of the Roman strength, taught all these people to know their owne weaknesse. Wherefore they agreed to send for *Pyrrhus*, by whose aide (being a Grecian, as the Tarentines also were) great hope was conceiued, that the Dominion of Rome should be confined, vnto more narrow bounds, than all Italie, which alreadie, in a manner it did ouer-spread.

§. II.

How Pyrrhus *warred vpon the Romans, and vanquished them in two battaile.*

Pyrrhus, forsaken by the Macedonians, and vnable to deale with *Lysimachus*, was compelled a while to liue in rest: which hee abhorred no lesse than a wiser Prince would haue desired. Hee had a strong Armie, and a good Fleet, which in that vnsettled estate of things, was enough to purchase a Kingdome: but the fall of *Demetrius* had so encreased the power of *Lysimachus*, that it was no point of wisedome, to make an offensiue warre vpon him, without farre greater forces. *Antigonus*, the sonne of *Demetrius*, held Corinth at the same time, and some other Townes, with the remainder of his fathers Armie and treasures, left in his hand. Vpon him it is like that *Pyrrhus* might haue wonne; but it was better to let him alone, that he might serue to giue some hinderance to *Lysimachus*.

In this want of imployment, and couetous desire of finding it, the Tarentine Embassadours came very fitly to *Pyrrhus*: and they came with braue offers, as needing no other aide than his good conduct, which to obtaine, they would cast themselues vnder his protection. They had in their company, some of the Samnites, Lucanians, Messapians, and others, which promised, in behalfe of their seuerall Nations, as much as could be desired. This encouraged *Pyrrhus*, and filled him with hopes of goodly conquests; that hee might enlarge his Empire to the West, as farre as *Alexander* had gotten Eastward; and still by one victorie open the gate vnto another. To which effect it is said, that once hee answered *Cyneas* his chiefe Counsailour, asking what hee meant to doe after euerie of the victories which he hoped to get: that hauing wonne Rome, hee would soone bee Master of all Italie; that, after Italie hee would quickly get the Ile of Sicil; that,

out of Sicill, he would passe ouer into Africk, and winne Carthage, with all the rest of the Countrie; and being strengthened with the force of all these Prouinces, he would be too hard, for any of those, that were now so proud and troublesome. But *Cyneas* enquired yet further, what they should doe, when they were Lords of all: Whereunto *Pyrrhus* (finding his drift) answered pleasantly, that they would liue merrily; a thing (as *Cyneas* then told him) that they presently might doe, without any trouble, if hee could be contented with his owne.

Neuertheless, this Italian expedition seemed vnto *Pyrrhus*, a matter of such consequence, as was not to be omitted, in regard of any scholasticall disputation. Wherefore he prepared his Armie, of almost thirty thousand men, well sorted, and well trained Souldiers: part of which he sent ouer before him vnder *Cyneas*, with the rest he followed in person. At his comming, he found the Tarentines very prompt of tongue, but in matter of execution, vtterly carelesse to prouide for the War. Wherefore he was faine to shut vp their Theater, and other places of pleasure and resort; enforcing them to take Armes, and making such a strict muster, as was to them very vnpleasing, though greatly behooueing to their estate.

Whilest hee was occupied with these cares, *Lænius* the Romane Consull drew neere, and began to waste Lucania, a Prouince confederate with the Tarentines in this Warre.

The Lucanians were not readie to defend their own Countrie; the Samnites were carelesse of the harme, that fell not (as yet) vpon themselues; the Tarentines were better prepared than they would haue beene, but their valour was little: all of these had beene accustomed to shrinke, for feare of the Roman fortitude: and therefore it fell out happily, that *Pyrrhus* relied more vpon his owne forces, than the issue of their vaunting promises. Hee was now driuen, either to set forward, with those that himselfe had brought into Italie, and the assistance of the Tarentines, wherein little was to be reposed; or else to weaken the reputation of his owne sufficiencie, which by all meanes hee was carefull to vp-hold. In good time a great part of his forces, that had beene scattered by foule weather at Sea, were safely come to him: with which hee resolued to assay the valour of the Romans, against whom he proudly marched.

Lænius the Consull was not affrighted, with the terrible name of a great King; but came on confidently to meet him, and giue him battaile, ere all his adherents should bee ready to ioyne with him. This boldnesse of the Roman, and the slacknesse of the Messapians, Lucanians, Samnites, and others, whom the danger most concerned, caused *Pyrrhus* to offer a treatie of peace: requiring to haue the quarrell betweene the Romans and his Italian friends, referred to his arbitrement. Whether he did this to winne time, that the Samnites and their fellowes might arriue at his Campe; or whether, considering better at neere distance, the weight of the businesse, which he had taken in hand, hee were desirous to quit it with his honour; the short answer that was returned to his proposition, gaue him no meanes of either the one or the other: for the Romans sent him this word, that *they had neither chosen him their Iudge, nor feared him their enemie.*

Hereupon, both Armies hastened their march vnto the Riuer of Siris: *Lænius* intending to fight before the arriuall of the Samnites; *Pyrrhus*, to hinder him from passing that Riuer, vntill his owne Armie were full. Vpon the first view of the Roman Campe, it was readily conceiued by *Pyrrhus*, that hee had not now to doe with barbarous people, but with men well trained in a braue discipline of warre: which caused him to set a strong *Corps de garde*, vpon the passage of the riuer, that hee might not bee compelled to fight, vntill hee saw his best aduantage. But hee quickly found, that this new enemie was not onely skilfull in the Art of war, but couragious in execution. For the Roman Armie entred the Foord, in face of his *Corps de garde*; and their horse, at the same time, began to passe the Riuer, in sundrie places: which caused the Greekes to forsake the defence of their banke, and speedily retire vnto their Campe.

This audacitie forced *Pyrrhus* to battaile; wherewith hee thought it best to present them, ere the whole Armie had recouered firme footing, and were in order. So directing his Captaines how to marshall his battailes; himselfe with the horse, charged vpon the Romans: who stoutly receiued him, as men well exercised in sustaining furious impressions. In this fight, neither did his courage transport him beyond the dutie of a carefull Generall; nor his prouidence in directing others, hinder the manifestation of his personall valour. It behooued him indeed to do his best; for he neuer met with better

opposers.

opposers. Once, and shortly after the fight began, his horse was slaine vnder him: afterwards, he changed armour with a friend; but that friend paid his life for the vse of his Kings armour, which was torne from his backe. This accident had almost lost him the battaile: but hee perceiuing it, discouered his face, and thereby restored courage to his men, and took from the Romanes their vaine ioy. The fight was obstinate, and with the greater losse (at lest of more eminent men) on *Pyrrhus* his side, as long as onely speare and sword were vsed. But when the Elephants were brought into the wings, whose vnusuall forme & terrible aspect, the horses of the Romans (vnaccustomed to the like) were not able to sustaine; then was the victorie quickly gotten. For the Roman battailes, perceiuing their horse put to rout, and driuen out of the field; finding also themselues both charged in flanke, and ouer-borne, by the force and huge bulke of those strange beasts; gaue way to necessity, and saued themselues, as well as they could, by hastie flight: in which consternation, they were so forgetfull of their discipline, that they tarried not to defend their Campe, but ran quite beyond it, leauing both it, and the honour of the day, entirely to *Pyrrhus*.

The fame of this victorie was soon spread ouer Italie; and the reputation was no lesse than the fame. For it was a matter very rare to be heard, that a Roman Consull, with a select Armie, should lose in plaine battaile, not only the Field, but the Campe it selfe, being so notably fortified, as they alwaies were. And this honour was the more brauely won by *Pyrrhus*, for that he had with him none of his Italian friends, saue the vnwarlike Tarentines. Neither could he well dissemble his content that he took, in hauing the glory of this action peculiarly his own, at such time as he blamed the Lucans & Samnits, for comming (as we say) a day after the faire. Neuertheless, hee wisely considered the strength of the Romans, which was such, as would better endure many such losses, than he could many such victories. Therefore he thought it good to compound with them, whilest with his honour he might; and to that purpose he sent vnto them *Cyneas* his Embassadour, demanding only to haue the Tarentines permitted to liue at rest, and himself accepted as their especiall friend. This did *Cyneas*, with all his cunning, and with liberall gifts labour to effect: but neither man nor woman could bee found in Rome, that would take any bribe of him; neither did their desire of recouering their captiues, or their danger, by the rising of many States in Italy against them, so incline them to peace, as the vehement exhortation of *Appius Claudius*, an old and blind Senatour, did stirre them vp to make good their honour by war. So they returned answer, that whilest *Pyrrhus* abode in Italy, they would come to no agreement with him.

Such was the report, that *Cyneas* made at his return, of the Roman puissance and vertue, as kindled in *Pyrrhus*, a great desire of confederacie, with that gallant Citie. Hereupon many kinde Offices passed between them: but still when he vrged his motion of peace, the answer was, *He must first depart out of Italy, and then treat of peace.*

In the meane season, each part made prouision for war; the Romanes leuying a more mighty army than the former; & *Pyrrhus* being strengthened with accesse vnto his forces, of all the East parts of Italy. So they came to triall of a second battaile, wherein (though after long and cruel fight) the boisterous violence of the Elephants gaue to *Pyrrhus* a second victorie. But this was not altogether so ioyful as the former had been: rather it gaue him cause to say, that such another victorie would be his vtter vndoing. For he had lost the flower of his Armie in this battaile: and though he draue the Romanes into their Campe, yet he could not force them out of it, nor saw any likelihood of preuailing against them, that were like to be relieued with daily supplies, whilest he should be driuen to spend vpon his old stock. Neither could he expect, that his Elephants should alwaies stand him in stead. A little knowledge of their maner in fight, would soon teach the Romans, that were apt Schollers in such learning, how to make them vnseruiceable. Wherefore hee desired nothing more, than how to carry his honour safe out of Italy: which to doe (seeing the Romans vvould not helpe him, by offering or accepting any faire conditions of peace, or of truce) he tooke a slight occasion, presented by fortune, that followeth to be related.

§. III.

The great troubles in Macedon and Sicill. How Pyrrhus, *being inuited into Sicill, forsoke Italie; wan the most of the Ile; and lost it in short space.* Pyrrhus *returnes into Italy, where he is beaten by the Romanes, and so goes backe to his own Kingdome.*

WHen *Ptolomie Ceraunus* had traiterously murdered his Benefactor & Patron *Seleucus*, he presently seized vpon all the Dominions of *Lysimachus* in Europe, as if they had bin the due reward vnto him, that had slaine the Conquerour. The houses of *Cassander* and *Lysimachus* were then fallen to the ground: neither was there in Macedon any man of strength and reputation enough, to aduance himself against *Ceraunus*. The friends of *Lysimachus* were rather pleased to haue him their King, that had (as hee professed) reuenged their Lords death; than any way offended with the odiousnesse of his fact, by which they were freed from subiection, to one, against whom they had stood in opposition. Many there were, that vpon remembrance of his Fathers great vertue, gathered hope of finding the like in *Ceraunus*: perswading themselues that his reigne might proue good, though his entrance had been wicked. These affections of the Macedonians did serue to defeat *Antigonus* the sonne of *Demetrius*, that made an attempt vpon the kingdome. As for *Antigonus* the sonne of *Seleucus*, he was farre off, and might be questioned about some part of Asia, ere he should be able to bring an Armie neere vnto Europe. Yet he made great shew of meaning to reuenge his Fathers death: but being stronger in money than in armes, he was content, after a while, to take faire words, and make peace with the murtherer. While these three stroue about the kingdome, *Pyrrhus*, who thought his claime as good as any of theirs, made vse of their dissention: threatning warre, or promising his assistance, to euery one of them. By these meanes he strengthened himselfe, and greatly aduantaged his Italian voyage, which he had then in hand: requesting mony of *Antiochus*, ships of *Antigonus*, and souldiers of *Ptolomie*, who gaue him his daughter in marriage, and lent him a strong power of Macedonian Souldiers, and of Elephants (couenanting to haue them restored at two yeares end) more for feare than for loue: that so he might free himselfe from trouble, and quietly enioy his kingdome.

Thus *Ptolomy* grew mighty on the suddaine; and the power that by wicked meanes he had gotten, by meanes as wicked he encreased.

All Macedon and Thrace being his, the strong Citie of Cassandria was held by *Arsinoe* his sister, the widow of *Lysimachus*, who lay therein with her yong children. Her he circumuented by making loue to her, and (according to the fashion of those times, wherein Princes regarded no degree of consanguinitie) taking her to wife, with promise to adopt her children: a promise that he meant not to performe; for it was not long, ere hee slew them, and draue her into exile.

In the pride of this good successe, which his villanie found; vengeance came vpon him from a farre, by the furie of a Nation, that he neuer heard of. *Belgius* a Captaine of the Gaules, hauing forced his passage through many Countries, vnto the confines of Macedon, sent a proud message to *Ceraunus*, commanding him to buy peace with money, or otherwise, to look for all the miseries of warre. These Gaules were the race of those, that issued out of their Countrie, to seeke new seates in that great expedition, wherein *Brennus* tooke and burnt the Citie of Rome. They had diuided themselues, at their setting forth, into two Companies; of which the one fell vpon Italie; the other passing through the Countries that lye on the Northerne side of the Adriatick Sea, made long abode in Pannonia, and the Regions adioyning, where they forced all the neighbour Princes to redeeme peace with tribute, as now they would haue compelled *Ceraunus* to doe; vnto whose borders they came about an hundred and eight yeares after such time as their fellowes had taken Rome.

When their Embassadours came to *Ptolomie*, asking what he would giue: His answer was, That he would be contented to giue them peace, but it must bee with condition, that they should put into his hands their Princes as hostages, and yeelde vp their armes; for otherwise, he would neither pardon their boldnesse, nor giue any credit to their words. At this answer, when it was returned, the Gaules did laugh; saying, That they would soone confute with deeds, the vanitie of such proude words. It may seeme strange, that

that he, who had giuen away part of his Army vnto *Pyrrhus*, for very feare; should bee so confident in vndertaking more mighty enemies. The king of the Dardanians offered to lend him twentie thousand men against the Gaules: but he scorned the offer; saying, That he had the children of those, which vnder the conduct of *Alexander*, had subdued all the East. Thus hee issued forth against all the barbarous people, with his famous Macedonians, as if the victorie must needs haue followed the reputation of a great name. But he soone found his great errour, when it was too late. For the enemies were not onely equall in strength of body, and fiercenesse of courage, but so farre superiour to the Macedonians in number, that few or none escaped their furie. *Ptolomie* himselfe grieuously wounded, fell into their hands, whilest the battell continued; and they presently strooke off his head, which they shewed to his men, on the top of a Lance, to their vtter astonishment.

The report of this great ouerthrow filled all Macedon with such desperation, that the people fled into walled Townes, and abandoned the whole countrey as lost. Onely *Sosthenes*, a valiant Captaine, animating as many as he could, gathered a small Armie, with which he many times got the vpper hand, and hindred *Belgius* from vsing the victorie at his whole pleasure. In regard of this his vertue, the Souldiers would haue made him King; which title he refused, and was contented with the name of a General. But (as mischiefes doe seldome come alone) the good successe of *Belgius*, drew into Macedon, *Brennus*, another Captain of the Gaules, with an hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse; against which mightie Army, when *Sosthenes* with his weake troupes made opposition, hee was easily beaten, and the Macedonians againe compelled to hide themselues within their wals, leauing all their Countrie to the spoyle of the Barbarians.

Thus were the Macedonians destitute of a king, & troden down by a Nation, that they had not heard of; in lesse than fiftie yeares after the death of *Alexander*, who sought to discouer and subdue vnknown Countries, as if all Greece, and the Empire of Persia, had been too little for a king of Macedon.

Very seasonably had these newes been carried to *Pyrrhus* in Italy, who sought a faire pretext of relinquishing his warre with the Romanes; had not other tydings out of Sicil distracted him, and carried him away in pursuite of neerer hopes. For after the death of *Agathocles*, who reigned ouer the whole Island, the Carthaginians sent an Armie to conquer Sicil, out of which, by him, they had beene expelled. This Armie did so fast preuaile, that the Sicilians had no other hope to auoyde slauery, than in submitting themselues to the rule of *Pyrrhus*; whom, beeing a Grecian, and a noble Prince, they thought it more for their good to obey, than to liue vnder the well knowne heauie yoke of Carthage. To him therefore, the Syracusans, Leontines, and Agragentines, principall Estates of the Isle, sent Embassadours, earnestly desiring him to take them into his protection.

It grieued *Pyrrhus* exceedingly, that two such notable occasions, of inlarging his Dominions, should fall out so vnluckily, both at one time. Yet whether hee thought the businesse of Sicil more important, or more full of likelihood; or whether perhaps he beleeued (as came after to passe) that his aduantage vpon Macedon would not so hastily passe away, but that he might finde some occasion to lay hold on it, at better leisure, ouer into Sicil he transported his Armie, leauing the Tarentines to shift for themselues, yet not leauing them free as he found them, but with a Garrison in their Town, to hold them in subiection.

As his departure out of Italy, was rather grounded on head-long passion, than mature aduice; so were his actions following, vntill his returne vnto Epirus, rather many and tumultuous, than well ordered, or note-worthy. The Armie which he carried into that Isle, consisted of thirty thousand foote, and two thousand fiue hundred horse: with which, soon after his descent into Sicil, he fore'd the Carthaginians, out of all, in effect, that they held therein. He also won the strong Citie of Eryx, and hauing beaten the Mamertines in battell; he began to change condition, and turne Tyrant. For he draue *Sostratus* (to whom his cruelty was suspect) out of the Iland, & put *Thenon* of Syracuse to death, being iealous of his greatnesse; which two persons had faithfully serued him, and deliuered the great and rich Citie of Syracuse into his hands. After this, his fortunes declined so fast, as he serued himselfe, and salued the dis-reputation of his leauing Sicil, by an Embassage sent him from the Tarentines, and Samnites, imploring his present helpe against

against the Romans, who since his leauing Italy, had wel-neere dispossest them of all that they had.

Taking this faire occasion, he imbarked for Italy; but was first beaten by the Carthaginian Gallies, in his passage, and secondly assayled in Italy it selfe, by eighteene hundred Mamertines, that attended him in the straits of the Countrie. Lastly, after he had recouered Tarentum, he fought a third battaile with the Romans, led by *M. Curius*, who was victorious ouer him, and fore't him out of Italy, into his owne Epirus.

A Prince he was far more valiant than constant, and had he beene but a Generall of an Armie, for some other great King or State, and had beene directed to haue conquered any one countrey or kingdome, it is to bee thought, that hee would haue purchased no lesse honour than any man of warre, either preceding or succeeding him; for a greater Captaine, or a valianter man, hath beene no where found. But hee neuer staied vpon any enterprise; which was, indeede, the disease hee had, whereof not long after hee died in Argos.

§. IIII.

How Antigonus, *the sonne of* Demetrius, *deliuered Macedon from the Gaules. How* Pyrrhus *wonne the Kingdome of Macedon from* Antigonus.

THe vertue of *Sosthenes* being too weake to defend the kingdome of Macedon; and the fortune which had accompanied him against *Belgius*, failing him in his attempts against *Brennus*: the Macedonians were no lesse glad to submit themselues vnto the gouernment of *Antigonus*, than they had been formerly desirous to free themselues from the impotent rule of his Father *Demetrius*. His comming into the Countrie, with an Armie, Nauie, and Treasure beseeming a king, did rather breed good hope in the people, than fill them with much confidence: for he was driuen to vse against the Barbarians, onely those forces, which he brought with him, hauing none other than good wishes of the Macedons, to take his part. *Brennus*, with the maine strength of his Armie, was gone to spoyle the Temple of *Apollo* at Delphos, hauing left no more behind him, than he thought necessary to guard the borders of Macedon, and Pannonia; which were about fifteene thousand foot, and three thousand horse. These could not be idle, but thought to get somewhat for themselues, in the absence of their fellowes: and therefore sent vnto *Antigonus*, offering to sell him peace, if he would pay well for it; which by the example of *Ceraunus*, hee had learnt (as they thought) not to refuse. *Antigonus* was vnwilling to weaken his reputation, by condescending to their proud demands: yet he iudged it vnfit to exasperate their furious choler, by vncourteous words or vsage, as *Ceraunus* had ouer-fondly done. Wherefore hee entertained their Embassadours in very louing and sumptuous manner, with a royall feast: wherein he exposed to their view, such abundance of massie gold and siluer, that they were not so much delighted with the meat, as with sight of the vessels, wherein it was serued. He thought hereby, to make them vnderstand, how great a Prince hee was, and how able, if need required, to wage a mightie Armie.

To which end, he likewise did shew vnto them his Campe and Nauie, but especially his Elephants. But all this brauery serued onely to kindle their greedy appetites; who seeing his ships heauie loaden, his Campe full of wealth, and ill fortified, himselfe (as it seemed) secure, and his men, both in strength and courage inferiour vnto the Gaules, thought all time lost, wherein they suffered the present possessours, to spend the riches which they accompted assuredly their owne. They returned therefore to their Companions, with none other newes in their mouthes, than of spoyle and purchase: which tale, carried the Gaules head-long, to *Antigonus* his campe, where they expected a greater bootie, than the victory ouer *Ceraunus* had giuen to *Belgius*. Their comming was terrible and suddaine; yet not so suddaine, but that *Antigonus* had notice of it, who, distrusting the courage of his owne men, dislodged somewhat before their arriuall, and conueighed himselfe, with his whole armie and carriage, into certaine woods adioyning, where hee lay close.

The Gaules, finding his Campe forsaken, were not hastie to pursue him, but fell to ransacking the emptie Cabbines of the Souldiers; in hope of finding all that was either lost or hidden. At length, when they had searched euery place in vaine, angrie at their

lost labour, they marched with all speed towards the Sea-side; that they might fall vpon him, whilest he was busie in getting his men and carriages a ship-board. But the successe was no way answerable to their expectation. For being proud of the terrour which they had brought vpon *Antigonus*, they were so carelesse of the Sea-men, that without all order, they fell to the spoyle of what they found on the shore, and in such ships as lay on ground.

Part of the Armie had left *Antigonus*, where he lay in couert; and had saued it selfe by getting aboard the fleet: in which number were some well experienced men of war: who discouering the much aduantage offred vnto them, by the desperate presumption of their enemies, tooke courage, and encouraged others, to lay manly hold vpon the opportunity. So the whole number, both of Souldiers and Mariners, landing together, with great resolution, gaue so braue a charge vpon the disordered Gaules, that their contemptuous boldnesse was thereby changed into suddaine feare, and they, after a great slaughter, driuen to cast themselues into the seruice of *Antigonus*.

The fame of this victorie, caused all the barbarous Nations in those quarters, to re-entertaine their ancient beliefe of the Macedonian valour: by which, the terrible and resistlesse oppressors of so many Countries, were ouerthrowne.

To speake more of the Gaules in this place, and to shew how, about these times, three Tribes of them passed ouer into Asia the lesse, with their warres and conquests there; I hold it needlesse: the victorious armies of the Romans, taming them hereafter, in the Countries which now they wanne, shall giue better occasion, to rehearse these matters briefly.

How soeuer the good successe of *Antigonus* got him reputation, among the barbarous people, yet his owne Souldiers, that without his leading, had wonne this victory, could not thereupon be perswaded to thinke him a good man of warre: knowing that he had no interest in the honour of the seruice, wherein his conduct was no better, than creeping into a wood.

This (as presently will appeare) was greatly helpfull vnto *Pyrrhus*: though as yet he knew not so much. For *Pyrrhus*, when his affaires in Italie stood vpon hard tearmes, had sent vnto *Antigonus* for helpe: not without threats, in case it were denied. So was hee sure to get, either a supply, wherewith to continue his warre against the Romans, or some seeming honourable pretence, to forsake Italie, vnder colour of making his word good, in seeking reuenge. The threats which he had vsed in brauery, meere necessitie forced him, at his returne into *Epirus*, to put in practise.

Hee brought home with him, eight thousand foot, and fiue hundred horse: an armie too little to be employed, by his restlesse nature, in any action of importance; yet greater than he had meanes to keepe in pay. Therefore he fell vpon Macedon; intending to take what spoyle he could get, and make *Antigonus* compound with him, to be freed from trouble. At his first entrance into this businesse, two thousand of *Antigonus* his Souldiers reuolted vnto *Pyrrhus*; and many Cities, either willingly or perforce, receiued him. Such faire beginnings, easily perswaded the courage of this daring Prince, to set vpon *Antigonus* himselfe, and to hazard his fortune, in triall of a battaile, for the whole kingdome of Macedon.

It appeares, that *Antigonus* had no desire to fight with this hot warriour; but thought it the wisest way, by protracting of time, to wearie him out of the Country. For *Pyrrhus* ouertooke him in a streight passage, and charged him in the reare; wherein were the Gaules, and the Elphants, which were thought the best of his strength: a manifest proofe that he was in retrait. The Gaules very brauely sustained *Pyrrhus* his impression; yet were broken at length (when most of them were slaine) after a sharpe fight: wherein it seems that *Antigonus* keeping his Macedonian Phalanx within the streight, and not aduancing to their succour, tooke away their courage by deceiuing their expectation. The Captaines of the Elephants were taken soone after; who finding themselues exposed to the same violence that had consumed so many of the Gaules, yeelded themselues and the beasts. All this was done in full view of *Antigonus*, and his Macedonians, to their great discomfort, which emboldened *Pyrrhus*, to charge them where they lay in their strength. Where the Phalanx could be charged onely in a front, it was a matter of extreame difficultie (if not impossible) to force it. But the Macedonians had seene so much, that they had no desire to fight against *Pyrrhus*; who discouered so well their affections, that hee aduentured

aduentured to draw neere in person, and exhort them to yeelde. Neither the common Souldier, nor any Leader, refused to become his follower. All forsoothe *Antigonus*, a few horse-men excepted, that fled along with him to Thessalonica; where he had some small forces left, and money enough to entertaine a greater power, had he known where to leuie it. But whilest he was thinking how to allure a sufficient number of the Gaules into his seruice; whereby he might repaire his losse: *Ptolomie*, the sonne of *Pyrrhus*, came vpon him, and easily defeating his weake forces, draue him to flye from the parts about Macedon, to those Townes a farre off in Peloponnesus, in which hee had formerly lurked, before such time as he looked abroad into the world, and made himselfe a King.

This good successe reuiued the spirits of the Epirot, and caused him to forget all sorrow of his late mis-fortunes in the Roman warre: so that he sent for his sonne *Helenus* (whom he had left with a Garrison, in the Castle of Tarentum) willing him to come ouer into Greece, where was more matter of conquest, and let the Italians shift for themselues.

§. V.

How Pyrrhus *assailed Sparta without successe. His enterprise vpon Argos, and his death.*

PYrrhus had now conceiued a great hope, that nothing should be able to withstand him; seeing, that in open fight, he had vanquished the Gaules, beaten *Antigonus*, and wonne the Kingdome of Macedon; There was not in all Greece, nor, indeede, in all the Lands that *Alexander* had wonne, any Leader of such name and worth, as deserued to bee set vp against him: which filled him with the opinion that he might doe what hee pleased. He raised therefore an Armie, consisting of fiue and twenty thousand foot, two thousand horse, and foure and twentie Elephants; pretending warre against *Antigonus*, and the giuing libertie to those Townes in Peloponnesus, which the same *Antigonus* held in subiection; though it was easily discouered, that such great preparations were made, for accomplishment of some designe more important, than warre against a Prince already vanquished, and almost vtterly deiected. Especially the Lacedæmonians feared this expedition, as made against their State. For *Cleonymus*, one of their Kings, being expelled out of his Countrie, had betaken himselfe to *Pyrrhus*: who readily entertained him, and promised to restore him to his kingdome. This promise was made in secret; neither would *Pyrrhus* make shew of any displeasure that hee bare vnto Sparta; but contrariwise professed, that it was his intent, to haue two of his owne yonger sonnes trained vp in that Citie, as in a place of noble discipline. With such colours he deluded men, euen till he entred vpon Laconia; where presently he demeaned himselfe as an open enemie: excusing himselfe and his former dissembling words, with a iest; *That hee followed herein the Lacedæmonian custome, of concealing what was truely purposed.* It had been, indeed, the manner of the Lacedæmonians, to deale in like sort with others, whom, in the time of their greatnesse, they sought to oppresse: but now they complained of that, as falshood, in *Pyrrhus*, which they alwaies practised in wisedome, till it made them distrusted, forsaken, and almost contemptible. Neuertheless, they were not wanting to themselues in this dangerous extremitie. For the old men and women laboured in fortifying the Towne; causing such as could beare armes, to reserue themselues fresh against the assault: which *Pyrrhus* had vnwisely deferred, vpon assurance of preuailing.

Sparta was neuer fortified, before this time, otherwise than with armed Citizens: soon after this, (it being built vpon vneuen ground, and for the most part, hard to approach) the lower & more accessible places, were fenced with wals; at the present, only trenches were cast, & barricadoes made with Carts, where the entrance seemed most easie. Three daies together it was assailed by *Pyrrhus*, exceeding fiercely; and no lesse stoutly defended. The desperate courage of the Citizens preserued the Town the first day; whereinto the violence of *Pyrrhus* had forced entrance the second day, but that his vwounded horse threw him to the ground, which made his Souldiers more mindefull of sauing the person of their King, than of breaking into the City, though already they had

torne in sunder the Barricadoes. Presently after this, one of *Antigonus* his Captaines got into Sparta with a good strength of men; and *Areus* the king returned out of Crete (where hee had beene helping his friends in warre) with two thousand men, little knowing the danger, in which his own Countrie stood, vntill hee was almost at home. These succours did not more animate the Spartans, than kindle in *Pyrrhus* a desire to preuaile against all impediments. But the third daies worke shewed, how great his error had beene, in forbearing to assault the Towne at his first comming. For he was so manfully repelled, that he saw no likelihood of getting the place, otherwise than by a long siege: in which tedious course he had no desire to spend his time.

Antigonus had now raised an Armie, though not strong enough to meete the enemie in plaine fielde, yet able to hinder all his purposes. This made *Pyrrhus* doubtfull what way to take; being diuersly affected, by the difficultie of his enterprise in hand, and the shame of taking a repulse in his first attempt. Whilest hee was thus perplexed, letters came from Argos, inuiting him thither; with promise to deliuer that City into his hands.

Ciuill dissention raging then hotly in Argos, caused the heads of seueral factions to call in *Pyrrhus* & *Antigonus*; but the comming of these two Princes, taught the Citizens wit, and made them desirous to rid their hand of such powerfull Assistants, as each of the two kings pretended himselfe to bee. *Antigonus* told the Argiues, that he came to saue them from the tyranny of *Pyrrhus*: and that hee would bee gone if they needed not his helpe. On the other side, *Pyrrhus* would needes persuade them, that hee had none other errand, than to make them safe from *Antigonus*; offering in like manner, to depart, if they so desired.

The Argiues tooke small pleasure, in hearing the Foxe and Kite at strife, which of them should keepe the Chickins from his enemie: and therefore prayed them both, to diuert their powers some other way. Hereunto *Antigonus* readily condescended, and gaue Hostages to assure his word: for hee was the weaker, and stood in neede of good will. But *Pyrrhus* thought it enough to promise: Hostages hee would giue none, to his inferiours: especially, meaning deceipt. This made them suspect his purpose to bee such, as, indeede, it was. Yet hee lesse regarded their opinions, than to hold them worthy of assurance, by giuing such a bond, as he intended to breake ere the next morning.

It was concluded, that a Gate of the Citie should bee opened by night vnto *Pyrrhus*, by his Complices within Argos: which was accordingly performed. So his Armie without any tumult, entred the Citie: till the Elephants, with Towers on their backes, cloyed the way, being too high to passe the Gate. The taking off, and setting on again, of those towers, with the trouble thereto belonging, did both giue alarme to the Citie, and some leasure to take order for defence, before so many were entred, as could fully master it. Argos was full of ditches, which greatly hindred the Gaules (that had the Vantguard) beeing ignorant of the wayes, in the darke night. The Citizens, on the other side, had much aduantage, by their knowledge of euery by-passage: and setting vpon the enemies on all sides, did put them to great losse, and more trouble.

Pyrrhus therefore, vnderstanding by the confused noyse, and vnequall shoutings of his owne men, that they were in distresse, entred the Citie in person, to take order for their reliefe, and assurance of the place. But the darknesse, the throng, and many other impediments, kept him from doing any thing of moment, vntill breake of day. Then began he to make his passage by force, and so farre preuailed, that he got into the Market place. It is said, that seeing in that place, the Image of a Wolfe and a Bull, in such positure as if they had been combattant, hee called to minde an Oracle, which threatned him with death, when he should behold a Bull fighting with a Wolfe: and that hereupon he made retrait.

Indeede, the comming of *Antigonus* to the rescue, the disorder and confusion of his owne men; with diuers ill accidents, gaue him reasonable cause to haue retired out of the City, though the Wolfe and Bull had beene away. The tumult was such, that no directions could be heard; but as some gaue backe, so did others thrust forward, and the Argiues pressing hard vpon him, forced *Pyrrhus* to make good his retrait, with his owne

sword. The tops of the houses were couered with women, that stood looking on the fight. Among these was one, that saw her owne son in dangerous case, fighting with *Pyrrhus*. Wherfore, she took a tile-stone, or slate, and threw it so violently down on the head of *Pyrrhus*, that he fell to ground astonished with the blow; and lying in that case, had his head cut off.

Thus ended the restlesse ambition of *Pyrrhus*, together with his life: and thus returned the Kingdome of Macedon to *Antigonus*; who forthwith possessed the armie, the body, and the children of his enemy. The body of *Pyrrhus* had honourable buriall, and was giuen by *Antigonus* vnto *Helenus* his son; which yong Prince he graciously sent home, into his fathers Kingdome of Epirus. From this time forwards, the race of *Antigonus* held the Kingdome of Macedon; the posterity of *Seleucus* reigned ouer Asia and Syria; and the house of *Ptolomie* had quiet possession of Egypt: vntill such time, as the Citie of Rome, swallowing all vp, digested these, among other Countries, into the body of her owne Empire.

Finis Libri quarti.

THE

THE FIRST PART OF THE HISTORIE OF THE WORLD:

INTREATING OF THE TIMES FROM the setled rule of ALEXANDERS Successers in the *East, vntill the* ROMANS, *preuailing ouer all,* made Conquest of ASIA and MACEDON.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the first Punicke Warre.

§. I.

A discussion of that probleme of Liuie; Whether the Romans could haue resisted the great Alexander. *That neither the Macedonian nor the Roman Souldier, was of equall valour to the English.*

THAT question handled by *Liuie, whether the great* Alexander *could haue preuailed against the Romans, if after his Easterne conquest, he had bent all his forces against them,* hath bin, & is, the subiect of much dispute; which (as it seemes to me) the arguments on both sides doe not so well explaine, as doth the experience that *Pyrrhus* hath giuen of the *Roman* power, in his dayes. For, if he, a Commander (in *Hannibals* iudgement) inferior to *Alexander*, though to none else, could with small strength of men, & little store of money, or of other needfull helpes in warre, vanquish them in two battailes, and endanger their Estate, when it was well setled, & held the best part of *Italie*, vnder a confirmed obedience: what would *Alexander* haue done, that was aboundantly prouided of all which is needfull to a Conquerour, wanting onely matter of employment, comming vpon them before their Dominion was halfe so well setled? It is easie to say, that *Alexander* had no more, than thirty thousand foot, & foure thousand horse (as indeede, at his first passage into *Asia*, he carried ouer, not many more,) and that the rest of his followers were no better than base effeminate *Asiatiques*. But he that considers the Armies of *Perdiccas, Antipater, Craterus, Eumenes Ptolomie, Antigonus*, and *Lysimachus*, with the actions by them performed, euery one of which (to omit others) commanded onely some fragment of this dead Emperours power, shall easily finde, that such a reckoning is farre short of the truth.

It were needelesse to speake of Treasure, Horses, Elephants, Engines of batterie, and the

the like: of all which, the *Macedonian* had aboundance; the *Roman* hauing nought, saue men and armes. As for Sea-forces; he that shall consider after what sort the *Romans*, in their first *Punick* warre, were trained, in the rudiments of Nauigation; sitting vpon the shoare, and beating the sand with poles, to practise the stroke of the Oare, as not daring to lanch their ill-built vessels into the Sea; wil easily conceiue, how farre too weake they would haue proued in such seruices.

Now for helpers in warre; I doe not see, why all *Greece* and *Macedon*, being absolutely commanded by *Alexander*, might not wel deserue to be layd in ballance, against those parts of *Italy*, which the *Romans* held in ill-assured subiection. To omit therefore all benefit, that the Easterne world, more wealthy, indeede, than valiant, could haue affoorded vnto the *Macedonian*: let vs onely coniecture, how the States of *Sicill* and *Carthage*, neerest neighbours to such a quarrell (had it happened) would haue stood affected. The *Sicilians* were, for the most part, *Grecians*, neither is it to be doubted, that they would readily haue submitted themselues vnto him, that ruled all *Greece* besides them. In what termes they commonly stood, and how ill they were able to defend themselues, it shall appeare anon. Sure it is that *Alexanders* comming into those parts, would haue brought excessiue ioy, to them that were faine to get the helpe of *Pyrrhus*, by offering to become his subiects. As for the *Carthaginians*; if *Agathocles*, the Tyrant of *Syracuse*, hated of his people, and ill able to defend his owne besieged Citie, could, by aduenturing to saile into *Africke*, put their Dominion, yea and *Carthage* it selfe, in extreme hazard; shall we thinke that they would haue beene able to withstand *Alexander*? But, why doe I question their abilitie, seeing that they sent Embassadours, with their submission, as farre as *Babylon*, ere the warre drew neere them? Wherefore it is manifest, that the *Romans* must, without other succour, than perhaps of some other few *Italian* friends (of which yet there were none, that forsooke them not, at some time, both before and after this) haue opposed their valour, and good militarie discipline, against the power of all Countries, to them knowne, if they would haue made resistance. How they could haue sped well, in vndertaking such a match; it is vneasie to finde in discourse of humane reason. It is true; that vertue and fortune worke wonders: but it is against cowardly fooles, and the vnfortunate: for whosoeuer contends with one too mightie for him; either must excell in these, as much as his enemy goes beyond him in power; or else must looke, both to be ouer-come, and to be cast downe so much the lower, by how much the opinion of his fortune and vertue renders him suspected, as likely to make head another time against the vanquisher. Whether the *Roman*, or the *Macedonian*, were in those dayes the better Souldier, I will not take vpon me to determine: though I might, without partialitie, deliuer mine owne opinion, and preferre that Armie, which followed not onely *Philip* and *Alexander*, but also *Alexanders* Princes after him, in the greatest dangers of all sorts of warre; before any, that *Rome* either had, or in long time after did send forth. Concerning fortune; who can giue a rule that shall alwayes hold? *Alexander* was victorious in euery battaile that he fought: and the *Romans* in the issue of euery warre. But forasmuch as *Liuie* hath iudged this a matter worthy of consideration; I thinke it a great part of *Romes* good fortune, that *Alexander* came not into *Italie*: where in three yeares after his death, the two *Roman* Consuls, together with all the power of that State, were surprized by the *Samnites*, and enforced to yeeld vp their armes. We may therefore permit *Liuie* to admire his own *Romans*, and to compare with *Alexander* those Captaines of theirs, which were honoured sufficiently, in being thought equall to his followers: that the same conceit should blind our iudgement, we cannot permit without much vanitie.

Now in deciding such a controuersie, me thinkes it were not amisse, for an *Englishman*, to giue such a sentence between the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, as the *Romans* once did (being chosen Arbitrators) betweene the *Ardeates* and *Aricini*, that stroue about a piece of land; saying, That it belonged vnto neither of them, but vnto the *Romans* themselues.

If therefore it be demanded, whether the *Macedonian*, or the *Roman*, were the best Warriour? I will answer: The *Englishmen*. For it will soone appeare, to any that shall examine the noble acts of our Nation in warre, that they were performed by no aduantage of weapon; against no sauage or vnmanly people; the enemy being farre superiour vnto vs in number, and all needefull prouisions, yea as well trained as we, or commonly better, in the exercise of warre.

In

In what sort *Philip* wan his Dominion in *Greece*; what manner of men the *Persians* and *Indians* were, whom *Alexander* vanquished; as likewise of what force the *Macedonian Phalanx* was, and how well appointed, against such armes as it commonly encountred: any man, that hath taken paines to reade the foregoing storie of them, doth sufficiently vnderstand. Yet was this *Phalanx* neuer, or very seldome, able to stand, against the *Roman* Armies: which were embattailed in so excellent a forme, as I know not, whether any Nation besides them haue vsed, either before or since. The *Roman* weapons likewise, both offensiue and defensiue, were of greater vse, than those with which any other Nation hath serued, before the fiery instruments of Gun-powder were knowne. As for the enemies, with which *Rome* had to doe: we finde, that they, which did ouer-match her in numbers, were as farre ouer-matched by her, in weapons; and that they, of whom she had little aduantage in armes, had as little aduantage of her in multitude. This also (as *Plutarch* well obserueth) was a part of her happinesse; that she was neuer ouer-laied with too great warres at once.

Hereby it came to passe, that hauing at first increased her strength, by accession of the *Sabines*; hauing won the State of *Alba*, against which she aduentured her owne selfe, as it were in wager, vpon the heads of three Champions: and hauing thereby made her selfe Princesse of *Latium*: she did afterwards, by long warre, in many ages, extend her Dominion ouer all *Italie*. The *Carthaginians* had well-neare oppressed her: but her Souldiers were Mercenarie; so that for want of proper strength, they were easily beaten at their own doores. The *Ætolians*, and with them all, or the most of *Greece*, assisted her against *Philip* the *Macedonian*: he being beaten, did lend her his helpe, to beat the same *Ætolians*. The warres against *Antiochus*, and other *Asiatiques*, were such as gaue to *Rome* small cause of boast, though much of ioy: for those opposites were as base of courage, as the lands which they held were aboundant of riches. *Sicil*, *Spaine*, and all *Greece*, fell into her hands, by vsing her aide, to protect them against the *Carthaginians* and *Macedonians*.

I shall not neede to speake of her other conquests: it was easie to get more when she had gotten all this. It is not my purpose to disgrace the *Roman* valour (which was very noble) or to blemish the reputation of so many famous victories: I am not so idle. This I say; That among all their wars, I finde not any, wherein their valour hath appeared, comparable to the *English*. If my iudgement seeme ouer-partiall; our warres in *France* may helpe to make it good.

First, therefore it is well knowne; that *Rome* (or perhaps all the world besides) had neuer any so braue a Commander in warre, as *Iulius Cæsar*: and that no *Roman* armie was comparable vnto that, which serued vnder the same *Cæsar*. Likewise, it is apparant, that this gallant Armie, which had giuen faire proofe of the *Roman* courage, in good performance of the *Heluetian* warre, when it first entred into *Gaule*; was neuertheless vtterly disheartned, when *Cæsar* led it against the *Germans*. So that we may iustly impute, all that was extraordinary in the valour of *Cæsars* men, to their long exercise, vnder so good a Leader, in so great a war. Now let vs in generall, compare with the deedes done by these best of *Roman* Souldiers, in their principall seruice; the things performed in the same Countrie, by our common *English* Souldiers, leuied in haste, from following the Cart, or sitting on the shop-stall: so shall we see the difference. Herein will we deale fairely, and beleeue *Cæsar*, in relating the acts of the *Romans*: but will call the *French* Historians to witnesse, what actions were performed by the *English*. In *Cæsars* time, *France* was inhabited by the *Gaules*, a stout people, but inferiour to the *French*, by whom they were subdued; euen when the *Romans* gaue them assistance. The Countrie of *Gaule* was rent in sunder (as *Cæsar* witnesseth) into many Lordships: some of which were gouerned by petty Kings, others by the multitude, none ordered in such sort as might make it applicable to the nearest Neighbour. The factions were many, and violent: not onely in generall through the whole Countrie, but betweene the petie States, yea in euery City, and almost in euery house. What greater aduantage could a Conquerour desire? yet there was a greater. *Arioustus*, with his *Germans*, had ouer-run the Countrie, and held much part of it in subiection, little different from meere slauery: yea, so often had the *Germans* preuailed in warre vpon the *Gaules*, that the *Gaules* (who had sometimes beene the better Souldiers) did hold themselues no way equall to those daily Inuaders. Had *France* beene so prepared vnto our *English* Kings, *Rome* it selfe, by this time, and long ere-

this

this time, would haue bin ours. But when King *Edward* the third beganne his warre vpon *France*, he found the whole Country setled in obedince to one mightie King; a King whose reputation abroad, was no lesse than his puissance at home; vnder whose Ensigne, the King of *Bohemia* did serue in person; at whose call, the *Genewayes*, and other Neighbour States, were ready to take armes: finally, a King, vnto whom one [a] Prince gaue away his Dominion, for loue; [b] another sold away a goodly Citie and Territorie for mony. The Country lying so open to the *Roman*, and being so well fenced against the *English*; it is note-worthy, not who preuailed most therein (for it were meere vanitie, to match the *English* purchases, with the *Roman* conquest) but whether of the two gaue the greater proofe of militarie vertue. *Cæsar* himselfe doth witnesse, that the *Gaules* complained of their owne ignorance in the Art of warre, and that their own hardinesse was ouer-maistered, by the skill of their enemies. Poore men, they admired the *Roman* Towers, and Engines of batterie, raised and planted against their wals, as more than humane vworkes. What greater wonder is it, that such a people was beaten by the *Roman*; than that the *Caribes*, a naked people, but valiant, as any vnder the skie, are commonly put to the worse, by small numbers of *Spaniards*? Besides all this, we are to haue regard, of the great difficultie that vvas found, in drawing all the *Gaules*, or any great part of them, to one head, that with ioynt forces they might oppose their assailants: as also the much more difficultie, of holding them long together. For hereby it came to passe, that they were neuer able to make vse of opportunitie: but sometimes compelled to stay for their fellowes; and sometimes driuen, to giue or take battaile, vpon extreame disaduantages, for feare, lest their Companies should fall asunder: as indeede, vpon any little disaster, they vvere ready to breake, and returne euery one to the defence of his owne. All this, and (vvhich vvas little lesse than all this) great oddes in vveapon, gaue to the *Romans*, the honour of many gallant victories. What such helpe? or vvhat other vworldly helpe, than the golden mettall of their Souldiers, had our *English* Kings against the *French*? Were not the *French* as well experienced in feats of Warre? Yea, did they not thinke themselues therein our superiours? Were they not in armes, in horse, and in all prouision, exceedingly beyond vs? Let vs heare, what a *French* writer saith, of the inequalitie that vvas betweene the *French* and *English*, when their King *Iohn* was ready to giue the on-set, vpon the *Blacke Prince*, at the battaile of *Poitiers*. Iohn *had all aduantages ouer* Edward, *both of number, force, shew, Countrie, and conceit, (the which is commonly a consideration of no small importance in worldly affaires) and withall, the choise of all his horse-men (esteemed then the best in Europe) with the greatest and wisest Captaines of his whole Realme.* And what could he more?

a The Dolphin of Vienois.
b The King of Maiorca.

Iohn de Serres.

IEAN auoit tout l'auantage par dessus EDOVARD, le nombre, la force, le lustre, le pay, le preiuge (qui n'est pas communement vne consideration de peu d'importance aux affaires du monde) et auec son Pelite de sa caualerie, lors estimee la meilleure de tout son Royaume.

I thinke, it would trouble a *Roman* antiquarie, to finde the like example in their Histories; the example, I say, of a King, brought prisoner to *Rome*, by an Armie of eight thousand, which he had surrounded with fortie thousand, better appointed, and no lesse expert warriours. This I am sure of; that neither *Syphax* the *Numidian*, followed by a rabble of halfe Scullions, as *Liuie* rightly tearmes them, nor those cowardly Kings *Perseus* and *Gentius*, are worthy patternes. All that haue read of *Cressie* and *Agincourt*, will beare me witnesse, that I doe not alleadge the battaile of *Poitiers*, for lacke of other, as good examples of the *English* vertue: the proofe whereof hath left many a hundred better markes, in all quarters of *France*, than euer did the valour of the *Romans*. If any man impute these victories of ours to the long Bow, as carrying farther, piercing more strongly, and quicker of discharge than the *French* Crosse-bow: my answer is ready; That in all these respects, it is also (being drawne with a strong arme) superiour to the Musket; yet is the Musket a weapon of more vse. The Gunne, and the Crosse-bow, are of like force, when discharged by a Boy or Woman, as when by a strong Man: weakenesse or sickenesse, or a sore finger, makes the Long-Bow vnseruiceable. More particularly, I say, that it vvas the custome of our Ancestors, to shoot, for the most part, *point blanke*: and so shall he perceiue, that will note the circumstances of almost any one battaile. This takes away all obiection: for vvhen two Armies are vvithin the distance of a Butts length, one flight of arrowes, or two at the most can be deliuered before they close. Neither is it in generall true, that the long Bow reacheth farther, or that it pierceth more strongly than the Crosse-bow: But this is the rare effect of an extraordinarie arme; whereupon can be grounded no common rule. If any man shall aske, How then

then came it to passe, that the *English* wan so many great battailes, hauing no aduantage to helpe him? I may, with best commendation of modestie, referre him to the *French* Historian: who relating the victory of our men at *Creuant*, where they passed a bridge, in face of the enemy, vseth these words: *The English comes with a conquering brauery, as he, that was accustomed to gaine euery where, without any stay: he forceth our garde, placed vpon the bridge, to keepe the passage.* Or I may cite another place of the same Authour, where he tels, how the *Britons*, being inuaded by *Charles* the eighth, King of *France*, thought it good policie, to apparell a thousand and fiue hundred of their owne men in *English* Cassocks; hoping that the very sight of the *English* red Crosse, would be enough to terrifie the *French*. But I will not stand to borrow of the *French* Historians (all which, excepting *De Serres*, and *Paulus Æmylius*, report wonders of out Nation:) the propositi-on which first I vndertooke to maintaine; *That the militarie vertue of the English, preuailing against all manner of difficulties, ought to be preferred before that of the Romans; which was assisted with all aduantages that could be desired.* If it be demanded; why then did not our Kings finish the conquest, as *Cæsar* had done? my answer may be (I hope without offence) that our Kings were like to the race of the *Æacidæ*, of whom the old Poet *Ennius* gaue this note; *Bellipotentes sunt magè quàm sapienti potentes; They were more warlike than politique.* Who so notes their proceedings, may finde that none of them went to worke like a Conquerour: saue onely King *Henrie* the fift, the course of whose victories it pleased God to interrupt by his death. But this question is the more easily answered, if another be first made. Why did not the *Romans* attempt the conquest of *Gaule*, before the time of *Cæsar*? why not after the *Macedonian* war? why not after the third *Punick*, or after the *Numantian*? At all these times they had good leisure: and then especially had they both leisure, and fit opportunitie, when vnder the conduct of *Marius*, they had newly vanquished the *Cimbri*, and *Teutones*, by whom the Country of *Gaule* had bin pitiously wasted. Surely the words of *Tullie* were true; that with other Nations, the *Romans* fought for Dominion, with the *Gaules*, for preseruation of their owne safetie.

Iohn de Serres.

Therefore they attempted not the conquest of *Gaule*, vntill they were Lords of all other Countries, to them knowne. We on the other side, held onely the one halfe of our owne Iland; the other halfe being inhabited by a Nation (vnlesse perhaps in wealth and numbers of men somewhat inferiour) euery way equall to our selues; a Nation anciently and strongly allied to our enemies the *French*, and in that regard, enemy to vs. So that our danger lay both before and behinde vs: and the greater danger at our backes; where commonly we felt, alwayes we feared, a stronger inuasion by land, than we could make vpon *France*, transporting our forces ouer Sea.

It is vsuall, with men, that haue pleased themselues, in admiring the matters which they finde in ancient Histories; to hold it a great iniurie done to their iudgement, if any take vpon him, by way of comparison, to extoll the things of later ages. But I am well perswaded, that as the diuided vertue of this our Iland, hath giuen more noble proofe of it selfe; than vnder so worthy a Leader, that *Roman* Armie could do, which afterwards could win *Rome*, and all her Empire, making *Cæsar* a *Monarch*; so hereafter, by Gods blessing, who hath conuerted our greatest hindrance, into our greatest helpe, the enemy that shall dare to trie our forces, will finde cause to wish, that auoiding vs, he had rather encountred as great a puissance, as was that of the *Roman* Empire. But it is now high time, that laying a-side comparisons, we returne to the rehearsall of deeds done: wherein we shall finde, how *Rome* began, after *Pyrrhus* had left *Italie*, to striue with *Carthage* for Dominion, in the first *Punicke* warre.

§. II.

The estate of Carthage, before it entred into warre with Rome.

THE Citie of *Carthage* had stood aboue fixe hundred yeares, vvhen first it began to contend with *Rome*, for the mastrie of *Sicil*. It forewent *Rome* one hundred and fiftie yeares in antiquity of foundation: but in the honour of great atchieuements, it excelled farre beyond this aduantage of time. For *Carthage* had extended her Dominion *Africa* it selfe, from the west part of *Cyrene*, to the streights of *Hercules*, about one thousand and fiue hundred miles in length, wherein stood three hundred Cities. It had subiected all *Spaine*, euen to the *Pyrenæan* Mountaines, together with all the

the *Ilands* in the *Mediterranean Sea*, to the west of *Sicill*; and of *Sicill*, the better part. It flourished about seuen hundred and thirty yeares, before the destruction thereof by *Scipio*: who besides other spoyles, and all that the Souldiers reserued, carried thence foure hundred and seuenty thousand weight of siluer, which make of our mony (if our pounds differ not) fourteen hundred and ten thousand pound sterling. So as this glorious Citie ran the same fortune, vvhich many other great ones haue done, both before and since. The ruine of the goodliest pieces of the world, fore-shewes the dissolution of the vvhole.

a *In Pol. Arist. l.2.c.9.*

b The *Turkes*, at this day, doe also take the one halfe of the poore mans corne, that labors the earth: yea, they take tribute both of the bodies, and of the soules of the *Christians* their Vassals, by bereauing them of their ablest children, and bringing them vp in the *Mahometan* Religion. The *Irish* take the fourth sheafe: and were woat to eate vp with their horsmen, footmen, and dogges, what they pleased, of the other three parts remaining. The husbandman and the yeoman of *England*, are the freest of all the World: And reason good: for of them haue the bodies of our victoriousarmies bin compounded. And it is the freeman, and not the slaue, that hath courage and the sense of shame deserued by cowardise. How free the *English*yeomen haue beene, in times, not long since past, *Fortescue* hath shewed in his praise of our Coũtries laws. But I may say, that they are more free now than euer: and our Nobilitie and Gentrie more seruile. For, since the excessiue bravery, and vaine expence of our *Grandes*, hath taught them to raise their Rents, since by Inclosures, and dismembring of Mannours, the Court Baron, and the Court Leet, the Principalities of the Gentrie of *England*, haue beene dissolued, the Tenants, hauing payed vnto their Lords their racke Rent, owe them now no seruice at all, and (perchance) a little loue.

About one hundred yeares after such time as it was cast downe, the Senate of *Rome* caused it to be rebuilt: and by *Gracchus* it was called *Iunonia*: it was againe and againe abandoned and repeopled, taken and retaken; by *Genserico* the *Vandal*, by *Bellisarius* vnder *Justinian*, by the *Persians*, by the *Egyptians*, and by the *Mahometans*. It is now nothing. The seat thereof was exceeding strong: and while the *Carthaginians* commanded the Sea, inuincible. For the Sea compassed it about, sauing that it was tied to the maine by a necke of land; which passage had two mile and more of breadth (*Appian* saith, three mile, and one furlong) by which we may be induced, to beleeue the common report, that the Citie it selfe was aboue twenty miles in compasse; if not that of *Strabo*, affirming the circuit to haue been twice as great.

It had three wals, without the wall of the Citie; and betweene each of those, three or foure streets, with vaults vnder ground, of thirty foot deepe, in which they had place for three hundred Elephants, and all their food: ouer these they had stables for foure thousand horse, & Granaries for their prouender. They had also lodgings in these streets, betweene these out-walles for foure thousand horse-men, and twentie thousand foot-men, which (according to the discipline vsed now by those of *China*) neuer pestered the Citie. It had towards the South part, the Castle of *Byrsa*; to which *Seruius* giues two and twentie furlongs in compasse, that make two mile and a halfe. This was the same piece of ground, which *Dido* obtained of the *Libyans*, when she got leaue to buy only so much Land of them, as she could compasse with an Oxe hide. On the vvest side it had also the salt Sea, but in the nature of a standing poole; for a certaine arme of Land, fastned to the ground, on which the Citie stood, stretched it selfe towards the west continent, and left but seuenty foot open for the Sea to enter. Ouer this standing Sea vvas built a most sumptuous *Arsenall*, hauing their ships and gallies riding vnder it.

The forme of their Common-weale resembled that of *Sparta*; for they had titularie Kings, and the *Aristocraticall* power of Senators. But (as *Regius* well obserueth) the people in later times vsurped too great authoritie in their Councels. This confusion in gouernement, together with the trust that they reposed in hired Souldiers, were helping causes of their destruction in the end. Two other more forcible causes of their ruin, were their auarice and their cruelty. [a] Their auarice was shewed both in exacting from their Vassals (besides ordinary tributes) the one [b] halfe of the fruits of the earth; and in conferring of great Offices, not vpon gentle & mercifull persons, but vpon those who could best tyrannize ouer the people, to augment their treasures. Their cruelty appeared, in putting them to death without mercy, that had offended through ignorance: the one of these rendred them odious to their vassals, whom it made ready, vpon all occasions to reuolt from them: the other did breake the spirits of their Generals, by presenting in the heat of their actions abroad, the feare of a cruell death at home. Hereby it came to passe, that many good Commanders of the *Carthaginian* forces, after some great losse receiued, haue desperately cast thẽselues with all that remained vnder their charge, into the throat of destruction; holding it necessary, either to repaire their losses quickly, or to ruine all together: and few of them haue dared to manage their owne best proiects, after that good forme, wherein they first conceiued them, for feare lest the manner of their proceeding should be misinterpreted: It being the *Carthaginian* rule, to crucifie, not onely the vnhappy Captaine, but euen him, whose bad counsaile had prosperous euent. The faults, wherewith, in generall, they of *Carthage* are taxed, by *Roman* Historians, I finde to be these; lust, cruelty, auarice, craft, vnfaithfulnesse, and periurie. Whether the *Romans*

themselues

themselues were free from the same crimes, let the triall be referred vnto their actions. The first league between *Carthage* and *Rome*, was very ancient: hauing bin made, the yeare following the expulsion of *Tarquine*. In that league, the *Carthaginians* had the superiority, as imposing vpon the *Romans*, the more strict conditions. For it was agreed, that the *Romans* should not so much as haue trade, in some part of *Africk*, nor suffer any ship of theirs to passe beyond the headland, or cape, then called the *faire Promontorie*, vnlesse it were by force of tempest: whereas on the other side, no Hauen in *Italie* was forbidden to the *Carthaginians*. A second league was made long after, which (howsoeuer it hath pleased *Liuie* to say, that the *Romans* granted it, at the *Carthaginians* intreatie) vvas more strict than the former: prohibiting the *Romanes* to haue trade in any part of *Africa*, or in the Iland of *Sardinia*. *Liu.Dec.1.l.7.*

By these two treaties, it may appeare that the *Carthaginians* had an intent not only to keepe the *Romans* (as perhaps they did other people) from getting any knowledge of the state of *Africk*; but to countenance & vphold them, in their troubling all *Italy*, whereby they themselues might haue the better meanes to occupie all *Sicill*, vvhilest that Iland should be destitute of *Italian* succours. Hereupon vve find good cause, of the ioy that was in *Carthage*, and of the Crowne of gold, weighing twenty and fiue pound, sent from thence to *Rome*, vvhen the *Samnites* were ouerthrowne. But the little state of *Rome* preuailed faster in *Italie*, than the great power of *Carthage* did in *Sicill*. For that mighty Armie of three hundred thousand men, which *Hannibal* conducted out of *Africk* into *Sicil*, wan only two Cities therein: many great fleets were deuoured by tempests; and howsoeuer the *Carthaginians* preuailed at one time, the *Sicilians*, either by their owne valour, or by the assistance of their good friends out of *Greece*, did at some other time repaire their owne losses, & take reuenge vpon those Inuaders. But neuer were the people of *Carthage* in better hope of getting all *Sicill*, than when the death of *Agathocles* the Tyrant, had left the whole Iland in combustion; the estate of *Greece* being such, at the same time, that it seemed impossible, for any succour to be sent from thence. But whilest the *Carthaginians* were busie, in making their aduantage, of this good opportunity; *Pyrrhus*, inuited by the *Tarentines*, and their fellowes, came into *Italie*, where he made sharp warre vpon the *Romans*. These newes were vnpleasing to the *Carthaginians*, who, being a subtile Nation, easily foresaw, that the same busie disposition, vvhich had brought this Prince out of *Greece* into *Italie*, would as easily transport him ouer into *Sicill*, as soone as he could finish his *Roman* vvarre. To preuent this danger, they sent *Mago* Embassador to *Rome*; vvho declared in their name, that they were sorry to heare, vvhat misaduenture had befallen the *Romans*, their good freinds, in this vvar with *Pyrrhus*; and that the people of *Carthage* were very willing to assist the state of *Rome*, by sending an Army into *Italie*, if their helpe were thought needfull, against the *Epirots*. *Xenoph.Graec. hist.l.1.*

It was indeed, the maine desire of the *Carthaginians*, to hold *Pyrrhus* so hardly to his worke in *Italie*, that they might at good leisure, pursue their businesse in *Sicill*: vvhich caused them to make such a goodly offer. But the *Romans* vvere too high-minded: and refused to accept any such aide of their friends, lest it should blemish their reputation, and make them seeme vnable to stand by their owne strength. Yet the message was taken louingly, as it ought; and the former league betweene *Rome* and *Carthage* renued, with couenants added, concerning the present businesse; That if either of the two Cities made peace with *Pyrrhus*, it should be with reseruation of liberty, to assist the other, in case that *Pyrrhus* should inuade either of their Dominions. All this notwithstanding, and notwithstanding that the same *Mago* went and treated with *Pyrrhus*, vsing all means to sound his intentions (a matter very difficult, where one vpon euery new occasion changeth his owne purposes) yet *Pyrrhus* found leisure to make a steppe into *Sicill*: where, though in fine he was neither getter nor sauer, yet he cleane defeated the purposes of *Carthage*, leauing them at his departure from thence, as farre from any end, as when they first began.

So many disasters, in an enterprise, that from the first vndertaking had bin so strongly pursued, through the length of many generations, might well haue induced the *Carthaginians* to beleeue, that an higher prouidence resisted their intendment. But their desire, of winning that fruitfull Iland, was so inueterate; that with vnwearied patience, they still continued in hope, of so much the greater an harueſt, by how much their cost and paines therein buried had bin the more. Wherfore they re-continued their former courses;

and

and by force or practice, recouered in few yeares, all their old possessions: making peace with *Syracuse*, the chiefe Citie of the Iland, that so they might the better enable themselues to deale with the rest.

Somewhat before this time, a troupe of *Campanian* Souldiers, that had serued vnder *Agathocles*, being entertained within *Messana* as friends, & finding themselues too strong for the Citizens, tooke aduantage of the power that they had to doe wrong; and with perfidious crueltie, slew those that had trusted them; which done, they occupied the Citie, Lands, Goods, and Wiues, of those, whom they had murdered. These Mercenaries called themselues *Mamertines*. Good Souldiers they were: and like enough it is, that meere desperation, of finding any that would approoue their barbarous treachery, added rage vnto their stoutnesse. Hauing therefore not any other colour of their proceedings, than *the law of the stronger*, they ouer-ranne all the Countrie round about them.

In this course, at first, they sped so well, that they did not only defend *Messana* against the Cities of *Sicil* Confederate; to wit, against the *Syracusians*, and others, but they rather wan vpon them, yea, and vpon the *Carthaginians*, exacting tribute from many Neighbor places. But it was not long, ere fortune turning her backe to these *Mamertines*, the *Syracusians* wan fast vpon them, & finally, confining them within the walls of *Messana*, they also with a powerfull Armie besieged the Citie. It hapned ill, that about the same time, a contention began, betweene the *Syracusian* Souldiers, then lying at *Megara*, and the Citizens of *Syracuse*, and Gouernors of the Common-wealth; which proceeded so far, that the Armie elected two Gouernours among themselues, to wit, *Artemidorus* and *Hieron*, that was afterward King. *Hieron*, being for his yeares excellently adorned with many vertues, although it was contrary to the policie of that State, to approue any election made by the Souldiers, yet for the great clemencie he vsed at his first entrance, was by generall consent established and made Gouernour. This Office, he rather vsed as a Scale, thereby to clime to some higher degree, than rested content with his present preferment.

In briefe, there was somewhat wanting, whereby to strengthen himselfe within the Citie; and somewhat without it, that gaue impediment, to his obtaining, and safe keeping, of the place he sought; to wit, a powerfull partie within the Towne, and certaine mutinous troups of Souldiers without, often and easily mooued to sedition & tumult. For the first, whereby to strengthen himselfe, he tooke to wife the daughter of *Leptines*, a man of the greatest estimation and authoritie among the *Syracusians*. For the second, leading out the Armie to besiege *Messana*, he quartered all those Companies, which he held suspected, on the one side of the Citie, and leading the rest of his horse and foot vnto the other side, as if he would haue assaulted it in two seuerall parts, he marched away vnder the couert of the Towne walls, and left the Mutiners to be cut in pieces by the assieged: So returning home, and leuying an Armie of his owne Citizens, well trayned and obedient, he hasted againe towards *Messana*, & was by the *Mamertines* (grown proud by their former victorie ouer the Mutiners) incountred in the plaines of *Mylaum*, where he obtained a most signall victorie, and leading with him their Commander Captiue into *Syracuse*, himselfe by common consent was elected and saluted King. Hereupon the *Mamertines*, finding themselues vtterly infeebled, some of them resolued to giue themselues to the *Carthaginians*, others to craue assistance of the *Romans*: to each of vvhom, the seuerall factions dispatched Embassadours for the very same purpose.

The *Carthaginians* were soone ready to lay hold vpon the good offer: so that a Captaine of theirs got into the Castle of *Messana*, whereof they that had sent for him gaue him possession. But within a little while, they that were more inclinable to the *Romans*, had brought their Companions to so good agreement, that this Captaine, either by force, or by cunning, was turned out of doores, and the Towne reserued for other Masters.

These moues did much offend the people of *Carthage*; who crucified their Captaine, as both a Traitour and Coward; and sent a Fleet and Armie to besiege *Messana*, as a Towne that rebelled, having once bin theirs. *Hieron*, the new-made King of *Syracuse* (to gratifie his people, incensed with the smart of iniuries lately receiued) added his forces to the *Carthaginians*, with whom he entred in to a league, for exterminating the *Mamertines*

Mamertines out of *Sicil*. So the *Mamertines* on all sides were closed vp within *Messana*: the *Carthaginians* lying with a Nauie at Sea, and with an Armie on the one side of the Towne, whilest *Hieron* with his *Syracusians*, lay before it on the other side.

In this their great danger, came *Appius Claudius* the *Roman* Consull, with an Armie to the streights of *Sicil*: which passing by night with notable audacitie; he put himselfe into the Towne, and sending Messengers to the *Carthaginians*, and to *Hieron*, required them to depart; signifying vnto them, that the *Mamertines* were now become confederate with the people of *Rome*, and that therefore he was come to giue them protection, euen by force of warre, if reason would not preuaile.

This message was vtterly neglected; And so beganne the vvarre betweene *Rome* and *Carthage*; wherein, it will then be time to shew, on which part was the iustice of the quarrell, when some actions of the *Romanes* lately foregoing this, haue beene first considered.

§. III.

The beginning of the first Punick Warre. That it was vniustly vndertaken by the Romanes.

WHen *Pyrrhus* began his wars in *Italie*, the Citie of *Rhegium*, being well affected to *Rome*, and not only fearing to be taken by the *Epirot*, but much more distrusting the *Carthaginians*, as likely to seize vpon it in that busie time, sought aide from the *Romans*, & obtained from them a Legion, consisting of 4. thousand Souldiers, vnder the conduct of *Decius Campanus*, a *Roman* Prefect; by whom they were defended & assured for the present. But after a while, this *Roman* Garrison, considering at good leisure, the fact of the *Mamertines*, committed in *Messana*, (a Citie in *Sicil*, situate almost opposite to *Rhegium*, and no otherwise diuided than by a narrow Sea, which seuereth it from *Italie*) and rather weighing the greatnesse of the bootie, than the odiousnesse of the villanie, by which it was gotten; resolued finally, to make the like purchase, by taking the like wicked course. Confederating therefore themselues with the *Mamertines*, they entertained their Hosts of *Rhegium*, after the same manner; diuiding the spoile, and all which that State had, among themselues.

When complaint was made to the Senate and people of *Rome*, of this outrage; they finding their honour thereby greatly stained (for no Nation in the world made a more seuere profession of iustice, than they did, during all the time of their growing greatness) resolued, after a while, to take reuenge vpon the offenders. And this they performed shortly after, when they had quenched the fires, kindled in *Italie* by *Pyrrhus*. For, notwithstanding that those *Romans* in *Rhegium* (as men for the foulenesse of their fact, hopelesse of pardon) defended themselues with an obstinate resolution: yet in the end, the assailants forced them; and those which escaped the present furie, were brought bound to *Rome*, where, after the vsuall torments by whipping inflicted, according to the custome of the Countrie, they had their heads stricken from their shoulders; and the people of *Rhegium* were againe restored to their former libertie and estates.

This execution of Iustice being newly performed, and the fame thereof sounding honourably through all quarters of *Italie*: messengers came to *Rome*, from *Messana*, desiring helpe against the *Carthaginians*, and *Syracusians*, that were in a readinesse to inflict the like punishment vpon the *Mamertines*, for the like offence. A very impudent request it was, vvhich they made: who hauing both giuen example of that villanie to the *Roman* Souldiers, and holpen them with ioint forces to make it good, doe intreat the Iudges to giue them that assistance, which they were wont to receiue from their fellow-theeues.

The *Romans* could not suddenly resolue, whether the vway of honestie or of profit, were to be followed; they euermore pretended the one, but they many times walked in the other. They considered, how contrary the course of succouring the *Mamertines* was to their former counsells, and actions: seeing for the same offences they had lately put to torment, and to the sword, their owne Souldiers, and restored the oppressed to their libertie. Yet when they beheld the description of the *Carthaginian* Dominion, and that they were already Lords of the best part of *Africa*, of the Mediterran Ilands, of a great part of *Spaine*; and some part of *Sicill* it selfe; whilest also they feared, that *Syracuse* therein

therein seated (a Citie in beauty and riches, little, at that time, inferiour to *Carthage*, and farre superiour to *Rome* it selfe) might become theirs; the safetie of their owne estate spake for these *Mamertines*: who, if they (driuen to despaire by the *Romans*) should deliuer vp *Messana*, with those other holds that they had, into the hands of the *Carthaginians*, then would nothing stand betweene *Carthage*, and the Lordship of *Sicil*: for *Syracuse* it selfe could not, for want of succour, any long time subsist, if once the *Carthaginians*, that were Masters of the Sea, did fasten vpon that passage from the maine Land. It was further considered; that the opportunity of *Messana* was such, as would not onely debarre all succours out of the continent, from arriuall in *Sicil*; but would serue as a bridge, whereby the *Carthaginians* might haue entrance into *Italie*, at their owne pleasure.

These considerations, of profit at hand, and of preuenting dangers, that threatned from a-farre, did so preuaile, aboue all regard of honestie, that the *Mamertines* were admitted into Confederacie with the *Romans*, and *Ap. Claudius* the Consull, presently dispatcht away from *Messana*: into which he entred, and vnder-tooke the protection of it, as is shewed before. The besiegers were little troubled with his arriuall; and lesse moued, with his requiring them to desist from their attempt. For they did farre exceede him in number of men; The whole Iland was ready to relieue them in their wants; and they were strong enough at Sea, to hinder any supply from getting into the Towne. All this *Appius* himselfe well vnderstood: and against all this he thought the stiffe mettall of his *Roman* Souldier, a sufficient remedie. Therefore, he resolued to issue out into the field, and to let the enemies know, that his comming vvas to send them away from the Towne; not to be besieged by them within it.

In executing this determination, it was very beneficiall to him, that the enemie lay encamped in such sort, as one quarter was not well able to relieue another in distresse. *Hieron* was now exposed to the same danger, wherein to he had wilfully cast his owne mutinous followers, not long before: onely he was strong enough (or thought so) to make good his owne quarter, without helpe of others. Against him *Ap. Claudius* issued forth, and (not attempting, by vnexpected sallie, to surprize his trenches) arranged his men in order of battaile, wherewith he presented him. The *Syracusian* wanted not courage to fight; but surely, he wanted good aduice: else would he not haue hazarded all his power against an enemie, of whom he had made no triall; when it had beene easie, and as much as was requisite, to defend his owne Campe. It may be, that he thought to get honor, wherewith to adorn the beginning of his reigne. But he was well beaten, and driuen to saue himselfe within his Trenches: by which losse, he learned a point of wisedome, that stood him and his Kingdom in good stead, all the daies of his life. It was a foolish desire of reuenge, that had made the *Syracusians* so busie, in helping those of *Carthage*, against the *Mamertines*.

Had *Messana* bin taken by the *Carthaginians*, *Syracuse* it selfe must haue sought helpe from *Rome*, against those friends which it now so diligently assisted. *Hieron* had (in respect of those two mightie Cities) but a small stocke, which it behooued him to goue[illegible] well: such another losse would haue made him almost bankrupt. Therefore he quietly brake vp his Campe, and retired home: intending to let them stand to their aduenture, that had hope to be gainers by the bargaine. The next day, *Claudius* perceiuing the *Sicilian* Armie gone, did with great courage, and with much alacritie of his souldiers, giue charge vpon the *Carthaginians*: wherein he sped so well, that the enemie forsooke both field and campe, leauing all the Countrie open to the *Romans*; who hauing spoyled all round, without resistance, intended to lay siege vnto the great Citie of *Syracuse*.

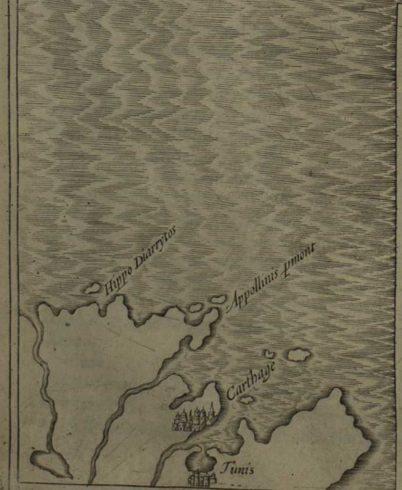
These prosperous beginnings, howsoeuer they animated the *Romans*; and filled them with hopes, of attaining to greater matters, than at the first they had expected: Yet did they not imprint any forme of terrour in the Citie of *Carthage*, that had well enough repaired greater losses than this; in which no more was lost, than what had bin prepared against the *Mamertines* alone, vvithout any suspition of Warre from *Rome*.

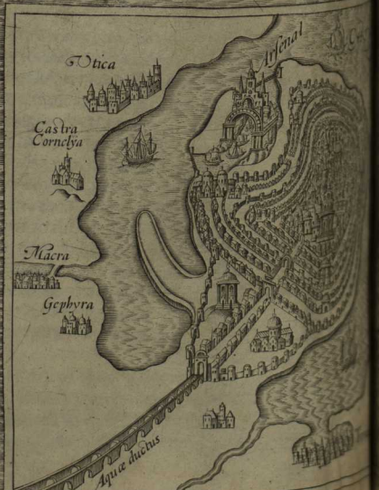
Now in this place I hold it seasonable, to consider of those grounds, whereupon the *Romans* entred into this warre; not how profitable they were, nor how agreeable to rules of honesty (for questionlesse the enterprize was much to their benefit, though as much to their shame) but how allowable in strict tearmes of lawfulnesse; whereupon they build

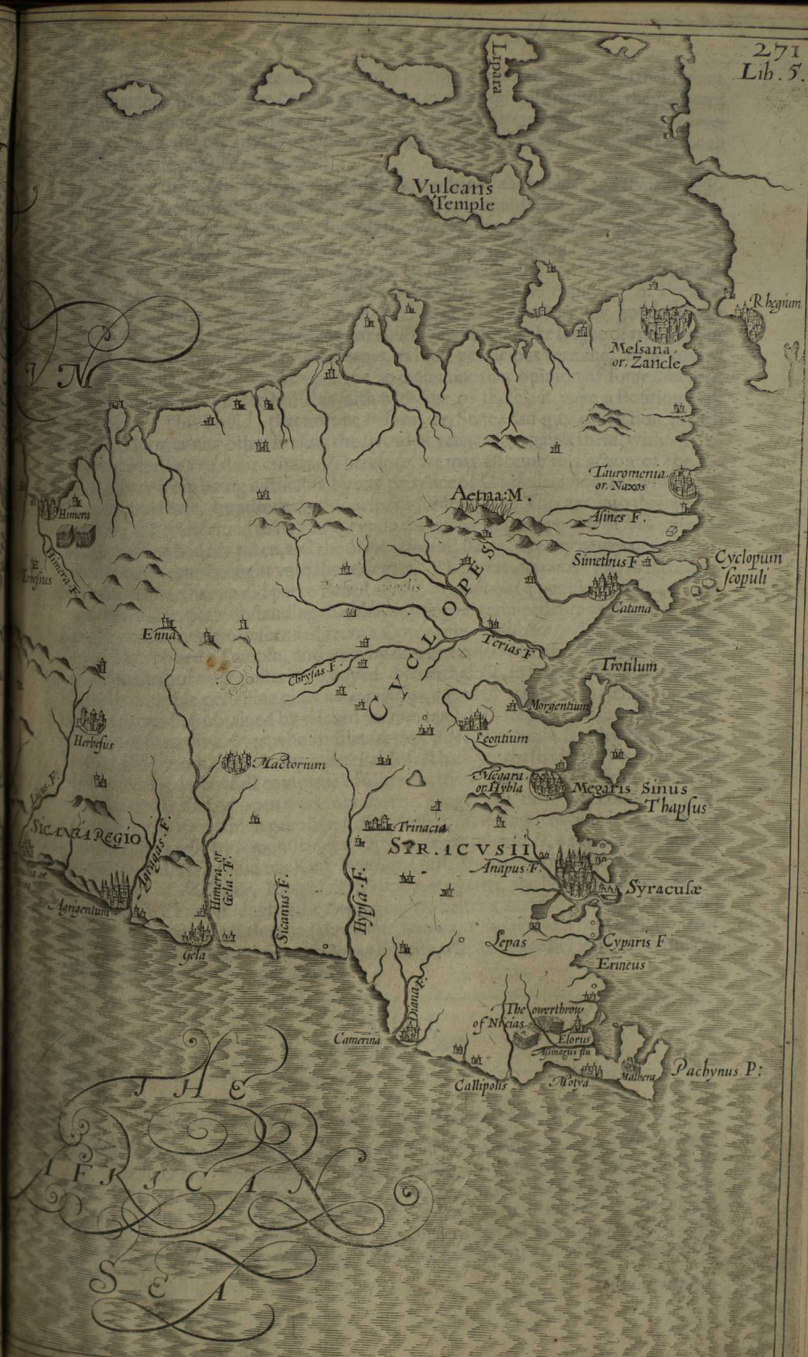
all

The manner of the fight, between Nyceias and the Siracusans in theire owne port
Syracusa

Motyra
Crinisus
Elorus
Sogesta
Eryx
Veneris Fanum
Drepanum
Phorbantia
Acithius F.
Lilybæum
Hiera
Iegusa
Selinus F.
Mazara
Selinus


Hippo Diarrytos
Appollinis promont.
Carthage
Tunis


Utica
Castra Cornelya
Macra
Gephyra
Aqua mictus


Liparæ
Vulcans Temple
Rhegium
Messana or Zancle
Tauromenia or Naxos
Aetna M.
Asines F.
Simethus F.
Cyclopum Scopuli
Catana
Terias F.
Trotilum
Morgentium
Leontium
Megara or Hybla
Megaris Sinus
Thapsus
Trinacia
SYRACUSII
Anapus F.
Syracusæ
Lepas
Cyparis F.
Erineus
The overthrow of Nicias
Elorus
Minagus flu.
Motya
Mathera
Pachynus P.
Callipolis
Camerina
Dirinus
Bysis F.
Cyclopes
Chrysas F.
Enna
Himera
Himera F.
Crinisus
Herbessus
Hadorium
Agrigentum
Gela
Himera or Gela F.
Sicanus F.
Angrus F.
SICANIA REGIO

all their allegations in maintenance thereof. That the *Mamertines* did yeeld themselues, and all that they had, into the *Romans* hands (as the *Campanes*, distressed by the *Samnites*, had done) I cannot finde: neither can I finde, how the messengers of those folke, whereof one part had already admitted the *Carthaginians*, could be enabled to make any such surrendrie, in the publike name of all.

If therefore the *Mamertines*, by no lawfull surrendrie of themselues and their possessions, were become subiect vnto *Rome*, by what better title could the *Romans* assist the *Mamertines*, against their most ancient friends the *Carthaginians*, than they might haue aided the *Campanes*, against the *Samnites*, without the same condition? which was (as they themselues confessed) by none at all. But let it be supposed, that some point seruing to cleare this doubt, is lost in all Histories. Doubtlesse it is, that no company of Pyrates, Theeues, Out-lawes, Murderers, or such other malefactors, can by any good successe of their villanie, obtaine the priuiledge of ciuill societies, to make league or truce, yea or to require faire warre: but are by all meanes, as most pernicious vermine, to be rooted out of the world. I will not take vpon me, to maintaine that opinion of some *Ciuilians*, that a Prince is not bound to hold his faith with one of these; it were a Position of ill consequence: This I hold; that no one Prince, or State, can giue protection to such as these, as long as any other is vsing the sword of vengeance against them, without becomming accessary to their crimes. Wherefore, we may esteeme this action of the *Romanes*, so farre from being iustifiable, by any pretence of Confederacie made with them, as that contrariwise, by admitting this nest of Murderers and Theeues, into their protection, they iustly deserued to be warred vpon themselues, by the people of *Sicil*; yea, although *Messana* had bin taken, and the *Mamertines* all slaine, ere any newes of the Confederacie had beene brought vnto the besiegers. The great *Alexander* was so farre perswaded heerein; that he did put to sword all the *Branchiadæ* (a people in *Sogdiana*) and razed their Citie, notwithstanding that they ioyfully entertained him as their Lord and King, because they were descended from a Companie of *Milesians*, who to gratifie king *Xerxes*, had robbed a Temple, and were by him rewarded with the Towne and Countrie, which these of their posteritie enioyed. Neuertheless, in course of humane iustice, long and peaceable possession giues *ius acquisitum*, a kind of right by prescription, vnto that which was first obtained by wicked meanes: and doth free the descendants, from the crime of their Ancestors, whose villanies they doe not exercise. But that the same generation of Theeues, which by a detestable fact hath purchased a rich Towne, should be acknowledged a lawfull companie of Citizens, there is no shew of right. For euen the Conquerour, that by open warre obtaineth a Kingdome, doth not confirme his title, by those victories which gaue him first possession: but length of time is requisite, to establish him, vnlesse by some alliance with the ancient inheritors, he can better the violence of his claime; as did our King *Henrie* the first, by his marriage with *Maude*, that was daughter of *Malcolme*, King of the *Scots*, by *Margaret*, the Neece of *Edmund Ironside*. Wherefore I conclude, that the *Romans* had no better ground (if they had so good) of iustice, in this quarrell, than had the *Gothes*, *Hunnes*, *Vandalls*, and other Nations, of the warres that they made vpon the *Roman* Empire, wherein *Rome* her selfe, in the time of her visitation, was burnt to the ground.

§. IIII.
Of the Iland of Sicil.

†. I.
The qualitie of the Iland: and the first inhabitants thereof.

THe defence of the *Mamertines*, or the possession of *Messana*, being now no longer, since the first victories of *Appius Claudius*, the obiects of the *Roman* hopes; but the Dominion of all *Scicil* being the prize, for which *Rome* and *Carthage*, are about to contend: it will be agreeable vnto the order, which in the like cases wee haue obserued, to make a briefe collection, of things, concerning that noble Iland, which hath beene the stage of many great acts, performed, as well before and after, as in this present Warre.

That

That *Sicil* was sometimes a *Peninsula*, or *Demie-Isle*, adioyned to *Italie*, as a part of *Brutium* in *Calabria*, neere vnto *Rhegium*, and afterward by violence of tempest seuered from the same: it is a generall opinion of all antiquitie. But at what certaine time this diuision happened, there is no memoriall remaining, in any ancient writer. *Strabo*, *Plinie*, and *Dionysius*, affirme, that it was caused by an earthquake; *Solinus* and *Cassiodorus* doe thinke it to haue beene done by the rage and violence of the tide, and surges of the Sea. Either of these opinions may be true; for so was *Eubœa* seuered from *Bœotia*; *Atalante* and *Macris*, from *Eubœa*; *Sillie* here in *England*, from the Cape of *Cornwall*; and *Britaine* it selfe (as may seeme by *Verstegans* arguments) from the opposite continent of *Gaule*. But for *Sicil*, they which lend their eares to fables, doe attribute the cause of it to *Neptune* (as *Eustathius* witnesseth) who with his three-forked Mace, in fauour of *Iocastus*, the sonne of *Æolus*, diuided it from the maine land, and so made it an Iland, which before was but a *Demie-Isle*; that by that meanes, he might the more safely inhabite, and possesse the same. *Diodorus Siculus*, moued by the authoritie of *Hesiodus*, ascribeth the labour of sundring it from *Italie*, to *Orion*: who, that he might be compared to *Hercules* (cutting through the rocks and mountains) first opened the *Sicilian* streights, as *Hercules* did those of *Gibralter*.

Plin.l.2.c.91. Sil.l.5. Orion.l.4.c.14. Diod.l.6. Ouid de Fast.4.

They which value the Ilands of the mid-land Sea, according to their quantitie and content, doe make this the greatest, as *Eustathius* and *Strabo*, who affirme this, not onely to excell the rest for bignesse, but also for goodnesse of soyle. As concerning the forme of this Iland, *Pomponius Mela* saith, it is like that Capitall letter of the *Greeke*, which they call *Delta*, namely, that it hath the figure of a triangle; which is generally knowne to be true. That the whole Iland was consecrated to *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, all old writers with one consent affirme. To *Ceres* it was dedicated, because it first taught the rules of setting and sowing of Corne; to *Proserpina*, not so much, for that she was from hence violently taken by *Pluto*, as because (which *Plutarch* and *Diodorus* do report for truth) that *Pluto*, as soone as she, vncouering her selfe, first shewed her selfe to be seene of him, gaue her the Dominion thereof.

Of the fertilitie and riches of this Countrie, there is a famous testimonie written by *Cicero*, in his second Oration against *Verres*, where he saith, that *Marcus Cato* did call it the *Granarie*, and *Store-house of the Common-wealth, and the Nurse of the vnlearnedsort*. The same *Cicero* doth adde in that place; that it was not onely the store-house of the people of *Rome*: but also that it was a well-furnished treasurie. For without any cost or charge of ours (saith he) it hath vsually cloathed, maintained, and furnished, our greatest Armies, with leather, apparell, and corne. *Strabo* reporteth almost the same thing of it. Whatsoeuer *Sicilie* doth yeeld (saith *Solinus*) whether by the Sunne, and temperature of the aire, or by the industrie and labour of man, it is accounted next, vnto those things that are of best estimation: were it not that such things, as the earth first putteth forth, are extreamely ouer-growne with saffron. *Diodorus Siculus* saith, that in the fields neere vnto *Leontium*, and in diuers other places of this Iland, wheat doth grow of it selfe without any labour, or looking to of the husbandman. *Martianus* sheweth, that there were in it sixe Colonies, and sixtie Cities: there are that reckon more, wherof the names are found scatteringly in many good Authors.

Strabo.l.6.

Now besides many famous acts, done by the people of this Iland, as well in peace as werre; there be many other things, which haue made it very renowned, as the birth of *Ceres*; the rauishing of *Proserpina*; the Giant *Enceladus*; the mount *Ætna*, *Scylla*, & *Charybdis*, with other antiquities, and rarities; besides those learned men, the noble *Mathematician Archimedes*, the famous *Geometrician Euclides*, the painfull Historian *Diodorus*; and *Empedocles* the deepe Philosopher.

That *Sicil* was at first possessed and inhabited by Giants *Lastrigones*, and *Cyclopes*, barbarous people, and vnciuill; all histories and fables doe ioyntly with one consent auerre. Yet *Thucydides* saith, that these sauage people dwelt onely in one part of the Iland. Afterward the *Sicani*, a people of *Spaine*, possessed it. That these *Sicani* were not bredde in the Isle (although some so thinke,) *Thucydides* and *Diodorus* doe very constantly auouch.

Of these it was named *Sicania*. These *Sicani* were inuaded by the *Siculi*; who, inhabiting that part of *Latium*, whereon *Rome* was afterward built, were driuen by the *Pelasgi* from their owne seates, and finding no place vpon the Continent, which they were able to master

master, and inhabite, passed ouer into this Iland, three hundred yeeres before the Greeks sent any Colonies thither: and (saith *Philistus*) eighty yeers before the fall of Troy. These Siculi gaue the name of Sicilia, to the Iland; and making warre vpon the Sicani, draue them from the East and Northerne part thereof, into the West and South. At their landing, they first built the Citie Zancle, afterward called Messena; and after that, Catana, Leontium, and Syracuse it selfe, beating from thence the Ætolians, who long before had set vp a Towne in that place. As for the name of Syracuse, it was not knowne, till such time as *Archias* of Corinth (long after) wonne that part of the Iland from the Siculi. Neither did the Siculi at their first arriuall dispossesse the Ætolians thereof, but some hundred yeeres after their descent, and after such time as they had founded the Cities before named, with Neæ, Hybla, Trynacia, and diuers others.

After these Siculi came another nation out of Italy, called Morgetes; who were thence driuen by the Oenotrians. These sate downe in that part of Sicil, where they afterward raised the Cities of Morgentum, and Leontium. For at this time the Siculi were diuided; and by a ciuil war greatly infeebled. Among these ancient stories, we finde the last voyage, and the death of *Minos*, King of Creet. *Thucydides*, an Historian of vnquestionable sincerite, reports of *Minos*, that he made conquest of many Ilands; and some such businesse, perhaps drew him into Sicil. But the common report is, that he came thither in pursuit of *Dædalus*. The tale goes thus: *Dædalus* fleeing the reuenge of *Minos*, came into Sicil to *Cocalus*, king of the Sicani, & during his abode there, he built a place of great strength, neere vnto Megara, for *Cocalus*, to lay vp his treasure in; together with many notable works, for which he was greatly admired and honoured.

Among the rest, he cast a Ramme in gold, that was set vp in the Temple of *Venus Erycina*; which hee did with so great Art, as those that beheld it, thought it rather to bee liuing, than counterfeit.

Now *Minos*, hearing that *Cocalus* had entertained *Dædalus*, prepares to inuade the Territorie of *Cocalus*; but when he was arriued, *Cocalus* doubting his owne strength, promiseth to deliuer *Dædalus*. This he performes not, but in the meane while, kils *Minos* by treason, and perswades the Cretans, *Minos* his followers, to inhabite a part of Sicil; the better (as it seems) to strengthen himselfe against the Siculi. Hereunto the Cretans (their King being dead) gaue their consent, and builded for themselues the Citie of Minoa, after the name of their King *Minos*. After, they likewise built the Towne of Engium, now called Gange; and these were the first Cities, built by the Greekes in Sicil, about two ages before the warre of Troy; for the grand-children of *Minos* serued with the Greeks at the siege thereof.

But after such time as the Cretans vnderstood, that their King had by treason beene made away, they gathered together a great Armie, to inuade *Cocalus*: and landing neere vnto Camicus, they besieged the same fiue yeeres, but in vaine. In the end (being forced to returne, without any reuenge taken) they were wrackt on the coast of Italie; and hauing no meanes to repaire their ships, nor the honour they had lost, they made good the place whereon they fell, and built Hyria, or Hyrium, betweene the two famous Ports of Brundusium & Tarentum. Of these Cretans came those Nations, afterward called Iapyges and Messapii.

After the taking of Troy, *Ægestus* and *Elymus*, brought with them certaine troops into Sicil, and seated themselues among the Sicani; where they built the Cities of Ægesta and Elyma.

It is said, that *Æneas* visited these places in his passage into Italie: and that some of the Troianes, his followers, were left behinde him, in these Townes of Sicil: whereof there want not good Authors, that make *Æneas* himselfe the founder.

About the same time, the Phœnicians seized vpon the Promontories of Pachinus, & Lilybæum, & vpon certaine small Isles adioyning to the maine Iland; which they fortified, to secure the trades that they had with the Sicilians; like as the Portugals haue done in the East India, at Goa, Ormus, Mosambiq; and other places. But the Phœnicians staied not there; for after they had once assured their descents, they built the goodly Citie of Panormus, now called Palerma.

These we finde, were the Nations that inhabited the Isle of Sicil, before the warre of Troy, and ere the Greekes in any numbers began to straggle in those parts.

It may perchance seeme strange to the Reader, that in all ancient storie, he findes one

and the same beginning of Nations, after the floud; and that the first planters of all parts of the World, were said to be mighty and Giant-like men; and that, as *Phœnicia*, *Ægypt*, *Lybia*, and *Greece*, had *Hercules*, *Oreses*, *Antæus*, *Typhon*, and the like; as *Denmarke* had *Starchaterus*, remembred by *Saxo Grammaticus*; as *Scythia*, *Britanie*, and other Regions, had Giants for their first Inhabitants; so this Isle of *Sicil* had her *Lestrigones* and *Cyclopes*. This discourse I could also reiect for fained and fabulous; did not *Moses* make vs know, that the Zamzummims, Emims, Anakims, and *Og* of Basan, with others, which sometime inhabited the Mountaines and Desarts of Moab, Ammon, and Mount Seir, were men of exceeding strength and stature, and of the races of Giants: and were it not, that *Tertullian*, S. *Augustine*, *Nicephorus*, *Procopius*, *Isidore*, *Plinie*, *Diodore*, *Herodotus*, *Solinus*, *Plutarch*, and many other Authors, haue confirmed the opinion. Yea, *Vespatius*, in his second Nauigation into America, hath reported, that himselfe hath seene the like men in those parts. Againe, whereas the selfe-same is written of all Nations, that is written of any one; as touching their simplicitie of life, their meane fare, their feeding on acorns and rootes, their poore cottages, the couering of their bodies with the skins of beasts, their hunting, their armes, and weapons, and their warfare, their first passages ouer great Riuers & armes of the Sea, vpon rafts of trees tied together; and afterward, their making boats, first, of twigs and leather, then of wood; first, with Oares, & then with Saile; that they esteemed as gods, the first finders out of Arts; as of Husbandrie, of Lawes, and of Policie: it is a matter, that makes me neither to wonder at, nor to doubt of it. For they all liued in the same newnesse of time, which we call *Old time*, and had all the same want of his instruction, which (after the Creator of all things) hath by degrees taught all Mankinde. For other teaching had they none, that were remooued farre off from the *Hebrewes*, (who inherited the knowledge of the first Patriarchs.) than that from variable effects they beganne, by time and degrees, to finde out the causes: from whence came Philosophie Naturall; as the Morall did from disorder and confusion; and the Law from crueltie and oppression.

Saxo G. in præfat. hist.

Tertul. de Resurr. Aug. de Ciuit. Dei l. 15. 9. Et quæst. in Gen. Nicep. l. 2. c. 37. Procop. l. 2. de Bello Goth. Plin. l. 7. c. 2.

But it is certaine, that the Age of *Time* hath brought forth stranger and more incredible things, than the Infancie. For wee haue now greater Giants, for vice and iniustice, than the World had in those daies, for bodily strength; for cottages, and houses of clay and timber, we haue raised Palaces of stone; we carue them, we paint them, and adorne them with gold; insomuch as men are rather knowne by their houses, than their houses by them; we are fallen from two dishes to two hundred; from water, to wine and drunkennesse; from the couering of our bodies with the skinnes of beasts, not onely to silke and gold, but to the very skinnes of men. But to conclude this digression, *Time* will also take reuenge of the excesse, which it hath brought forth; *Quam longa dies peperit, longiorq; auxit, longissima subruet; Long time brought forth, longer time increased it, and a time, longer than the rest, shall ouerthrow it.*

* *Syracuse*, as *Cicero* relatess, was the greatest, and most goodly Citie of all that the *Greeks* possest. For the situation is both strong, and of an excellent prospect from euery entrance, by Land, or Sea. The Port was (for the most part) enuironed with beautiful buildings: and that part which was without the City, was on both sides bankt vp, and sustained with beautiful walls of Marble. The Citie it selfe was one of the greatest of the World: for it had in compasse (as *Strabo* reporteth) without the treble wall thereof, 180. furlongs, which make of our miles about 18. It was compounded of foure Cities, (*Strabo* saith, of fiue) to wit, *Insula*, *Acradina*, *Tycha*, and *Neapolis*: of which greatnesse, the ruines & foundations of the walls doe yet witnesse.

†. II.

The plantation of the Greekes in Sicill.

WHen the first inhabitants had contended long enough about the Dominion of all Sicil: it happened, that one *Theocles*, a Greeke, being driuen vpon that coast by an Easterly wind; and finding true the commendations thereof, which had beene thought fabulous, being deliuered onely by Poets; gaue information to the Athenians of this his discouerie, & proposed vnto them the benefit of this easie conquest, offering to become their guide. But *Theocles* was as little regarded by the Athenians, as *Columbus*, in our Grand-fathers times, was by the English. Wherfore he took the same course that *Columbus* afterwards did. He ouer-laboured not himselfe in perswading the Noble Athenians (who thought themselues to be well enough already) to their owne profit; but went to the *Chaleidians*, that were needie and industrious, by whom his proiect was gladly entertained. By these was built the Citie of Naxus, and a Colony planted of Eubœans.

But the rest of the Greekes were wiser than our westerne Princes of Europe: for they had no Pope, that should forbid them, to occupie the voide places of the World. *Archias* of Corinth followed the Eubœans, & landed in Sicil, neere vnto that Citie, called afterward * *Syracuse*: of which, that part onely was then compassed with a wall, which the Ætolians

Ætolians called *Homotherman*; the Greeks, *Nasos*; the Latines, *Insula*. He with his Corinthians hauing ouercome the Siculi, draue them vp into the Country; and after a few yeares, their multitudes increasing, they added vnto the City of the Iland, that of Acradina, Tycha, and Neapolis. So as well by the commodity of the double Port, capable of as many ships, as any Hauen of that part of Europe, as by the fertility of the soyle; Syracuse grew vp in great haste, to be one of the goodliest Towns of the world. In short time the Greeks did possesse the better part of all the Sea-coast, forcing the Sicilians to withdraw themselues into the fast and mountainous parts of the Iland, making their Royall residence in Trinacia.

Some seuen yeares after the arriuall of *Archias*; the Chalcidians, encouraged by the successe of the Corinthians, did assaile, and obtaine the city of Leontium, built and possest by the Siculi. In briefe, the Greeks win from the Siculi, and their Associates, the cities of Catana and Hybla, which, in honour of the Megarians that forc'tit, they called *Megara*.

About 45. yeares after *Archias* had taken Syracuse; *Antiphemus* and *Entimus*, the one from Rhodes, the other from Crete, brought an Army into Sicil, and built Gela; whose Citizens, one hundred and eight yeares after, did erect that magnificent and renowned city of Agrigentum, gouerned according to the Lawes of the Dorians.

The Syracusians also, in the seuentieth year after their plantation, did set vp the city of Acra, in the Mountaines; and in the ninetieth year Casmena, in the Plaines adioyning; and againe in the hundred and thirtieth yeare of their dwelling in Syracuse, they built Camerina; & soon after that, Enna, in the very Center of the Iland. So did the Cumani about the same time, recouer from the Siculi the city of Zancle, which they had founded in the streight between Sicil and Italy. They of Zancle had beene the founders of Himera.

Not long after this, *Dorieus* the Lacedæmonian built Heraclia; which the Phœnicians, and Carthaginians, fearing the Neighbourhood of the Spartans, soon after inuaded and ruined; though the same were againe ere long re-edified.

Selinus also was built by a Colony of Megara: and Zancle was taken by the Messenians; who hauing lost their owne Country, gaue the name thereof vnto this their new purchase. Such were the beginnings of the greatest cities in this Iland.

After such time as the *Dores* of *Peloponnesus* had driuen out the *Sicilians*, this goodly city for a long time became the seat of Tyrants. The first whereof was *Gelo*: The second, *Hiero* the elder: the third *Thrasybulus*: the fourth and fift, *Dionysius* the elder, and younger: the sixt *Dion*: the seuenth *Agathocles*: the eighth *Pyrrhus*: the ninth, *Hiero* the younger: the tenth and last, *Hieronymus*: who being slaine at *Leontium*, at length the *Romans* conquered it vnder the conduct of *Marcellus*.

†. III.

Of the gouernment and affaires of Sicil, before Dionysius *his Tyranny.*

THE most part of the cities in Sicil, were gouerned by the rule of the people, till such time as *Phalaris* began to vsurpe the state of Agrigentum, and to exercise all maner of tyranny therein.

This was that *Phalaris*, to whom *Perillus*, the cunning Artificer of a detestable Engine, gaue an hollow Bull of brasse, wherein to inclose men, and scorch them to death: praising the deuise with this commendation; That the noise of one tormented therein, should bee like vnto the bellowing of a Bull. The Tyrant gaue a due reward to the Inuentour; by causing the first triall to be made vpon himselfe. He reigned one and thirty yeares, saith *Eusebius*; others giue him but sixteene: Howsoeuer it were, one *Telemachus* in the end, fell vpon him with the whole multitude of Agrigentum, and stoned him to death; being thereto animated by *Zeno*, euen whilest the Tyrant was tormenting the same *Zeno*, to make him confesse some matter of conspiracy.

After the death of *Phalaris*, the Citizens recouered their liberty, and enioyed it long, till *Thero* vsurped the gouernment of the Common-weale: at which time also *Panætius* made himselfe Lord of Leontium; & *Cleander*, of Gela: but *Cleander*, hauing ruled 7. yeares, was slaine by one of the Citizens. *Cleander* being dead, his brother *Hyppocrates* succeeded in his roome, & greatly afflicted the people of Naxos, of Zancle, or Messena, and of Leontium; whom with diuers others of the ancient inhabitants, he forced to acknowledge him their Lord. He also made warre with the Syracusians, and, in the end, got from them by composition, the City of Camerina. But when hee had reigned seuen yeares, he was slaine in a battell against the Siculi, before Hybla.

At this time did the Syracusians change their forme of gouernment, from Popular to Aristocratical; a preparation towards a Principality, wherinto it was soon after changed.

After the death of *Hippocrates*, *Gelon* (descended from the Rhodians, which together with the Cretans had long before, among other of the Greeks, seated themselues in Sicil) that had commanded the forces of *Hippocrates*, in the former warre, with notable successe, became Lord of Gela. He, after his Masters death, breaking the trust committed vnto him by *Hippocrates* ouer his children, and being in possession of Gela, tooke the occasion and aduantage of a contention in Syracuse, betweene the Magistrates and the People. For comming with a strong Armie to the succour of the Gouernours, drinen out by the multitude, they elected him their Prince, being the first, and (indeed) the most famous, that euer gouerned the Syracusians. This change happened in the second yeere of the threescore and twelfth Olympiad; wherin the better to establish himselfe, he took to wife the Daughter of *Thero*, who had also vsurped the state of Agrigentum.

Pindar. 10

Now this *Gelon*, the sonne of *Dinomenes*, had three brethren; *Hiero*, *Polyzelus*, and *Thrasybulus*: to the first of which he gaue vp the Citie of Gela, when hee had obtained the Principalitie of Syracuse. For, after that time, all his thoughts trauelled in the strengthening, beautifying, and amplifying of Syracuse. He defaced Camerina, that a little before was fallen from the obedience of the Syracusians who built it, and brought the Citizens to Syracuse. The Megarians that had moued a warre against him, he ouercame; the richer sort he brought vnto Syracuse; and the people he sold for slaues. In like manner dealt hee with other places vpon the like occasion. Not long after this, *Thero*, a Prince of the Agrigentines, hauing dispossest *Terillus*, of his Citie Himera; the Carthaginians were drawne into the quarrell by *Anaxilus*, Lord of Messena, Father-in-law to *Terillus*: and *Gelon* was also solicited by his Father-in-law, *Thero*. *Gelon* was content, and in fine, after diuers conflicts, the Carthaginians, and other Africans, led by *Amilcar*, were ouerthrowne by *Gelon*: and an hundred and fiftie thousand of them left their bodies in Sicil.

20

Herod. & Dio.

This *Gelon* it was, to whom the Athenians and Lacedæmonians sent for succour, when *Xerxes* with his huge Armie past the Hellespont. He, for their reliefe hauing armed thirty thousand Souldiers, and two hundred ships, refused neuertheless to send them into Greece, because they refused him the commandement of one of their Armies, either by Sea, or Land. So hee vsed to their Embassadors onely this saying, *That their Spring was withered*; accounting the Armie, by him prepared, to be the very flower of the Greeke Nation.

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The Carthaginians, after this great losse receiued, fearing the inuasion of their owne Countrie, sent to *Gelon* by their Embassadours, to desire peace; who grants it them on these conditions; That from thenceforth they should not sacrifice their children to *Saturne*; That they should pay him 2000. talents of siluer, and present him with two armed ships, in signe of amitie. These conditions the Carthaginians, not onely willingly accepted, but with the two thousand talents, and the ships for warre, they sent vnto *Demarata*, *Gelon's* wife, a crowne, valued at an hundred talents of gold, with other presents. Whereby we see, that some Nations, and some Natures, are much the better for being well beaten. The warres ended, and Sicil in peace, *Gelon* beautified the Temples of the gods, and erected others in honour of them. So being exceedingly beloued and honoured of his Subiects, he left the World, and left for his Successor his brother *Hiero*. *Philistus* and *Plinie* report, That, when his body was burnt, according to the custome of that Age, a Dogge of his, which alwaies waited on him, ranne into the fire, and suffered himselfe to be burnt with him.

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To *Gelon*, *Hiero* his brother succeeded, a man rude, cruell, couetous, and so suspicious of his brethren *Polyzelus*, and *Thrasybulus*, as hee sought by all meanes to destroy them. Notwithstanding all this; by the conuersation which he had with *Simonides*, he became of better condition, and greatly delighted with the studie of good Arts. Diuers quarrels he had, as well with *Theron* of Agrigentum, as with other Cities: all which he shortly after compounded, and gaue a notable ouerthrow to the Carthaginians, whom *Xerxes* had incited to inuade Sicil, fearing the succours which *Gelon* had prepared, to aide the Grecians, against him. Hee also ouerthrew in battaile *Thrasydæus*, the sonne of *Theron*, and thereby restored the Agrigentines, to their former libertie. But in the end, hee lost the loue of the Syracusians; and after he had reigned 11. yeeres, he left the kingdome to his brother *Thrasybulus*, who became a most vniust & bloudy Tyrant. *Thrasybulus* inioyed his Principalitie no longer than ten moneths. For, notwithstanding the force

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force of mercenary Souldiers, which he entertained for his guards, hee was beaten out of Syracuse by the Citizens; to whom, being besieged in Acradina, he restored the gouernement, and was banished the Iland. From whence he sailed into Greece, where he died a priuate man, among the Locrians.

And now had the Syracusians recouered againe their former liberty, as all the rest of the Cities did, after which they had neuer sought, had the Successors of Gelon inherited his vertue, as they did the Principality of Syracuse. For in all changes of Estates, the preseruation ought to answer the acquisition. Where a liberall, valiant, and aduised Prince, hath obtained any new Signiory, and added it to that of his owne, or exalted himselfe from being a priuate man, to the dignity of a Prince; it behoueth the Successour to maintaine it by the same way and art, by which it was gotten.

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To conclude, Syracuse (though not without blowes, ere that shee could clense her selfe of the creatures and louers of Gelon) was now againe become Mistresse of her selfe, and held her selfe free, well-neere threescore yeares, to the time of *Dionysius*; though she were in the meane while greatly endangered by a Citizen of her owne, called *Tindario*.

Now, to preuent the greatnesse of any one among them, for the future, they deuised a kinde of banishment of such among them, as were suspected; taking patterne from the Athenian Ostracisme. They called this their new deuised iudgement of exile, *Petalismus*, wherein euery one wrote vpon an Oliue leafe (as at Athens they wrote vpon shells) the name of him, whom hee vvould haue expelled the City. Hee that had most suffrages against him, vvas banished for fiue yeares. Hereby in a short time, it came to passe that those of iudgement, and best able to gouerne the Common-weale, were by the worst able, either suppreſt, or thrust out of the City. Yea, such as feared this Law, though they had not yet felt it, withdrew themselues as secretly as they could; seeking some place of more security, wherein to maintaine themselues. And good reason they had so to doe; seeing that there is nothing so terrible in any State, as a powerfull and authorized ignorance. But this Law lasted not very long. For their necessity taught them to abolish it, and restore againe the wiser sort vnto the Gouernement; from which, the Nobility hauing practised to banish one another, the State became altogether Popular. But after a while, being inuaded by *Ducetius*, king of the Sicilians, that inhabited the inner part of the Iland (who had already taken Enna, and some other of the Grecian Cities, and ouerthrowne the Army of the Agregentines) the Syracusians sent forces against him, commanded by an vnworthy Citizen of theirs, called *Bolcon*. This their Captaine made nothing so much haste to finde out *Ducetius*, against whom he was imployed, as he did to flee from the Army he led, as soone as *Ducetius* presented him battell. So for want of conduct, the greatest number of the Syracusians perished.

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But making better choice among those whom they had banished, they leuie other troupes: by whom, in conclusion, *Ducetius* being beaten, submitteth himselfe, and is constrained to leaue the Iland for a time. Yet it was not long ere he returned againe, and built the City Collatina on the Sea-side.

Ducetius being dead; all the Greek Cities did in a sort acknowledge Syracuse: Trinacia excepted; which also by force of armes, in the foureſcore and fift Olympiad, they brought to reason.

But they doe not long enioy this their Superintendencie. For the Citizens of Leontium, being oppreſt by them, seek aide from the Athenians, about the sixt yeare of the Peloponnesian Warre. In this suite they preuailed by the eloquence of *Gorgias* their Orator; and got an hundred Athenian Gallies to succour them, vnder the leading of *Laches*, and *Charæodes*. To this fleet, the Leontines, and their Partners, added one hundred more; with which forces, and with some supplies brought by *Sophocles*, *Pythodorus*, *Eurymedon* and other Athenian Captains, they inuaded the Territories of the Syracusians, and their Partisans; wanne and lost diuers places; tooke Messana; and, in the seuenth yeare of the Peloponnesian Warre, lost it againe. They also at the same time, attempted Himera, but in vaine. The fire of this quarrell tooke hold vpon many Cities, which did inuade each others Territory with great violence. But when they had wearied themselues on all hands, & yet could see none issue of the warre, the Leontines, without the aduice of the Athenians, came to an accord with the Syracusians, and were admitted

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admitted into their ſociety, with equall freedome. So the Athenians, who hoped to haue greatned themſelues in Sicil, by the diuiſion and ciuill warre, were diſappointed of their expectation, by the good agreement of the Sicilians, and faine to be gone with the broken remainder of their fleet. This they knew not how to amend; but (according to the cuſtome of popular Eſtates) by taking reuenge vpon their owne Commanders. So they baniſhed *Pythodorus*, and *Sophocles*, and laid an heauie fine vpon *Eurymedon*. Shortly after this, followed the moſt memorable war, that euer was made by the Greeks in Sicil: which was that of the Athenians, againſt the Selinuntines & Syracuſians, in fauour of the cities of Egeſta, Leontium, & Catana. They of Selinus had oppreſt the Egeſtans; & they of Syracuſe the Leontines, & the Catanians: which was the ground of the war. For, the Athenians vndertooke the protection of their old friends: and, in hatred of the Athenians, aide from Lacedæmon was ſent to the Syracuſians. The Lacedæmonians dealt plainly, hauing none other end, than that which they pretended, namely, to help a people of their owne Tribe, that craued their ſuccour, being in diſtreſſe. The Athenians ſcarce knew what to pretend: for their preparations were ſo great, as diſcouered their intent to be none other, than the conqueſt of the whole Iland. Yet they which had called them in, were ſo blinded with their owne paſſions, that they would not beleeue their owne eies; which preſented vnto them a Fleet, and Army, far greater, than the terrible report of fame had made it.

In this expedition, the city of Athens had engaged all her power; as regarding, not onely the greatneſſe of the enterpriſe, but the neceſſity of finiſhing it in a ſhort ſpace of time. For the Lacedæmonians (as hath already been ſhewed in due place) ſtood at that time in ſuch broken terms of peace with Athens, as differed not much from open war. Wherefore it was thought neceſſary, either to ſpare coſt in this great expedition, or altogether to forbeare it: which was likely to be hindred by warres at home, if their proceedings were ſlacke abroad. And ſurely, had not the deſire of the Athenians bin ouerpaſſionate, the arguments of *Nicias* had cauſed them to abſtaine from ſo chargeable a buſineſſe, and to reſerue their forces for a more needfull vſe. But young counſailes preuailed againſt the authority of ancient men, that were more regardfull of ſafety than of honour.

Of this buſineſſe, mention hath beene already made, in that which vvee haue written of the Peloponneſian war. But what was there deliuered in generall termes, as not concerning the affairs of Greece, otherwiſe than by conſequence; doth in this place require a more perfect relation, as a matter, wherin the whole State of Sicil was like to haue felt a great conuerſion.

Though *Alcibiades* had preuailed againſt *Nicias*, in exhorting the people to this great voyage; yet *Nicias*, together with *Alcibiades*, and *Lamachus*, was appointed to be one of the chiefe Commanders therein.

Theſe had commiſſion & direction, as well to ſuccour the Segeſtans, & to re-eſtabliſh the Leontines, caſt out of their places by the Syracuſians; as alſo by force of armes, to ſubiect the Syracuſians, and all their adherents in Sicill, and compell them by tribute, to acknowledge the Athenians for their ſupreme Lords. To effect which, the fore-named Captaines were ſent off, with an hundred and thirty Gallies, and fiue thouſand one hundred Souldiers, beſides the thirty ſhips of burden, which tranſported their victuals, engines, and other munitions for the war: and theſe were Athenians, Mantinæans, Rhodians, and Candians: there were, beſides theſe, ſixe thouſand Megarians light-armed, with thirty horſe-men. *Thucid. l. 6. c. 9.*

With theſe troups & fleets they arriue at Rhegium, where the Rhegians refuſe to giue them entry; but ſell them victualls for their mony. From thence they ſent to the Egeſtans, to know what treaſure they would contribute towards the warre, ſeeing for their ſakes they had entred thereinto. But they found by their anſwers, that theſe Egeſtans were poore, and that they had abuſed the Athenian Embaſſadours with falſe ſhewes of gold, hauing in all but 30. talents. The Athenians further were diſcouraged, when they found that the Rhegians, their ancient friends, and allied vnto the Leontines, refuſed to truſt them within their Walls. Hereupon *Nicias* aduiſeth to depart towards the Selinuntines, and to force them, or perſwade them to an agreement with the Egeſtans; as likewiſe to ſee what diſburſements the Egeſtans could make; and ſo returne againe into Greece, and not to waſte Athens in a needleſſe war. *Alcibiades*, on the other ſide, would

ſollicite the cities of Sicil to confederacy againſt the Syracuſians & Selinuntines, wherby to force them vnto reſtitution of all that they had taken from the Leontines. *Lamachus*, he perſwades them to aſſaile Syracuſe it ſelf, before it were prepared againſt them. But in the end (being excluded out of diuers Cities) they ſurprize Catana: & there they take new counſaile, how to proceede. Thence they imploied *Nicias* to thoſe of Egeſta, who receiued from them thirty talents towards his charges; & one hundred and twentie talents more there were of the ſpoiles they had gotten in the Iland. Thus, the Summer being ſpent in idle conſultations, & vain attempts, the Athenians prepare to aſſaile Syracuſe. But *Alcibiades* hauing been accuſed at home, in his abſence, was ſent for back by the Athenians, to make his anſwer: and the Army was left to the conduct of *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. Theſe Commanders obtaine a landing place very neere vnto Syracuſe, by this deuice.

They imploy to Syracuſe an inhabitant of Catana, whom they truſt; & inſtruct him, to promiſe vnto the Syracuſians, that he would deliuer into their hands all the Athenians within Catana. Hereupon the Syracuſians draw thitherward with their beſt forces. But in the mean while, the Athenians, ſetting ſaile from Catana, arriue at Syracuſe, where they land at faire eaſe, & fortifie themſelues againſt the Towne. Shortly after this, they fight, & the Syracuſians had the loſſe: but the Athenians, wanting horſe, could not purſue their victory to any great effect. They then retire themſelues, with a reſolution to refreſh their Army at Catana, for the winter-ſeaſon. From thence they made an attempt vpon Meſſana, hoping to haue taken it by an intelligence, but in vain. For *Alcibiades* had diſcouered ſuch as were Traitors within the City to the Meſſenians. This he now did, in deſpight of his own Citizens, the Athenians; becauſe they had recalled him from his command, with a purpoſe either to haue put him to death, or to haue baniſhed him: whereof being aſſured by his friends, he tooke his way towards the Lacedæmonians, & to them hee gaue miſchieuous counſaile againſt his country. While this Winter yet laſted, the Syracuſians ſend Embaſſadors to Lacedæmon, and Corinth, for aide: as likewiſe the Athenian Captaines in Sicil, ſend to Athens, for ſupplies. Which both the one and the other obtained.

In the Spring following (which was the beginning of the eighteenth yeare of the Peloponneſian war) the Athenians in Sicil, ſaile from the Port of Catana, to Megara, forſaken of the Inhabitants; from whence forraging the Country, they obtaine ſome ſmall victories ouer the ſtraggling Syracuſians: & at their returne to Catana, they receiue a ſupply of two hundred men at armes, but without horſe, which they hoped to furniſh in the Iland, from the Segeſtans, and other their adherents: they were alſo ſtrengthened with a company of Archers, and with three hundred talents in mony.

Hereupon they take courage, and incamp neere Syracuſe, vpon the banks of the great Port, repelling the Syracuſians, that ſallied to impeach their intrenchments. They alſo receiued from their Confederates foure hundred horſe-men, with two hundred other horſe, to mount their men at arms. Syracuſe was now in effect blockt vp, ſo as hardly any ſuccours could enter, but ſuch as were able to force their paſſage: yet the Athenians receiue diuers loſſes; among which it was not the leaſt, that *Lamachus*, one of their beſt Commanders, was ſlaine.

In the mean while, *Gylippus*, & *Python*, with the Lacedæmonian, and Corinthian forces arriue, and take land at Hymera. The Citizens of Hymera, and of Gela, together with the Selinuntines, ioyne with them; ſo that with theſe and his own troupes, *Gylippus* aduentured to march ouer-land toward Syracuſe. The Syracuſians ſend a part of their forces to meet him, & conduct him. The Athenians prepare to encounter them, expecting his arriuall neere vnto the City, vpon a place of aduantage. At the firſt encounter, they had the better of their enemies, by reaſon that the Syracuſian horſe-men could not come to fight in thoſe ſtreights: but ſoone after, *Gylippus* charging them againe, brake them, and conſtrained *Nicias* to fortifie himſelfe within his Campe. Whereupon *Nicias* made the ſtate of his affaires knowne, by his letters to the Athenians; ſhewing that, without great ſupplies by Sea & Land, the enterpriſe would be loſt, together with the ſmall Army remaining. Theſe letters receiued, the Athenians appoint two other Generals, *Eurymedon*, and *Demoſthenes*, to ioyne with *Nicias*; the one they diſpatch preſently with ſome ſupply; the other they ſend after him in the Spring following.

In the meane while, *Gylippus* at Syracuſe, fights with the Athenians, both by Sea and Land,

Land, sometimes with ill, and at other times with good successe: but in conclusion, he took from their Fort, neer vnto Syracuse, at the Promontory, called *Plymmyrium*; wherein the Athenians lost their treasure, and a great part of all their prouisions. Notwithstanding which losse, & that the Athenians themselues, in Greece, were (in effect) besieged within Athens, by the Lacedæmonians; yet were they most obstinate in prosecuting the Warre in Sicil, & dispatched away *Demosthenes* with new succours. *Demosthenes*, in his way towards Sicil, encountred with *Polyanthes* the Corinthian, with his fleet: both the Captaines being bound for Sicil, the one to succour *Nicias*, the other *Gylippus*. The losse betweene them was in effect equall; and neither so broken, but that each of them prosecuted the enterprise they had in hand. But before the succours arriued to either, *Gylippus* and *Ariston* had assailed the Athenians in the great Port of Syracuse, and in a Sea fight put them to the worst, to the great discouragement of the Athenians. On the necke of this, *Demosthenes* arriued with threescore and thirteen Gallies, charged with footmen; and (blaming the sloath of *Nicias*) he inuaded the Syracusians, the same day that hee arriued. But he made more haste than he had good speed, being shamefully beaten, and repulsed with great losse. Hereupon *Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon*, determine to rise vp from before Syracuse, and returne to the succour of Athens: but *Nicias* disputed to the contrary, pretending that he had good intelligence within Syracuse, whereby he learned, that the Towne could not long hold out.

Whatsoeuer *Nicias* his intelligence was; vpon the arriuall of a new supply into the Towne, the Athenians had all consented to depart, & to lodge at Catana: had not an Eclipse of the Moone, boding (as was thought) ill successe, caused them to deferre their departure. But this superstition cost them deare. For the Syracusians, Lacedæmonians, & Corinthians, with threescore and seuenteen saile of Gallies, entred the great Port of Syracuse, wherin the Athenians kept their fleet, and wheron they had fortified themselues. The Athenians, in the same Port encountred them with fourescore & sixe Gallies, commanded by *Eurymedon*; in which the Athenian fleet was beaten, by the lesser number, & *Eurymedon* slaine. Now, though it were so, that the Syracusians receiued the more losse by land (for the fight was generall) yet when the Athenians were beaten by sea, in which kinde they thought themselues inuincible, they were wonderfully cast downe. For it was well said of *Gylippus*, to the Syracusians; *when any people doe finde themselues vanquished in that manner of fight, and with those weapons, in which they perswade themselues that they exceede all others, they not onely lose their reputation, but their courage.* The Athenians, besides the Gallies suncke and wrackt, had seuenteene taken, and possest by the enemy: and with great labour and losse they defended the rest from being fired, hauing drawn them within a Palisado, in one corner of the Port, vnaduisedly: for it is as contrary to a Sea-war, to thrust ships into a streight roome and corner, as it is to scatter foot in a plaine field against horse; the one subsisting, by being at large; the other by close imbattailing.

The Syracusians, hauing now weakned the Athenian fleet, resolue to imprison them within the Port. And to that purpose they range all their Gallies in the mouth of the Hauen, being about a mile ouer, and there they came to Anchor; filling the out-let with all manner of Vessels, which they man most strongly, because the Athenians, being now made desperate, should not with double ranks of Gallies break through the Syracusian fleet; which lay but single, because they were fore'd to range themselues ouer all the Out-let of the Port. They therefore, not onely mored themselues strongly by their Anchors, but chained the sides of their Gallies together, and laid behinde them againe certaine ships, which serued in the former warre for victuallers: to the end, that if any of their Gallies were sunke; or the chaine, which ioyned them to their fellowes, broken; the Athenians might yet find themselues, a second time, intangled and arrested. To disorder also those Athenian Gallies, which came on in forme of a wedge, to breake through, and force a passage, the Syracusians had left within these Gallies & Ships, inchained together, a certain number of loose ones, to stop their course and fury. For where the way of any vessell, vsing oare or sailes, is broken; and their speede fore-slowed, they cannot force with any weight and violence, the resistance opposing.

On the other side, the Athenians knew that they were vtterly lost except with an inuincible resolution, they could make their way, and breake downe this great bridge of boats; or (at least) force a passage through them in some part or other: which they resolue

solue to hazard, with all their shipping (to the number of one hundred & ten, of all sorts) and with all the strength of their Land-armie, in them imbarqued. But the Gallies, which were within the bridge of boats, did so disorder the Athenian fleet, ere they came to force the bridge, as, albeit some few of them had broken through the chaines, yet being stopt with the ships without, and assailed by other loose Gallies of the Syracusians, which were purposely left at large in the Sea, they were either taken or sunk. Three great disaduantages the Athenians had: the first, that fighting within a Hauen, and (as it were) in a streight, they had no room to turne themselues, nor to free themselues one from another, being intangled; the second, that hauing ouer-pestered their Gallies with Souldiers, who vsed offensiue armes of darts and slings, they had not place vpon the decks to stretch their armes: the third was, the discomfortable end for which they fought, namely, to force a passage, by which they might saue themselues by running away. To bee short, the fight was no lesse terrible than the confusion; the slaughter great on all sides; and the noise, and the cries, so lowd and lamentable, as that no direction could be heard. But in the end, the Athenians, as many as suruiued, were beaten backe to the Land, with losse of threescore of their Gallies, broken, sunke, or abandoned. The Syracusians did also lose twenty of theirs, with *Python*, Commander of the Corinthians. The rest of the Athenian Gallies, running themselues into the bottome of the Port, saued themselues by the helpe and countenance of the Land-armie, there fortified. In this desperate estate, the Athenian Commanders goe to counsell. *Demosthenes* perswades them, to furnish with fresh Souldiers those few Gallies which remained; and while the Syracusians were triumphing, and made secure by their present victory, to set vpon them, and forcing their way out of the Port, to returne to Athens. This was no ill counsaile. For, as wee haue heard of many great Captaines (yea, the greatest number of all that haue beene victorious) that haue neglected the speedy prosecution of a beaten enemy; so might wee produce many examples of those, who, hauing slept securely in the bosome of good successe haue beene suddenly awaked, by the re-allied Companies of a broken Armie, and haue thereby lost againe all the honour, and aduantage, formerly gotten. But *Nicias* opposeth the aduice of *Demosthenes*: Others say, that the Sea-men were against it. Whereupon abandoning their Gallies, they all resolue to march ouer land to the Cities of their Confederates, till some more fauourable fortune should call them thence. On the other side, *Gylippus*, & other the Lacedæmonian & Corinthian Captains, with *Hermocrates*, exhort the Syracusians to put themselues presently into the field, & to stop all the passages, leading to those Cities of their enemies, to which the Athenians might make retrait. But many were weary, and many were wounded, and many of them thought that they had done enough for the present. Which humour in some of our Commanders at Cadez, lost vs both the Indian fleet, and the spoiles of many other Neighbour-places. *Hermocrates*, the Syracusian, finding it a lost labour, to perswade his Countrimen to any hastie prosecution, deuised this good stratagem, thereby to gaine time; not doubting, but that after a day or two, he should draw them willingly out. He sent two or three horse-men out of Syracuse by night, willing them to finde *Nicias*, and (after they had assured him, that they were of the Athenians faction) to giue him aduice not to march away ouer-hastily from the place, wherein he was fortified; alledging that the Syracusians had lodged their Armie, which could not long stay there, vpon the passages and places of aduantage, leading towards the Cities of their Allies. These tidings *Nicias* easily beleeued, and put off his iourny to the third day. For men newly beaten, are (for the most part) more fearefull than wise; and to them, euery thistle in the field, appeares, by night, a man at armes.

The third day (leauing all their Gallies, and all their baggage) they remoue; being pierced and pursued with the lamentable out-cries of those that were sicke and hurt: whom they abandon to the cure of their enemies swords. The rest march away, to the number of fortie thousand; and make their first passage by force, ouer the Riuer of Anapus, notwithstanding the opposition of their enemies. But being euery day charged in their marches, & by the Syracusian horse-men, beaten in from forraging and prouision of food, they grow weake and heartlesse. The Syracusians also possesse the Mountaine Lepas, by which they were to passe towards Camerina, and thereby force them to fall backe againe towards the Sea-coast, and to take what way they could: being vnable to proceed in their iourney intended. Many hard shifts they made, in difficult passages, and

and blinde marches by night; which they were faine to endure, as hauing none other meanes to escape from the enemy that pursued them, and held them waking with continuall skirmishing. To keep all in order, *Nicias* vndertooke the leading of the Vaunt-guard; & *Demosthenes* conducted the Reare. At the Riuer Erineus, *Nicias* takes the start of a whole nights march, leauing *Demosthenes* to make the retrait: who being incompassed, and ouerpreſt with numbers, in the end renders himselfe. The conditions he obtained, were farre better than he could haue hoped for; and the faith of his enemies farre worse than he suspected. For he vvas afterward, with *Nicias*, murdered in prison. The Army of *Demosthenes* being dissolued, they pursue *Nicias* with the greater courage: who being vtterly broken, vpon the passage of the Riuer Assinarus, rendred himselfe to *Gylippus*, vpon honest conditions. *Gylippus* sought to preserue him, and to haue had the honour, to haue brought these two to Sparta; *Nicias*, as a Noble Enemy to the Lacedæmonians, and who, at the ouerthrow, which they receiued at Pylus by the Athenians, had saued the liues of the vanquished; *Demosthenes*, as one that had done to Lacedæmon the greatest hurt. *Hermocrates* also, the Commander of the Syracusian Army, dissuaded the rest, by all the art he had, from vsing any barbarous violence, after so noble a victory. But the cruell, and the cowardly sort, (cowardise and cruelty, being inseparable passions) preuailed, and caused these braue Captaines to bee miserably murdered; one part of their Souldiers to be starued in loathsome prisons; and the rest, sold for slaues. This was the successe of the Sicilian warre: vvhich tooke end at the riuer Assinarus, the foure and twentieth day of May, in the foureſcore and eleuenth Olympiad.

The Athenians being beaten out of Sicil; the Egestans (for whose defence, against the Selinuntines, this late war had beene taken in hand) fearing the victorious Syracusians, sought helpe from the Carthaginians; to whom they offered themselues, and their Citie, as their vassals. The Carthaginians, though ambitious enough of enlarging their Dominion in Sicil, yet considering the prosperity of the Syracusians, & their late victories ouer the Athenians, they stayed a while to dispute of the matter, whether they should refuse or accept the offer made vnto them: for the Selinuntines were streightly allied to the Syracusians, as may appeare by what is past. In the end, the Senators of Carthage resolue vpon the enterprise; & (by a tricke of their Punick wit) to separate the Syracusians from the Selinuntines, they send Embassadors to Syracuse: praying that City, as in the behalfe of the Egestans, to compell the Selinuntines to take reason, and to rest content with so much of the lands in question, as they of Syracuse should thinke meet to allow them. The Syracusians approued the motion; for it tended to their owne honour. But the Selinuntines would make no such appointment: rather they took it ill, that the Syracusians, with whom they had run one course of fortune, in the Athenian war, should offer to trouble them, by interposing as Arbitrators, in a businesse, that themselues could end by force. This was right as the Carthaginians would haue it. For now could they of Selinus with an ill grace craue aide of Syracuse; and the Syracusians as ill grant it vnto those, that had refused to stand to he Arbitrement, which the Carthaginians would haue put into their hands. Hereupon, an Army of three hundred thousand men is set out from Carthage, vnder the conduct of *Hannibal*, Nephew to that *Amilcar*, who (as you haue heard before) was ouerthrowne with the great Carthaginian Army at Himera by Gelon. *Hannibal* was exceeding greedy of this emploiment, that he might take reuenge as well of his Vncles, as of his Fathers death; the one of them hauing bin slaine by the Himerans, the other by those of Selinus. Both the Cities, *Hannibal*, in this war, won by force of armes, sackt them, and burnt them; and hauing taken three thousand of the Himerans prisoners, he caused them to be led vnto the place, where *Amilcar* was slain, and buried them there.

After this followed some trouble at Syracuse, occasioned by the banishment of *Hermocrates*, who had lately bin Generall of the Syracusian forces, against the Athenians. The malice of his enemies had so farre preuailed with the ingratefull multitude, that he was condemned to exile for his meer vertue, at such time, as he was aiding the Lacedæmonians, in their warre against Athens; wherein he did great seruice. All the honester sort within Syracuse were sorry for the iniury done vnto him, and sought to haue him repealed. *Hermocrates* himselfe, returning into Sicil, gathered an Army of sixe thousand; with which he began to repaire Selinus; & by many noble actions laboured to win the

the loue of his Citizens. But the faction that opposed him was the stronger. Wherefore he was aduised to seize vpon a Gate of Syracuse, with some strength of men; wherby his friends, within the Towne, might haue the better meanes to rise against the aduerse partie. This he did: but presently the multitude fell to armes, and set vpon him; in which conflict he was slaine. But his sonne-in-law, *Dionysius*, shall make them wish *Hermocrates* aliue again.

†. IIII.

Of Dionysius *the Tyrant: and others, following him, in Syracuse.*

THe Syracusians had inioyed their liberty about threescore yeeres, from the death of *Thrasybulus*, to the death of *Hermocrates*: at which time *Dionysius* was raised vp by God, to take reuenge, as well of their cruelty towards strangers, as of their ingratitude towards their owne best Citizens. For before the time of *Dionysius*, they had made it their pastime, to reward the vertue of their worthiest Commanders with death, or disgrace: which custome they must now be taught to amend.

Dionysius obtained the principality of Syracuse, by the same degrees, that many others, before him, had made themselues Masters of other Cities, and of Syracuse it selfe. For, being made *Praetor*, and commanding their Armies against the Carthaginians, and other their enemies, he behaued himselfe so well, that he got a generall loue among the people, and men of warre. Then began hee to follow the example of *Pisistratus*, that made himselfe Lord of Athens; obtaining a band of sixe hundred men, to defend his person: vnder pretence, that his priuate enemies, being traiterously affected to the State of Syracuse, had laied plots how to murder him, because of his good seruices. Hee doubled the pay of his Souldiers; alledging, that it would incourage them to fight manfully: but intending thereby to assure them to himselfe. He perswaded the Citizens, to call home, out of exile, those that had beene banished, which were the best men of Syracuse; and these were afterwards, at his deuotion, as obliged vnto him by so great a benefit. His first fauour, among the Syracusians, grew from his accusation of the principall men. It is the delight of base people to reigne ouer their betters: wherefore, gladly did he helpe them to breake downe, as fetters imprisoning their liberty, the bars that held it vnder safe custody. Long it was not, ere the chiefe Citizens had found whereat hee aimed. But what they saw, the people would not see: and some that were needy, and knew not how to get Offices without his helpe, were willing to helpe him, though they knew his purposes to be such, as would make all the Citie to smart. He began early to hunt after the tyranny; being but fiue and twenty yeeres of age when hee obtained it: belike, it was his desire to reigne long. His first work, of making himselfe absolute Lord in Syracuse, was, the possession of the Citadell; wherein was much good prouision, & vnder it the Gallies were moored. This he obtained by allowance of the people; and hauing obtained this, he cared for no more, but declared himselfe without all shame or feare. The Armie, the chiefe Citizens, restored by him from banishment; all the needy sort within Syracuse, that could not thriue by honest courses; and some neighbour-townes, bound vnto him, either for his helpe in warre, or for establishing the faction, reigning at that present, were wholly affected to his assistance. Hauing therefore gotten the Citadell into his hands, he needed no more, saue to assure what he had already. Hee strengthened himselfe by diuers marriages; taking first to wife the daughter of of *Hermocrates*; and after her, two at once; the one a Locrian, *Doris*, by whom hee had *Dionysius*, his Successor; the other, *Aristomache*, the daugther of *Hipparinus*, and sister to *Dion*, honourable men in Syracuse; which bare vnto him many children, that serued to fortifie him with new alliances.

Yet it was not long, ere some of the Syracusians (enuying his prosperitie) incited the multitude, and tooke armes against him, euen in the nouelti e of his Rule. But their enterprise was more passionately, than wisely gouerned. He had shamefully beene beaten by the Carthaginians at Gela: which, as it vexed the Sicilian men at armes, making them suspect that it was his purpose to let the Carthaginians wast al, that he might afterwards take possession of the desolate places; so it inflamed them with a desire to free themselues from his tyranny. They departed therefore from him, and marched hastily to Syracuse, where they found friends to helpe them: there they forced his Palace, ransaked

sacked his treasures, and so shamefully abused his wife, that for the griefe therof she poisoned her selfe. But he followed their heeles apace; and firing a Gate of the Citie by night, entred soone enough to take reuenge, by making a speedy riddance of them. For he spared none of his knowne, no, not his suspected enemies. After that, hee grew so doubtfull of his life, as he neuer durst trust Barber to trim him, nor any person, no, not so much as his brother, to enter into his chamber, vnstript and searched. Hee was the greatest Robber of the people that euer raigned in any State; and withall the most vnrespectiuely cruell.

After this, he separated with fortification that part of the Citie, called the Iland, from the rest; like as the Spaniard did the Citadell of Antwerpe: therein he lodged his Treasures, and his Guards.

He then began to make warre vpon the free Cities of Sicil: but while hee lay before Herbesse, an inland Towne, the Syracusians rebelled against him; so, as with great difficultie he recouered his Citadell: from whence, hauing allured the old Souldiers of the Campanians, who forced their passage through the Citie, with one thousand and two hundred horse, he againe recouered the masterie ouer the Syracusians. And when a multitude of them were busied in gathering in their haruest, he disarmed all the Towns-men remayning, and new strengthened the Fort of the Iland, with a double wall. Hee inclosed that part also, called Epipoles; which, with threescore thousand labourers, he finished in three weekes, being two leagues in compasse. He then built two hundred new Gallies, and repaired one hundred and ten of the old; forged one hundred and fortie thousand Targets, with as many swords, and head-peeces, with fourteene thousand corsets, and all other sutable armes. Which done, he sent word to the Carthaginians, (greatly infeebled by the plague,) That except they would abandon the Greek Towns, which they held in Sicil, he would make warre vpon them: and, not staying for answer, hee tooke the spoile of all the Phœnician ships, and merchandize, within his Ports; as King *Philip* the second did of our English, before the warre in our late Queenes time. Hee then goes to the field with foureſcore thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and sends his brother *Leptines* to sea, with two hundred Gallies, & fiue hundred ships of burden. Most of the Towns which held for Carthage yeelded vnto him; sauing Panormus, Segesta or Egesta, Ancyræ, Motya, and Entella. Of these, he first wan Motya by assault, and put all therein to the sword; but before Egesta he lost a great part of his Armie, by a sally of the Citizens. In the meane while *Himilco* arriues; but, ere he tooke land, he lost in a fight at Sea, with *Leptines*, fiftie ships of warre, and fiue thousand Souldiers, besides many ships of burden. This notwithstanding, hee recouered againe Motya vpon his first descent. From thence marching towards Messena, he took Lypara, and (soon after) Messena, and razed it to the ground. Now began *Dionysius* greatly to doubt his estate. Hee therefore fortified all the places he could, in the Territorie of the Leontines, by which he supposed that *Himilco* would passe toward Syracuse; and hee himselfe tooke the field againe, with foure and thirtie thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Now, hearing that *Himilco* had diuided his Armie into two parts, marching with the one halfe ouer-land, and sending *Mago* with the other by Sea: he sent *Leptines*, his brother, to encounter *Mago*. But *Leptines* was vtterly beaten by the Carthaginians; twenty thousand of his men were slaine, and an hundred of his Gallies lost. It is very strange, and hardly credible, which yet good Authors tell vs; That one Citie should bee able to furnish fiue hundred saile of ships, and two hundred Gallies: (for, so many did Syracuse arme in this warre) and more strange it is, that in a battaile at Sea, without any great Artillerie, or Musket-shot, twenty thousand should bee slaine in one fight. In all our fights against the Turkes, of which that at Lepanto was the most notable, wee heare of no such number lost; nor in any other fight by Sea, that euer happened in our age, nor before vs. When *Charles* the sift went to besiege Algier, he had in all his fleet, transporters and others, but two hundred and fiftie saile of shippes, and threescore and fiue Gallies: for the furnishing of which fleet, hee sought helpe from all the Cities and Ports of Spaine, Naples, and the rest of Italie. But in old times it was the manner to carry into the field, vpon extremitie, as many as were needfull, of all that could beare armes, giuing them little wages, or other allowance: in our dayes it is not so; neither indeede, is it often requisite. Vpon this ouerthrow, *Dionysius* postes away to Syracuse, to strengthen it: *Himilco* followes him, and besiegeth the Towne by Land and Sea. But the Tyrant,

hauing receiued aide from the Lacedæmonians, vnder the conduct of *Pharacidas*, puts himselfe to Sea, to make prouision for his Citizens, who in his absence, take twenty of the Carthaginian Gallies, and sinke foure. Hereupon, finding their owne successe prosperous, and that of the Tyrant exceeding ill: hauing also at the present weapons in their hands; they consult how to recouer their liberty. And this they had done, had not *Pharacidas* the Lacedæmonian resisted them. It also fel out, to his exceeding aduantage, that the plague was so increased, and so violent, among the Carthaginians; as it is said, that aboue an hundred thousand of them died thereof. He therefore, with the power that he could gather together, sets vpon them both by Sea and Land; and hauing slaine great numbers of them, forceth *Himilco* to desire peace. This peace *Dionysius* sold him for a great summe of money; on condition that he should steale away with his Carthaginians onely: which he basely accepted, betraying the rest of the Africans and Spaniards. Yet no faith was kept with him: for he was pursued, and left many of his Carthaginians behinde him. The rest of the Africans fell vnder the swords of their enemies; onely the Spaniards, after they had a while brauely defended themselues, were (after their submission) entertained, and serued the Conquerour.

Many such examples of perfidious dealing haue I noted in other places, and can hardly forbeare to deliuer vnto memory the like practises, when they meet with their matches: That which hapned vnto *Monsieur de Piles*, was very sutable to this trecherie, wherewith *Dionysius* pursued *Himilco*. I was present, when *De piles* related the iniurie done vnto him. He had rendered S. *Iohn d' Angelie*, to the French King *Charles* the ninth, who besieged him therein. He rendred it, vpon promise made by the faith of a King, that he should be suffered to depart in safety, with all his followers. Yet in presence of the King himselfe, of the Duke of *Anion* his brother, Generall of his Armie, of the Queene Mother, and of diuers Dukes and Marshals of France, he was set vpon, and broken in his March; spoyled of all that he had; and forced to saue his life by flight, leauing the most of his Souldiers dead vpon the place: the Kings hand & faith, warranting him to march away with ensignes displaid: and with all his goods and prouisions, no whit auailing him. It needs not therefore seeme strange, that an Heathen Tyrant should thus breake his faith, since Kings, professing Christianitie, are bold to doe the like, or command their Captaines to doe it for them.

Dionysius, after this great victorie, tooke care to re-edifie Messena. *Mago*, who staied in Sicil, to hold vp the Carthaginians therein, is againe beaten by *Dionysius*; who is also beaten by the Tauromenians. A new supply of foureſcore thousand Souldiers is sent from Carthage to *Mago*; but these take egges for their money, and make peace with *Dionysius*, leauing the Sicilians in Tauromenium, to shift for themselues: whom *Dionysius*, after a long siege, ouer-came, and gaue their Citie to his mercenarie Souldiers.

He then past into Italie, obtained diuers victories there, brought the Rhegians on their knees, forced them to pay him one hundred & foureſcore thousand crownes, to furnish him with threescore Gallies, and to put in an hundred pledges, for assurance of their future obseruance of couenants. This he did, not with any purpose to performe vnto them the peace that they had so dearely bought; but that hauing taken from them their Gallies, he might besiege them, and ruine them vtterly, with the more ease. Now to the end he might not, without some colour, falsifie the faith that he had giuen to them; he pretended to want victuall for his Armie, at such time as he seemed ready to depart out of Italie, and sent to them to furnish him therewith; promising to returne them the like qualitie, at his comming home to Syracuse.

His resolution was, that if they refused to furnish him, he would then make their refusall the cause of his quarrell: if they yeelded to aide him with the proportion which he desired, that then they should not be able, for want of food, to endure a siege any long time against him. For, to ruine them he had fully determined, at what price soeuer. And great reason he had to take reuenge of them, if hee had done it fairely, and without breach of faith. For when in the beginning of his reigne, hee desired them to bestow a daughter of some of their Nobilitie vpon him for a wife: they answered, That they had not any one fit for him, saue the Hangmans daughter. Princes doe rather pardon ill deedes, than villanous words. *Alexander* the great forgaue many sharpe swords, but neuer any sharpe tongues; no, though they told him but truely of his errours.

And certainly, it belongs to those that haue warrant from God, to reprehend Princes: and to none else, especially in publique.

It is said, that *Henrie* the fourth of France, had his heart more inflamed against the Duke of *Biron*, for his ouer-bold and biting taunts, that he vsed against him before Amiens, than for his conspiracie with the Spaniard, or Sauoyan: for hee had pardoned ten thousand of such as had gone farther, and drawne their swords against him. The contemptuous words that Sir *Iohn Parret* vsed of our late Queene *Elizabeth*, were his ruine, and not the counterfait letter of the Romish Priest, produced against him. So fared it with some other, greater than hee, that thereby ranne the same, aud a worse fortune, soone after.

To be short, he made them know new bread from old. Hee assaulted their Towne on all sides, which hee continued to doe eleuen moneths, till hee wonne it by force. Hee vsed his victorie without mercy, specially against *Phyton*, who had commanded within it.

Some other wars he made with the Carthaginians, after the taking and rasing of this Citie; and those with variable successe. For, as in one encounter he slue *Mago*, with ten thousand Africans: so the sonne of *Mago* beat him, and slue his brother *Leptines*, with foureteene thousand of his Souldiers. After which he bought his peace of the Carthaginians, as they had formerly done of him; following therein the aduice of Prosperity and Aduersitie, as all Kings and States doe.

When he had reigned eight and thirty yeeres, he died: some say in his bed, peaceably, which is the most likely, though others report it otherwise. A cruell man he was, and a faithlesse; a great Poet, but a foolish one. He entertained *Plato* a while, but afterward, for speaking against his tyranny, he gaue order to haue him slaine, or sold for a slaue. For he could endure no man that flattered him not beyond measure. His Parasites therefore stiled his crueltie, *The hate of euill men*; and his lawlesse slaughters, *The ornaments and effects of his iustice*. True it is, that flatterers are a kinde of vermine, which poyson all the Princes of the World; and yet they prosper better than the worthiest and valiantest men doe: and I wonder not at it, for it is a world: and, as our *Sauiour Christ* hath told vs, *The World will loue her owne*.

To this *Dionysius* his sonne of the same name succeeded, and inherited both his Kingdome and his Vices. To win the loue of the People, he pardoned, and released out of prison, a great number of persons, by his Father lockt vp, and condemned. Withall, he remitted vnto his Citizens diuers payments, by his Father imposed vpon them. Which done, and thereby hoping, that he had fastned vnto himselfe the peoples affections; hee cast off the Sheepes skin, and put on that of the Woolfe. For being iealous of his owne Brethren, as men of more vertue than himselfe, he caused them all to be slaine; and all the Kindred that they had by their Mothers side. For *Dyonysius* his Father (as hath been said) had two Wiues; *Doris* of Locris, and *Aristomache* a Syracusian, the sister of *Dion*, which Brother-in-law of his he greatly enriched.

By *Doris* he had this *Dionysius*, who succeeded vnto him: and by *Aristomache* he had two Sonnes and two Daughters; of which the elder, called *Sophrosine*, he gaue in marriage to his eldest Sonne, and her halfe-brother, *Dionysius*; the younger, called *Areta*, he bestowed on his Brother *Theorides*: after whose death, *Dion* tooke her to Wife, being his Neece.

This *Dion*, a iust, and valiant man, finding that *Dionysius* had abandoned all exercise of vertue, and that he was wholly giuen ouer to sensualitie, preuailed so much with *Plato*, whose Disciple he had beene, as he drew him into Sicil, to instruct the young King. And hauing perswaded the King to entertaine him, he wrought so well with him, as *Dionysius* began to change condition; to change Tyrannie, into Monarchie; and to hold the Principalitie, that he had, rather by the loue of his People, and his Nationall Lawes, than by the violence of his Guards and Garrisons. But this goodnesse of his lasted not long. For *Philistus* the Historian, and other his Parasites, that hated *Dions* seueritie, wrought him out of the Tyrants fauour, and caused him soone after to bee banished out of Sicil, to the great griefe of the whole Nation. For whereas *Dion* had made offer to the King, either to compound the quarrels betweene him and the Carthaginians, of whom *Dionysius* stood in great feare; or (at least) if they refused it, to furnish him with fiftie Gallies at his owne charge, during the warre against them: his enemies found

found meanes, by sinister interpretation, to conuert his good will into matter of treason. They told *Dionysius*, that all the great commendations, giuen of *Plato*, had tended to none other end, than to soften his minde, and to make him neglect his owne affaires, by the studie of Philosophie; whilest *Dion*, in the meane time hauing furnished fiftie Gallies, vnder colour of the Kings seruice, had it in his owne power, either to deliuer to the Syracusians their former libertie, or to make himselfe Lord and Soueraigne of their State.

It is likely, that the honest and liberall offer which hee made, to serue the King with so great a preparation, at his owne charge, begot him many enemies. For they that had serued the King for none other end, than to raise and enrich themselues, and had already beene raised and enriched, thought themselues bound to make the same offer, that *Dion* had made, if the King had had the grace to conceiue it aright. But the couetous and ignorant cowards, that had neither the knowledge, nor the daring, that *Dion* had, were bold to stile his Loue and Liberalitie, Pride and Presumption; and heartened the young King, in his oppressing, and eating vp his owne people, of whose spoyles they themselues shared no small portion. I haue heard it, That when *Charles* the fift had the repulse at Algier in Africa, *Ferdinando Cortese*, one of the bravest men that euer Spaine brought forth, offered vnto the Emperour, to continue the siege at his owne charge. But hee had neuer good day after it. For they that enuied his victories, and his conquest of Mexico in the West Indies, perswaded the Emperour, that *Cortese* sought to value himselfe aboue him; and to haue it said, That what the Emperour could not, *Cortese* had effected; and was therefore more worthie of the Empire, than hee that had it.

When *Dion* was newly banished, the Tyrant was contented, at first, to send him the reuenewes of his Lands, and permit him to dispose of his moueables, at his owne pleasure: not without giuing hope, to recall him in short time. Had hee continued in this good moode, like enough it is, that *Dion* would haue beene well pleased to liue well, as he did at Athens. But after some time, *Dionysius* made Port-sale of this Noble-mans goods, and thereby vrged him to take another course, euen to seeke the restitution of his Countrie to libertie. The vertues of *Dion*, especially his great liberalitie, had purchased much loue in Greece. This loue made him suspected and hated of the Tyrant: but it stood him in good stead, when he sought to raise men (with whose helpe hee might returne into Sicil. Yet he got not aboue eight hundred (for he carried the matter closely) to follow him in this aduenture. But many of them were men of qualitie, and fit to be Leaders. Neither did hee doubt of finding in Syracuse, as many as should bee needfull, that would readily assist him. Therefore he landed boldly in Sicil, marched to Syracuse, entred the Citie without resistance, armed the multitude, and won all, saue the Citadell.

Dionysius was then absent in Italie, but hee quickely had aduertisement of this dangerous accident. Wherefore hee returned hastily to Syracuse: whence, after many vaine treaties of peace, and some forceable attempts to recouer the Towne, hee was faine to depart; leauing yet the Castle to the custodie of *Apollocrates* his eldest sonne. Yet ere hee went, his Minion *Philistus*, comming with a strength of men to assist him, was beaten, taken, and put to death by torment. But *Dion*, for the recouerie of his Countries libertie, had the same reward, that all worthy men haue had from popular Estates. Hee was disgraced, assaulted, and forced to abandon the Citie. Hee retired himselfe to the Leontines, who receiue him with great ioy. Soone after his departure from Syracuse, new troupes enter the Castle: they sallie out, assaile, spoyle, and burne a great part of the Citie. *Dion* is sent for, with humble request: yet, ere hee could arriue, *Dionysius* his Souldiers were retired; and the Townes-men, thinking themselues secure, shut the gates against *Dion*. But the next night they of the Castle sallie againe, with greater furie than euer; they kill Man, Woman, and Childe, and set fire in all parts of the Towne. In this their extremitie *Dion* comes the second time to their succour; the loue of his Countrie surmounting all the iniuries that hee had receiued. Hee sets vpon the Garrison of the Castle, with the one part of his Armie; and quencheth the fire euery-where kindled, with the other part. In conclusion, after hee had conquered both the fire and the sword, that had wel-neere burnt to ashes, and depopulated Syracuse, he recouered the Castle, with the munition and furniture thereof, and sent *Apollocrates*, after

after *Dionysius* his Father, into Italie. But their malice, of whom hee had best deserued, and whom hee had loued most, gaue an vntimely end to his dayes. For hee was soone after this his victorie, murdered by *Gylippus*; who, after hee had, with ill successe, awhile gouerned Syracuse, was slaine with the same Dagger, with which hee had murdered *Dion*.

Ten yeares after the death of *Dion*, *Dionysius*, with the assistance of his friends in Italy, recouers his estate, and returnes to Syracuse, driuing *Nysæus* thence, whom he found Gouernour therein. The better sort of the Citizens, fearing, more than euer, his cruelty, flee to *Icetes*, a Syracusian borne, and then ruling the Leontines. *Icetes* enters into confederacie with the Carthaginians, hoping by their assistance, not onely to preuaile against *Dionysius*; but by the hatred of the Syracusians towards *Dionysius*, to make him also Lord of their Citie. The Syracusians, being deseruedly afflicted on all sides, send to the Corinthians for succour. *Icetes* also sends thither, and dissuades the Corinthians, as well as he can, from intermedling in the businesse. He tells them, by his messengers, That he had entred into league with the Carthaginians, who were so strong by Sea, that it was not in the power of Corinth, to land any Armie in Sicil. But the Corinthians, being by this treason of *Icetes*, more inraged than dissuaded, sent *Timoleon* with nineteene Gallies, to deliuer Syracuse from tyrannie. In the meane while, *Icetes* had entred Syracuse, and with the helpe of the Carthaginians, driuen *Dionysius* into the Castle, where he besieged him.

Icetes, being himselfe a Tyrant in Leontium, rather sought how to enlarge his power, than how to deliuer his Countrie. Therefore, hearing that *Timoleon* was arriued at Rhegium, he sent to perswade him, to returne his fleet; for that all things were (in effect) established in Sicil. The Carthaginian Gallies were also in the same Port of Rhegium; whose Captaines aduised *Timoleon*, to get him gone in peace. They had farre more Gallies there, than he had, and were like to compell him, if he would not be perswaded. *Timoleon*, finding himselfe ouer-mastered, makes request to the Carthaginian Captaines, that they would be pleased to enter into Rhegium, and there, in an open assembly of the people, to deliuer vnto him those arguments, for his returne, which they had vsed to him in priuate; that hee might, by publique testimonie, discharge himselfe to the Senate of Corinth.

The Carthaginians, perswading themselues, that a victorie, obtained by a few faire words, was without losse, and farre more easie, than that of many blowes and wounds, yeelded to *Timoleons* desire. But while the Orations were deliuering, *Timoleon*, fauoured by the Rhegians, stole out of the preasse; and hauing set saile, before the Gates were opened to the Carthaginians, he recouered the Port of Tauromenium, where he was ioyfully receiued by *Andromachus* the Gouernour. From thence he marched toward Adranum, where surprising *Icetes* his Armie, he slew a part therof, and put the rest to run. It is the nature of victorie to beget friends. The Adranitans ioyned with him; and so did *Mamercus*, the Tyrant of Catana. *Dionysius* also sent to *Timoleon*, offering to surrender the Castle of Syracuse into his hands, as thinking it better to yeeld vp himselfe, and the places which he could not defend, vnto the Corinthians, than either to *Icetes*, whom he disdained, or to the Carthaginians, whom he hated. Now *Timoleon*, who within fiftie dayes, after his arriuall, had recouered the Castle of Syracuse, and sent *Dionysius* to Corinth, to liue there a priuate man, was still inuaded by the Armies, and molested by the practices of *Icetes*. For he besieged the Corinthians within the Castle of Syracuse, and attempted (but in vaine) the murder of *Timoleon*.

The Corinthians send vnto *Timoleon* a supply of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse, which are staid in Italie by foule weather. *Icetes* is strengthned with threescore thousand Africans, brought vnto him by *Mago* (all which he lodgeth within Syracuse) and with an hundred and fiftie Gallies, to keepe the Port. This was the first time, that euer the Carthaginians had dominion within the walls of that Citie. With this great Armie, *Icetes* assaulteth the Castle. *Timoleon* sends them victuals, and succour, in small boats, by night, from Catana. *Mago* and *Icetes* doe therefore resolue to besiege Catana; but they were no sooner on their way towards it, with part of their forces, than *Leon*, Captaine of the Corinthians, sallied out of the Castle, and tooke that part of Syracuse, called Acradina, which he fortified.

In the meane while, the two thousand Corinthians arriue: with whom, and two thousand other Souldiers, *Timoleon* marcheth towards Syracuse. *Mago* abandoneth *Icetes*, being

being frighted out of Sicil (which he might easily haue conquered) with an idle rumour of treason. This made him returne to Carthage; where the generall exclamation against his cowardize, did so much affright him, that for feare of farther punishment, he hanged himselfe. *Timoleon* enters the Citie, and beats downe the Castle (which he called *the nest of Tyrants*) to the ground. But he found the Citie when the strangers were fled, in effect desolate; so as their horses did feed on the grasse, growing in the market-place. Therefore, hee writes to Corinth, for people to re-inhabite it. Ten thousand are sent out of Greece; many come from Italie; others, from other parts of the Iland.

But a new storme ariseth. *Asdrubal* and *Amilcar*, Carthaginians, arriue about Lilybæum, with threescore and ten thousand Souldiers, transported (with all their prouisions) in a thousand ships of burden, and two hundred Gallies. *Timoleon* marcheth thither, and chargeth this great Armie vpon the passage of a Riuer.

A tempest of raine, haile, and lightning, with boysterous windes, beating vpon the faces of the Carthaginians, they are vtterly broken: ten thousand slaine, fiue thousand taken; with all their carriages and prouisions: among which there were found a thousand corslets, gilt and grauen. After this, *Timoleon* gaue an ouerthrow to *Icetes*, and following his victorie, tooke him, with his son *Eupolemus*, and the Generall of his horse, prisoners; whom he caused all to be slaine: and afterwards (which was imputed to him for great cruelties) he suffered *Icetes* his wiues & daughters to be put to death. But this was the reuenge of God vpon *Icetes*, who (after the murder of *Dion*) had caused *Arete*, *Dions* wife and a yong childe of his, with *Aristamache* his sister, to be cast into the Sea.

He againe preuailed against *Mamercus*, Tyrant of Catana, and won Catana it selfe. *Mamercus* fled to *Hippon* Tyrant of Messena: but *Timoleon*, pursuing him, won the towne; deliuering *Hippon* to his Citizens, who tormented him to death. The same end had *Mamercus*, and all other, the Tyrants in Sicil.

Finally, he made peace with the Carthaginians, on condition, That they should not passe the Riuer of Lycus. After this, hee liued in great honour among the Syracusians, till his death; and was solemnly buried by them in the market-place of their Citie: the day of his Funerals, being for euer ordained to be kept holy among them.

After such time, as *Timoleon* had deliuered Syracuse, from the tyrannie of *Dionysius*, and brought peace to the whole Iland; the Inhabitants enioyed their libertie in peace, about twentie yeeres. The Cities and Temples were repaired; the Trade renewed; the Merchant sailed in safetie; and the Labouring man enioyed the fruits of the earth in quiet. But it was impossible that a Nation which neither knew how to gouerne, nor how to obey; which could neither endure Kings, nor men worthy to be Kings, to gouerne them; should any long time subsist.

Twentie yeeres after the death of *Timoleon*, there started vp one *Agathocles* among them, a man of base birth, and of baser condition; who from a Beggar, to a common Souldier; from a Souldier to a Captaine; and so from degree to degree, rising to bee a Prætor; finally, became Lord and Soueraigne of the Syracusians. Many fortunes hee ran, and vnder-went as many dangers, ere hee obtained the Principalitie. For hee had more than once attempted it, and was therein both beaten and banisht. A passing valiant man he was, and did notable seruice, as well for those by whom he was employed, as also for the Syracusians, and against them. For in their warres against those of Enna, and the Campanes, he did them memorable seruice: and on the contrary, as memorable seruice for the Murgantines, against the Syracusians. For being entertained by the people of Murgantia, and made Generall of their forces, he sackt Leontium; and besieged Syracuse so streightly, that the Citizens were driuen to craue aide, euen from their ancient and naturall enemies, the Carthaginians. *Amilcar* was sent by the Carthaginians, to relieue Syracuse. With him *Agathocles* wrought so well, that hee got him to make peace betweene himselfe and the Syracusians; binding himselfe by promise and oath, to remaine a friend and seruant to the State of Carthage, for euer after. *Amilcar* entertained the businesse, and compounded the quarrels betweene *Agathocles*, and the Syracusians. *Agathocles* is chosen Prætor; he entertaines fiue thousand Africans, and diuers old Souldiers of the Murgantines, vnder colour of a purpose to besiege Herbita. With these, and with the assistance of the poore and discontented Syracusians (the Citie also being diuided into many factions) hee assailes the Senators, kills all his enemies and opposites; diuides

diuides the spoile of the rich, among the poore; and giues liberty to his Souldiers, to rob, to rauish, and to murder, for two whole dayes and nights, without controlement: the third day, when they had blunted their barbarous appetites, and strewed the streets with ten thousand dead carkasses, besides those that had broken their necks ouer the walls; their furie had no further subiect to worke on.

Agathocles, in an assembly of the people (being an eloquent knaue) perswaded them, that, for the violent sicknesse, by which the common-wealth was vtterly consumed, hee found no better, than the violent remedies, which he had administred; and that hee affected no other thing, than the reducing of the state from an Oligarchie, or the rule of a few tyrannous Magistrates, to the ancient and indifferent Democratie, by which it had beene gouerned, from the first institution, with so great glorie and prosperitie. This he did, to haue the crowne clapt on his head (as it were) perforce. For, as hee knew that he had left none liuing, within the Citie, fit, nor able, to exercise the office of a Magistrate; so knew he right well, that all they which had assisted, in the murder and spoile of their fellow Citizens, had no other hope of defence, than the support of a lawlesse Lord, who had been partaker with them, in their villanies and cruelties committed. So as this Rabble, his Oration ended, proclaimed him King: againe and againe, saluting, and adoring him, by that name, as if it had beene giuen to him by some lawfull election. Hence had our King *Richard* the third a piece of his patterne; but the one was of base, the other, of Kingly parents; the one tooke liberty from a common-weale; the other sought onely to succeed in a Monarchie; the one continued his cruelty to the end; the other, after hee had obtained the Crowne, sought, by making good lawes, to recouer the loue of his people.

The life of this Tyrant, is briefly written by *Iustine*; more largely and particularly by *Diodorus Siculus*: the summe whereof is this. The same *Amilcar* that had brought him into Syracuse, and that had lent him fiue thousand men to helpe in the massacre of the Citizens, was also content to winke at many wrongs, that hee did vnto the Confederates of the Carthaginians. It was the purpose of *Amilcar*, to settle *Agathocles* in his tyranny, and to let him vexe and waste the whole Iland; because it was thereby like to come to passe, that hee should reduce all Sicil into such termes as would make it become an easie prey to Carthage. But when the cities, confederate with the Carthaginians, sent their Embassadors, with complaint of this ill dealing, to Carthage; the Punick faith (so much taunted by the Romans, as no better than meere falshood) shewed it selfe very honourable, in taking order for the redresse. Embassadours were sent to comfort the Sicilians, and to put *Agathocles* in minde of his couenants; *Amilcar* was recalled home into Africk, and a new Captaine appointed to succeed in his charge, with such forces, as might compell *Agathocles* to reason, if otherwise hee would not hearken to it. All this tended, to saue their Confederates, from suffering such iniuries in the future. For that which was past (since it could not be recalled) they tooke order to haue it seuerely punished. *Amilcar* was accused secretly, and by way of scrutinie: the suffrages being giuen, but not calculated; and so reserued vntill he should returne. This was not so closely handled, but that *Amilcar* had soone notice of it. In managing his businesse with *Agathocles*, it is likely that hee had an eye to his owne profit, as well as to the publike benefit of his Countrie. For he had made such a composition with the Syracusian, as gaue him not onely meanes to weaken others, but to strengthen himselfe, both in power and authoritie, euen against the Carthaginians. Such is commonly the custome of those, that hope to worke their owne ends by cunning practices, thinking to deale subtilly and finely, they spin their threads so small, that they are broken with the very winde. *Amilcar* saw, that his Carthaginians had a purpose to deale substantially; and that therefore it would bee hard for him, to make them follow his crooked deuices: which if hee could not doe, it was to be expected, that their anger would breake out into so much the greater extremitie, by how much the more they had concealed it. Therefore hee followed the example, which some of his fore-goers had taught him; and, for feare of such a death, as the Iudges might award him, he ended his owne life in what sort he thought best. This desperation of *Amilcar* serued to informe *Agathocles* of the Carthaginians intent. Hee saw they would not be deluded with words, and therefore resolued to get the start of them in action. Hee dissembled no longer; but, in stead of spoyle and robbery, made open warre vpon all their Adherents. Hee had made the better part of Sicil his owne, ere the Carthaginians

Carthaginian forces arriued: which thinking to haue incountred an ill-established Tyrant, found him readie, as a King, to defend his owne, and giue them sharpe entertainement. They were beaten by him; and their Nauie was so Tempest-beaten, that they could neither doe good by Land, nor Sea, but were glad to leaue their businesse vndone, and returne into Africke.

The Carthaginians prepare a new fleet: which being very gallantly manned & furnished, was broken by foule weather, and the best part of it cast away, euen whilest it was yet within kenning of their Citie. But *Amilcar*, the sonne of *Gisco*, gathering together the remainders of his ship-wracke, was bold to passe ouer into Sicil, and landed not far from Gela; where *Agathocles* was soone readie to examine the cause of their comming. Many skirmishes passed betweene them, in which (commonly) the Syracusian had the better. But his good successe begat presumption; whereby hee lost a battaile, more important than all the other fights. One aduerse chance is enough to ouerthrow the state of a Tyrant, if it be not vpheld by great circumspection. The war was soone transferred to the walls of Syracuse; within which *Agathocles* was closed vp, and driuen to make his last defence by their helpe, who may be iudged to haue loued him not very greatly. But the Inhabitants of Syracuse, after that great massacre of the principall men, made in the beginning of this new Tyranny, were (for the most part) such, as had beene either mercenarie Souldiers, infranchised slaues, or base & needie people; helpers in establishing the present Gouernment, and Executioners of the murders, and spoyle, committed in that change. If there were any other (as some there were) they were so well obserued, and (withall) so fearefull, that they durst not stirre. But it was enough, that they all agreed in the common defence of themselues and their Citie; Famine was likely to grow vpon them, and inforce them to change their resolution. In this necessity, *Agathocles* aduentured vpon a strange course, which the euent commended as wise. He imbarqued as many as he thought meet, in those vessels that rode in the Hauen; and committing the gouernment of the Citie to his brother *Antander*, willed the people to be of good courage, for that (as he told them) hee had bethought himselfe of a meane, both to raise the siege, and to repaire all other losses. A Carthaginian fleet lay in the mouth of the Hauen, both to hinder the entrance of victuallers, and to keepe the besieged from issuing forth.

Now, at such time as *Agathocles* was ready to depart, aduertisement came, that many ships of burden, laden with corne, and other prouisions, were drawing neere vnto Syracuse. To intercept these, the Carthaginians hoise saile, and lanch forth into the deepe. They were not far gone, when they might behold *Agathocles*, issuing forth of the Port, with purpose (as they thought) to giue conuoy vnto his victuallers. Hereupon they wheele about, and make amaine towards him, as thinking him the better bootie. He neither abode their comming, nor fled backe into the Citie, but made all speed towards Africke; and was pursued by the Carthaginians, as long as the day would giue them light. In the meane season, the victuallers were gotten to Syracuse; which was the more plentifully relieued by their comming, for that *Agathocles* had vnburdened the place of no small number. When the Carthaginian Admirall perceiued; first, that by pursuing two fleets at once, he had missed of them both; and secondly, that *Agathocles* returned not againe, but was gone to seeke his fortune elsewhere, hee thought it good to pursue those that were fled, and to attend so well vpon them, that they should not haue leisure to doe mischiefe in some other part.

The Carthaginian Nauie followed *Agathocles* (whether by chance, or by relation of such as had met with him at Sea) directly towards Africk, and ouer-tooke him after sixe dayes. He had (at the first) a great start of them; so that (belike) they rowed hard, and wearied themselues, in seeking their owne misfortune. For he fought with them, & beat them; and, hauing sunke, or taken many, draue the rest to flie which way they could, laden with such strange tidings of his voyage.

When *Agathocles* had landed his men in Africk, then did he discouer vnto them his proiect, letting them vnderstand, That there was no better way to diuert the Carthaginians, not only frõ *Syracuse*, but from all the Ile of Sicil, than by bringing the war to their owne doors. For here (said he) they haue many that hate them, and that will readily take armes against them, as soone as they perceiue that there is an Armie on foot, which dares to looke vpon their walls. Their Townes are ill fortified, their people vntrained, and

and vnexperienced in dangers; the mercenarie forces, that they leuie in these parts, will rather follow vs than them, if we offer greater wages than they can giue: which wee may better promise and make good, by letting them haue some share with vs in all the wealth of the Carthaginians, than our enemies can doe, by making some addition to their stipends. Thus he talked, as one already Master of all the riches in Africk; and with many braue words encouraged his men so well, that they were contented to set fire on all their ships (reseruing one or two to vse as Messengers) to the end that no hope should remaine, saue onely in victory. In this heat of resolution, they winne by force two Cities; which after they had throughly sacked, they burnt to the ground; as a marke of terrour to all that should make resistance. The Carthaginians, hearing this, are amazed; think-10 ing that *Amilcar* is broken, and his whole Armie destroyed in Sicil. This impression so dismaies them, that when they know the truth of all, by such as had scaped in the late Sea fight, yet still they feare, and know not what. They suspect *Amilcars* faith, who had suffered *Agathocles* to land in Africk: they suspect their principall Citizens at home, of a meaning to betray Carthage vnto the enemie; they raise a great Armie, and know not to whose charge they may safely commit it.

There were at that time two famous Captaines in the Citie, *Hanno* and *Bomilcar*; great enemies, and therefore the more vnlikely to conspire against the Common-wealth. These are made Generals of the Armie leuied, which farre exceeded the forces of *Agathocles*. But it seldome happens, that dissension betweene Commanders produceth any 20 fortunate euent. Necessitie draue *Agathocles* to fight: and the courage of his men, resolued to deale with the whole multitude of the Carthaginians, made easie the victorie against the one halfe of them. For *Bomilcar* would not stirre: but suffered *Hanno* to bee cut in pieces.

The reputation of this great victorie, brought ouer a King of the Africans, from the Carthaginian society, to take part with *Agathocles*: who pursuing his victorie winneth many Townes, and sends word to Syracuse of his good successe. The Carthaginians also send into Sicil, willing *Amilcar*, their Generall, to succour the State of Africk, which was in danger to bee lost, whilest he was trauailing in the conquest of Sicil. *Amilcar* sends them fiue thousand men: all his forces hee thought it not need-30 full to transport; as hoping rather to draw *Agathocles* backe into Sicil, than to be drawn home by one, that could scarce retaine his owne Kingdome. But these good hopes had a bad issue. Hee spent some time in winning a few Townes, that adhered vnto the Syracusians: and hauing brought his matters to some good order, hee conceiued a sudden hope of taking Syracuse by surprise. It was a prettie (though tragicall) accident, if it were true, as *Tullie* relates it. *Amilcar* had a dreame, which told him that hee should sup the next day within Syracuse. His fancie begot this dreame, and hee verily beleeued it. Hee made more haste than good speed, toward the Citie: and comming vpon it on the sudden, had good hope to carry it. But his enemies were prepared for him, and had laied an ambush to intrappe him, whereinto hee fell. So hee was 40 carried prisoner into the Citie; in which it was likely, that hee had no great cheare to his supper: for they strucke off his head, and sent it into Africk (a welcome present) to *Agathocles*.

This good successe of things at home, did put such courage into the Sicilian Armie, that *Agathocles* was bold to weare a Crowne, and stile himselfe *King of Africk*. Hee had allured *Ophellas*, King of the Cyrenians, to take his part, by promises to deliuer the Countrie into his hands: for that (as hee said) it was sufficient vnto himselfe to haue diuerted the Carthaginians from Sicil, wherein (after this warre ended) he might reigne quietly. *Ophellas* came with a great Armie, and was friendly entertained. But the traiterous Sicilian, taking an aduantage, did murther this his assistant; and afterwards by good 50 words, and great promises, drew all the Cyrenian Armie to follow him in his Warres. Thus his villanie found good successe; and hee so preuailed in Africke, that hee got leysure to make a step into Sicil. Many Townes in Sicil had embraced a desire of recouering their libertie; thinking it high time to fight at length for their owne freedome, after that they had so long beene exposed, (as a reward of victorie) either vnto Aliens, or to Tyrants, of their owne Countrie. These had preuailed farre, and gotten many to take their parts, as in a common cause: when the comming of *Agathocles* abated their high spirits, and his good successe in many fights, compelled them to Obedience. Out of Sicil

Sicil hee returned into Africk, where his affaires stood an very bad termes. *Archagathus*, his sonne, had lost a battaile; and (which was worse) had ill meanes to helpe himselfe: his Armie being in mutinie for lacke of pay. But *Agathocles* pacified the tumult, by the accustomed promises of great bootie and spoyle; it had now beene time for him, to offer peace to the Carthaginians; which to obtaine, they would (questionlesse) haue giuen to him, both money enough to pay his Armie, and all that they then held in Sicil. For their Citie had beene distressed, not onely by this his warre, but by the treason of *Bomilcar*, who failed not much of making himselfe Tyrant ouer them. But ambition is blinde. *Agathocles* had all his thoughts fixed vpon the conquest of Carthage itselfe: out of which 10 dreame he was awaked, by the losse of a battaile, not so memorable in regard of any accident therein, as of the strange euents following it. The Carthaginians, after their great misfortunes in this warre, had renewed their old sacrifices of children to *Saturne*: from which they had abstained, euer since they made peace with *Gelon*. And now they made choice of some, the goodliest of their prisoners, taken in the battaile, to offer vnto the said Idoll, in way of thankfulnesse for their victorie. The fire, with which these vnhappie men were consumed, raught hold vpon the lodgings neerest vnto the Altar; and spreading it selfe farther through the Campe, with the destruction of many men, caused such a tumult as is vsuall in the like cases. At the same time, the like accident of fire burnt vp the Pauilion of *Agathocles*. Hereupon both the Armies fled away; each of them 20 beleeuing, that the noise in the aduerse Campe, was a signe of the enemies comming to inuade it. But the Carthaginians had a safe retrait: *Agathocles*, by a second errour, fell into a new calamitie. In the begioning of this his flight in the darke, hee met with his owne African Souldiers; and thinking them to bee enemies, (as indeed the one halfe of them had reuolted from him, to the Carthaginians, in the last battaile) hee began to assaile them, and was so stoutly resisted, that hee lost in this blinde fight, aboue foure thousand of his men. This did so discourage his proud heart; that being fallen from the neere hope of taking the Citie of Carthage, vnto some distrust of his owne safetie, he knew no more how to moderate his present weake feares, than lately he had known how to gouerne his ambition. Therefore hee tooke the way that came next into his head; 30 which was, to steale closely a-boord his shippes, with his younger sonne (the elder hee suspected of Incest, and of Ambition) and so to flie into Sicil; thinking it the best course to shift for himselfe, as wanting vessels wherein to transport his Armie. His elder son, *Archagathus*, perceiuing his drift, arrested him, and put him vnder custodie: but by meanes of a sudden tumult, hee was let loose, escaped, and fled alone, leauing both his sonnes behinde him. His flight being noysed through the Armie, all was in vprore; and extremitie of rage caused not onely the common Souldier, but euen such as had beene friends to the Tyrant, to lay hold vpon his two sonnes, and kill them. That this flight of *Agathocles* was extreamely base; I need not vse words to proue: That his feare was truly, as all feare is said to be, a passion, depriuing him of the succours which reason 40 offered, the sequele doth manifest. His forsaken Souldiers, being now a headlesse company, and no longer an Armie to be feared, obtained neuertheless a reasonable composition from the Carthaginians: to whom they sold those places, whereof they had possession, for nineteene talents. Likewise, *Agathocles* himselfe, hauing lost his Armie, did neuertheless, by the reputation of this late warre, make peace with Carthage vpon equall termes.

After this, the Tyrant, being deliuered from forraine enemies, discouered his bloudie nature, in most abominable cruelties, among the Sicilians. His wants, and his feares, vrged him so violently, that he was not satisfied with the spoyles of the rich, or the death of those whom he held suspected: but in a beastly rage depopulated whole Cities. Hee deuised new engines of torment; wherein striuing to exceed the Bull of *Phalaris*, hee 50 made a frame of brasse, that should serue to scorch mens bodies, and withall giue him leaue to behold them in their miserie. So deuellish is the nature of man, when reason, that should be his guide, is become a slaue to his bruitish affections. In these mischiefes he was so outragious, that hee neither spared Sexe, nor Age; especially, when he was informed of the slaughter of his children in Africk. But this was not the way to preseruе his estate: it threw him into new dangers. They whom hee had chased out of their Countrey, tooke armes against him, and draue him into such feare, that he was faine to seeke the loue at Carthage, which by ruling well hee might haue had in Sicil. Hee freely deliuered

liuered into the Carthaginians hands, all those Townes of the Phœnicians in Sicil, belonging vnto them, which were in his possession. They requited him honourably, with great store of corne, and with foure hundred talents of gold and siluer. So (though not without much trouble and hazard) he preuailed against the Rebells, and setled his estate. Hauing no further businesse left in Sicil, he made a voyage into Italie. There hee subdued the Brutians, rather by terrour of his name, than by any force, for they yeelded at his first comming. This done, he went to the Ile of Lipara, and made the Inhabitants buy peace with one hundred talents of gold. But when hee had gotten this great summe, hee would needs exact a greater; and finding plainly that they had no more left, hee was bold to spoyle the Temples of their gods. Herein (me thinkes) hee did well enough. For how could hee beleeue those to be gods, that had continually giuen deafe eares to his horrible periuries? Then he returned richly home, with eleuen ships loaden with gold: all which, and all the rest of his fleet, were cast away by foule weather at Sea, one Gallie excepted, in which he himselfe escaped, to suffer a more miserable end. A grieuous sicknesse fell vpon him, that rotted his whole bodie, spreading it selfe through all his veines and sinewes. Whilest he lay in this case, all desiring his end, saue only *Theogenis* (a wife that he had taken out of Egypt) and her small children: his Nephew, the sonne of *Archagathus*, before mentioned, and a yonger sonne of his owne, began to contend about the Kingdome. Neither did they seeke to end the controuersie by the old Tyrants decision; they regarded him not so much. But each of them laied wait for the others life: wherein the Nephew sped so well that he slue his Vncle, and got his Grandfathers Kingdome, without asking any leaue. These tydings wounded the heart of *Agathocles* with feare and sorrow. Hee saw himselfe without helpe, like to become a prey to his vngracious Nephew, from whom he knew that no fauour was to be expected, either by himselfe, or by those, whom onely hee now held deare, which were *Theogenis* and her children. Therefore he aduised her and them to flie before they were surprised: for that otherwise they could by no meanes auoide, either death, or somewhat that would be worse. He gaue them all his treasures and goods, wherewith he euen compelled them (weeping to leaue him desolate in so wretched a case) to imbarke themselues hastily, and make speed into Egypt. After their departure, whether hee threw himselfe into the fire, or whether his disease consumed him, there was none left that cared to attend him; but hee ended his life as basely, as obscurely, and in as much want, as hee first began it.

After the death of *Agathocles* it was, that the Mamertines his Souldiers traiterously occupied Messana, and infested a great part of the Iland. Then also did the Carthaginians begin to renew their attempts of conquering all Sicil. What the Nephew of *Agathocles* did, I cannot finde. Likely it is that hee quickly perished. For the Sicilians were driuen to send for *Pyrrhus* to helpe them, who had married with a daughter of *Agathocles*. But *Pyrrhus* was soone weare of the Countrie (as hath beene shewed before) and therefore left it; prophesying that it would become a goodly champion field, wherein Rome and Carthage should fight for superioritie. In which businesse, how these two great Cities did speed, the order of our storie will declare.

§. V.

A recontinuation of the Roman warre in Sicil. How Hieron, *King of Syracuse, forsooke the Carthaginians; and made his peace with Rome.*

WHen *Appius Claudius*, following the aduantage of his victorie gotten at Messana, brought the warre vnto the Gates of Syracuse, and besieged that great Citie; *Hieron* found it high time for him to seeke peace: knowing that the Carthaginians had neither any reason to bee offended with him, for helping himselfe by what meanes hee could, when they were not in case to giue him assistance; and foreseeing withall, that when once he had purchased his quiet from the Romans, it would be free for him to sit still, without feare of molestation, whilest Rome and Carthage were fighting for the masterie. In this good mood, the new Roman Consuls, *M. Valerius*, and *C. Octacilius*, found him, and readily embraced the offer of his friendship. Yet they made vse

vse of their present aduantage, and sold him peace for an hundred (some say two hundred) Talents.

These Consuls had brought a great Armie into Sicil; yet did they nothing else in effect, than bring ouer *Hiero* to their side. If the Syracusian held them busied (which I find not, otherwise than by circumstances, as, by the summe of monie imposed vpon him; and by their performing none other peece of seruice) all the whole time of their abode in the Iland; then was his departure from the friendship of Carthage, no lesse to his honour, than it was to his commoditie. For by no reason could they require, that he should suffer his owne Kingdome to run into manifest perill of subuersion, for their sakes; that should haue receiued all the profit of the victorie: seeing they did expose him to the whole danger, without straining themselues to giue him reliefe. But the Carthaginians had lately made good proofe of the strength of Syracuse, in the daies of *Agathocles*: and therefore knew, that it was able to beare a very strong siege. And hereupon it is like that they were the more slacke, in sending helpe: if (perhaps) it were not some part of their desire, that both Rome and Syracuse should weaken one the other, whereby their owne worke might be the easier against them both. Yet indeed, the case of the besieged Citie was not the same, when the Romans lay before it, as it had been, when the Carthaginians attempted it. For there was great reason, to try the vttermost hazard of war against the *Carthaginians*, who sought no other thing than to bring it into slauery: not so against the Romans, who thought it sufficient if they could withdraw it from the party of their enemies. Besides, it was not all one to be gouerned by *Agathocles*, or by *Hiero*. The former of these cared not what the citizens endured, so long as hee might preserue his owne tyranny: the latter, as a iust and good Prince, had no greater desire than to winne the loue of his people, by seeking their commoditie; but including his owne felicitie within the publique, laboured to vphold both, by honest and faithfull dealing. Hereby it came to passe, that he enioyed a long and happy reigne, liuing deare to his owne Subiects, beloued of the Romans, and not greatly molested by the Carthaginians; whom, either the consideration, *That they had left him to himselfe, ere he left their societie*, made vnwilling to seeke his ruine; or their more earnest businesse with the Romans, made vnable to compasse it.

§. VI.

How the Romans besiege and winne Agrigentum. Their beginning to maintaine a fleet. Their first losse, and first victorie by Sea. Of Sea-fight in generall.

HIeron, hauing sided himselfe with the Romans, aided them with victualls, and other necessaries: so that they, presuming vpon his assistance, recall some part of their forces. The Carthaginians finde it high time to bestirre them; they send to the Ligurians, and to the troopes they had in Spaine, to come to their aide; who being arriued, they made the Citie of Agrigentum, the seat of the war, against the Romans, filling it with all manner of munition.

The Roman Consuls, hauing made peace with *Hieron*, returne into Italie; and, in their places, *Lucius Posthumus*, and *Quintus Mamilius*, arriue. They goe on towards * Agrigentum: and finding no enemie in the field, they besiege it, though it were stuffed with fiftie thousand Souldiers. After a while, the time of haruest being come, a part of the Roman Armie range the Countrie to gather corne, and those at the siege grow negligent; the Carthaginians sallie furiously, and indanger the Roman Armie, but are in the end repelled into the towne with great losse; but by the smart felt on both sides, the Assailants redoubled their guards, and the besieged kept within their couert. Yet the

* Agrigentum was a goodly Citie, built by the *Geloi*, vnder conduct of *Ariston* and *Pyllistus*. The compasse was tenne miles about the walls; and it had sometimes in it eight hundred thousand Inhabitants. This Citie, by reason of the fertilitie of the soyle, and the neighbour-hood of Carthage, grew in a short space from small beginnings, to great glory and riches. The plentie and luxurie thereof was so great, as it caused *Empedocles* to say, That the Agregentines built Palaces of such sumptuositie, as if they meant to liue for euer; and made such feasts as if they meant to die the next day. But their greatest pompe and magnificence, was in their goodly temples, and theatres, water-conduits, and fish-ponds: the ruines whereof at this day are sufficient arguments, that Rome it selfe could neuer boast of the like. In the Porch of the temple of *Iupiter Olympius*, (by which we may iudge of the temple it selfe) there was set out on one side the full proportion of the Giants, fighting with the gods, all cut out in polished marble of diuers colours; a worke the most magnificent and rare, that euer hath beene seene: on the other side the warre of Troy, and the encounters which hapned at a siege; with the personages of the Heroes that were doers in that warre; all of the like beautifull stone, and of equall stature to the bodies of those men in ancient times. In comparison of which, the latter works of that kinde, are but petie things, and meere trifles. It would require a volume to expresse the magnificence of the temples of *Hercules*, *Aesculapius*, *Concord*, *Iuno Lucina*, *Chastitie*, *Proserpina*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, wherein the Master-peeces of those exquisite Painters, and Caruers, *Phidias*, *Zeuxis*, *Myron*, and *Polycletus*, were to be seene. But in processe of time it came to the same fortune that all other great Cities haue done; and was ruined by diuers calamities of warre: whereof this warre present brought vnto it not the least.

Romans

Romans, the better to assure themselues, cut a deepe trench, betweene the walls of the Citie and their Campe : and another on the out-side thereof; that neither the Carthaginians might force any suddenly, by a sallie, nor those of the Countrie without, breake vpon them vnawares: which double defence kept the besieged also from the receiuing any reliefe of victuals, and munitions, whilest the Siracusian supplies the assailants with what they want. The besieged send for succour to Carthage: after they had beene in this sort pent vp fiue moneths. The Carthaginians imbarke an Armie, with certaine Elephants, vnder the command of *Hanno*; who arriues with it at Heraclea, to the West of Agrigentum. *Hanno* puts himselfe into the field, and surpriseth Erbesus, a Citie wherein the Romans had bestowed all their prouision. By meanes hereof, the famine without grew to be as great, as it was within Agrigentum; and the Roman campe no lesse straightly assieged by *Hanno*, than the Citie was by the Romanes : insomuch, as if *Hieron* had not supplied them, they had beene forced to abandon the siege. But seeing that this distresse was not enough to make them rise; *Hanno* determined to giue them battaile. To which end departing from Heraclea, hee makes approach vnto the Roman campe. The Romans resolue to sustaine him, and put themselues in order. *Hanno* directs the Numidian horsemen to charge the Vantguard, to the end to draw them further on; which done, hee commands them to returne as broken, till they came to the body of the Armie, that lay shadowed behinde some rising ground. The Numidians performe it accordingly; and while the Romanes pursued the Numidians, *Hanno* giues vpon them, and hauing slaughtered many, beates the rest into their Trenches.

After this encounter, the Carthaginians made no other attempt for two moneths, but lay strongly encamped, waiting vntill some opportunitie should inuite them. But *Annibal* that was besieged in Agrigentum, as well by signes as messengers, made *Hanno* know how ill the extremitie which he endured, was able to brooke such dilatory courses. *Hanno* thereupon, a second time, prouoked the Consuls to fight : But his Elephants being disordered by his owne Vantguard, which was broken by the Romans, he lost the day : and with such as escaped, he recouered Heraclea. *Annibal* perceiuing this, and remaining hopelesse of succour, resolued to make his owne way. Finding therefore that the Romans, after this daies victory, wearied with labour, and secured by their good fortune, kept negligent watch in the night; hee rusht out of the Towne, with all the remainder of his armie, and past by the Roman campe without resistance. The Consuls pursue him in the morning, but in vaine : sure they were, that hee could not carry the Citie with him, which with little a-doe the Romans entred, and pittifully spoyled. The Romans, proud of this victorie, purposed rather to follow the direction of their present good fortunes, than their first determinations. They had resolued in the beginning of this Warre, onely to succour the Mamertines, and to keepe the Carthaginians from their owne coasts : but now they determine to make themselues Lords of all Sicil; and from thence, being fauoured with the winde of good successe, to saile ouer into Africke. It is the disease of Kings, of States, and also of priuate men, to couet the greatest things, but not to enioy the least; the desire of that which we neither haue nor neede, taking from vs the true vse and fruition of what wee haue already. This curse vpon mortall men, was neuer taken from them since the beginning of the World vnto this day.

To prosecute this Warre, *Lucius Valerius* and *Titus Octacilius*, two new Consuls, are sent into Sicil. Wherupon, the Romans being Masters of the field, many in-land Towns gaue themselues vnto them. On the contrarie, the Carthaginians keeping still the Lordship of the Sea, many maritimate places became theirs. The Romans therefore, as well to secure their owne coasts, often inuaded by the African fleets, as also to equall themselues in euery kinde of warfare with their enemies, determine to make a fleet. And herein fortune fauoured them with this accident, that being altogether ignorant in ship-wrights craft, a storme of winde thrust one of the Carthaginian Gallies, of fiue bankes, to the shore.

Now had the Romanes a patterne, and by it they beganne to set vp an hundred *Quinqueremes*, which were Gallies, rowed by fiue on euery banke, and twentie, of three on a banke : and while these were in preparing, they exercised their men in the feat of rowing. This they did after a strange fashion. They placed vpon the Sea-sands many

many seates, in order of the bankes in Gallies, whereon they placed their water-men, and taught them to beate the sand with long poles, orderly, and as they were directed by the Master, that so they might learne the stroke of the Gallie, and how to mount and draw their Oares.

When their fleet was finished, some rigging and other implements excepted, *C. Cornelius*, one of the new Consuls (for they changed euery yeare) was made Admirall: who being more in loue with this new kinde of warfare, than well aduised, past ouer to *Messena* with seuenteene Gallies, leauing the rest to follow him. There he staied not, but would needs row along the coast to *Lipara*, hoping to doe some piece of seruice. *Hannibal*, a *Carthaginian* was at the same time Gouernour in *Panormus*; who being aduertised of this new Sea mans arriuall, sent foorth one *Boodes*, a Senatour of *Carthage*, with twentie Gallies to entertaine him. *Boodes*, falling vpon the Consull vnawares, tooke both him and the fleet he commanded. When *Hannibal* receiued this good newes, together with the *Roman* Gallies, and their Consull; he grew no lesse foolish hardie than *Cornelius* had bin. For hee, fancying to himselfe to surprize the rest of the *Roman* fleet, on their owne coast, ere they were yet in all points prouided; sought them out with a fleete of fiftie saile : wherewith falling among them, he was well beaten, and leauing the greater number of his owne behinde him, made an hard escape with the rest : for of one hundred and twentie Gallies, the *Romans* vnder *Cornelius* had lost but seuenteene, so as one hundred and three remained, which were not easily beaten by fifties.

The *Romans*, being aduertised of *Cornelius* his ouerthrow, make haste to redeeme him, but giue the charge of their fleet to his Colleague, *Duilius*. *Duilius*, considering that the *Roman* vessels were heauie and slow, the *African* Gallies hauing the speed of them, deuised a certaine Engine in the prow of his Gallies, whereby they might fasten or grapple themselues with their enemies, when they were (as we call it) boord and boord, that is, when they brought the Gallies sides together. This done, the weightier ships had gotten the aduantage, and the *Africans* lost it. For neither did their swiftnesse seruе them, nor their Mariners craft; the Vessels wherein both Nations fought, being open : so that all was to be carried by the aduantage of weapon, and valour of the men. Besides this, as the heauier Gallies were accidentally likely to crush and cracke the sides of the lighter and weaker, so were they by the reason of their breadth, more steady; and those that best kept their feet, could also best vse their hands. The example may be giuen between one of the long boates of his Maiesties great ships, and a *London barge*.

Certainely, he that will happily performe a fight at Sea, must he skilfull in making choice of Vessels to fight in : he must beleeue, that there is more belonging to a good man of warre, vpon the waters, than great during; and must know, that there is a great deale of difference, betweene fighting loose or at large, and grappling. The Gunnes of a slow ship pierce as well, and make as great holes, as those in a swift. To clap ships together, without consideration, belongs rather to a mad man, than to a man of warre : for by such an ignorant brauerie was *Peter Strossie*, lost at the *Azores*, when he fought against the *Marquesse of Santa Cruz*. In like sort had the Lord *Charles Howard*, Admirall of *England*, beene lost in the yeere 1588. if he had not beene better aduised, than a great many malignant fooles were, that found fault with his demeanour. The *Spaniards* had an Armie aboord them; and he had none: they had more ships than he had, and of higher building and charging; so that, had he intangled himself with those great and powerfull Vessels, he had greatly endangered this Kingdome of *England*. For twentie men vpon the defences, are equall to an hundred that boord and enter; whereas then, contrariwise, the *Spaniards* had an hundred, for twentie of ours, to defend themselues withall. But our Admirall knew his aduantage, and held it : which had he not done, he had not beene worthy to haue held his head. Heere to speake in generall of Sea-fight (for particulars are fitter for priuate hands than for the Presse,) I say, That a fleete of twentie shippes, all good sailers, and good ships, haue the aduantage, on the open Sea, of an hundred as good ships, and of slower sayling. For if the fleet of an hundred saile keepe themselues neere together, in a grosse squadron; the twentie ships, charging them vpon any angle, shall force them to giue ground, and to fall backe vpon their owne next fellowes : of which so many as intangle, are made vnseruiceable or lost. Force them they

they may easily, because the twentie ships, which giue themselues scope, after they haue giuen one broad side of Artillerie, by clapping into the winde, and staying, they may giue them the other: and so the twentie ships batter them in pieces with a perpetuall vollie; whereas those, that fight in a troope, haue no roome to turne, and can alwaies vse but one and the same beaten side. If the fleete of an hundred saile giue themselues any distance, then shall the lesser fleet preuaile, either against those that are a-reare and hindmost, or against those, that by aduantage of ouer-sailing their fellowes keepe the winde: and if vpon a Lee-shore, the ships next the winde be constrained to fall backe into their owne squadron, then it is all to nothing, the whole fleet must suffer shipwracke, or render it selfe. That such aduantage may be taken vpon a fleet of vnequall speed, it hath bin well enough conceiued in old time; as by that Oration of *Hermocrates*, in *Thucydides*, which he made to the *Syracusians*, when the *Athenians* inuaded them, it may easily be obserued.

Of the Art of Warre by Sea, I had written a Treatise, for the Lord *Henry, Prince of Wales*; a subiect, to my knowledge, neuer handled by any man, ancient or moderne: but God hath spared me the labour of finishing it, by his losse; by the losse of that braue Prince; of which, like an Eclipse of the Sunne, we shall finde the effects hereafter. Impossible it is to equall words and sorrowes; I will therefore leaue him in the hands of God that hath him. *Curæ leues loquuntur, ingentes stupent.*

But it is now time to returne to the beaten *Carthaginians*; who by losing their aduantage of swift boats, & boording the *Romans*, haue lost fiftie saile of their Gallies: as on the other side, their enemies by commanding the Seas, haue gotten libertie to saile about the West part of *Sicil*; where they raised the siege layed vnto *Segesta*, by the *Carthaginians*; and wonne the Towne of *Macella*, with some other places.

* If we may giue credit to Antiquities, which *Fazellus*, a diligent writer hath left vs in his Historie of *Sicil*: *Panormus*, now called *Palermo*, is one of the first Cities that hath been built in all *Europe*. For whereas *Thucydides* seemes to make it a Colonie of the *Phœnicians*: *Ranzanus, in libello de Panormo. lib. 6.* affirmes that it was first, and long before the time which *Thucydides* sets down, founded by the *Chaldæans*, & *Damascenes*. To prouue which, he tels vs of two inscriptions vpon marble in the *Hebrew* Character found at *Panormus* in the time of *William* the second, King of *Sicil*, that were then beheld of all the Citizens & other strangers, which being translated into Latine, say as followeth: *Viuente Isaac filio Abrahæ, & regnante in Damæa, atq; in valle Damascena, Esau filio Isaac, ingens Hebræorum manus, quibus adiuncti sunt multi Damasceni, atq; Phœnices, profecti in hanc triangulorum Insulam, sedes perpetuas locauerunt in hoc amœnissimo loco, quem Panormum nominauerunt.* In the other marble are found these words: *Non est alius Deus præter vnum Deum; non est alius potens præter eundem Deum, &c. Eliuias Turris Præfectus est Saphy filius Eliphaz filij Esau, fratris Iacob filij Isaac, filij Abrahami: & Turri quidem ipsi nomen est Bayeh; sed Turri huic proximæ nomen est Ubarah.* And this inscription (saith *Fazellus*) was found intire in the Castle *Bayeh*, in the yeare 1534. Now whether these inscriptions were truely as ancient, as these men beleeue they were, I leaue euery man to his owne faith. But that the City was of aged times, it appeares by *Thucydides*, who affirmeth; when the *Greeks* past first into *Sicil*, that then the *Phœnicians* inhabited *Panormus*: which certaine it is they did in the first *Punick* warre; to wine the *Carthaginians*, who were *Phœnicians*, from whom the *Romans* (*A. Aquilus*, and *C. Cornelius*, commanding this Armie) tooke it. And when *Marcellus* besieged *Syracuse*, it sent him in ayde 3000. Souldiers. But it was rather confederate, than subiect to the *Romans*. For *Cicero* against *Verres*, name it among the free Cities of *Sicil*. After *Syracuse* destroyed, it became the first Citie and Regall seate, as well of the *Goths* and *Saracens* in that Iland, as of the Emperours of *Constantinople*; of the *Normans*, *French*, and *Arragonians*; which honour it holds to this day, and is much frequented, for the excellent wine which growes about it.

§. VII.

Diuers enterfeats of warre, betweene the Romans and Carthaginians, with variable successe. The Romans prepare to inuade Africk: and obtaine a great victory at Sea.

THE victorie of *Duilius*, as it was honoured at *Rome*, with the first Natiall triumph, that was euer seene in that Citie; so gaue it vnto the *Romans* a great incouragement, to proceede in their warres by Sea; whereby they hoped, not onely to get *Sicil*, but all the other Iles betweene *Italie* and *Africk*, beginning with *Sardinia*, whither soone after they sent a fleet for that purpose. On the contrary side, *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian*, lying in *Panormus*, carefully waited for all occasions, that might helpe to recompence the late misfortune: and being aduertised, that some quarrell was grown betweene the *Roman* Souldiers, and their Auxiliaries, being such as caused them to incampe a-part, he sent forth *Hanno* to set vpon them; who taking them vnawares, buried foure thousand of them in the place. Now during the continuance of the Land-warre in *Sicil*, *Hannibal*, who had lately beene beaten by Sea, but escaped vnto *Carthage*, meaning to make amends for his former errour, obtained the trust of a new fleet, wherewith he arriued at *Sardinia*: the conquest of which Iland, the *Romans* had entertained for their next enterprise. Now it so fell out, that the *Romans*, crossing the Seas from *Sicil*, arriued in the port where *Hannibal* with his new fleet anchored. They set vpon him vnawares, and tooke the better part of the fleet which he conducted; himselfe hardly escaping the danger. But it little auailed him to haue escaped from the *Romans*. His good friends the *Carthaginians*, were so ill pleased with this his second vnfortunate voyage, that they handed him vp for his diligence: for (as it hath beene said of old) *Non est bis in bello peccare; In warre it is too much to offend twice.*

After this, it was long ere any thing of importance was done by the Consuls,* till *Panormus* was besieged: where, when the *Romans* had fought in vaine to draw the *Carthaginians* into the field; being vnable to force that great Citie, because of the strong Garrison therein bestowed: they then departed from thence, and tooke certaine In-land Townes, as *Mytistratum*, *Enna*, *Camerina*, *Hippana*, and others, between *Panormus* and *Messana*.

The yeare following, *C. Atilius* the Consul, vvho commanded the *Roman* fleet, discouered a company of the *Carthaginian* Gallies, ranging the coast: and, not staying for his whole number, pursued them with ten of his. But he vvas vvell beaten for the haste he made, & lost all, saue the Gallie which transported him: vvherein himself escaped with great labour. But ere all was done, the rest of *Atilius* his fleet was gotten vp: who renewing the fight, recouered from the *Carthaginians* a double number of theirs; by which the victory remaining doubtfull, both challenge it. Now to try at once, vvhich of these two Nations should command the Seas, they both prepare all they can. The *Romans* make a fleet of three hundred and thirtie Gallies; the *Carthaginians*, of three hundred and fiftie, * *Triremes*, *Quadriremes*, and *Quinqueremes*.

The *Romans* resolue to transport the vvarre into *Africk*, the *Carthaginians*, to arrest them on the coast of *Sicil*. The numbers, vvith vvhich each of them filled their fleet, was (perhaps) the greatest that euer fought on the waters. By *Polybius* his estimation, there were in the *Roman* Gallies an hundred and forty thousand men; and in those of *Carthage*, an hundred and fifty thousand: reckoning one hundred and twenty Souldiers, and three hundred rowers to euery Gallie, one with the other. The *Roman* fleet was diuided into foure parts, of which the three first made the forme of a Wedge or Triangle; the two first squadrons making the Flancks, and the third squadron, the Base; the point therof (vvherein vvere the two Consulls as Admiralls) looking toward the enemie, and the middle space lying emptie. Their Vessells of carriage were towed by the third squadron. After all came vp the fourth, in forme of a *Crascent*; very well manned, but exceeding thinne: so that the hornes of it inclosed all the third squadron, together with the corners of the first and second. The order of the *Carthaginian* fleet I cannot conceiue by relation; but, by the manner of the fight afterwards, I coniecture, that the front of their fleet was thinne, and stretched in a great length, much like to that which the *French* call *Combat en haij*, a long front of horse, and thinne: which forme, since the Pistoll preuailed ouer the Lance, they haue changed. Behind this first outstretched front, their Battalions were more solide: for *Amilcar*, Admirall of the *Carthaginians*, had thus ordered them, of purpose, (his Gallies hauing the speed of the *Romans*) that, when the first fleet of the *Romans* hasted to breake through the first Gallies, they should all turne taile, and the *Romanes* pursuing them (as after a victory) disorder themselues, &, for eagernesse of taking the Run-awayes, leaue their own three squadrons far behinde them. For so it must needs fall out; seeing that the third squadron towed their horse boats, and victuallers; and the fourth had the Reareward of all. According to *Amilcars* direction it succeeded. For when the *Romans* had charged, and broken, the thinne front of the *Carthaginian* first fleet, which ran away, they forthwith gaue after them with all speed possible, not so much as looking behind them for the second squadron. Hereby the *Romans* were drawne neere vnto the body of the *Carthaginian* fleet, led by *Amilcar*, and by him (at the first) receiued a great losse, vntill their second squadron came vp, vvhich forced *Amilcar* to betake him to his Oares. *Hanno* also, who commanded the right wing of the *Carthaginian* fleet, inuaded the *Romane* Reareward, and preuailed against them. But *Amilcar* being beaten off, *Marcus Atilius* fell back to their succour, and put the *Carthaginians* to their heelos; as not able to sustain both squadrons. The Reare being relieued, the Consuls came to the aide of their third Battalion, which towed the victuallers, which was also in great danger of being beaten by the *Africans*: but the Consuls, ioyning their squadrons to it, put the *Carthaginians* on that part also to running.

* The *Quinqueremes* are Gallies, wherein euery Oare hath fiue men to draw it; the *Quadriremes* had foure to an Oare: and the *Triremes*, three. Some haue thought, that the *Quinqueremes* had fiue rankes of Oares, one ouer another; & the other Gallies (roteably) fewer. But had this beene so, they must then haue had fiue deckes each ouer other: which hath seldome beene seen in ships of a thousand Tunns, neither could the third, fourth, and fift rankes, haue reached vnto the water with the Oares.

This victorie fell vnto the *Romanes*, partly by the hardinesse of their Souldiers; but principally, for that *Amilcar*, being first beaten, could neuer after ioyne himselfe vnto any of his other squadrons, that remained as yet in a faire likelihood of preuailing, so long as they fought vpon equall tearmes, and but squadron to squadron. But *Amilcar* forsaking the fight, thereby left a full fourth part of the *Romane* fleet vningaged, and readie to giue succour to any of the other parts that were oppresst. So as in conclusion, the *Romanes* got the honour of the day: for they lost but foure and

twentie of theirs; whereas the *Africans* lost thirtie that were sunke, and threescore and three that were taken.

Now, if *Amilcar*, who had more Gallies than the *Romans*, had also diuided his fleet into foure squadrons, (besides those that he ranged in the front to draw on the enemies, and to ingage them) and that, whilest he himselfe fought with one squadron that charged him, all the rest of the enemies fleet had beene at the same time entertained, he had preuailed: But the second squadron, being free, came to the rescue of the first, by which *Amilcar* vvas oppreſt: and *Amilcar*, being oppreſt and scattered, the Consuls had good leisure to relieue both the third and the fourth squadron, and got the victorie.

Charles the fift, among other his Precepts to *Philip* the second his sonne, where he aduiseth him concerning Warre against the *Turkes*, tells him, that in all battailes betweene them and the *Christians*, he should neuer faile to charge the *Ianisars* in the beginning of the fight, and to ingage them at once with the rest. For (saith he) the *Ianisars*, who are alwaies reserued intire in the Reare of the battaile, and in whom the *Turke* reposeth his greatest confidence; come vp in a grosse body, when all the troops, on both sides are disbanded and in confusion; whereby they carrie the victorie before them without resistance. By the same order of fight, and reseruation, did the *Romans* also preuaile against other Nations. For they kept their *Triarij* in store (who were the choice of their Armie) for the vp-shot and last blow. A great and victorious aduantage it hath euer beene found, to keepe some one or two good troopes to looke on, when all else are disbanded and ingaged.

§.VIII.

The Romanes preuaile in Africk. Atilius *the Consull proponndeth intolerable conditions of peace to the Carthaginians. He is vtterly beaten, and made prisoner.*

NOw the *Romans* according to their former resolution, after they had repaired and re-victualled their fleete, set saile for *Africa*, and arriued at the *Promontory* of *Hercules*, a great Head-land, somewhat to the East of the Port of *Carahage*, and some fortie leagues from *Heraclea* in *Sicil*, where *Amilcar* himselfe as yet staid. From this Head-land (leauing the entrance into *Carthage*) they coasted the East-side of the *Promontorie*, till they came to *Clypea*, a Towne about fiftie *English* mile from it. There they dis-embarked, and prepared to besiege *Clypea*; which, to ease them of labour, was yeelded vnto them. Now had they a Port of their owne on *Africa* side; vvithout which all inuasions are foolish. By this time were the *Africans* also arriued at their owne *Carthage*, fearing that the *Roman* fleet and armie had directed themselues thither: but being aduertised that they had taken *Clypea*, they made prouisions of all sorts, both by Sea and Land, for their defence. The *Romans* send to *Rome* for directions, and in the meane while waste all round about them. The order giuen from the Senate, vvas, that one of the Consulls should remaine with the Armie, and that the other should returne, with the fleet into *Italie*. According to this direction, *Manlius* the Consull is sent home to *Rome*; whither he carried with him twentie thousand *African* Captaines, with all the *Roman* fleet and armie; except fortie ships, fifteene thousand foot, and fiue hundred horse, that were left with *Atilius*.

With these forces, *Regulus* easily wanne some Towns and Places that were vnwalled, and laid siege to others. But he performed no great matter, before he came to *Adis*. Yet I hold it worthy of relation, that neere vnto the Riuer of *Bagrada*, he encountred with a Serpent of one hundred and twenty foot long, which he slue; not without losse of many Souldiers, being driuen to vse against it such engines of warre, as serued properly for the assaulting of Townes. At *Adis* he met with the *Carthaginian* Armie, whereof the Captaines were *Hanno* and *Bostar*, together with *Amilcar*, who had brought ouer out of *Sicil* fiue thousand foote, and fiue hundred horse to succour his Countrie. These (belike) had an intent, rather to wearie him out of *Africa*, by warie protraction of time, than to vndergoe the hazard of a maine fight. They vvere carefull to hold themselues free, from necessitie of comming to blowes: yet had they a great desire, to saue the Towne of *Adis* out of his hands. Intending therefore to follow their generall purpose, and yet to disturbe him in the siege of *Adis*; they incampe neere vnto him, and strongly

strongly (as they think) on the top of an hill: but thereby they lose the seruices, both of their *Elephants*, & of their horse-men. This disaduantage of theirs, *Regulus* discouers, & makes vse of it. He assailes them in their strength, which they defend a while, but in fine the *Romans* preuaile, & force them from the place, taking the spoile of their campe. Following this their good fortune at the heeles, they proceed to * *Tunis* a Citie within sixteene miles of *Carthage*, which they assault and take.

By the losse of this battaile at *Adis*, and more especially by the losse of *Tunis*; the *Carthaginians* were greatly dismaied. The *Numidians*, their next Neighbours towards the West, insult vpon their misfortunes; inuade, and spoile their Territory, and force those that inhabite abroad, to forsake their villages and fields, and to hide themselues within the walls of *Carthage*. By reason hereof, a great famine at hand threatens the Citizens. *Atilius* findes his own aduantage, and assures himselfe that the Citie could not long hold out: yet he feared left it might defend it selfe, vntill his time of Office, that was neere expired, should be quite run out, whereby the new Consuls were like to reape the honor of obtaining it. Ambition therfore, that hath no respect but to it selfe, perswades him to treat of peace with the *Carthaginians*. But he propounded vnto them so vnworthy and base conditions, as thereby their hearts, formerly possessed with feare, became now so couragious and disdainfull, that they resolued, either to defend their liberty, or die to the last man. To strengthen this their resolution, there arriued at the same time a great troope of *Greekes*, whom they had formerly sent to entertaine. Among these was a very expert Souldier, named *Xantippus*, a *Spartan*: vvho being informed of what had passed & of the ouerthrow which the *Carthaginians* receiued neere vnto *Adis*, gaue it out publikely, that the same was occasioned by default of the Commanders, and not of the Nation. This bruit ran, till it came to the Senate; *Xantippus* is sent for; giues the reason of his opinion; and in conclusion, being made Generall of the *African* forces, he puts himselfe into the field. The Armie which he led, consisted of no more than twelue thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, with an hundred Elephants. No greater vvere the forces wherewith the *Carthaginians* fought for all that they had, Libertie, Liues, Goods, Wiues, and Children: vvhich might well make it suspected, that the Armies by Sea, before spoken of, were misse-numbred; the one consisting of an hundred and forty thousand, and the other of an hundred and fifty thousand: vvere it not commonly found that they which vse the seruice of mercenary Souldiers, are stronger abroad, than at their own doores.

Xantippus, taking the field with this Armie, marched directly towards the *Romans*; and ranging his troups vpon faire and leuell ground, fittest both for his Elephants and Horse, presented them battaile. The *Romanes* vvondered much, whence this new courage of their enemies might grow: but confident they vvere, that it should soone be abated. Their chiefe care was, how to resist the violence of the Elephants. Against them they placed the *Velites*, or light-armed Souldiers, as a *forelorne hope*; that these might, either with darts and other casting weapons, driue backe the beasts vpon the enemies, or at least breake their violence, and hinder them from rushing freely vpon the Legions. To the same end, they made their battailes deeper in file, than they had bin accustomed to doe. By which means, as they vvere the lesse subiect vnto the impression of the Elephants; so were they so much the more exposed vnto the violence of horse, wherein the Enemie did farre exceede them. The Elephants were placed by *Xantippus*, all in one ranke, before his Armie; which followed them at a reasonable distance: his horsemen, and some light-armed foote, of the *Carthaginians Auxiliaries*, vvere in the wings. The first onset vvas giuen by the Elephants, against which the *Velites* vvere so vnable to make resistance, that they brake into the battalions following, and put them into some disorder. In this case; the depth of the *Romane* battaile vvas helpfull. For when the beasts had spent their force, in piercing through a few of the first rankes; the squadrons neuertheless persisted in their order, without opening. But the *Carthaginian* horse, hauing at the first encounter, by reason of their aduantage in number, driuen those of *Atilius* out of the field, beganne to charge the *Romane* battalions in flanke, and put them in great distresse; vvho being forced to turne face enery way, could neither passe forward nor yet retire; but had very much adoe to make good the ground whereon they stood. In the meane while, such of the *Romans*, as had escaped the furie of the Elephants, and left them at their backes, fell

* This City was taken from the *Turks* by *Charles* the fift in the yeare 1536 and was one of the three Keyes, which he gaue in charge to *Philip* the second his sonne to keepe safe; to wit, this *Tunis*, the Key of *Africa*: *Flushing*, the Key of the *Netherlands*: and *Cadez*, the Key of *Spaine*. But two of these *Philip* so lost, that he neuer found them again; the third, our *English* were bold, in the time of the renowned Queene *Elizabeth*, to wring out of his hands: where we staid not to picke any lock, but brake open the doros and hauing rifled all, threw it into the fire.

fell vpon the *Carthaginian* Armie, that met them in very good array. It was no euen match. The one were a disordered Companie, wearied with labour, and hurt; the other, fresh, and well prepared, to haue dealt with the enemie vpon equall termes. Heere was therefore a greater slaughter with little fight; the *Romanes* hastily recoyling to the body of their Armie, which being surrounded with the enemie, and spent with traiile, fell all to rout, vpon the defeat of these troupes, that open the way to a generall ouerthrow. So the *Carthaginians* obtained a full victory; destroying the whole *Romane* Armie, saue two thousand, and taking fiue hundred prisoners, together vvith *Atilius* the Consull. Of their own they lost no more than eight hundred mercenaries, vvhich were slaine, when the fight began, by two thousand of the *Romans*: that wheeling about to auoid the Elephants, bare down all before them, and made way euen to the *Carthaginian* trenches. These vvere the two thousand that escaped, when the vvhole Armie behinde them was routed. All the rest vvere either taken or slaine. Hereby fortune made the *Romans* know, that they vvere no lesse her vassals, than were the *Carthaginians*: how insolent soeuer they had bin in their proposition of peace, as if they had purchased from her the inheritance of their prosperitie, which she neuer gaue nor sold to any mortall man. With what ioy these newes were welcommed, when they came to *Carthage*, vve may easily coniecture; and what great things the vertue of one man hath often brought to passe in the World, there are many examples to proue, no lesse than this of *Xantippus*: all of them confirming that sentence of *Euripides*, *Mens vna sapiens plurium vincit manus*; *Many men's hands equall not one wise minde.*

After this great seruice done to the *Carthaginians*, *Xantippus* returned into *Greece*; whether for that he vvas more enuied than honoured, or for what other cause, it is vnknowne.

The death of *Atilius Regulus* the Consull, vvas very memorable. He vvas sent from *Carthage* to *Rome*, about the exchange and ransome of prisoners on both sides: giuing his faith to returne if the businesse were not effected. When he came to *Rome*, and plainly saw that his Country should lose by the bargaine: so far vvas he from vrging the Senate vnto compassion of his own miserie, that he earnestly perswaded to haue the prisoners in *Africke* left to their ill destinies. This done, he returned to *Carthage*: vvhere for his paines taken, he was rewarded vvith an horrible death. For this his constancie and faith, all Writers highly extoll him. But the *Carthaginians* seeme to haue iudged him an obstinate and malicious enemie; that neither in his prosperitie would hearken to reason, nor yet in his calamitie would haue the naturall care to preserue himselfe and others, by yeelding to such an office of humanitie, as is common in all vvarres (not grounded vpon deadly hatred) only in regard of some small aduantage. Whatsoeuer the *Carthaginians* thought of him; sure it is, that his faithfull obseruance of his word giuen, cannot be too much commended. But that graue speech, which he made in the Senate, against the exchange of prisoners, appeares, in all reason, to haue proceeded from a vaine-glorious frowardnesse, rather than from any necessitie of State. For the exchange vvas made soone after his death; vvherein the *Romanes* had the worse bargaine, by so much as *Regulus* himself vvas vworth. As for the authority of all Historians, that magnifie him in this point; we are to consider that they liued vnder the *Roman* Empire: *Philinus*, the *Carthaginian*, perhaps did censure it otherwise. Yet the death which he suffered vvith extreame torments, could not be more grieuous to him than it was dishonourable to *Carthage*. Neither do I think that the *Carthaginians* could excuse themselues herein, otherwise than by recrimination; saying, That the *Romanes* deserued to be no better intreated, for as much as it was their ordinary practice to vse others in the like sort. Cruelty doth not become more vvarrantable, but rather more odious, by being customary. It vvas the *Roman* fashion, to whip almost to death, and then to behead, the Captaines of their enemies whom they tooke, yea although they were such as had always made faire wars vvith them. Wherefore it seemes not meet, in reason, that they should crie out against the like tyrannicall insolencie in others, as if it vvere lawfull only in themselues.

The consideration both of this misfortune, that rewarded the pride of *Atilius* his intolerable demands; and of the sudden valour, whereinto the *Carthaginians* feare vvas changed by meere desperation; calls to remembrance, the like insolencie of others in prosperity, that hath bred the like resolution in those, to whom all reasonable grace hath bin denied. In such cases I neuer hold it impertinent, to adde vnto one, more testimonies; approuing the true rules, from which our passions carry vs away.

In the yeare 1378. the *Genowaies* won so fast vpon the *Venetians*, as they not onely drane their Gallies out of the Sea, but they brought their own fleet within two miles of *Venice* it selfe. This bred such an amazement in the Citizens of *Venice*, that they offered vnto the *Genowaies* (their State reserued) what soeuer they would demand. But *Peter Doria*, blowne vp with many former victories, would harken to no composition; saue the yeelding of their Citie and State to his discretion. Hereupon, the *Venetians*, being filled with disdaine, thrust out to Sea with all their remaining power, and assaile *Doria* vvith such desperate furie, that they breake his fleet, kill *Doria* himselfe, take nineteen of his Gallies, fourescore boats of *Padoa*, and foure thousand prisoners; recouer *Chiozza*, & all the places taken from them; and following their victory, enter the Port of *Genoa*, enforcing the *Genowaies*, basely to begge peace, to their extreame dishonour and disaduantage being beaten; which, being victorious, they might haue commanded, to their greatest honour and aduantage. The like hapned to the Earle of *Flanders*, in the yeare 1380. when hauing taken a notable, and withall an ouer-cruell reuenge vpon the *Gantois*, he refused mercy to the rest, who in all humilitie, submitting themselues to his obedience, offered their Citie, goods, and estates, to be disposed at his pleasure. This when he had vnaduisedly refused, and was resolued to extinguish them vtterly; they issue out of their Citie with fiue thousand chosen men, and armed with a desperate resolution, they charge the Earle, breake his Armie, enter *Bruges* (*pell-mell*) with his vanquished followers, and enforce him to hide himselfe vnder an heape of straw, in a poore cottage; out of which with great difficultie he escaped, and saued himselfe. Such are the fruits of insolencie.

§. IX.

How the affaires of Carthage prospered after the victorie against Atilius: *How the Romans hauing lost their fleet by tempest, resolue to forsake the Seas: The great aduantages of a good fleet in warre, betweene Nations diuided by the Sea.*

BY the reputation of this late victory, all places that had bin lost in *Africke*, returne to the obedience of *Carthage*. Only *Clypea* stands out; before vvhich the *Carthaginians* sit down, and assaile it, but in vaine: For the *Romans*, hearing of the losse of *Atilius* vvith their forces in *Africke*, and withall, that *Clypea* was besieged, make ready a grosse Armie, and transport it in a fleet of three hundred and fiftie Gallies, commanded by *M. Æmilius*, and *Ser. Fulvius*, their Consuls. At the *Promontory* of *Mercurie*, two hundred *Carthaginian* Gallies, set out of purpose, vpon the bruit of their comming, encounter them: but greatly to their cost. For the *Romans* tooke by force an hundred and foureteene of their fleet, and drew them after them to *Clypea*; where they staid no longer, than to take in their own men that had bin besieged; and this done, they made amaine toward *Sicil*, in hope to recouer all that the *Carthaginians* held therein. In this hasty voyage they despise the aduice of the Pilots, who pray them to find harbour in time, for that the season threatned some violent stormes, which ensuer hapned between the rising of *Orion*, and of the * *Dog-starre*. Now although the Pilots of the *Roman* Fleet had thus fore-warned them of the weather at hand, and certified them withall, that the South coast of *Sicil* had no good Ports, vvherein to saue themselues vpon such an accident; yet this victorious Nation was perswaded, that the winde and sea feared them no lesse, than did the *Africans*; and that they were able to conquer the Elements themselues: So refusing to stay within some Port, as they were aduised, they would needes put out to Sea, thinking in a matter much helping their reputation, after this victorie against the *Carthaginian* fleet, to take a few worthlesse Townes vpon the coast. The mercilesse winds in the meane while ouertake them, and neere vnto *Camerina*, ouerturne and thrust headlong on the rocks, all but fourescore

* There is no Part of the World, which hath not some certaine times of outrageous weather besids their accidentall storms. We haue vpon our coast a Michaelmas flaw, that selldome or neuer faileth: In the west *Indies*, in the moneths of *August* and *September* those mest forcible winds, which the *Spaniard* call the *Norte*, or North winds, are very fearefull; and therefore they that Nauigate in those parts, take harbor till those moneths take end. *Charles* the fift being ill aduised, in passing the Seas toward *Algiers*, in the Winter quarter contrary to the counsaile of *A. Doria*; as he was in like ouerfoil nable cases to continue his siege before *Metelin*, lost an hundred and forte ships by tempest, and fifteene Gallies, with all in effect in them, of men, victuailes, horses, and munition: losse no lesse great, than his retrait, both from before the one and the other, was extreame dishonorable.

of three hundred and forty ships: so as their former great victory was deuoured by the Seas, before the fame thereof recouered *Rome*.

The *Carthaginians*, hearing what had hapned, repaire all their warlike Vessels, hoping once again to command the Seas: they are also as confident of their land-forces since the ouerthrow of *Atilius*. They send *Asdrubal* into *Sicil* with all their old Souldiers, and an hundred and fortie Elephants imbarqued in two hundred Gallies. With this Armie and fleet he arriues at *Lilybæum*; where he begins to vexe the *Partisans* of *Rome*. But aduersitie doth not discourage the *Romanes*: They build in three moneths (a matter of great note) one hundred and twenty ships; with which, and the remainder of their late shipwracke, they row to *Panormus*, or *Palerma*, the chiefe Citie of the *Africans* in *Sicil*, and surround it by Land and Water: after a while they take it, and leauing a Garrison therein, returne to *Rome*.

Very desirous the *Romans* were to be doing in *Africk*: to vvhich purpose they imploied *C. Seruilius*, and *C. Sempronius*, their Consulls. But these wrought no wonders. Some spoile they made vpon the coasts of *Africa*: but Fortune robbed them of all their getings. For in their returne, they were first set vpon the sands, and like to haue perished, neere vnto the lesser *Syrtes*, where they were faine to heaue all ouer-boord, that so they might get off: then, hauing with much a doe doubled the Cape of *Lilybæum*, in their passage from *Panormus* towards *Italie*, they lost an hundred and fifty of their ships by foule weather. A greater discouragement neuer Nation had; the god of the vvars fauoured them no more, than the god of the waters afflicted them. Of all that *Mars* enricht them vpon the Land, *Neptune* robbed them vpon the Seas. For they had now lost, besides vvhat they lost in fight, foure hundred and sixe Ships and Gallies, with all the munition and Souldiers transported in them.

The exceeding damage hereby receiued, perswaded them to giue ouer their Nauigation, and their fight by Sea, and to send only a Land-armie into *Sicil*, vnder *L. Cæcilius*, and *F. Furius*, their Consuls. These they transported in some threescore ordinary passage boats, by the streights of *Messana*, that are not aboue a mile and a halfe broad from land to land. In like sort, the ouerthrow which *Atilius* receiued in *Africa*, occasioned chiefly by the Elephants, made them lesse cholericke against the *Carthaginians*, than before; so that for two yeares after, they kept the high & wooddie grounds, not daring to fight in the faire and champion Countries. But this late resolution of forsaking the Seas lasted not long. For it was impossible for them to succour those places which they held in *Sicil*, without a Nauie, much lesse to maintaine the vvar in *Africa*. For whereas the *Romans* vvere to send forces from *Messana* to *Egesta*, to *Lilybæum*, and to other places in the extreme West parts of *Sicil*, making sometimes a march of aboue an hundred and forty *English* mile by land, which could not be performed with an Armie, and the prouisions that follow it, in lesse than foureteene daies; the *Carthaginians* would passe it vvith their Gallies, in eight and forty houres.

An old example we haue, of that great aduantage of transporting Armies by vvater, between *Canutus*, and *Edmond Ironside*. For *Canutus*, vvhen he had entred the *Thames* with his Nauie and Armie, and could not preuaile against *London*, suddenly imbarqued, and sailing to the West, landed in *Dorset shire*, so drawing *Edmond* & his Army thither. There finding ill entertainement, he againe shipt his men, & entred the *Seuerne*, making *Edmond* to march after him, to the succour of *Worcestershire*, by him greatly spoyled. But when he had *Edmond* there, he sailed back againe to *London*: by meanes whereof, he both wearied the King, and spoiled where he pleased, ere succour could arriue. And this was not the least help, vvhich the *Netherlands* haue had against the *Spaniards*, in the defence of their liberty, that being Masters of the Sea, they could passe their Army from place to place, vnwearied, and entire, with all the Munition & Artilerie belonging vnto it, in the tenth part of the time, wherein their enemies haue bin able to doe it. Of this, an instance or two. The Count *Maurice* of *Nassau*, now liuing, one of the greatest Captaines, and of the worthiest Princes, that either the present or preceding Ages haue brought forth, in the yeare 1590. carried his Armie by Sea, with forty Canons, to *Breda*: making countenance either to besiege *Boisleduc*, or *Gertreuiden berg*; vvhich the enemie (in preuention) filled with Souldiers, and victualls. But as soone as the winde serued, he suddenly set saile, arriuing in the mouth of the *Meuze*, turned vp the *Rhine*, and thence to *Yssel*, and sat downe before *Zutphen*. So before the *Spaniards* could

could march ouer-land round about *Holland*, aboue foresceore mile, and ouer many great Riuers, vvith their Cannon and carriage, *Zutphen* vvas taken. Againe, when the *Spanish* Armie had ouercome this wearisome march, and were now far from home, the Prince *Maurice*, making countenance to saile vp the *Rhine*, changed his course in the night, and sailing down the streame, he was set down before *Hulst* in *Brabant*, ere the *Spaniards* had knowledge vvhat was become of him. So this Town he also tooke, before the *Spanish* armie could returne. Lastly, the *Spanish* armie was no sooner arriued in *Brabant*, than the Prince *Maurice*, well attended by his good fleet, hauing fortified *Hulst*, set saile againe, and presented himselfe before *Nymegen* in *Gelderi*, a Citie of notable importance, and mastred it.

And to say the truth; it is impossible for any maritime Countrie, not hauing the coasts admirably fortified, to defend it selfe against a powerful enemy, that is master of the Sea. Hereof I had rather, that *Spaine* than *England* should be an example. Let it therefore be supposed, that King *Philip* the second had fully resolued to hinder Sir *John Norris* in the yeare 1589. from presenting *Don Antonio*, King of *Portugale*, before the gates of *Lysborne*; and that he would haue kept off the *English*, by power of his land-forces; as being too weake at Sea, through the great ouerthrow of his mighty *Armado*, by the fleet of Queene *Elizabeth*, in the yeare foregoing. Surely, it had not bin hard for him, to prepare an Armie, that should be able to resist our eleuen thousand. But where should this his Armie haue bin bestowed? If about *Lysborne*; then would it haue beene easie vnto the *English*, to take, ransacke, and burne the Towne of *Groine*, and to waste the Countrie round about it. For the great and threatning preparations of the Earle of *Altemira*, the Marquesse of *Seralba*, and others, did not hinder them from performing all this. Neither did the hastie leauie of eight thousand, vnder the Earle of *Andrada*, serue to more effect, than the increase of honour to Sir *John Norris*, and his Associates: considering, that the *English* charged these, at *Puente de Burgos*, and passing the great Bridge, behinde which they lay, that was flanked with shot, and barricadoed at the further end, routed them, tooke their campe; tooke their Generals standard with the Kings Armes, and pursued them ouer all the Countrie, which they fired. If a royall Armie, and not (as this was) a Companie of priuate aduenturers, had thus begun the war in *Galicia*; I thinke it would haue made the *Spaniards* to quit the guard of *Portugale*, and make haste to the defence of their St. *Iago*, whose Temple was not far from the danger. But, had they held their first resolution; as knowing, that Sir *John Norris*, his maine intent was, to bring *Don Antonio*, with an Armie, into his Kingdom, whither comming strong, he expected to be readily and ioyfully welcomed: could they haue hindred his landing in *Portugale*? Did not he land at *Penicha*, and march ouer the Countrey to *Lysborne*, sixe dayes iourney? Did not he (when all *Don Antonio* his promises failed) passe along by the Riuer of *Lysborne* to *Cascaliz*, and there, hauing won the Fort, quietly imbarque his men, and depart? But these, though no more than an handfull, yet were they *Englishmen*. Let vs consider of the matter it selfe; what another Nation might doe, euen against *England*, in landing an Armie, by aduantage of a fleet, if we had none. This question, *Whether an inuading Armie may be resisted at their landing vpon the coast of England, were there no fleet of ours at the Sea to impeach it*; is already handled by a learned Gentleman of our Nation, in his obseruations vpon *Cæsars* Commentaries, that maintaines the affirmatiue. This he holds only vpon supposition; *in absence of our shipping*; and comparatiuely, as that it is a more safe and easie course, to defend all the coast of *England*, than to suffer any enemy to land, and afterwards to fight with him. Surely, I hold with him, that it is the best way, to keep our enemy from treading vpon our ground; wherein, if we faile, then must we seeke to make him wish, that he had staied at his owne home. In such a case, if it should happen, our iudgements are to weigh many particular circumstances, that belong not vnto this discourse. But making the question generall, and positiue, *whether England, without helpe of her fleete, be able to debarre an enemie from landing*; I hold that it is vnable so to do: and therfore I think it most dangerous to make the aduenture. For the incouragement of a first victory to an enemy, and the discouragement of being beaten to the inuaded, may draw after it a most perilous consequence.

It is true, that the Marshall *Monluc*, in his Commentaries, doth greatly complaine, that by his wanting forces, wherewith to haue kept the frontier of *Guienne*, they of the *Protestant*

Protestant religion, after the battaile of *Moncounter*, entred that Countrie, and gathered great strength and reliefe thence; for if the King (saith he) would haue giuen me but reasonable meanes, *jense bien garder a Monsieur l'Admiral, de faire boire sa Cheuaux en la Garonne; I would haue kept the Admiral from watering his horses in the Riuer of Garonne.* *Monsieur de Langey*, on the contrary side, preferres the not fighting vpon a frontier with an inuading enemy, and commends the delay; which course the Constable of *France* held, against the Emperour *Charles*, when he inuaded *Prouence*. Great difference I know there is, and a diuerse consideration to be had, betweene such a Countrie as *France* is; strengthned with many fortified places; and this of ours, where our Rampars are but of the bodies of men. And it was of inuasions vpon firme land, that these great Captaines spake; whose entrances cannot be vncertaine. But our question is, of an Armie to be transported ouer Sea, and to be landed againe in an enemies Country, and the place left to the choice of the Inuader. Hereunto I say, That such an Armie cannot be resisted on the coast of *England*, without a fleet to impeach it; no, nor on the coast of *France*, or any other Countrey; except euery Creeke, Port, or sandy Bay, had a powerfull Army in each of them, to make opposition. For let his whole supposition be granted; That *Kent* is able to furnish twelue thousand foot, and that those twelue thousand be layed in the three best landing places within that Country, to vvit, three thousand at *Margat*, three thousand at the *Nesse*, and six thousand at *Foulkston*, that is somewhat equally distant from them both; as also that two of these troupes (vnlesse some other order be thought more fit) be directed to strengthen the third, when they shall see the enemies fleet to bend towards it: I say, that notwithstanding this prouision, if the enemy, setting saile from the Isle of *Wight*, in the first watch of the night, and towing their long boates at their sternes, shall arriue by dawne of day at the *Nesse*, and thrust their Armie on shore there; it will be hard for those three thousand that are at *Margat*, (twenty and foure long miles from thence) to come time enough to re-enforce their fellowes at the *Nesse*. Nay, how shall they at *Foulkston* be able to doe it, who are neerer by more than halfe the way? seeing that the enemie, at his first arriuall, will either make his entrance by force, with three or foure hundred shot of great Artillery, and quickly put the first three thousand, that were intrenched at the *Nesse*, to run; or else giue them so much to doe, that they shall be glad to send for helpe to *Foulkston*, and perhaps to *Margat*: whereby those places will be left bare. Now let vs suppose, that all the twelue thousand *Kentish* Souldiers arriue at the *Nesse*, ere the enemie can be ready to dis-imbarque his Armie, so that he shall find it vnsafe, to land in the face of so many, prepared to withstand him; yet must we beleeue, that he will play the best of his own game; and (hauing liberty to go which way he list) vnder couert of the night, set sayle towards the East, where what shall hinder him to take ground, either at *Margat*, the *Downes*, or elsewhere, before they at the *Nesse* can be well aware of his departure? Certainly, there is nothing more easie than to doe it. Yea the like may be said of *Waymouth*, *Purbeck*, *Poole*, and of all landing places on the South Coast. For there is no man ignorant, that Ships, without putting themselues out of breath, will easily our-run the Souldiers that coast them. *Les Armees ne volent poynt en poste; Armies neither flye, nor run post*, saith a Marshall of *France*. And I know it to be true, that a fleete of Ships may be seene at Sunne-set, and after it, at the *Lisard*; yet by the next morning they may recouer *Portland*, whereas an Armie of foot shall not be able to march it in six dayes. Againe, when those troupes, lodged on the Sea-shores, shall be forced to run from place to place in vaine, after a fleet of Ships; they will at length sit down in the mid-way, and leaue all at aduenture. But say it were otherwise; That the inuading enemy will offer to land in some such place, where there shall be an Army of ours ready to receiue him; yet it cannot be doubted, but that when the choice of all our trained bands, and the choice of our Commanders and Captains, shall be drawn together (as they were at *Tilburie* in the yeare 1588.) to attend the person of the Prince; and for the defence of the Citie of *London*: they that remaine to guard the coast, can be of no such force, as to encounter an Armie like vnto that, wherewith it was intended that the Prince of *Parma* should haue landed in *England*.

The Isle of *Tercera* hath taught vs by experience, what to thinke in such a case. There are not many Ilands in the world, better fenced by nature, and strengthned by art: it being euery where hard of accesse; hauing no good harbour wherein to shelter a Nauie of

of friends; and vpon euery coue or watering place a Fort erected, to forbid the approach of an enemies boat. Yet when *Emanuel de Sylua*, and *Monsieur de Chattes*, that held it to the vse of *Don Antonio*, with fiue or sixe thousand men, thought to haue kept the *Marquesse of Sant a Cruz*, from setting foote on ground therein; the Marquesse hauing shewed himselfe in the Road of *Angra*, did set saile, ere any was aware of it, and arriued at the *Port des Moles*, farre distant from thence; where he wan a Fort, and landed, ere *Monsieur de Chattes*, running thither in vaine, could come to hinder him. The example of *Philip Strossie*, slaine the yeare before, without all regard of his worth, and of three hundred *French* prisoners murdered in cold blood, had instructed *de Chattes* and his followers, what they might expect at that Marquesse his hands: Therefore it is not like, that they were slow in carrying reliefe to *Port des Moles*. Whether our *English* would be perswaded to make such diligent haste, from *Margat* to the *Nesse*, and backe againe, it may be doubted. Sure I am, that it were a greater march than all the length of *Tercera*; whereof the *French-men* had not measured the one halfe when they found themselues preuented by the more nimble ships of *Spaine*.

This may suffice to proue, that a strong Armie, in a good fleet, which neither foot, nor horse, is able to follow, cannot be denied to land where it list, in *England*, *France*, or elsewhere, vnlesse it be hindred, encountred, and shuffled together, by a fleet of equall, or answerable strength.

The difficult landing of our *English*, at *Fayal*, in the yeare 1597. is alleaged against this: which example moues me no way to thinke, that a large coast may be defended against a strong fleet. I landed those *English* in *Fayal*, my selfe, and therefore ought to take notice of this instance. For whereas I finde an action of mine cited, with omission of my name; I may by a ciuil interpretation, think, that there was no purpose to defraud me of any honour; but rather an opinion, that the enterprize was such, or so ill managed, as that no honour could be due vnto it. There were indeede some which were in that voyage, who aduised me not to vndertake it: and I harkened vnto them, somewhat longer than was requisite, especially, whilest they desired me, to reserue the title of such an exploit (though it were not great) for a greater person. But when they began to tell me of difficulty: I gaue them to vnderstand, the same which I now maintaine, that it was more difficult to defend a coast, than to inuade it. The truth is, that I could haue landed my men with more ease than I did; yea without finding any resistance, if I would haue rowed to another place, yea euen there where I landed, if I would haue taken more companie to helpe me. But, without fearing any imputation of rasnesse, I may say, that I had more regard of reputation, in that busnesse, than of safetie. For I thought it to belong vnto the honour of our Prince and Nation, that a few Ilanders should not think any aduantage great enough, against a fleet set forth by *Q. Elizabeth*: and further, I was vnwilling, that some *Low-Countrie* Captaines, and others, not of mine own squadron, whose assistance I had refused, should please themselues with a sweet conceit (though it would haue bin short, when I had landed in some other place) *That for want of their helpe I was driuen to turne taile.* Therefore I tooke with me none, but men assured, Commanders of mine owne squadron, with some of their followers, and a few other Gentlemen, voluntaries, whom I could not refuse; as, Sir *William Brooke*, Sir *William Harucy*, Sir *Arthur Gorges*, Sir *John Skot*, Sir *Thomas Ridgeway*, Sir *Henrie Tinnes*, Sir *Charles Morgan*, Sir *Walter Chute*, *Marcellus Throckmorton*, Captaine *Laurence Kemis*, Captaine *William Morgan*, and others; such as well vnderstood themselues and the enemie: by whose helpe, with Gods fauour, I made good the enterprise I vndertooke. As for the *working of the Sea*, *the steepenesse of the Cliffes*, and other troubles, that were not new to vs, we ouercame them vvell enough. And these (notwithstanding) made fiue or sixe Companies of the enemies, that sought to impeach our landing, abandon the wall, vvhereon their Musketiers lay on the Rest for vs, and won the place of them without any great losse. This I could haue done with lesse danger, so that it should not haue serued for example of a rule, that failed euen in this example: but the reasons before alleadged, (together with other reasons well knowne to some of the Gentlemen aboue named, though more priuate, than to be here laid down) made me rather follow the way of brauery, and take the shorter course; hauing it still in mine owne power to fall off when I should thinke it meet. It is easily said, that *the Enemie was more than a Coward*, (which yet was more than we knew) neither will I magnifie such a small peece of seruice, by seeking to proue him better: whom had I thought

thought equall to mine owne followers, I would otherwise haue dealt with. But for so much as concernes the Proposition in hand; he that beheld this, may well remember that the same enemy troubled vs more in our march towards *Rayal*, than in our taking the shore; that he sought how to stop vs in place of his aduantage; that many of our men were slaine or hurt by him, among whom Sir *Arthor Gorges* was shot in that march; and that such, as (thinking all danger to be past, when we had won good footing) would needs follow vs to the Towne, were driuen by him, to forsake the pace of a man of war, and betake themselues to an hastie trot.

For end of this digression, I hope that this question shall neuer come to triall; his Maiesties many moueable Forts will forbid the experience. And although the *English* will no lesse disdaine, than any Nation vnder heauen can doe, to be beaten vpon their owne ground, or elsewhere by a forraigne enemy; yet to entertaine those that shall assaile vs, with their owne beefe in their bellies, and before they eate of our *Kentish* Capons, I take it to be the wisest way. To doe which, his Maiesty, after God, will imploy his good ships on the Sea, and not trust to any intrenchment vpon the shore.

§. X.

How the Romans attempt againe to get the masterie of the Seas. The victory of Cæcilius *the Roman Consull at Panormus: The siege of Lilybæum. How a Rhodian Gallie entred Lilybæum at pleasure, in despight of the Roman fleet. That it is a matter of great difficultie to stop the passage of good ships. The Romans, by reason of grieuous losses receiued, vnder* Claudius *and* Iunius *their Consuls, abandon the Seas againe.*

WHen, without a strong Nauie, the *Romans* found it altogther impossible either to keepe what they had already gotten in *Sicil*, or to enlarge their Dominions in *Africa* or elsewhere, they resolued once againe, notwithstanding their late misaduentures, to strengthen their fleet and ships of war. So causing fiftie new Gallies to be built, & the old to be repaired, they gaue them in charge (together with certaine Legions of Souldiers) to the new Consuls, *C. Atilius*, & *L. Manlius*. On the other side, *Asdrubal* perceiuing that the *Romans*, partly by reason of the shipwracke which they had lately suffered, partly by reason of the ouerthrow which they receiued by *Xantippus* in *Africa*, were lesse daring than they had bin in the beginning of the warre: and withall, that one of the Consuls was returned into *Italie*, with the one halfe of the Armie; and that *Cæcilius*, with onely the other halfe, remained at *Panormus*: he remoued with the *Carthaginian* forces from *Lilybæum* towards it, hoping to prouoke *Cæcilius* to fight. But the Consull was better aduised. For when *Asdrubal* had made his approches somewhat neere the Towne, *Cæcilius* caused a deepe trench to be cut, a good distance without the ditch of the Citie: betweene which and his trench he left ground sufficient, to embattaile a Legion of his Souldiers. To these he gaue order that they should aduance themselues, and passe ouer the new trench, till such time as the *African* Elephants were thrust vpon them. From those beasts he commanded them to retire, by slow degrees, till they had drawn on the Elephants to the brinke of the new trench, which they could by no means passe. This they performed accordingly. For when the Elephants were at a stand, they were so gawled and beaten, both by those Souldiers that were on the inside of the trench, & by those that lay in the trench it selfe, that being inraged by their many wounds, they brake backe furiously vpon their owne foot-men, and vtterly disordered them. *Cæcilius*, espying this aduantage, sallied with all the force he had; and charging the other troups, that stood embattailed, he vtterly brake them, and put them to their heeles; making a great slaughter of them, and taking all their Elephants.

The report of this victory being brought to *Rome*, the whole State, filled with courage, prepared a new fleet of two hundred saile, which they sent into *Sicil*, to giue end to that warre, that had now lasted foureteene yeares. With this fleet and armie the *Romans* resolue to attempt *Lilybæum*, the onely place of importance which the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*; and all (indeed) saue *Drepanum*, that was neere adioyning. They set down before it, and possesse themselues of all the places of aduantage neere vnto it, especially of such as command the hauen, which had a very difficult entrance. They also beat to the ground sixe towres of defence; & by forcible engines weaken so many other parts of the Citie,

sixe towres of defence; and by forcible engines weaken so many other parts of the Citie, as the defendants begin to despaire. Yet *Himilco*, Commander of the place, faileth not in all that belongs to a man of Warre. All that is broken, hee repaireth with admirable diligence; he maketh many furious sallies, and giueth to the Romans all the affronts that possibly could be made. He hath in Garrison (besides the Citizens) ten thousand Souldiers; among which there are certaine Lieutenants, and other petty Officers, that conspire to render and betray the Towne. But the matter is reuealed by an Achæan, called *Alexon*, who had formerly, in danger of the like treason, saued Agrigentum. *Himilco* vseth the helpe of *Alexon*, to assure the hired Souldiers, and imployeth *Hannibal* to appease the troupes of the Gaules, which did wauer, and had sent their agents to the enemy. All promise constancie and truth; so that the Traitors, being vnable to performe what they had vndertaken, are faine to liue in the Roman campe as fugitiues, that had wrought no good wherby to deserue their bread. In the meane while, a supply of ten thousand Souldiers is sent from Carthage to their relieſe, hauing *Hannibal* the son of *Amilcar*, for their Conductor: who, in despight of all resistance, entred the Port and Citie, to the incredible ioy of the besieged. The old Souldiers, together with the new Companies, (thereto perswaded by *Himilco* with hope of great reward) resolue to set vpon the Romans in their Trenches, & either force them to abandon the siege, or (at least) to take from them, or set on fire, their engines of batterie. The attempt is presently made, and pursued to the vttermost, with great slaughter on both sides. But the Romans being more in number, and hauing the aduantage of the ground, hold still their places, and with extreme difficultie defend their engines.

They of Carthage desire greatly to vnderstand the state of things at Lilybæum; but know not how to send into the Towne. A certaine Rhodian vndertakes the seruice; and hauing receiued his dispatch, sailes with one Gallie to Ægusa, a little Iland neere Lilybæum. Thence, taking his time, he steered directly with the Port; and hauing a passing swift Gallie, he past through the best of the Channel, and recouered the water-gate, ere any of those, which the Romans had to guard the Port, could thrust from the shoores on either side.

The next day, neither attending the couert of the darke nigh, nor dreading to be boorded by the Roman Gallies, who waited his returne, he set saile, and shipped his Oares (his Gallie being exceeding quick of steerage, & himselfe expert in all parts of the channell) recouered the Hauens mouth, and the Sea, in despight of all the pursuit made after him. Then, finding himselfe out of danger of being incompassed by many, he turned againe towards the mouth of the Hauen, challenging any one, if any one durst come forth, to vndertake him. This enterprise, and the well performing of it, was very remarkable, and much wondred at in those dayes; and yet, where there was no great Artillerie, nor any other weapons of fire, to kill a-farre off, the aduenture which this Rhodian made was not greatly hazardous. For in this Age, a valiant and iudicious man of war will not feare to passe by the best appointed Fort of Europe, with the help of a good Tide, and a leading gale of winde: no, though fortie peeces of great Artillerie open their mouthes against him, and threaten to teare him in pieces.

In the beginning of our late Queenes time, when Denmarke & Sweden were at War; our East-land fleet, bound for Leif-land, as forbidden by the King of Denmarke to trade with the subiects of his enemies, & he threatned to sink their ships if they came through the streights of Elsenour. Notwithstanding this, our Merchants, hauing a ship of her Maiesties, called the Minion, to defend them) made the aduenture, and sustaining some Vollies of shot, kept on their course. The King made all the prouision he could, to stop them, or sinke them, at their returne. But the Minion, commanded (as I take it) by *William Burrough*, leading the way, did not onely passe out with little losse, but did beat downe, with Artillerie, a great part of the Fort of Elsenour; which at that time was not so well rampard, as now perhaps it is: and the fleet of Merchants that followed him, went through without any wound receiued. Neither was it long since, that the Duke of Parma besieging Antwerp, and finding no possibilitie to master it, otherwise than by famine, laid his Canon on the bancke of the Riuer, so well to purpose, and so euen with the face of the water, that hee thought it impossible for the least boat to passe by. Yet the Hollanders and Zelanders, not blown vp by any winde of glorie, but comming to finde a good market for their Butter and Cheese, euen the poore men,

men, attending their profit when all things were extreame deare in Antwerp, passed in boates of ten or twelue Tonne, by the mouth of the Dukes Cannon, in despight of it, when a strong Westerly winde, and a Tide of sloud fauoured them; as also with a contrarie winde, and an ebbing water, they turned backe againe: so as hee was forced, in the end, to build his Stockado ouerthwart the Riuer, to his maruailous trouble and charge.

The Fort Saint *Philip* terrified not vs in the yeere 1596. when he entred the Port of Calie; neither did the Fort at Puntal, when we were entred, beate vs from our anchoring by it; though it plaid vpon vs with foure Demi-cannons within point blanque, from sixe in the morning till twelue at noone. The siege of Ostend, and of many other places, may be giuen for proofe, how hard a matter it is to stop the passage of a good ship, without another as good to encounter it. Yet this is true, that where a Fort is so set, as that of Angra in Tercera, that there is no passage along beside it, or that the ships are driuen to turne vpon a bow-line towards it, wanting all helpe of winde and tide; there, and in such places, is it of great vse, and fearefull: otherwise not.

But to returne to our aduenturous Rhodian: Hee arriues in safety at Carthage, and makes them know the estate of Lilybæum. Others also, after this take vpon them to doe the like, and performe it with the same successe. The Romans therefore labour to choak the channell; and, for that purpose, fill many Merchants ships with great stones, and sinke them therein. The force of the Tides cleares it againe in part: but they grounded so many of those great bellied boates in the best of the entrance, as at last it made a manifest rising and heape, like a ragged Iland, in the passage. Hereby it came to passe, that a Carthaginian Gallie, taking her course by night, and not suspecting any such impediment, ranne her selfe a-ground thereon, and was taken. Now comes the braue Rhodian, thinking to enter, as hee had done before: but this Carthaginian Gallie, a little before taken, gaue him chase, and gathered vpon him; hee findes what shee is, both by her forme and by her swiftnesse: and being not able to runne from her, resolued to fight with her. But shee is too well manned for him, so that he is beaten and taken.

Lilybæum, after this, is greatly distressed; the Souldiers being worne with labour and watching. But in this despaire there rose so violent a tempest, as some of the Romans woodden Towers, by which they ouer-topt the walls of Lilybæum, were ouer-turned. A Greeke Souldier vndertakes to fire those that were fallen, and performes it: for the fire was no sooner kindled, but being blowne vnto by the bellowes of a tempest, it increased so fast, as it became resistlesse, and in the end burned all to ashes, and melted the brasen heads of the battering Rammes. Hereupon, despaire and wearinesse hinder the Romans from repairing their Engines: so that they resolue, by a long siege, to starue the defendants.

Vpon relation of what had past, a supply of tenne thousand Souldiers is sent from Rome, vnder *M. Claudius*, the Consull. Hee arriues at Messana, and marcheth ouer land to Lilybæum: where hauing re-inforced the Armie, and supplied the Gallies with new Rowers, he propounds the surprise of Drepanum, a Citie on the other side of the Bay of Lilybæum. This seruice the Captaines and Souldiers willingly embrace. So the Consull embarques his troupes, and arriues on the sudden in the mouth of the Port. *Adherbal* is Gouernour of the Towne, a valiant and prudent man of warre, who being ignorant of the new supply arriued at Lilybæum, was at first amazed at their sudden approach; but hauing recouered his spirits, hee perswades the Souldiers, rather to fight abroade, than to be enclosed. Herewithall hee promiseth great rewards to such, as by their valour shall deserue them; offering to leade them himselfe, and to fight in the head of his fleet. Hauing sufficiently encouraged his men, he thrusts into the Sea towards the Romans. The Consull, deceiued of his expectation, calls backe the foremost Gallies, that he might now marshall them for defence. Hereupon some rowe backward, some forward, in great confusion. *Adherbal* findes and followes his aduantage, and forceth the Consull into a Bay at hand, wherein he rangeth himselfe, hauing the land on his backe: hoping thereby to keepe himselfe from being incompassed. But he was thereby, and for want of Sea-roome, so streightened, as he could not turne himselfe any way from his enemies, nor range himselfe in any order. Therefore when he found no hope of resistance, keeping the shore on his left hand, hee thrust out of the Bay with thirty

thirtie Gallies, besides his owne, and so fled away: all the rest of his fleet, to the number of ninetie and foure ships, were taken or sunke by the Carthaginians. *Adherbal* for this seruice is greatly honoured at Carthage; and *Claudius*, for his indiscretion and flight, as much disgraced at Rome.

The Romans, notwithstanding this great losse, arme threescore Gallies, with which they send away *L. Iunius*, their Consull, to take charge of their businesse in Sicil. *Iunius* arriues at Messana, where he meetes with the whole remainder of the Roman fleet, those excepted which rode in the Port of Lilybæum. One hundred and twenty Gallies hee had; and besides these, hee had gotten together almost eight hundred ships of burthen, which were laden with all necessarie prouisions for the Armie. With this great fleet he arriues at Syracuse, where he staies a while; partly to take in corne; partly, to wait for some, that were too slow of saile, to keepe company with him along from Messana. In the meane time, he dispatcheth away towards Lilybæum, his Quæstors or Treasurers; to whom he commits the one halfe of his victualers, with some Gallies for their conuoy.

Adherbal was not carelesse, after his late victory: but studied how to vse it to the best aduantage. The ships and prisoners that he had taken, he sent to Carthage. Of his owne Gallies he deliuered thirtie to *Carthalo*, who had threescore and tenne more vnder his owne charge; and sent him to try, what good might be done against the Roman fleet, in the Hauen of Lilybæum. According to this direction, *Carthalo* suddenly enters the mouth of that Hauen, where hee findes the Romans, more attentiue to the keeping in of the besieged Carthaginians, than to the defence of their owne against another fleet. So he chargeth them, boords, and takes some, and fires the rest. The Roman Campe takes alarme, and hastens to the rescue. But *Himilco*, Gouernour of the Town, is not behinde hand; who sallies out at the same time, and putting the Romans to great distresse, giues *Carthalo* good leisure to goe through with his enterprise.

After this exploit, *Carthalo* ranne all along the South coast of Sicil, deuising how to worke mischiefe to the enemie; wherein Fortune presented him with a faire occasion, which he wisely managed. He was aduertised by his Scouts, that they had descried, neere at hand, a great fleet, consisting of all manner of Vessels. These were the victuallers, which the Consull *Iunius*, more hastily than prouidently, had sent before him towards Lilybæum. *Carthalo* was glad to heare of their comming: for he and his men were full of courage, by reason of their late victories. Accompting therefore the great multitude of Roman Hulks approching, to be rather a prey, than a fleet, likely to make strong opposition, he hastens to encounter them. It fell out according to his expectation. The Romans had no minde to fight: but were glad to seeke shelter in an open Road, full of rocks, vnder couert of a poore Towne, belonging to their partie; that could helpe to saue them onely from the present danger, by lending them engines & other aide, wherewith to beat off the Carthaginians that assailed them. *Carthalo* therefore, hauing taken a few of them, lay waiting for the rest, that could not long ride vnder those rockes, but would be forced by any great change of winde, either to put out into the deepe, or to saue their men, how they could, by taking land, with the losse of all their shipping. Whilest he was busied in this care; the Consull *Iunius* drew neere, and was discouered. Against him *Carthalo* makes out, and findes him altogether vnprepared to fight, as being wholly ignorant of that which had hapned. The Consull had neither meanes to flie, nor abilitie to fight. Therefore he likewise ran into a very dangerous Creeke; thinking no danger so great, as that of the enemie. The Carthaginian, seeing this, betakes himselfe to a Station betweene the two Roman fleets; where he watcheth, to see which of them would first stir, with a resolution to assault that, which should first dare to put it selfe into the Sea. So as now all the three fleets were on the South coast of Sicil, betweene the Promontorie of Pachinus and Lilybæum; a Tract exceeding dangerous, when the winde stormed at South. The Carthaginians, who knew the times of tempest, and their signes, finding (belike) some swelling billow (for so we doe in the West of England, before a Southerly storme) hasted to double the Cape of Pachinus, thereby to couer themselues from the rage at hand. But the Romans, who knew better how to fight, than how to Nauigate, and neuer found any foule weather in the entrailes of their beasts, their Soothsayers being all land-prophets, were suddenly ouer-taken with a boistrous South winde, and all the Gallies forced against the rocks, and vtterly wrackt.

This

This calamity so discouraged the Romans, that they resolued againe to forsake the Seas, and trust onely to the seruice of their Legions vpon firme ground. But such a resolution cannot long hold. Either they must be strong at Sea, or else they must not make warre in an Iland; against those that haue a mightier fleet. Yet are they to be excused, in regard of the many great calamities which they had suffered, through their want of skil. Here I cannot forbeare to commend the patient vertue of the Spaniards. We seldome or neuer finde, that any Nation hath endured so many misaduentures and miseries, as the Spaniards haue done, in their *Indian Discoueries*. Yet persisting in their enterprises, with an inuincible constancie, they haue annexed to their Kingdome so many goodly Prouinces, as burie the remembrance of all dangers past. Tempests and shipwracks, famine, ouerthrowes, mutinies, heat and cold, pestilence, and all manner of diseases, both old and new, together with extreme pouertie, and want of all things needfull, haue beene the enemies, wherewith euery one of their most noble Discouerers, at one time or other, hath encountred. Many yeeres haue passed ouer some of their heads, in the search of not so many leagues: yea more than one or two, haue spent their labour, their wealth, and their liues, in search of a golden Kingdome, without getting further notice of it, than what they had at their first setting forth. All which notwithstanding, the third, fourth, and fift vndertakers, haue not beene disheartened. Surely, they are worthily rewarded with those Treasuries, and Paradises, which they enioy; and well they deserue to hold them quietly, if they hinder not the like vertue in others, which (perhaps) will not be found.

§. XI.

The Citie of Eryx is surprized by the Romans, and recouered by Amilcar, *who stoutly holds warre with them fiue yeeres. The Romans hauing emptied their common treasurie, build a new fleet, at the charges of priuate men. The great victorie at Sea of* Luctatius *the Consull; whereby the Carthaginians are forced to craue peace. The conditions of the peace betweene Rome and Carthage.*

THE Romans were carefull, to supply with all industrie, by land, the want of strength at Sea. Therefore they continue the siege of Lilybæum, and seeke to make sure to themselues all places, whither the enemies ships could not bring relieſe. The Consull *Iunius*, to cure the wound of dishonour, which hee had receiued, bethought him what enterprises to vndertake. In the end hee resolued to attempt the Mountaine and Citie of Eryx, with the Temple of *Venus Erycina*: which was the fairest and richest of all the Iland; and of these, by cunning or treason, he got possession. Eryx was commodiously seated betweene Drepanum and Panormus; so that it seemed a fit place for a Garrison, that should restraine the Carthaginians from making roads into the Countrey. Wherefore *Iunius* fortified both the top of the Mountaine, and the first entrance of the passage from the bottome, (both which places were very defencible) with a good strength of men. But shortly after, in the eighteenth yeere of this warre, the Carthaginians sent forth *Amilcar*, surnamed *Barcas*, Father of the great *Hannibal*, with a fleete and Armie, who sailing to the coasts of Italie, did throughly repay the spoyles which the Romans made in Africa. For hee first of all wasted and destroyed the Territories of the Locrines, and of the Brutians, that were dependants of Rome. Then entred he into Sicil; and finding there no walled Citie in the Carthaginians power, that serued fitly to infest the Romans, he occupied a piece of ground of great aduantage, and lodged his Armie thereon; to confront as well the Romans, that were in Panormus, as those that kept about Eryx, putting himselfe betweene both Armies with admirable resolution.

The place that *Amilcar* had seized vpon, was not onely very strong by situation, but had the command of a Port: whereby it gaue him opportunitie, to scoure all the coast of Italie with his fleet, wasting all along as farre as to Cuma. In the Isle of Sicil he held the Romans to hard worke: lying neere vnto Panormus, where in three yeers abode he did many notable acts, though not of much consequence, for that the enemie could neuer be drawne to hazard the maine chance. Hauing wearied himselfe and the Romans long enough about Panormus, he vndertooke a strange peece of work at Eryx. The Roman Garrisons, placed there by *Iunius*, on the top, and at the bottome of the Mountaine, were

were very strongly lodged. Neuertheleſſe *Amilcar* found a way, lying towards the Seaside, by which hee conueighed his men into the Citie of Eryx, that was about the middest of the ascent, ere the enemy knew of it. By this it came to passe, that the Romans which kept the top of the mountaine, were streightly held (as it were) besieged. And no lesse was *Amilcar* himselfe restrained, by both of these Garrisons, and such as came to relieue them. There he found them pastime about two years more; hoping still to wearie out those that lay ouer his head, as they on the contrary did their best, to thrust him out of those quarters.

At this time, all the care, both of the Romans and of the Carthaginians, was bent vnto the prosecuting of this businesse at Eryx. Wherein it seemes true (as *Hannibal*, in *Liuie*, spake vnto *Scipio*) that the affaires of Carthage neuer stood in better termes, since the beginning of the warre, than now they did. For whereas the Romans had vtterly forsaken the Seas, partly by reason of their great losses; partly vpon confidence of their land-forces, which they held resistleſſe; *Amilcar*; with a small Armie, had so well acquited himselfe, to the honour of his Country, that by the triall of fiue yeares warre, the Carthaginian Souldier was iudged equall, if not superior to the Roman. Finally, when all, that might be, had beene deuised and gone, for the dislodging of this obstinate Warriour; no way seemed better to the Senate of Rome, than once againe to build a fleet; wherby, if the mastrie of the Sea could once bee gotten, it was likely that *Amilcar*, for lacke of supply, should not long be able to hold out. But in performing this, extreme difficulty was found. The common treasurie was exhausted: and the cost was not little; that was requisite vnto such an enterprise. Wherefore there was none other way left, than to lay the burden vpon priuate purses. Diuers of the principall Citizens vndertooke to build (each at his owne charges) one *Quinquereme*, which example wrought so well, that they, whose abilitie would not serue to doe the like, ioyned with some others, and laying their mony together, concurred two or three of them, in building of another; with condition to be repaied, when the war was finished. By this voluntary contribution, they made and finished two hundred new *Quinqueremes*: taking for their paterne, that excellent swift rowing Gallie which they had gotten from the Rhodian, in the Port of Lilybæum, as was shewed before. The charge of this fleet was committed to *C. Luctatius Catulus*; who past with the same into Sicil, the Spring following, and entred the Port of Drepanum, indeauouring by all meanes to haue forced the Citie. But being aduertised that the Carthaginian fleete was at hand; and being mindefull of the late losses which his Predecessours had receiued; he was carefull to put himselfe in order, against their arriuall.

Liu. Dec. 3. l. 10.

Hanno was Admiral of the Carthaginian fleet; a man (as his actions declare him) wise in picture, exceedingly formall, and skilfull in the art of seeming reuerend. How his reputation was first bred, I doe not finde; but it was vp-held by a factious contradiction, or things vndertaken by men more worthy than himselfe. This qualitie procured vnto him (as it hath done to many others) both good liking among the ancient sort; whose cold temper is auerse from new enterprises, and therewithall an opinion of great foresight, confirmed by euery losse receiued. More particularly, he was gracious among the people, for that he was one of the most grieuous oppressors of their subiect Prouinces; whereby he procured vnto the Carthaginians much wealth, but therewithall such hatred, as turned it all to their great losse. He had ere this beene imployed against the Numidians, and wilde Africans, that were more like to Rouers, than to Souldiers, in making Warre. Of those fugitiue Nations, he learned to neglect more manly enemies, to his owne great dishonour, and to the great hurt of Carthage; which lost not more by his bad conduct, than by his malicious counsaile, when, having shewed himselfe an vnworthy Captaine, he betooke himselfe to the long Robe. Yet is he much commended in Roman Histories, as a temperate man, and one that studied how to preserue the League betweene Carthage and Rome. In which regard, how well hee deserued of his owne Countrie, it will appeare hereafter: how beneficiall he was to the Romans, it will appeare, both hereafter, and in his present voyage; wherein hee reduced the Carthaginians to a miserable necessitie of accepting, vpon hard conditions, that peace which hee thence-forth commended.

Hanno had very well furnished his Nauie, with all needfull prouisions for the Souldiers at Eryx: (for dexteritie in making preparation was the best of his qualities) but he had

had neither beene carefull in trayning his Mariners, to the practice of Sea-fight, nor in manning his Gallies with stout fellowes. He thought, that the fame of a Carthaginian fleet was enough, to make the vnexpert Romans giue way: forgetting, that rather the resistlesse force of tempests, than any other strength of opposition, had made them to forsake the Seas. Yet in one thing he had either conceiued aright, or else was sent forth wel instructed. It was his purpose, first of all to saile to Eryx, and there to discharge his ships of their lading: and hauing thus lightned himselfe, he meant to take aboord some part of the Land-armie, together with *Amilcar* himselfe, by whose helpe he doubted not, but that he should be able to make his enemie repent of his new aduenture to Sea. This was a good course, if it could haue beene performed. But *Catulus* vsed all possible diligence, to preuent the execution of this designe: not because he was informed of the enemies purpose, but that he knew it to be the best for them, & for that he feared no danger so greatly, as to encounter with *Amilcar*. Wherefore although the weather was very rough, and the seas went high, when the Carthaginian fleet was discried, yet he rather chose to fight with the enemie, that had the winde of him, than to suffer his conuoy to passe along to Eryx, vpon vnlikely hope of better oportunity in the future. All that *Hanno* should haue done, *Catulus* had performed. He had carefully exercised his men in Rowing; he had lightned his Gallies of all vnnecessarie burthens; and he had taken aboord the choyce men of the Roman Land-souldiers. The Carthaginians therefore, at the first encounter, were vtterly broken and defeated; hauing fiftie of their Gallies stemmed and sunke, and seuentie taken, wherein were few lesse than ten thousand men, that were all made prisoners: the rest, by a sudden change of winde, escaping to the Ile of Hieronesus.

The state of Carthage, vtterly discouraged by this change of fortune, knew not whereon to resolue. Meanes to repaire their fleete in any time there were none left; their best men of warre by Sea were consumed; and *Amilcar*, vpon whose valour, and iudgement the honour and safetie of the Common-weale rested, was now surrounded by his enemies in Sicil, where hee could not bee relieued. In this extremitie, they make dispatch vnto *Amilcar* himselfe, and authorize him to take what course should seeme best vnto his excellent wisedome; leauing all conclusions to his election and sole counsaile.

Amilcar, whom no aduersitie, accompanied with the least hope or possibilitie of recouerie, had euer vanquished, looking ouer euery promise, true or false, that the present time could make him, (for to attend any thing from the future hee was not able) resolued to make tryall, whether his necessitie might bee compounded vpon any reasonable tearmes. Hee therefore sent to *Luctatius* the Consull an Ouerture of peace: who considering it well, gathered so many arguments from the present pouertie of the Roman State, wasted beyond expectation in the former warre, that hee willingly harkened vnto it. So, in conclusion, an accord was made, but with prouision, That it should hold none otherwise, than if the Senate and People of Rome would ratifie it with their allowance.

The conditions were: First, that the Carthaginians should clearely abandon the Isle of Sicil. Secondly, that they should neuer vnder-take vpon *Hieron* King of Syracuse, nor inuade any part of his Territories, nor the Territories of any of his Friends and Allies. Thirdly, that they should set at libertie, and send backe into Italie, all the Romans, whom they held prisoners, without ransome. Lastly, that they should pay vnto the Romans two thousand and two hundred talents; which make, as the French reckon the talent, thirteene hundred and twenty thousand crownes: the same to be deliuered within twentie yeeres next following.

These Articles were sent to Rome, where they were not throughly approued: but ten Commissioners were sent into Sicil, to make perfect the agreement. These Commissioners added a thousand talents to the former sum; & required a shorter time of paiment. Further also, they tooke order, that the Carthaginians should not onely depart out of Sicil it selfe, but should also with-draw their Companies out of all other Ilands betweene it and Italie, renouncing their whole interest therein.

Such was the end of the first *Punick Warre*, that had lasted about twentie foure yeares without intermission; in which time the Romans had lost, by fight or shipwracke, about seuen hundred *Quinqueremes*; and the Carthaginians, about fiue hundred: the greatnesse of which losses, doth serue to prooue the greatnesse both of these two Cities, and of

of the Warre it selfe; wherein I hold good the iudgement of *Polybius*; That the Romans, in generall, did shew themselues the brauer Nation; and *Amilcar*, the most worthie Captaine.

CHAP. II.

Of diuers actions passing betweene the first and second Punick Warres.

§. I.

Of the cruell Warre begun betweene the Carthaginians and their owne Mercenaries.

THE Romans hauing partly by force, and partly by composition, thrust the Carthaginians out of Sicil, and all the little Ilands thereunto adiacent, gaue them rather meanes and leisure to helpe themselues in a following Warre, than cause to hold themselues contented with the present peace. It is an ancient and true rule, *Quæ leges à victoribus dicuntur, accipiuntur à victis; That lawes are giuen by the Conquerours, and receiued of the conquered.* But the Romanes had either forgotten the answer that was made vnto them, by one of the *Priuernates*; or else had forgotten to follow it, in this weightie businesse. For when one of *Priuernum*, after a rebellion, defending in the Senate the cause of his Citie, was demanded by a Senator, *what peace the Romanes might hope for, or assure themselues of, if they quitted their present aduantage ouer them*; hee answered in these words, *Si bonam dederitis, & fidam & perpetuam; si malam, haud diuturnam; If the peace bee good and faithfull that you giue vs, it will bee perpetuall; if it bee ill, then of little continuance.* To this answer, the Senate, at that time, gaue such approbation, that it was said, *Virili & libera vocem audiram; an credi posset, vllum populum, aut hominem denique, in ea conditione, cuius cum pœniteat, diutius quam necesse sit mansurum? That it was the speech of a manly, and a free man; for who could believe, that any people, or indeed any one man, would continue longer in an ouer-burdened estate, than meere necessitie did enforce?* Now if the Romans themselues could make this iudgement, of those Nations, who had little else, besides their manly resolution, to defend their libertie; surely, they grosly flattered themselues, in presuming, that the Carthaginians, who neither in power nor in pride, were any way inferiour vnto themselues, would sit downe any longer by the losse and dishonour receiued, than vntill they could recouer their legges, and the strength, which had a while failed them, to take reuenge. But Occasion, by whom (while well entertained) not onely priuate men, but Kings and publique States, haue more preuailed, than by any proper prowesse or vertue, with-held the tempest from the Romans for a time, and turned it most fearefully vpon Africa, and the Carthaginians themselues.

For after that the first Punick War was ended, *Amilcar*, leauing Eryx, went to Lilybæum, from whence most conueniently the Armie might be transported into Africk: the care of which businesse he committed vnto *Gesco*, to whom, as to a man of approued sufficiencie, he deliuered ouer his charge. *Gesco* had an especiall consideration of the great summes, wherein Carthage was indebted vnto these Mercenaries; and, withall, of the great disabilitie to make payment. Therefore he thought it the wisest way, to send them ouer (as it were) by handfulls, a few at a time, that so the first might haue their dispatch, and be gone, ere the second or third Companies arriued. Herein hee dealt prouidently. For it had not been hard to perswade any small number, lodged within so great a Citie as Carthage, vnto some such reasonable composition, as the present emptinesse of the common Treasurie did require: so that the first might haue beene friendly discharged, and a good president left vnto the second and third, whilest their disiunction had made them

them vnable to recouer their whole due by force. But the Carthaginians were of a contrarie opinion. They thought to finde, in the whole Armie, some that would bee contented to gratifie the Publique State, by remitting a great part of their owne due: and hoped by such an example, to draw all the multitude to the like agreement and capitulation. So they detained the first and second commers; telling them, that they would make an euen reckoning with all together. Thus euery day the number increased, and many disorders (a thing incident among Souldiers) were committed; which much disquieted the Citie, not accustomed vnto the like. In this regard it was thought fit, to remoue them all to some other place where they might be lesse troublesome. This must bee done by some colourable words of perswasion: for their number was already so great, that it was not safe to offend them too farre. Wherefore it is deuised, that they should all attend the comming of their fellowes, at Sicca: receiuing euery one a piece of gold, to beare his charges in the meane while.

This motion is accepted, and the Souldiers began to dislodge; leauing behinde them their wiues, their children, and all their baggage, as meaning shortly to fetch away all, when they came backe for their pay. But the Carthaginians haue no fancie to their returning into the Towne; and therefore compell them to trusse vp their fardells, that they might haue none occasion left to make any errands thither. So to Sicca they remooued, with all their goods; and there lay waiting for newes of their fellowes arriuall, and their owne pay. Businesse they had none to do, and therefore might easily be drawne to mutinie: the whole argument of their discourse inclining them to nothing else. Their daily talke was, how rich they should bee, when all their money came in; how much would fall to euery single share; and for how long time the Citie was behinde hand with them in reckoning. They were all growne Arithmeticians; and hee was thought a man of worth, that could finde most reason to increase their demands, to the very highest, euen beyond their due. No part of their long seruice was forgotten; but the comfortable words and promises of their Captaines, leading them forth to any dangerous fight, were called to minde, and so many obligations, not to be cancelled, without satisfying their expectation by some vnordinarie largesse.

Thus the time passeth away; vntill the whole Armie being arriued, and lodged in Sicca, *Hanno* comes thither to cleare the accompt. Now is the day come, wherein they shall all be made rich; especially if they can hold together, in maintaining stoutly the common cause. So thinke they all; and assemble themselues to heare what good newes this messenger had brought: with a full resolution to help his memorie, in case he should happen to forget any part of the many promises made to them; all which were to bee considered in their Donatiue. *Hanno* begins a very formall Oration; wherin he bewailes the pouertie of Carthage; tells them, how great a summe of money is to be paid vnto the Romans; reckons vp the excessiue charges, whereat the common-wealth had beene in the late warre; and finally desires them to hold themselues contented with part of their pay, and out of the loue which they bare vnto the Citie, to remit the rest. Few of them vnderstood his discourse: for the Carthaginian Armie was composed of sundry Nations, as Greekes, Africans, Gaules, Ligurians, Spaniards, and others, all of different languages. Yet they stared vpon him, and were (as I thinke) little pleased with his very gesture. But when such, as conceiued the whole tenor of his speech, had informed the rest what cold comfort he brought; they were all enraged, and fared like mad-men, so that nothing would serue to appease them.

Hanno would faine haue asswaged their furie, but he knew not how: for hee lesse vnderstood their dissonant lowd noyses, than they did his Oration. An Armie collected out of so many Countries, that haue no one language common to all, or to the greater part of them, is neither easily stirred vp to mutinie, nor easily pacified, when once it is broken into outrage. The best that *Hanno* can doe, is to vse the helpe of Interpreters and messengers. But these Interpreters mistake his meaning; some, for want of skill; others of set purpose; and such as deliuer his errands in the worst sense, are best beleeued. Finally, they thinke themselues much abused by the Carthaginians, and resolue to demand their owne in peremptorie termes, at a neerer distance. In this mood they leaue Sicca, and march as farre as Tunis, that is within a very little of Carthage, and there they incampe.

Now begin the Carthaginians to finde their owne errour. It is a good rule,

Curandum

Curandum inprimis, ne magna iniuria fiat
Fortibus & miseris.

Haue speciall care, that valiant pouertie
Be not oppreſt with too great iniurie.

But this proud citie, hauing neglected the rule, hath also beene carelesse in prouiding to secure her selfe against the inconuenience that might follow. Shee had suffered the whole multitude, whereunto she was like to giue cause of discontent, to ioyne it selfe into one bodie, when the seuerall troupes might easily haue beene dispersed: shee hath turned out of her gates the wiues, children, and goods of these poore men, which had she retained in shew of kindnesse, she might haue vsed them as Hostages, for her own safety; and by imploying a miserable pennie-father, in her negotiation with men of Warre, she hath weakened the reputation of her braueſt Captaines, that might best haue serued to free her from the threatning danger. Yet likely it is, that *Amilcar* had no desire to be vsed as an instrument in defrauding his owne Souldiers of their wages: especially considering, that as he best could beare witnesse of their merits, so was he not ignorant, that meanes to content them were not wanting, if the Citizens had beene willing thereunto. Hereunto may be added a probable coniecture, that *Hanno*, with his complices, who at this very time was a bitter enemie to *Amilcar*, had the boldnesse to impose the blame of his owne wretched counsaile, vpon the liberall promises made by the Captaines. *Amilcar* therefore did wisely, in suffering those that maligned him, to haue the managing of their owne plot, and to deale the cardes which themselues had shuffled. This they continue to do as foolishly, as they had at first begun. They furnish a market at Tunis, for the souldiours; whom they suffer to buy what they list, and at what price they list. They send euer and anon some of their Senatours into the Campe; who promise to satisfie all demands, as farre forth as it should be possible. And thus by shifting from one extreame to another, they make the Souldiours vnderstand, into what feare the Citie was driuen; which cannot choose but adde much insolencie to the passions already stirred vp.

This sudden change of weather, and the true cause of it, is quickly found by the Army, which thereupon growes wise, and finding the season fit, labors to make a great harueſt. Money must be had, and without any abatement. This is granted. Many haue lost their horses, in publique seruice of the State. The State shall pay for them. They had liued some yeares, by making hard shift, without receiuing their allowance of victualls from Carthage. If they had liued, they wanted not meat; therefore what was this to the Carthaginians? Was it not all one, whether the ships did bring in prouision; or their Captaine direct them where to fetch it? But this would not serue. They said that they had beene sometimes driuen to buy; and that (since they could not remember, how much, or at what rate they bought) they would be paid for their prouision, during the whole time, and according to the deareſt price that wheat had borne, whileſt the Warre lasted. Such are now the demands of these Mutiners; who might easily haue beene satisfied with farre lesse charges, and farre more honour, by receiuing their due at the first. But now they make none end of crauing. For whileſt the Carthaginians are perplexed, about this Corn-monie; the Souldiers haue deuised many more tricks, wherby to extort a greater sum of money, without all regard of shame. Since therefore no good end could bee found of these controuersies which daily did multiply, it was thought conuenient, that one of the Carthaginians, which had cõmanded in Sicil, should be chosen by the Souldiers, to reconcile all differences. Hereunto the Armie condescended, and made choise of *Gesco*: partly out of good liking to him, who had shewed himselfe at all times a friendly man to them, and carefull of their good, especially when they were to be transported into Africke: partly out of a dislike which they had conceiued of *Amilcar*; for that hee had not visited them in all this busie time. So *Gesco* comes among them; and, to please them the better, comes not without money: which might giue better countenance to his proceedings, than barren eloquence had done to the negotiation of *Hanno*. Hee calls vnto him first of all, the Captaines, and then, the seuerall Nations apart; rebuking them gently for that which had passed; aduising them temperately concerning the present; and exhorting them to continue their loue vnto the State, which had long entertai-

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ned them, and would needs alwaies be mindefull of their good seruices. After this he began to put hand to his purse: offering to giue them their whole pay in hand; and then after to consider of other reckonings at a more conuenient time. This had beene well accepted, and might haue serued to bring all to a quiet passe; if two seditious ring-leaders of the multitude had not stood against it.

There was in the Campe one *Spendius*, a sturdie fellow, and audacious, but a slaue; that in the late war had fled from a Roman whom hee serued, and therefore stood in feare, lest he should be deliuered backe to his Master; at whose hands he could expect no lesse, than to be whipt and crucified. This wretch could finde no better way to prolong his owne life, than by raising such troubles as might serue to with-draw men from care of priuate matters, and make his owne restitution impossible, were his Master neuer so importunate. With *Spendius* there associated himselfe one *Matho*; an hote-headed man, that had beene so forward in stirring vp the tumult, as he could not choose but feare, lest his owne death should be made an example, to deterre others from the like seditious behauiour. This *Matho* deales with his Countrimen the Africans; telling them, that they were in farre worse condition, than either the Gaules, the Greekes, the Spaniards, or any forreyne mercenaries. For (saith he) *these our companions haue no more to doe, than to receiue their wages, and so get them gone: but wee, that are to stay behinde in Africa, shall be called to another manner of accompt, when we are left alone; so that wee shall haue cause to wish, that we had returned home beggars, rather than loaden with the monie, which (little though it be) shall break our backes. Yee are not ignorant, how tyrannically those our haughty Masters of Carthage doe reigne ouer vs. They thinke it reasonable, that our liues and goods should bee at their disposition; which they haue at other times beene accustomed to take from vs, euen without apparant cause, as it were to declare their Soueraigntie: what will they now doe, seeing that we haue demeaned our selues as free men, and been bold to set a good face on the matter, demanding our owne, as others haue done? Yee all doe know, that it were a very shame for vs, if hauing beene as forward in euery danger of warre, as any other men, wee should now stand quaking like slaues, and not dare to open our mouthes, when others take libertie to require their due. This notwithstanding yee may assure your selues, that we are like to be taught better manners, as soone as our fellowes are gone: in regard of whom they are content to shadow their indignation with a good, but a forced countenance. Let vs therefore be wise; and consider, that they hate and feare vs. Their hatred will shew it selfe, when their feare is once past: vnlesse wee now take our time, and, whilest we are the stronger, enfeeble them so greatly, that their hatred shall not be able to doe vs wrong. All their strength consisteth in money, wherwithall they haue hired others against vs, and vs against others. At the present they haue neither money nor friends. The best Armie that euer serued them, whereof we are no small part, lies at their gates, ready to helpe vs if we be men. A better opportunitie cannot be expected: for were our swords once drawne, all Africk would rise on our side. As for the Carthaginians, whither can they send for helpe? The case it selfe is plaine: but wee must quickly resolue. Either wee must preuent the diligence of* Gesco, *by incensing these Gaules and Spaniards, and procuring them to draw bloud; or else it behoueth vs to please our good masters, by ioyning with them against our fellowes, yea by offering to forgiue vnto them all our wages, if so (peradauenture) they may bee wonne to forgiue vs, or not ouer-cruellie to punish our faults committed. He is most worthily a wretched slaue, that neither hath care to winne his Masters loue, nor the courage to attempt his owne libertie.*

By such perswasions *Matho* winnes the African souldiers to his owne purpose. They are not now so greedy of money, as of quarrell; which he that seeketh, will not misse to finde. When *Gesco* therefore offered to pay them their whole stipend presently, but referred their other demands, for horses and victuals, to some other more conuenient time; they breake into great outrage, and say that they will haue all, euen all at once, and that out of hand. In this tumult, the whole Armie flocke together about *Matho*, and *Spendius*; whose diligence is not wanting, to adde more fuell to the fire already blazing. *Matho* and *Spendius* are the onely men to whom the souldiers will hearken: if any other stand vp to make a speech, a showre of stones, flying about his eares, puts him to silence, that he shall neuer afterwards speake word more. Neither stay they to consider what it is that any man would say: enough hath beene said already by those good spokesmen; so that no other word (though perhaps to the same purpose) can be heard, saue onely *Throw, throw.*

Now

Now the Rebellion begins to take forme. *Matho* and *Spendius* are chosen Captaines; who, followed by a desperate crue of Ruffians, will suffer no man to make his owne peace, but pursue their owne ends, vnder faire pretence of the common cause. All which notwithstanding, *Gesco* is not wanting to the good of his countrie, but aduentures himselfe vpon their furie. One while he deales with the Captaines, and other principal men; taking them by the hand, and giuing gentle words: another while he workes with the seuerall Nations; putting them all in hope of their own harts desire, if any reason would content them. None of them are so sullen as the Africans: indeed none of them had so good cause. They require him peremptorily, to giue them their owne, and not to feed them with words. The truth is, that they are not so couetous as they seeme: but will be more glad of an ill answer, than of a good payment. This is more than *Gesco* knowes: he sees not that *Matho* hath any more than bare words to bestow vpon them. Wherefore, as rebuking their inconsiderate heat, he tells them, That they may doe well, if they stand in want of money, to seeke it of their Captaine, *Matho*. This is enough. Shall he both defraud them and deride them? They stay no longer, but lay violent hands vpon the treasure that he had brought; yea vpon him also, and all that are with him: as intending to take this in part of payment, and, for the rest, to take another course. *Matho* and *Spendius* are glad of this. It had little pleased them to see their fellowes begin to grow calme, by his faire language: wherefore they cast into bonds both him, and all the Carthaginians that they can finde; that so the Armie may be freed from danger of *good admonition*, which they call Treason. After this followes open warre. *Matho* sollicites all Africk; and his Embassadors are euery where well entertained. Neither is it needfull to vse persuasion: the very fame of this rebellion sufficeth to draw the whole countrie into it. Now must the Carthaginians be plagued for those oppressions, with which they haue plagued others. It is true that aduersitie hath neuer beene vntold of her errours: and as she is euer assured to heare her owne, so commonly with her owne she vndergoes those of other men. The Africans finding the Carthaginians hang vnder the wheele, tel them boldly, that their Impositions were mercilesse; that they took from them the one halfe of their corne; that they doubled their tributes in all things else; and that they inflicted vpon their vassals the greatest punishment for the least offences. These cruelties the Carthaginians themselues haue forgotten: but the people, that haue suffered so much, retain all in perfect memorie. Wherefore not onely such as can beare Armes, are ready to doe seruice in this great Commotion; but the very women bring forth their Iewels, and other ornaments, offering all to sale for the maintenance of so iust a quarrell. By this great forwardnesse, and liberall contribution, *Matho* and *Spendius* are supplied with a strong aide of threescore and ten thousand Africans: and are moreouer furnished with money, not only to satisfie the present appetite of their men, but sufficient to continue the war begun, though it should be of long endurance.

§. II.

Diuers obseruations vpon this warre with the mercenaries.

†. I.

Of Tyrannie, and how Tyrants are faine to vse the helpe of mercenaries.

HEere let vs rest a while, as in a conuenient place: whence wee may take a prospect of the subiect, ouer which we trauaile. Behold a tyrannical City, persecuted by her owne mercenaries with a deadly warre. It is a common thing, as being almost necessarie, that a tyrannie should be vpheld by mercenarie forces: it is common that mercenaries should be false: and it is common that all warre made against Tyrants, should be exceeding full of hate and cruelty. Yet we seldome heare, that euer the ruine of a tyrannie is procured or sought, by those that were hired to maintain the power of it: and seldome or neuer do we reade of any warre that hath been prosecuted with such inexpiable hatred, as this that is now in hand.

That which we properly call Tyrannie, is, *A violent forme of gouernment, not respecting the good of the subiect, but onely the pleasure of the Commander.* I purposely forbeare to say, that it is the vniust rule of one ouer many: for very truely doth *Cleon* in *Thucydides* tell

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the Athenians, that their dominion ouer their subiects, was none other than a meere tyrannie; though it were so, that they themselues were a great Citie, and a popular estate. Neither is it peraduenture greatly needfull, that I should call this forme of commanding, *violent*: since it may well and easily be conceiued, that no man willingly performes obedience, to one regardlesse of his life and welfare; vnlesse himselfe be either a mad man, or (which is little better) wholly possessed with some extreme passion of loue. The practice of tyrannie, is not alwaies of a like extremitie: for some Lords are more gentle, than others, to their very slaues; and he that is most cruell to some, is milde enough towards others, though it be but for his owne aduantage. Neuertheless, in large Dominions, wherein the Rulers discretion cannot extend it selfe, vnto notice of the difference which might be found between the worth of seuerall men; it is commonly seene, that the taste of sweetnesse, drawne out of oppression, hath so good a rellish, as continually inflames the Tyrants appetite, and will not suffer it to be restrained with any limits of respect. Why should he seeke out bounds to prescribe vnto his desires, who cannot endure the face of one so honest, as may put him in remembrance of any moderation: it is much that he hath gotten, by extorting from some few: by sparing none, hee should haue riches in goodly abundance. He hath taken a great deale from euery one: but euery one could haue spared more. He hath wrung all their purses, & now he hath enough: but (as Couetousnesse is neuer satisfied) he thinkes that all this is too little for a stocke, though it were indeed a good yeerely In-come. Therfore he deuiseth new tricks of robberie and is not better pleased with the gaines, than with the Art of getting. He is hated for this, and he knowes it well: but he thinkes by crueltie to change hatred into feare. So he makes it his exercise, to torment and murder all, whom he suspecteth: in which course, if he suspect none vniustly, he may be said to deale craftily; but if Innocency be not safe, how can all this make any Conspiratour to stand in feare, since the Traitor is no worse rewarded, than the quiet man? Wherefore he can thinke vpon none other securitie, than to dis-arme all his Subiects; to fortifie himselfe within some strong place; and for defence of his Person and state, to hire as many lustie Souldiers as shall bee thought sufficient. These must not be of his owne Countrie: for if not enery one, yet some one or other may chance to haue a feeling of the publique miserie. This considered, he allures vnto him a desperate rabble of strangers, the most vnhonest that can be found; such as haue neither wealth nor credit at home, and will therefore be carefull to support him, by whose onely fauour they are maintained. Now lest any of these, either by detestation of his wickednesse, or (which in wicked men is most likely) by promise of greater reward, than he doth giue, should bee drawne to turne his sword against the Tyrant himselfe: they shall all be permitted to doe as he doth; to robbe, to rauish, to murder, and to satisfie their owne appetites, in most outragious manner; being thought so much the more assured to their Master, by how much the more he sees them grow hatefull to all men else. Considering in what age, and in what Language I write, I must be faine to say, that these are not dreames: though some Englishman perhaps that were vnacquainted with Historie, lighting vpon this leafe, might suppose this discourse to be but little better. This is to shew, both how tyrannie growes to stand in need of mercenarie Souldiers, and how those Mercenaries are, by mutuall obligation, firmely assured vnto the Tyrant.

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†. II.

That the tyrannie of a Citie ouer her Subiects is worse, than the tyrannie of one man: and that a tyrannicall Citie must likewise vse mercenary Souldiers.

NOw concerning the tyrannie, wherewith a Citie or State oppresseth her Subiects; it may appeare some waies to be more moderate, than that of one man: but in many things it is more intolerable. A Citie is iealous of her Dominion; but not (as is one man) fearefull of her life: the lesse need hath she therefore, to secure her selfe by crueltie. A Citie is not luxurious in consuming her treasures; and therefore needs the lesse, to plucke from her Subiects. If warre, or any other great occasion, driue her to necessitie, of taking from her Subiects more than ordinarie summes of money: the same necessitie makes either the contribution easie, or the taking excusable. Indeed no wrongs are so grieuous & hatefull, as those that are insolent. *Remember* (saith *Caligula* the Emperour, to

to his Grand-mother *Antonia*) *that I may doe what I lest, and to whom I list*; these words were accounted horrible, though hee did her no harme. And *Iuuenal* reckons it, as the complement of all torments, inflicted by a cruel Roman Dame vpon her slaues, that whilest she was whipping them, she painted her face, talked with her Gossips, and vsed all signes of neglecting what those wretches felt. Now seeing that the greatest griefuances wherewith a domineering State offendeth her Subiects, are free from all sense of indignitie: likely it is, that they will not extreamely hate her, although desire of liberty make them wearie of her Empire. In these respects it is not needfull, that she should keepe a Guard of licentious cut-throats, and maintaine them in all villany, as a *Dionysius* or *Agathocles* must doe: her owne Citizens are able to terrifie, and to hold perforce in obedience, all male-contents. These things, considered alone by themselues, may serue to proue, That a Citie is scarce able to deserue the name of a Tyrannesse, in the proper signification.

All this notwithstanding, it shall appeare, that the miseries, wherewith a Tyrant loadeth his people, are not so heauie, as the burdens imposed by a cruell Citie. Not without some appearance of truth, it may be said, that Lust, and many other priuate passions, are no way incident to a City or Corporation. But to make this good, wee shall haue need to vse the helpe of such distinctions, as the Argument in hand doth not require. Was not Rome lascuious, when *Cato* was faine to rise, and leaue the Theater, to the end, that the reuerend regard of his grauity, might not hinder the people, from calling for a shew of naked Courtisans, that were to be brought vpon the open stage? By common practice, and generall approued custome, we are to censure the quality of a whole State; not by the priuate vertue or vice of any one man; nor by metaphysicall abstraction of *the vniuersall* from *the singular*; or of *the Corporation*, from *those of whom it is compounded*. I say therefore (as I haue said elsewhere) That it were better to liue vnder one pernicious Tyrant, than vnder many thousands. The reasons prouing this, are too many to set downe: but few may suffice. The desires of one man, how inordinate soeuer, if they cannot be satisfied, yet they may be wearied; he is not able to search all corners; his humour may be found, and soothed; age or good aduice, yea, or some vnexpected accident may reforme him: all which failing, yet is there hope, that his successour may prooue better.

Many Tyrants haue beene changed into worthy Kings; and many haue ill vsed their ill-gotten Dominion, which becomming hereditary to their posterity, hath grown into the most excellent forme of Gouernment, euen a lawfull Monarchy. But they that liue vnder a tyrannicall Citie, haue no such hope; their Mistresse is immortall, and will not slacken the reines, vntill they be pulled out of her hands; and her owne mouth receiue the bridle of a more mightier Chariotier. This is woefull: yet their present sufferings make them lesse mindefull of the future. New flies, and hungry ones, fall vpon the same sore, out of which, others had already sucked their fill. A new Gouernor comes yearely among them, attended by all his poore kindred and friends, who meane not to returne home empty to their hiues, without a good lading of waxe and honey. These flie into all quarters, and are quickly acquainted with euery mans wealth, or whatsoeuer else, in all the Prouince, is worthy to be desired. They know all a mans enemies, and all his feares: becomming themselues, within a little space, the enemies that he feareth most. To grow into acquaintance with these masterfull guests, in hope to win their friendship, were an endlesse labour (yet it must be vndergone) and such as euery one hath not meanes to goe about: but were this effected, what auaileth it? The loue of one Gouernour is purchased with gifts: the Successor of this man, he is more louing than could be wished, in respect of a faire Wife or Daughter: then comes the third, perhaps of the contrary faction at home, a bitter enemy to both his fore-goers, who seekes the ruine of all that haue beene inward with them. So the miseries of this tyranny are not simple; but interlaced (as it were) with the calamities of ciuill warre. The Romans had a Law *De Repetundis*, or, *Of Recovery*, against extorting Magistrates: yet wee finde, that it serued not wholly to restraine their Prouinciall Gouernours; who presuming on the fauour of their owne Citizens, and of their kindred and friends at home, were bold in their Prouinces, to worke all these enormities rehearsed; though somewhat the more sparingly, for feare of iudgement. If the subiects of Rome groned vnder such oppressions, what must we think of those that were vassals vnto Carthage? The Romans imposed no burthensome tributes;

tributes; they loued not to heare, that their Empire was grieuous; they condemned many noble Citizens, for hauing beene ill Gouernours. At Carthage all went quite contrarie: the rapines newly deuised by one Magistrate, serued as Presidents to instruct another; euery man resolued to doe the like, when it should fall to his turne; and hee was held a notable Statesman, whose robberies had been such, as might affoord a good share to the common treasure. Particular examples of this Carthaginian practice, are not extant: the gouernment of *Verres* the Roman in Sicil, that is liuely set out by *Tullie*, may serue to informe vs, what was the demeanour of these Punick Rulers, who stood in feare of no such condemnation, as *Verres* vnder-went. By prosecuting this discourse, I might inferre a more generall Proposition; That a Citie cannot gouerne her subiect Prouinces so mildely, as a King: but it is enough to haue shewed, That the tyranny of a Citie is farre more intolerable, than that of any one most wicked man. 10

Sutable to the crueltie of such Lords, is the hatred of their subiects: and againe, suteable to the hatred of the subiects, is the iealousie of their Lords. Hence it followed, that, in warres abroad, the Carthaginians durst vse the seruice of African souldiers; in Africk it selfe, they had rather be beholding to others, that were farther fetcht. For the same purpose did *Hannibal*, in the second *Punick Warre*, shift his mercenaries out of their own Countries; *Vt Afri in Hispaniâ, Hispani in Africâ, melior procul ab domo futurus vterq; miles, velut mutuis pignoribus obligati stipendia facerent; That the Africans might serue in Spaine, the Spaniards in Africk, being each of them like to proue the better Souldiers, the farther they were from home, as if they were obliged by mutuall pledges.* It is disputable, I confesse, whether these African and Spanish hirelings, could properly be termed *Mercenaries*: for they were subiect vnto Carthage, and carried into the field, not onely by reward, but by dutie. Yet seeing their dutie was no better than enforced, and that it was not any loue to the State, but meere desire of gaine, that made them fight; I will not nicely stand vpon proprietie of a word, but hold them, as *Polybius* also doth, no better than Mercenaries. Liu. Dec. 3. l. 1.

†.III.

The dangers growing from the vse of Mercenarie Souldiers, and forraine Auxiliaries.

THE extreame danger, growing from the imploiment of such Souldiers, is well obserued by *Machiauel*: who sheweth, that they are more terrible to those whom they serue, than to those against whom they serue. They are seditious, vnfaithfull, disobedient, deuourers, and destroiers of all places and countries, whereinto they are drawne; as being held by no other bond, than their owne commoditie. Yea, that which is most fearefull among such hirelings, is, that they haue often, & in time of greatest extremity, not onely refused to fight, in their defence, who haue entertained them, but reuolted vnto the contrarie part; to the vtter ruine of those Princes and States, that haue trusted them. These Mercenaries (saith *Machiauel*) which filled all Italie, when *Charles* the eight of France did passe the Alpes, were the cause that the said French King won the Realme of Naples, with his Buckler without a sword. Notable was the example of *Sforza*, the Father of *Francis Sforza*, Duke of Millan; who being entertained by Queene *Joane* of Naples, abandoned her seruice on the sudden, and forced her to put her selfe into the hands of the King of Aragon. Like vnto his father was *Francis Sforza*, the first of that race Duke of Millan; who being entertained by the Millanois, forced them to become his slaues; euen with the very same Armie which themselues had leuied for their owne defence. But *Lodowick Sforza*, the sonne of this *Francis*, by the iust iudgement of God, was made a memorable example vnto posteritie, in losing his whole estate by the treacherie of such faithlesse Mercenaries, as his owne Father had beene. For, hauing waged an Armie of Switzers, and committed his Dutchie, together with his person, into their hands; hee was by them deliuered vp vnto his enemie the French King, by whom he was inclosed in the Castle of Loches vnto his dying day.

The like inconuenience is found, in vsing the helpe of forreigne Auxiliaries. Wee see, that when the Emperor of Constantinople had hired ten thousand Turks against his neighbour Princes; hee could neuer, either by perswasion or force, set them againe ouer the sea vpon Asia side: which gaue beginning to the Christian seruitude, that soon after followed.

followed. *Alexander*, the sonne of *Cassander*, sought aide of the great *Demetrius*: but *Demetrius*, being entred into his Kingdome, slue the same *Alexander*, who had inuited him, and made himselfe King of Macedon. *Syracon* the Turke was called into Egypt by *Sanar* the Soldan, against his Opposite: but this Turke did settle himselfe so surely in Egypt, that *Saladine* his successor became Lord thereof; and of all the *holy Land*, soone after. What need we looke about for examples of this kinde? Euery Kingdome, in effect, can furnish vs. The Britaines drew the Saxons into this our Countrie; and *Mac Murrough* drew the English into Ireland; but the one and the other soone became Lords of those two Kingdomes.

Against all this may be alledged, the good successe of the vnited Prouinces of the Netherlands, vsing none other than such kinde of Souldiers, in their late warre. Indeed these Low countries haue many goodly & strong Cities, filled with Inhabitants that are wealthie, industrious, and valiant in their kinde. They are stout Sea-men, and therein is their excellencie; neither are they bad, at the defence of a place well fortified: but in open field they haue seldome been able to stand against the Spaniard. Necessity therefore compelled them to seeke help abroad: and the like necessitie made them forbeare to arme any great numbers of their owne. For, with money raised by their Trade, they maintained the Warre: and therefore could ill spare vnto the Pike and Musket, those hands, that were of more vse in helping to fill the common purse. Yet what of this? they sped wel. Surely they sped as ill as might be, whilest they had none other than mercenarie souldiers. Many fruitlesse attempts, made by the Prince of Orange, can witnesse it: and that braue Commander, Count *Lodowicke* of *Nassau*, felt to his griefe, in his retrait from Groeningham; when in the very instant, that required their seruice in fight, his mercenaries cried out aloud for money, and so ranne away. This was not the onely time, when the hired souldiers of the States, haue either sought to hide their cowardize vnder a shew of greedinesse; or at least, by meere couetousnesse, haue ruined in one houre the labour of many moneths. I will not stand to proue this by many examples: for they themselues will not deny it. Neither would I touch the honour of *Monsieur* the Duke of Aniou, brother to the French King; saue that it is folly to conceale what all the world knowes. He that would lay open the danger of forraine Auxiliaries, needeth no better patterne. It is commonly found, that such Aiders make themselues Lords ouer those, to whom they lend their succour: but where shall vve meet with such another as this *Monsieur*, who, for his protection promised, beeing rewarded with the Lordship of the Countrie, made it his first worke, to thrust by violence a galling yoke vpon the peoples necke? Well, he liued to repent it, vvith griefe enough. Euen whilest he vvas counterfeiting vnto those about him, that were ignorant of his plot, an imaginarie sorrow for the poore Burghers of Antwerpe, as verily beleeuing the Towne to be surprized and wonne; the death of the Count S. *Aignan*, who fell ouer the wall, and the Cannon of the Citie, discharged against his owne troupes, informed him better what had hapened; shewing that they were his own French, who stood in need of pitty. Then was his feigned passion changed, into a very bitter anguish of minde; vvherein, smiting his breast, and wringing his hands, he exclaimed, *Helas, mon Dieu, que veulx tu faire de moy; Alas, my God, what wilt thou doe with me?* So the affaires of the Netherlands will not serue to proue, that there is little danger in vsing mercenarie souldiers, or the helpe of forraine Auxiliaries. This notwithstanding, they were obedient vnto necessitie, and sought helpe of the English, Scots, and French: wherein they did wisely, and prospered. For when there was in France a king, partaker with them in the same danger; when the Queen of England refused to accept the Soueraignty of their Country, which they offered, yet being prouoked by the Spaniard their enemy, pursued him with continuall war; when the heire of England reigned in Scotland, a king too iust & wise (though not ingaged in any quarrell) either to make profit of his Neighbours miseries, or to help those that had attempted the conquest of his ovvn inheritance: then might the Netherlanders very safely repose confidence, in the forces of these their neighbour-countries. The souldiers that came vnto them from hence, were (to omit any other commendations) not onely regardfull of the pay that they should receiue; but well affected vnto the cause that they took in hand: or if any were cold in his deuotion, vnto the side vvherein he fought; yet was he kept in order, by remembrance of his owne home, vvhere the English would haue rewarded him with death, if that his faith had beene corrupted by

by the Spaniard. They were therfore trusted with the custodie of Cities; they were held as friends, and patrons; the necessitie of the poorer sort was relieued, before the pay-day came, with *lendings*, and other helpes, as well as the abilitie of the States could permit. When three such Princes, reigning at one time, shall agree so well, to maintaine against the power of a fourth, iniurious (or at least so seeming) to them all, a Neighbour-Countrie, of the same Religion, and to which they all are louingly affected: then may such a Countrie be secure of her Auxiliaries, and quietly intend her Trade, or other businesse, in hope of like successe. But these circumstances meet so seldome, as it may well hold true in generall: *That mercenarie, and forraigne auxiliarie forces, are no lesse dangerous, than the enemie, against whom they are entertained.* 10

†.IIII.

That the moderate gouernment of the Romans gaue them assurance to vse the seruice of their owne subiects in their warres. That in mans nature there is an affection breeding tyrannie, which hindreth the vse and benefit of the like moderation.

HEre it may be demanded, whether also the Romans were not compelled to vse seruice of other souldiers in their many great warres, but performed all by their owne Citizens? for if it were their manner to arme their owne subiects; how happened it, that they feared no rebellion? if strangers; how then could they auoid the inconueniences aboue rehearsed? The answere is, That their Armies were compounded vsually of their owne citizens, and of the Latines, in equall number: to which they added, as occasion required, some companies of Campanes, Hetrurians, Samnites, or other of their subiects, as were either interessed in the quarrell, or might best be trusted. They had, about these times (though seldome they did imploy so many,) ten Romane Legions; a good strength, if all other helpe had beene wanting: which serued to keepe in good order their subiects, that were alwaies fewer in the Army than themselues. As for the Latines, if consanguinitie were not a sufficient obligation; yet many priuiledges and immunities, which they inioyed, made them assured vnto the State of Rome: vnder which they liued almost at libertie, as being bound to little else, than to serue it in warre. It is true, that a yoke, how easie soeuer, seemes troublesome to the necke that hath been accustomed to freedome. Therefore many people of Italie haue taken occasion of seuerall aduantages, to deliuer themselues from the Roman subiection. But still they haue been reclaimed by Warre; the Authors of rebellion haue sharply bin punished; and the people by degrees haue obtained such libertie, as made them esteeme none otherwise of Rome, than as the common citie of all Italie. Yea, in processe of time it was granted vnto many Cities, and those farre off remooued, euen to Tarsus in Cilicia, where Saint *Paul* was borne, That all the Burgesses should be free of Rome it selfe. This fauour was conferred absolutely vpon some; vpon some, with restraint of giuing voice in election of Magistrates, or with other such limitation, as was thought fit. Hereunto may be added, that it was their manner, after a great conquest, to release vnto their new subiects halfe of their tribute which they had been wont to pay vnto their former Lords, which was a ready way, to bring the multitude into good liking of their present condition; when the reuiew of harder times past, should rather teach them to feare a relapse, than to hope for better in the future, by seeking innouation. Neither would it be forgotten, as a speciall note of the Romans good gouernment, That when some, for their well-deseruing, haue had the offer to be made Citizens of Rome; they haue refused it, & held themselues better contented with their owne present estate. Wherefore it is no maruell, that Petellia, a Citie of the Brutians in Italie, chose rather to indure all extremitie of warre, than, vpon any condition, to forsake the Romans; euen when the Romans themselues had confessed, that they were vnable to helpe these their subiects, and therfore willed them to looke to their owne good, as hauing been faithfull to the vtmost. Such loue purchased these milde Gouernours, without impairing their Maiesty therby. The summe of all is: They had, of their own, a strong Armie; they doubled it, by adioyning therunto the Latines; and they further increased it, as need required, with other helpe of their own subiects: all, or the most of their followers, accounting the prosperity of Rome to be the common good.

Liu.Dec.3.l.3.

Liu.ibid.

The moderate vse of soueraigne power being so effectuall, in assuring the people vnto

vnto their Lords, and consequently, in the establishment or enlargement of Dominion; it may seeme strange, that the practice of tyrannie, whose effects are contrary, hath been so common in all ages. The like, I know, may be said of all Vice and Irregularity whatsoeuer. For it is lesse difficult, (whosoeuer thinke otherwise) and more safe, to keepe the way of Iustice and Honestie, than to turne aside from it; yet commonly our passions doe lead vs into by-paths. But where Lust, Anger, Feare, or any the like Affection, seduceth our reason; the same vnruly appetite either bringeth with it an excuse, or at least-wise taketh away all cause of wonder. In tyrannie it is not so: for as much as we can hardly descry the passion, that is of force to insinuate it selfe into the whole tenour of a Gouernment. It must be confessed, that lawlesse desires haue bred many Tyrants: yet so, that these desires haue seldome bin hereditary, or long-lasting; but haue ended commonly with the Tyrants life, sometimes before his death; by which meanes the gouernment hath bin reduced to a better forme. In such cases, the saying of *Aristotle* holds, *That tyrannies are of a short continuance.* But this doth not satisfie the question in hand. Why did the Carthaginians exercise Tyrannie? Why did the Athenians? Why haue many other Cities done the like? If in respect of their generall good; how could they be ignorant, that this was an ill course for the safetie of the Weale publique? If they were ledde hereunto by any affection; what was that affection wherein so many thousand Citizens, diuided and subdiuided within themselues by factions, did all concurre, notwithstanding the much diuersitie of temper, and the vehemencie of priuate hatred among them? Doubtlesse, we must be faine to say, That Tyrannie is, by it selfe, a Vice distinct from others. A Man, we know, is *Animal politicum*, apt euen by Nature, to command, or to obey; euery one in his proper degree. Other desires of Mankinde, are common likewise vnto bruit beasts; and some of them, to bodies wanting sense: but the desire of rule belongeth vnto the nobler part of reason; whereunto is also answerable an aptnesse to yeeld obedience. Now as hunger and thirst are giuen by nature, not onely to Man and Beast, but vnto all sorts of Vegetables, for the sustentation of their life: as Feare, Anger, Lust, and other affections are likewise naturall, in conuenient measure, both vnto Mankinde, and to all creatures that haue sense, for the shunning or repelling of harme, and seeking after that which is requisite: euen so is this desire of ruling or obeying, ingraffed by Nature in the race of Man, and in Man onely as a reasonable creature, for the ordering of his life, in a ciuill forme of Iustice. All these in-bred qualities are good and vsefull. Neuertheless, Hunger and Thirst are the Parents of Gluttony and Drunkennesse, which, in reproach, are called beastly, by an vnproper terme: since they grow from appetites, found in lesse worthy creatures than beasts, and are yet not so common in beasts, as in men. The effects of Anger, and of such other Passions as descend no lower than vnto bruit beasts, are held lesse vile; & perhaps not without good reason: yet are they more horrible, and punished more grieuously, by sharper Lawes, as being in generall more pernicious. But as no corruption is worse, than of that which is best; there is not any Passion, that nourisheth a vice more hurtfull vnto Mankinde, than that which issueth from the most noble roote, euen the depraued Affection of ruling. Hence arise those two great mischiefes, of which hath been an old question in dispute, whether be the worse; That all things, or That nothing should be lawfull. Of these, a dull spirit, and ouer-loaden by fortune, with power, whereof it is not capable, occasioneth the one; the other proceedeth from a contrary distemper, whose vehemency the bounds of Reason cannot limit. Vnder the extremity of either, no Country is able to subsist: yet the defectiue dulnesse, that permitteth any thing, will also permit the execution of Law, to which, meere necessity doth inforce the ordinarie Magistrate; whereas Tyrannie is more actiue, and pleaseth it selfe in the excesse, with a false colour of iustice. Examples of stupiditie, and vnaptnesse to rule, are not very frequent, though such natures are euery where to be found: for this quality troubles not it selfe in seeking Empire; or if by some errour of fortune, it incounter therewithall, (as when *Claudius*, hiding himselfe in a corner, found the Empire of Rome) some friend or else a wife, is not wanting to supply the defect, which also crueltie doth helpe to shadow. Therefore this Vice, as a thing vnknowne, is without a name. Tyrannie is more bold, and feareth nor to be knowne, but would be reputed honourable: for it is *prosperum & fœlix fœlus, a fortunate mischiefe*, as long as it can subsist. *There is no reward or honour* (saith *Peter Charron*) *assigned vnto those, that know*

Arist.Pol.lib.5. c.12.

how to increase, or preserue humane nature: all honours, greatnesse, riches, dignities, empires, triumphs, trophees, are appointed for those, that know how to afflict, trouble, or destroy it. *Cæsar* and *Alexander*, haue vn-made and slaine, each of them, more than a million of men: but they made none, nor left none behinde them. Such is the errour of Mans iudgement, in valuing things according to the common opinion. But the true name of Tyranny, when it growes to ripenesse, is none other, than *Feritie:* the same that *Aristotle* saith to bee worse than any vice. It exceedeth indeed all other vices, issuing from the passions incident both to Man and Beast; no lesse than Periurie, Murder, Treason, and the like horrible crimes, exceed in villanie, the faults of Gluttony & Drunkennesse, that grow from more ignoble appetites. Hereof *Sciron, Procrustes,* and *Pityocamptes*, that vsed their bodily force to the destruction of Mankinde, are not better examples, than *Phalaris, Dionysius* and *Agathocles,* whose mischieuous heads were assisted by the hands of detestable Ruffians. The same barbarous desire of Lordship, transported those old examples of *Feritie*, and these latter Tyrants, beyond the bounds of reason: neither of them knew the vse of Rule, nor the difference between Freemen and slaues.

The rule of the husband ouer the wife, and of parents ouer their children, is naturall, and appointed by God himselfe; so that it is alwaies, and simply, allowable and good. The former of these, is as the dominion of Reason ouer Appetite; the latter is the whole authoritie, which one Free man can haue ouer another. The rule of a King is no more, nor none other, than of a common Father ouer his whole countrie: which he that knows what the power of a Father is, or ought to be, knowes to be enough. But there is a greater, and more Masterly rule, which God gaue vnto *Adam*, when he said; *Haue dominion ouer the fish of the Sea, and ouer the fowle of the aire; and euery liuing thing that moueth vpon the earth*: which also he continueth vnto *Noah*, and his children, saying, *The feare of you, and the dread of you, shall be vpon euery beast of the earth, and vpon euery fowle of the aire, vpon all that moueth vpon the earth, and vpon all the fishes of the Sea; into your hands are they deliuered.* He who gaue this dominion vnto Man, did giue also an aptitude to vse it. The execution of this power hath since extended it selfe, ouer a very great part of Mankinde. There are indeed no small numbers of men, whose disabilitie to gouerne themselues, proues them, according vnto *Aristotles* doctrine, to be naturally slaues.

Gen.1.v.28. Gen.9.2.

Ari.Pol.l.1.c.3.

Yet finde I not in Scripture any warrant, to oppresse men with bondage: vnlesse the lawfulnesse thereof be sufficiently intimated, where it is said, That a man shall not be punished for the death of a seruant, whom he hath slaine by correction, if the seruant liue a day or two, because *he is his money*; or else by the captiuity of the Midianitish girls, which were made bond-slaues, and the Sanctuary had a part of them for the *Lords tribute*. Doubtlesse the custome hath been very ancient: for *Noah* laid this curse vpon *Canaan*, that he should be *a seruant of seruants*; and *Abraham* had of *Pharaoh*, among other gifts, *men-seruants and maid-seruants*, which were none other than slaues. Christian Religion is said to haue abrogated this old kinde of seruilitie: but surely, they are deceiued that thinke so. Saint *Paul* desired the libertie of *Onesimus*, whom he had wonne vnto Christ: yet wrote for this vnto *Philemon*, by way of request, crauing it as a benefit, not vrging it as a dutie. Agreeable hereto is the direction, which the same Saint *Paul* giueth vnto seruants: *Let euery man abide in the same calling wherein he was called: art thou called, being a seruant? care not for it, but if thou maist be made free, vse it rather.* It is true, that Christian religion hath procured libertie vnto many; not onely in regard of pietie, but for that the Christian Masters stood in fear, of being discouered by their slaues, vnto the persecutors of religion. *Mahomet* likewise by giuing libertie to his followers, drew many vnto his impietie: but whether he forbade it, as vnlawfull, vnto his sectators, to hold one another of them in bondage, I cannot tel; saue that by the practice of the Turks and Moores, it seemes he did not. In England we had many bond-seruants, vntill the time of our last ciuill wars: and I think that the Lawes concerning Villenage are still in force, of which the latest are the sharpest. And now, since slaues were made free, which were of great vse and seruice, there are growne vp a rabble of Rogues, Cutpurses and other the like trades; slaues in Nature, though not in Law.

Exo.c.21.v.21. Num.30.v.40.

Gen.9.25.

Gen.12.v.16.

Epist.to Phile. verse 14.

1.Cor.c.7.v.20. & 21.

But whether this kinde of dominion be lawfull, or not; *Aristotle* hath well prooued, that it is naturall. And certainly we finde not such a latitude of difference in any creature,

creature, as in the nature of man: wherein (to omit the infinite distance in estate of the elect & reprobate) the wisest excell the most foolish, by far greater degree, than the most foolish of men doth surpasse the wisest of beasts. Therefore when Commiseration hath giuen way to Reason: we shall finde that Nature is the ground euen of Masterly power, and of seruile obedience, which is thereto correspondent. But it may be truely said, that some countries haue subsisted long, without the vse of any seruilitie: as also it is true, that some countries haue not the vse of any tame cattell. Indeed the affections which vphold ciuill rule, are (though more noble) not so simply needfull, vnto the sustentation either of our kinde, as are Lust, and the like; or of euery one, as are hunger and thirst; which notwithstanding are the lowest in degree. But where most vile, and seruile dispositions, haue liberty to shew themselues begging in the streets; there may we more iustly wonder, how the dangerous toile of sea-faring men can find enough to vndertake them, than how the swarme of idle vagabonds should increase, by accesse of those, that are weary of their own more painfull condition. This may suffice to proue, that in Mankind there is found, ingrafted euen by Nature, a desire of absolute dominion: whereunto the generall custome of Nations doth subscribe; together with the pleasure which most men take in flatterers, that are the basest of slaues.

This being so, we finde no cause to maruaile, how Tyranny hath been so rife in all ages, and practised, not only in the single rule of some vicious Prince, but euer by consent of whole Cities and Estates: since, other vices haue likewise gotten head, and borne a generall sway, notwithstanding that the way of vertue be more honorable, and commodious. Few there are that haue vsed well the inferiour Passions: how then can we expect, that the most noble affections should not be disordered? In the gouernment of wife and children, some are vtterly carelesse, and corrupt all by their dull conniuencie: others, by masterly rigour, hold their owne bloud vnder condition of slauery. To be a good Gouernour is a rare commendation: and to prefer the Weale publike aboue all respects whatsoeuer, is the Vertue iustly termed *Heroicall*. Of this Vertue, many ages affoord not many examples. *Hector* is named by *Aristotle*, as one of them; & deseruedly, if this praise be due to extraordinary height of fortitude, vsed in defence of a mans own countrie. But if we consider, that a loue of the generall good cannot be perfect, without reference vnto *the fountaine of all goodnesse:* we shall finde, that no morall vertue, how great soeuer, can, by it selfe, deserue the commendation of *more than Vertue,* as the *Heroicall* doth. Wherefore we must search the Scriptures, for patternes hereof; such as *Dauid, Iosaphat,* and *Iosias* were. Of Christian Kings, if there were many such, the world would soone be happy. It is not my purpose to wrong the worth of any, by denying the praise where it is due, or by preferring a lesse excellent. But he that can finde a King religious, and zealous in Gods cause, without inforcement either of aduersitie, or of some regard of state; a procurer of the generall peace and quiet; who not onely vseth his authoritie, but addes the trauell of his eloquence, in admonishing his Iudges to doe iustice; by the vigorous influence of whose Gouernment, ciuilitie is infused, euen into those places, that haue been the dens of sauage Robbers and Cut-throtes; one that hath quite abolished a slauish *Brehon* Law, by which an whole Nation of his subiects were held in bondage; and one, vwhose higher vertue & vwisedome doth make the praise not only of Nobility and other ornaments, but of abstinence from the bloud, the wiues, and the goods, of those that are vnder his power, together with a world of chiefe commendations belonging vnto some good Princes, to appear lesse regardable: he, I say, that can find such a King, findeth an example, worthy to adde vnto vertue an honourable title, if it were formerly wanting. Vnder such a King, it is likely by Gods blessing, that a Land shall flourish, with increase of Trade, in countries before vnknown; that Ciuility and Religion shall be propagated, into barbarous and heathen countries; and that the happinesse of his subiects, shall cause the Nations farre off remoued, to wish him their Soueraigne. I need not adde hereunto, that all the actions of such a King, euen his bodily exercises, doe partake of vertue; since all things tending to the preseruation of his life and health, or to the mollifying of his cares, (who, fixing his contemplation vpon God, seeketh how to imitate the vnspeakeable goodnesse, rather than the inaccessible maiestie, with both of which himselfe is indued, as farre as humane nature is capable) doe also belong to the furtherance of that common good, which he procureth. Least any man should thinke me transported with admiration, or other affection, beyond the bounds of reason; I adde hereunto,

hereunto, that such a King is neuertheleſſe a man, muſt die, and may erre: yet wiſedome and fame ſhall ſet him free, from *errour*, and from *death*, both with and without the help of *time*. One thing I may not omit, as a ſingular benefit (though there be many other beſides) redounding vnto this King, as the fruit of his goodneſſe. The people that liue vnder a pleaſant yoke, are not onely louing to their Soueraigne Lord, but free of courage, and no greater in muſter of men, than of ſtout fighters, if need require: whereas on the contrary, he that ruleth as ouer ſlaues, ſhall be attended in time of neceſſity, by ſlauiſh mindes, neither louing his perſon, nor regarding his or their own honour. Cowards may be furious, and ſlaues outragious, for a time: but among ſpirits that haue once yeelded vnto ſlauery, vniuerſally it is found true, that *Homer* ſaith; *God bereaueth a man of halfe his vertue, that day when he caſteth him into bondage.* 10

Hom. Odyſ. l. 17.

Of theſe things, I might perhaps more ſeaſonably haue ſpoken, in the generall diſcourſe of Gouernment: but where ſo liuely an example, of the calamity following a tyrannical rule, and the vſe of mercenaries, thereupon depending, did offer it ſelfe, as is this preſent buſineſſe of the Carthaginians, I thought that the note would be more effectuall, than being barely deliuered, as out of a common place.

§.III.

How the warre againſt the Mercenaries was diuerſly managed by Hanno *and* Amilcar, *with variable ſucceſſe. The bloudy counſailes of the Mercenaries; and their finall deſtruction.* 20

BEing now to returne vnto thoſe Mercenaries, from whom I haue thus farre digreſſed, I cannot readily finde, by what name henceforth I ſhould call them. They are no longer in pay with the Carthaginians; neither care they to pretend, that they ſeeke their wages already due; ſo that they are neither Mercenaries, nor Mutiners. Had they all beene ſubiects vnto Carthage, then might they iuſtly haue been termed Rebels: but *Spendius*, and others, that were the principall part of them, ought none allegeance to that State, which they endeuored to ſubuert. Wherefore I will borrow the name of their late occupation, and ſtill call them Mercenaries, as *Polybius* also doth. 30

These vſing the aduantage of their preſent ſtrength, beſieged *Vtica, and Hippagreta, Cities of great importance, as being ſeated vpon the weſtern Hauen of Carthage, where it is diuided by a neck of land; Hippagreta ſtanding inwards vpon the great Lake, Vtica further out vpon the Sea. Neither was the Campe at Tunes abandoned, which lay ſilthy to hinder the Carthaginians, from paſſing vp into the countrie: for *Matho* and *Spendius* wanted not men, to follow the war in all parts at once.

How the Carthaginians were amazed with this vnexpected perill, any man may conceiue. But the buſineſſe it ſelfe awakes them haſtily. They are hardly preſt on all ſides; & therefore trauailed their braines to the vttermoſt, how to ſhake off theſe furious dogs from their ſhoulders, who ſometimes by night, ſometimes by day, came vnto the very walls of their Citie. In this exigent, *Hanno* was made their generall: who failed not in his accuſtomed diligence of making al good preparation: but had gotten together whatſoeuer was needfull, as well to relieue a Town beſieged, as to batter and aſſaile any place defended againſt him. With theſe prouiſions, and with an hundred Elephants, he came to Vtica, ſo ſuddenly, that the enemies as men ſurpriſed, forſook their Trenches, and retired themſelues vnto a riſing piece of woody ground, where they might be ſafe againſt the violence of his beaſts. *Hanno*, thinking that he had to doe with Numidians, whoſe cuſtome was, after any loſſe, to flie two or three whole daies iourny off, preſently entred the Town; to ſhew himſelfe, after this his victory. But theſe good fellowes, againſt whom he was to war, had learned of *Amilcar*, to retire and to fight againe, many times in one day, as need required. Therefore as ſoon as they perceiued, that he knew not how to vſe a victory; they aſſailed their own Camp, and with great ſlaughter, draue the Carthaginians out of it, forcing them to hide themſelues within Vtia; and got poſſeſſion of all the ſtore, that *Hanno* had brought for the reliefe of the Towne. This bad beginning *Hanno* followed with ſutable indiſcretion: loſing the benefit of many faire opportunities, and ſuffering the enemies to take poſſeſſion of all the entrance from Carthage to the firme land.

The

* Vtica is ſeated in the great Bay, that enters towards Carthage, not farre within the Promontorie of *Apollo*. At this time it is called *Porto Farina*, or *Biſerta*, & by the Africans themſelues, *Garel Melha*. *Niger* ſaith, that the Towne it ſelfe is ruined, and the place, whereon it ſtood, now called Mazachares. It was very ancient, and built before Carthage, ſaith *Silius*. As it floriſhed before Carthage was ſet vp, ſo did it after Carthage was throwne down by the Romans in the third Punick Warre. Famous it was by the death of *Cato* the yonger, who held it againſt *Ceſar*: *Victor* that worthy Diuine, was Biſhop thereof in the time of *Genſerie* the Arrian, who liued all the time of that Tyrant, and hath written the ſtorie of his cruelties.

The Carthaginians perceiuing this, were exceedingly troubled, and did therfore let fall their ſhete-anchor; ſending to the field their great Captaine, *Amilcar*, whom they furniſhed, with ten thouſand foot of ſupply, and ſeuenty Elephants. *Amilcar* had worke enough to doe, before he ſhould be able to meet with the enemy vpon equall ground. For beſides other places of aduantage that the Mercenaries had occupied, *Hanno* had ſuffered them to win the onely Bridge, by which the Riuer Macra, or Bagradas, was paſſable vnto theſe, that were to trauaile into the Continent. This riuer had not many fords, nor thoſe eaſie for a ſingle man to get ouer: but vpon them all was kept ſuch guard, as gaue to *Amilcar* little hope of preuailing in ſeeking way by force. As for the Bridge it ſelfe, *Matho* and his followers were there lodged: and had there built a Town, wherein to lye commodiouſly, intentiue onely to the cuſtody thereof. But *Amilcar* had obſerued, that the very mouth of Bagradas vſed to be ſometimes cloyed with ſand and grauell, that was driuen in by certaine cuſtomarie winds, and could not be driuen out againe, by force of that ſlow riuer, till the wind ſalling, or changing, ſuffered the weight of the waters, to disburden their channell. Hereof he made vſe, and taking his opportunitie, paſſed the Riuer, contrary to all expectation, either of the enemy, or of his owne Citizens.

There was no need to bid *Spendius* looke about him, when once it was heard, that *Amilcar* was come ouer Bagradas: all the Mercenaries were troubled with the newes, knowing that they were no longer to deale with the improuident grauity of *Hanno*, but with an able ſpirit, euen with their own Maſter in the Art of Warre, whom they admired, though they hated him. But this feare was ſoone changed into preſumption; when more than fifteen thouſand of their owne ſociety, were come from Vtica, and other ten thouſand from the guard of the Bridge. Their Armie was farre greater, than that of *Amilcar*; and they were, in their owne iudgement, the better men, vpon which confidence, they reſolued to charge him on all ſides, and beat him downe, in deſpight of his worth and reputation. With this reſolution they attended vpon him, watching for ſome aduantage, and ſtill exhorting one another to play the men, and giue the onſet. Eſpecially they that followed him in the Reare, had a great minde to begin the fight; whereunto their promptneſſe was ſuch, as tooke from them their former circumſpection. *Amilcar* held his way towards the Bridge, keeping himſelfe on plaine grounds, that were fitteſt for the ſeruice of his Elephants, which he placed in front of his Armie. Neither made he ſhew of any deſire to fight, but ſuffered the raſhneſſe of his enemies to increaſe, till it ſhould breake into ſome diſorder. At length perceiuing, that with more boldneſſe than good heed, they followed him ſo neere, as would be little for their good, if he ſhould turne vpon them, he haſtened his march, euen to ſuch a pace, as made a ſhew little differing from plaine flight. The Mercenaries preſently fell vpon his skirts; beleeuing, that for feare of them he was ready to run away. But whileſt they confuſedly, as in ſudden opinion of victory, were driuen at the heeles of thoſe that had the Reare, *Amilcar* wheeled about; and met them in the face, charging them hotly, but in very good order, ſo that amazed with the apprehenſion of inexpected danger, they fled without making any reſiſtance. In this ouerthrow, there were ſixe thouſand of the Mercenaries ſlaine, and about two thouſand taken, the reſt fled, ſome to the Campe at Vtica, others to the town at the Bridge; whither *Amilcar* followed them ſo faſt, that he wan the place eaſily; the enemies being thence alſo fled vnto Tunes, as not hauing recollected their ſpirits to make it good.

The fame of this victory, together with the diligence of *Amilcar* in purſuing it, cauſed many Towns reuolted, partly by feare, partly by force, to return to their former obedience. Yet was not *Matho* wanting to himſelfe, in this dangerous time. He ſent about Numidia and Africk, for new ſupplies; admoniſhing the people, now or neuer to doe their beſt, for the recouery of their freedome; he perſwaded *Spendius*, and *Autaritus*, that was a Cptaine of the Gaules, to wait vpon *Amilcar*, and alwayes to keepe the higher grounds, or at leaſt the foot of ſome hill, where they might be ſafe from the Elephants; and he himſelfe continued to preſſe the Town of Hippagreta with an hard ſiege. It was neceſſary for *Amilcar*, in paſſing from place to place, as his buſineſſe required, to take ſuch wayes as there were: for all the country lay not leuell, Therefore *Spendius*, who ſtill coaſted him, had once gotten a notable aduantage of ground: the Carthaginians lying in a Plaine, ſurrounded with hils, that were occupied by the Mercenaries, with their

Numidian

Numidian and African succours. In this difficultie, the fame of *Amilcar* his personall worth did greatly benefit his countrie. For *Naraua sus*, a yong gentleman commanding ouer the Numidians, was glad of this occasion seruing to get the acquaintance and loue of so braue a man, which he much desired: and therefore came vnto *Amilcar*, signifying his good affection to him, with offer to doe him all seruice. *Amilcar* ioyfully entertained this friend; promised vnto him his own daughter in marriage; and so wan from the enemies two thousand horse, that following *Naraua sus* turned vnto the Carthaginians side. With this helpe he gaue battaile vnto *Spendius*: wherein the Numidian laboured to approue his own valour, to his new friend. So the victory was great: for there were slaine ten thousand of *Spendius* his fellowes, and foure thousand taken prisoners; but *Spendius* himselfe, with *Autarius* the Gaule, escaped to doe more mischiefe. *Amilcar* dealt very gently with his prisoners: pardoning all offences past, and dismissing as many, as were vnwilling to become his followers; yet with condition, that they should neuer more beare armes against the Carthaginians; threatning to take sharpe reuenge vpon all, that should breake this Couenant.

This humanitie was vehemently suspected by *Matho*, *Spendius*, and *Autarius*, as tending to win from them, the hearts of their Souldiers. Wherefore they resolued to take such order, that not a man among them should dare, to trust in the good nature of *Amilcar*, nor to hope for any safetie, whilest Carthage was able to doe him hurt. They counterfeited letters of aduertisement, wherein was contained, that some of their company, respectiue onely of their priuate benefit, & carelesse of the generall good, had a purpose to betray them all vnto the Carthaginians, with whom they held intelligence; & that it was needfull, to look well vnto *Gesco*, & his companions, whom these traitors had a purpose to inlarge. Vpon this Theme *Spendius* makes an Oration to the Souldiers, exhorting them to fidelity; and shewing with many words, that the seeming humanity of *Amilcar*, toward some, was none other than a baite, wherewith to intrap them all at once together; as also telling them, what a dangerous enemy *Gesco* would proue, if he might escape their hands. While hee is yet in the midst of his tale, were letters come, to the same purpose. Then steps forth *Autarius*, and speakes his minde plainely: saying, that it were the best, yea the onely way, for the common safetie, to cut off all hope of reconciliation with Carthage; that if some were deuising to make their owne peace, it would goe hard with those that had a care of the war; that it were better to make an end of *Gesco* his life, than to trouble themselues with looking to his custody; that by such a course euery one should be ingaged in the present Action, as hauing none other hope left, than in victory alone; finally, that such as would speake here-against, were worthy to be reputed Traitours. This *Autarius* was in great credit vvith the souldiers, & could speake sundry languages, in such sort, that he was vnderstood by all. According to his motion therfore it vvas agreed, that *Gesco*, and all the other prisoners, should forthwith be put to horrible death, by torments. Neuertheless there were some, that for loue of *Gesco*, sought to alter his intended cruelty; but they were forthvvith stoned to death, as a Document vnto others; and so the Decree was put in execution. Neither vvere they therevvithall contented; but further ordained, that all Carthaginian prisoners which they tooke, should be serued in like sort: and that the subiects or friends of Carthage, should lose their hands, and so be sent home: vvhich rule they obserued euer aftervvards.

Of this cruelty I need say no more, than that it vvas most execrable feritie. As for the counsaile of vsing it, it vvas like vnto the counsaile of *Achitophel*; *All Israel shall heare, that thou art abhorred of thy father; then shall the hands of all that are with thee, bee strong*. Such are the fruits of desperation. He that is past all hope of pardon, is afraid of his owne fellowes, if they be more innocent; and to auoid the punishment of lesse offences, committeth greater. The cowardize of offenders, and the reuengefull spirits of those that haue been vvronged, are breeders of this desperation: to vvhich may be added, some deficiencie of Lawes, in distinguishing the punishments of malefactors, according to the decree of their seuerall crimes. A coward thinkes all prouision too little for his owne securitie. *If Phocas be a coward* (said the Emperour *Mauritius*) *then is he murderous*. To be stedfast and sure, in taking reuenge, is thought a point of honour, and a defensatiue against new iniuries. But vvrongfully: for it is opposite to the rule of Christianitie; and such a qualitie discouered, makes them deadly enemies, who otherwise

wise would haue repented, and sought to make amends, for the wrong done in passion. This was it, which wrought so much woe to the Carthaginians; teaching *Matho*, and his Africans, to suspect euen their gentlenesse, as the introduction to extreame rigour. Like vnto the errours of Princes & Gouernours, are the errours of Lawes. Where one and the same punishment, is awarded vnto the lesse offence, and vnto the greater, he that hath aduentured to robbe a man, is easily tempted to kill him, for his owne securitie.

Against these inconueniences, Mercy and Seueritie, vsed with due respect, are the best remedies. In neither of which *Amilcar* failed. For as long as these his owne souldiers were any way likely to be reclaimed, by gentle courses; his humanity was ready to inuite them. But when they were transported with beastly outrage, beyond all regard of honesty and shame; he rewarded their villanie with answerable vengeance; casting them vnto wilde beasts, to be deuoured.

Vntill this time *Hanno*, with the Armie vnder his command, had kept himselfe apart from *Amilcar*, & done little, as may seeme; for that nothing is remembred of him, since his late losses. Neither was *Amilcar* sorry to want his helpe; as being able to doe better without him. But when the warre grew to such extremity, as threatned vtter ruine to the one or the other side: then was *Hanno* sent for, and came to *Amilcar*, with whom he ioyned his forces. By this accesse of strength *Amilcar* was not enabled, to doe more than in former times: rather he could now performe nothing; such was the hatred between him and his vnworthy Colleague. The Towns of Vtica and Hippagreta, that had stood alwaies firme on the Carthaginian party, did now reuolt vnto the enemy, murdering all the souldiers that they had in Garrison, and casting their bodies forth, without suffering them to be buried. The prouisions brought by sea; for maintenance of the Armie, were lost in foule weather: and Carthage it selfe stood in danger of being besieged, about which *Matho* and *Spendius* consulted, whilest one of the Carthaginian Generals did (as it were) binde the others hands.

It hath in all Ages beene vsed, as the safest course, to send forth in great Expeditions, two Generals of one Armie. This was the common practice of those two mighty Cities, Athens & Rome, which other States and Princes haue often imitated; perswading themselues, that great Armies are not so well conducted by one, as by two: who out of emulation to excel each other, will vse the greater diligence. They haue also ioyned two chiefe Commanders in equal commission, vpon this further consideration; the better to restraine the ambition of any one, that should be trusted with so great a strength. For hereof all Common-weales haue beene ielous; hauing beene taught by their examples that haue made themselues Tyrants ouer those Cities and States that haue imployed them. In this point, the Venetians haue bin so circumspect, as they haue for the most part trusted strangers, and not their owne, in all the warres which they haue made. It is true, that the equall authoritie of two commanding in chiefe, serueth well to bridle the ambition of one or both, from turning vpon the Prince or State that hath giuen them trust: but in managing the warre it selfe, it is commonly the cause of ill successe. In wartes made neer vnto Rome it self, when two good friends were Consuls, or such two at least, as concurred in one desire of *Triumph*, which honor (the greatest of any that Rome could giue) was to be obtained by that one yeers seruice; it is no meruaile, though each of the Consuls did his best, and referred all his thoughts vnto none other end then victory. Yet in al dangerous cases, when the Consuls proceeded otherwise than was desired, one Dictator was appointed, whose power was neither hindred by any partner, nor by any great limitation. Neither was it indeed the manner; to send forth both the Consuls to one warre; but each went, whither his lot called him, to his owne Prouince; vnlesse one businesse seemed to require them both, and they also seemed fit to be ioyned in the administration. Now although it was so; that the Romans did many times preuaile with their ioynt Generals: yet was this neiler or seldome, without as much concord, as any other vertue of the Commanders. For their modesty hath often beene such, that the lesse able Captaine, though of equall authority, hath willingly submitted himselfe to the other, and obeyed his directions. This notwithstanding, they haue many times, by ordaining two Commanders of one Armie, receiued great and most dangerous ouerthrowes; whereof in the second Punick warre we shall finde examples. On the contrary side, in their warres most remote, that were alwaies managed by one, they seldome failed

failed to win exceeding honour, as hereafter shall appeare. Now of those ten Generals, which serued the Athenians at the Battaile of Marathon, it may truely be said, that had not their temper beene better, than the iudgement of the people that sent them forth, and had not they submitted themselues to the conduction of *Miltiades*: their affaires had found the same successe which they found at other times, when they coupled *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* together in Sicil: the one being so ouer-warie, and the other so hastie, as all came to nought that they vndertooke: whereas *Cimon* alone, as also *Aristides*, and others, hauing sole charge of all, did their Countrie and Common-weale most remarkable seruice. For it is hard to finde two great Captaines, of equall discretion and valour; but that the one hath more of furie than of iudgement, and so the contrary, by which the best occasions are as often ouerslipt, as at other times many actions are vnseasonably vndertaken. I remember it well, that when the Prince of Condy was slaine after the Battaile of Iarnac, (which Prince, together with the Admiral *Chastillan*, had the conduct of the Protestant Armie) the Protestants did greatly bewaile the losse of the said Prince, in respect of his Religion, person, and birth; yet comforting themselues, they thought it rather an aduancement, than an hinderance to their affaires. For so much did the valour of the one, out-reach the aduisednesse of the other, as whatsoeuer the Admirall intended to win by attending the aduantage, the Prince aduentured to lose, by being ouer-confident in his owne courage.

But we neede no better example, than of the Carthaginians in this present businesse: who, though they were still sicke of their ill-grounded loue to *Hanno*, and were vnwilling to disgrace him; yet seeing that all ranne towards ruine, through the discord of the Generals, committed the decision of their controuersies, vnto the Armie that serued vnder them. The iudgement of the Armie was, that *Hanno* should depart the Campe: which he did, & *Hannibal* was sent in his stead, one that would be directed by *Amilcar*, and that was enough.

After this, the affaires of Carthage began to prosper somewhat better. *Matho* & *Spendius* had brought their Armie neere vnto the Citie, and lay before it, as in a siege. They might well be bold, to hope and aduenture much; hauing in their Campe aboue fiftie thousand, besides those that lay abroad in Garrisons. Ntuerthelesse, the Citie was too strong for them to win by assault: and the entrance of victualls they could not hinder, if any should be sent in by friends from abroad.

Hieron, King of Syracuse, though during the warres in Sicil hee assisted the Romans, and still continued in their alliance, yet now sent succours to the Carthaginians: fearing their fall, and consequently his owne, because if no other State gaue the Romans somewhat to trouble their disgestion, the Principalitie of Syracuse would soon be deuoured by them. The Romans also gaue them some slender assistance, and for the present refused good offers made vnto them by the Mercenaries. This they did, to shew a kinde of noble disposition, which was indeed but counterfeit, as the sequele manifestly proued.

While *Matho* and his followers were busily pressing the Citie, *Amilcar* was as diligent, in waiting at their backes, and cutting off all that came to their supply: so that finding themselues more straightly besieged by him, than Carthage was by them, they purposed to desist from their vaine attempt, and try some other course. Hereupon they issue into the field: when *Spendius*, and one *Zarcias* an African Captaine assisting the rebellion, take vpon them to finde *Amilcar* worke, leauing *Matho* in Tunis, to negotiate with their friends, and take a generall care of the businesse. The Elephants of Carthage, and horse of *Naruadsus*, made *Spendius* fearefull to descend into the Plaines. Wherefore he betooke himselfe to his former method of warre, keeping the mountaines, and rough grounds, or occupying the streightest passages, wherein the desperate courage of his men might shew it selfe, with little disaduantage. But *Amilcar* had more skill in this Art, than could be matched by the labour of *Spendius*: He drew the enemy to many skirmishes, in all which the successe was such, as added courage to his owne men, and abated the strength and spirit of the Rebels. Thus he continued, prouoking them night and day: still intrapping some of them, and sometimes giuing them the ouerthrow in plaine battaile: vntill at length he got them into a streight, whence ere they should get out, he meant to take of them a good accouint. Their iudgement was enough, to perceiue their owne disaduantage: and therefore they had the lesse stomacke to fight,

fight; but a waiting for helpe from *Tunis*. *Amilcar* prudently foreseeing, that necessity might teach them, to dare impossibilities, vsed the benefit of their present feare, and shut them close vp with Trench and Rampart. There they waited miserably for succour, that came not: and hauing spent all their victualls, were so pinched with hunger, that they fed vpon the bodies of their prisoners. This they suffred patiently, as knowing that they had not deserued any fauour from *Carthage*: and hoping, that their friends at *Tunis* would not be vnmindfull of them. But when they were driuen to such extremitie, that they were faine to deuoure their own companions, and yet saw none appearance or likelihood of reliefe: their obstinacie was broken, and they threatned their Captaines with what they deserued, vnlesse they would goe forth to *Amilcar*, and seeke such peace as might be gotten. So *Spendius*, *Zarxas*, and *Autaritus*, fell to consultation; wherein it was resolued to obey the multitude, and yeeld themselues, if it were so required, vnto the death, rather than perish by the hands of their owne Companions. Hereupon they send to craue parle, which is granted; and these three come forth to talke with *Amilcar* in person. What they could say vnto him, it is hard to coniecture: yet by the conditions which *Amilcar* granted, it seemes that they tooke the blame vpon themselues, and craued pardon for the multitude. The conditions were, that the *Carthaginians* should choose, out of the whole number of these enemies, any ten whom they pleased, to remaine at their discretion; and that the rest should all be dismissed, each in his shirt, or in one single coate. When the peace was thus concluded; *Amilcar* told these Ringleaders, that he chose them presently, as part of the ten, & so commanded to lay hands on them: the rest he forthwith went to fetch with his whole Armie in order. The Rebels, who knew not that peace was concluded vpon so gentle articles, thought themselues betrayed: and therefore amazedly ran to armes. But they wanted Captaines to order them; and the same astonishment, that made them breake the Couenants of peace, whereof they were ignorant, gaue vnto *Amilcar* both colour of iustice, in accomplishing reuenge, and ease in doing the execution. They were all slaine: being fortie thousand, or more, in number.

This was a famous exploit: and the newes thereof, exceeding welcome to *Carthage*; and terrible to the reuolted Cities of *Afrioke*. Henceforward *Amilcar*, with his *Naruadsus*, and *Hannbal*, carried the warre from Towne to Towne, and found all places ready to yeeld: *Vtica*, and *Hippagreta*, onely standing out, vpon feare of deserued vengeance; and *Tunis*, being held by *Matho*, with the remainder of his Armie. It was thought fit to begin with *Tunis*, wherein lay the chiefe strength of the enemie. Comming before this Towne, they brought forth *Spendius*, with his fellowes, in view of the defendants, and crucified them vnder the wals; to terrifie those of his old companions, that were still in armes. With this rigour the siege began; as if speedy victory had beene assured. *Hannibal* quartered on that part of *Tunis*, which lay towards *Carthage*; *Amilcar* on the opposite side: too far asunder to helpe one another in sudden accidents; and therfore it behooued each, to be the more circumspect.

Matho from the wals beheld his owne destinie, in the misery of his companion, and knew not how to auoide it otherwise than by a cast at dice with fortune. So hee brake out vpon that part of the *Carthaginian* Armie, that lay secure, as if all danger were past, vnder the command of *Hannibal*: and with so great and vnexpected furie he sallied, that after an exceeding slaughter, he tooke *Hannibal* prisoner; on vvhom, and thirtie the most noble of the *Carthaginian* prisoners, he presently reuenged the death of *Spendius* by the same torture. Of this *Amilcar* knew nothing, till it was to late; neither had he strength enough remaining, after this great losse, to continue the siege; but vvas faine to breake it vp, and remoue vnto the mouth of the Riuer *Bagradas*, where he incamped.

The terrour was no lesse within *Carthage*, vpon the fame of this losse; than had beene the ioy of the late great victory. All that could beare armes, were sent into the field, vnder *Hanno*; vvhom, it seemes, they thought the most able of their Captaines suruiuing the late accidents of Watre. If there were any Law among them, forbidding the imployment of one sole Generall, neere vnto their Citie (for they are knowne to haue trusted one man abroad) the time did not permit; in this hastie exigent, to deuise about repealing it. But thirty principal men are chosen by the Senate, to bring *Hanno* to *Amilcars* Campe, & by all good persuasions to reconcile them. This could not be effected in one day.

day. It neerely touched *Amilcar* in his honour, that the carelesnesse of *Hannibal* seemed to be imputed vnto him, by sending his enemy to moderate his proceedings. Neuertheless after many conferences, the authority of the Senators preuailed; *Amilcar* and *Hanno* were made friends; and thenceforth, whilest this war lasted, *Hanno* tooke warning by *Hannibals* calamities, to follow good directions, though afterwards he returned to his old and deadly hatred.

In the meane season *Matho* was come abroad, as meaning to vse the reputation of his late successe, whilest it gaue some life vnto his businesse. He had reason to doe as he did: but he wanted skill to deale with *Amilcar*. The skirmishes, and light exercises of warre, wherein *Amilcar* trained his *Carthaginians*, did so farre abate the strength, and withall diminish the credit of *Matho*; that he resolued to try the fortune of one battaile: wherein either his owne desire should be accomplished, or his cares ended. To this conclusion the *Carthaginians* were no lesse prone, than *Matho*: as being weary of these long troubles, and insupportable expences; confident in the valour of their owne men, which had approued it selfe in many trials; and well assured of *Amilcar* his great worth, whereunto the enemie hath not what to oppose. According to this determination, each part was diligent in making prouision: inuiting their friends to helpe; and drawing forth into the field, all that lay in Garrison.

The issue of this battaile might haue beene foretold, without helpe of witchcraft. *Matho*, and his followers, had nothing whereon to presume, saue their daring spirits, which had bin well cooled by the many late skirmishes, wherein they had learned how to run away. The *Carthaginians* had reason to dare, as hauing beene often victorious: and in all points else they had the better of their enemies; especially (which is worth all the rest) they had such a Commander, as was not easily to be matched in that Age. Neither was it likely, that the desire of liberty should worke so much, in men accustomed to seruitude; as the honour of their State would, in Citizens, whose future & present good lay all at once ingaged in that aduenture. So the *Carthaginians* wan a great victory, wherein most of the *Africans* their enemies were slaine; the rest fled into a Towne, which was not to be defended, and therefore they all yeelded; and *Matho* himselfe was taken aliue. Immediatly vpon this victory, all the *Africans* that had rebelled, made submission to their old masters: *Vtica* only, and *Hippagreta* stood out, as knowing how little they deserued of fauour. But they were soone forced, to take what conditions best pleased the victours. *Matho* and his fellowes were led to *Carthage* in triumph; where they suffered all torments that could be deuised, in recompence of the mischiefes which they had wrought in this warre. The war had lasted three yeares, and about foure moneths, when it came to this good end: which the *Carthaginians*, whose subiects did not loue them, should with lesse expence, by contenting their Mercenaries, haue preuented in the beginning.

§.IIII.

How the Mercenaries of the Carthaginians, that were in Sardinia, rebelled: and were afterwards driuen out by the Ilanders. The faithlesse dealing of the Romans with the Carthaginians, in taking from them Sardinia, contrary to the peace.

WHilest *Matho* & *Spendius* were making terrible combustion in *Africke*; other Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians* had kindled the like fire in *Sardinia*: where murdering *Bostar* the Gouernour, & other *Carthaginians*, they were in hope to get, and hold that Iland to their own vse. Against these, one *Hanno* was sent vvith a small Armie (such as could be spared in that busie time) consisting likewise of Mercenaries, leuied on the sudden. But these companions that followed *Hanno*, finding it more for their safety, and present profit, to ioyne themselues with those that were already reuolted, than to indanger themselues by battaile, for the good of that common-weale, of which they had no care; began to enter into practice with the *Sardinian* Rebels; offering to runne one course of fortune with them in their enterprise. This their offer was kindly taken; but their faith vvas suspected. Wherefore, to take away all ielousie and distrust, they resolued to hang vp their Commander *Hanno*, and performed it. A common practice it hath beene in all Ages, with those that haue vndertaken the quarrell of an vniust warre, to enioyne the performance of some notorious and villainous act,

to those that come in to them as seconds, with offer to partake, and to assist the impious purposes vvhich they haue in hand. It is indeede the best pawne, that desperate men can deliuer to each other, to performe some such actions, as are equally vnpardonable to all.

By such a kinde of crueltie did the vngratefull *Mantineans* murder a Garrison of *Achaians*, sent vnto them for their defence against the *Lecedemonians*, by *Aratus*; vvho, vvhen he had formerly posset himselfe of their Citie, by right of vvar, did not onely spare the sacke and spoyle therof, but gaue them equall freedome, with the rest of the Cities vnited. These *Reuolts* are also common in our Court wars; where, in the conquests of new fortunes, and making of new parties, and factions, vvithout the depression or destructions of old friends, we cannot be receiued and trusted by old enemies. *Ce sont les coups de vieille escrime. These*, (say the *French*) *be the blowes of the old art offencing.*

These Mercenaries in *Sardinia* were no whit lesse violent in their purpose, than were *Spendius*, and his associates: only they wanted a *Matho* among them, to negotiate with the inhabitants of the Prouince. The Ilanders were no lesse glad, than the souldiours, that the *Carthaginians* were expelled the Countrie: but they could not agree about the profit of the victory. The *Sardinians* thought that it was enough, if they rewarded the souldiours for their paines taken. Contrariwise, the souldiours were of opinion, that the title of the *Carthaginians* to that Ile, was deuolued vnto themselues, by right of conquest. The same quarrell would (in likelihood) haue risen, between *Spendius* with his Mercenaries, & their *African* friends; if the common desire of both had once taken effect: vnlesse the riches of *Carthage* had serued to content them all. But in *Sardinia*, where there was none other valuable reward, than possession and rule of the Countrie; the matter was not easily taken vp. So they fell to blowes; which how they were dealt, I know not; but finally, the Mercenaries were driuen out, and compelled to saue themselues in *Italie*. Before their departure out of *Sardinia*, they had inuited the *Romans* into it; vvith as good right, as the *Mamertines* had called them into *Sicil*. Yet this offer was refused, vpon reasons that follow.

Some *Italian* Merchants had relieued *Matho* and *Spendius* with corne: of whom the *Carthaginians* tooke almost fiue hundred, and held them in prison. Hereof vvas made a great complaint: so that the *Romans* sent Embassadours to *Carthage*, requiting satisfaction. It was no time for the *Carthaginians* to dispute: they quietly yeelded to release them all. This was so kindely taken, that they forbad all their Merchants, to trade thenceforth with the Rebels; admonishing them to carry all prouisions to *Carthage*. And vpon the same reason, did they forbeare to meddle with *Sardinia*, or to accept the Citie of *Vtica*, offering it selfe vnto their subiection. This might haue serued, as a notable example of the *Roman* faith, to all posteritie: had not the issue proued, that it was meer regard of greater profit, vvhich kept them so temperate, no longer than the hope lasted of thriuing better thereby, than they should haue done by open breach of faith. The whole estate of *Carthage* depended at that time, vpon the vertue of *Amilcar*: who had he bin ouerthrown by *Spendius* or *Matho*, in one maine battaile, that mighty Citie must either haue fallen into the barbarous hands of mercilesse villaines, or haue humbled her selfe vnder protection of the *Romans*, with whom she had lately striuen for superioritie. That extreame necessitie, whereinto *Matho* reduced the Citie, by the fortune of one sallie made out of *Tunis*, is enough to proue, that *Carthage*, was not far from such a miserable choyce. Wherefore it was not vnwisely done of the *Romans*, to make such demonstration of kindnesse, and honourable dealing, as might inuite a rich, but sinking ship, to runne her selfe aground vpon their shore. But when all was well ended in *Africke*, and the *Carthaginians* began to prepare for the recouery of *Sardinia*; then did Ambition put off her goodly vizour. The *Romans* perceiuing that *Carthage*, beyond their hope, had recouered her feet againe; began to strike at her head. They entertained the proffer of those Mercenaries, that were fled out of *Sardinia*; and they denounced vvar against this enfeebled and impouerished Citie, vnder a shamelesse pretence, *that the preparations made for* Sardinia, *were made indeede against Rome itselfe*. The *Carthaginians* knew themselues vnable to resist; and therefore yeelded to the *Romans* demand; renouncing vnto them all their right in *Sardinia*. But this was not enough. They would haue twelue hundred talents, in recompence belike (for I see not

not what reason they could alleadge) of the great feare which they had endured, of an inuasion from *Carthage*. It is indeede plaine, that they impudently sought occasion of vvarre. But necessity taught the *Carthaginians* patience; and the mony vvas paied, how hardly soeuer it was raised. From this time forward, let not *Rome* complaine of the *Punick* faith, in breach of Couenants: she her selfe hath broken the peace already, which *Amilcar* purposeth to make her dearly repent; but what *Amilcar* liues not to performe, shall be accomplished by *Hannibal* his renowned sonne.

§. V.

How the affaires of Carthage went betweene the African Rebellion, and the second Punicke Warre.

THe iniurious dealing of the *Romans*, expressing their desire to picke a quarrell; serued to instruct the *Carthaginians* in a necessarie lesson; That either they must make themselues the stronger, or else resolue to be obedient vnto those that were more mighty. In a Citie long accustomed to rule, the brauer determination easily took place: and the best meanes were thought vpon, for the increase of puissance & Empire. The strength, and the iealousie of the *Romans*, forbad all attempts vpon the Mediterran seas; but the riches of *Spaine*, that lay vpon the *Ocean*, were vnknown to *Rome*: wherefore that Prouince might serue, both to exercise the *Carthaginians* in war, and to repaire their decaied forces, vvith all needefull supplies. Of the *Spanish* Expedition, the charge and souereigne trust was commited vnto *Amilcar*: vpon whom his Country did wholly repose it selfe; in hope to recouer strength by his means, that had saued it from ruine.

Hanno, with some other enuious men that were of his faction, tooke little pleasure in the generall loue and honour, which daily increased towards *Amilcar* and his friends. Yet could they not denie him to be the most worthy of command in all the Citie: onely they commended peace and quietnesse; aduising men to beware of prouoking the *Romans*, in whose amity they said, that the felicity of *Carthage* did consist. By such discourses, harsh to the eares of good Citizens, who had feeling of the wrong done to their Common-weale; they got none other reputation, than of singularity: which the ignorant sort suspected to be wisedome.

But the glory of *Amilcar* was continually vpheld & enlarged, by many notable seruices that he did, to the singular benefit of his Country. He passed the Streights of *Hercules*, (now called the Streights of *Gibraltar*) and landed on the westerne coasts of *Spaine*; in which Country, during nine yeares that he liued there, he subiected vnto the State of *Carthage* the better part of all those Prouinces. But finally, in a battaile that he fought with a Nation in *Portugale*, called the *Vettones*, (defending himselfe a long time with an admirable resolution) he was inuironed and slaine: carrying with him to the graue the same great honour and fame, by which in many signall victories, he had acquired the name of a second *Mars*.

After the death of *Amilcar*, *Asdrubal* his son in law vvas made Generall of the *Carthaginian* forces in *Spaine*. This was a good man of vvarre; but farre better in practice and cunning than in deedes of armes. By his notable dexteritie in matter of negotiation, he greatly enlarged the Dominion of *Carthage*: adding so many subiects and confederates thereunto, that the *Romans* began to grow icalous againe of this hastie increase. He built a goodly Citie, vpon a commodious Hauen, in the Kingdome of *Granada*, opposite to that of *Oran* in *Africa*, and gaue it the name of *New Carthage*, which to this day it neerely retaineth, being called now * *Carthagena*. With this successe of the *Carthaginians* in *Spaine*, the *Romans* were not a little troubled; but began to cause their owne negligence. For whereas they had formerly taken so much paines to beate them out of the Ile of *Sicil*, as suspecting their neighbourhood there; they had now, by cumbring themselues in a warre of farre lesse importance, (whereof I shall speake anon) giuen them leysure, without interruption, to recouer vpon their owne Continent, a Dominion by far exceeding, both in the bodies of men and in reuenue, that which the *Romans* had taken from them. But how to helpe this, at the present they knew not; for they daily expected to be inuaded by the *Gaules*, their ancient enemies, and neerest neighbours to the West. But he needeth little helpe of force, that knoweth himselfe

* The *Spaniards* haue since built a Citie of the same name in the West Indies: which being peopled by them in the yeere 1532. was sackt by the *English* in the yeare 1585

to be feared: it is enough if he request, since his request shall haue the vertue of a command.

Yet were the *Romans* vtterly destitute of all good colour, that might helpe them to intermeddle in *Spaine*. The *Spaniards* were then vnacquainted with *Rome*, whereof (in probability) they scarce had heard the name: so that there were no *Mamertines*, nor other such Rebels, to call in Roman succours. But in the enterprise of *Sardinia*, the *Romans* had learned an impudent pretence, that might also serue their turne in *Spaine*. For though it were apparant, that the *Spanish* affaires had no relation to the peace between these two Cities; and though it were nothing likely, that *Asdrubal* had any purpose, to extend his victories vnto the gates of *Rome*, or to any of the *Roman* frontiers: yet (as if some such matter had bin suspected) they sent vnto him, requiring that he should forbeare to proceede any further, than to the Riuer of *Iberus*. In addressing their messengers, rather to *Asdrubal*, than to the Citie of *Carthage*; they seeme to haue hoped, that howsoeuer the generalitie of the *Carthaginians* had sweetly swallowed many bitter pilles, to auoide all occasion of warre with *Rome* yet the brauery of one man might proue more fastidious, and presenting the iniurie, returne such answer, as would intangle his whole Countrie in the quarrell, that they so much desired; and might embrace at leisure, when once they had found apparant cause. But *Asdrubal* finely deluded their expectation. He pretended no manner of dislike at all: and whereas they would haue this insolent couenant inserted into the articles of peace; he tooke vpon him to doe it, of his own power, with such appearance of conformity to their will, that they went their wayes contented, and sought no further.

If it had beene so, that the State of *Carthage*, thereunto pressed by the *Romans*, for feare of present warre, had ratified this new composition made by *Asdrubal*; yet should it not haue stood bound in honour, to obserue the same carefully, vnlesse an oath had also bin exorted, to make all sure. But since all passed quietly, vnder the bare authority of *Asdrubal*, this Capitulation was none other in effect, than a second breach of peace; whereof the *Romans* might be accused more iustly, than they could accuse the *Carthaginians* of periurie, (as they after did) for refusing to stand to it.

By this Treatie with *Asdrubal*, the *Romans* wan some reputation in *Spaine*. For when it was once conceiued by the *Spaniards*, that the Citie which would needes be mistresse ouer them, stood in feare her selfe, of receiuing blowes from a stouter Dame; their were soone found some, that by offering themselues to the protection of *Rome*, became (as they thought) fellow-seruants with *Carthage*. But the *Carthaginians* will shortly teach them another lesson. The *Saguntines*, a people on the South-side of *Iberus*, entred into confederacie with the *Romans*, & were gladly accepted. Surely it was lawfull vnto the *Romans*, to admit the *Saguntines*, or any other people (neither subiect, nor open enemy in warre to the *Carthaginians*) into their societie: and vnlawfull it was vnto the *Carthaginians*, to vse violence towards any that should thus once become confederate with *Rome*. Neuertheless, if we consider the late agreement made with *Asdrubal*; we shall finde that the *Romans* could haue none other honest color of requiring it, than an implicit couenant of making the Riuer *Iberus* a bound, ouer which they themselues would not passe, in any Discouery or Conquest by them intended to be made vpon *Spaine*: in which regard, they might haue some honest pretence to require the like of the *Carthaginians*; though *Rome* as yet had no foot, on the one side of *Iberus*, whereas *Carthage*, on the other side of that Riuer, held almost all the Countrie. How soeuer it were, this indignitie was not so easily digested, as former iniuries had beene. For it was a matter of ill consequence, that the Nations which had heard of no greater power than the *Carthaginian*, should behold *Saguntum* resting securely among them, vpon confidence of help from a more mighty Citie. Wherefore either in this respect, or for that the sense is most feeling of the latest iniuries; or rather for that now the *Carthaginians* were of power to doe themselues right: warre against *Saguntum* was generally thought vpon, let the *Romans* take it how they list. In such termes were the *Carthaginians*, when *Asdrubal* died, after he had commanded in *Spaine* eight yeares: (being slaine by a slaue, whose master he had put to death) and the Great *Hannibal*, sonne of the Great *Amilcar*, was chosen Generall in his stead.

§. VI.

The estate of Greece from the death of Pyrrhus, *to the reigne of* Philip *the sonne of* Demetrius *in Macedon.*

IN the long terme of the first *Punick* war; and the vacation following, betweene it and the second; the estate of *Greece*, after the death of *Pyrrhus*, was growne somwhat like vnto that, vvherein *Philip* of *Macedon* had found it; though farre vveaker, as in an after-spring. The whole Countrie had recouered by degrees, a forme of libertie: the petty tyrannies (bred of those inferiour Captaines, which in the times of generall combustion, had seised each vpon such townes as he could get) were, by force or accident, extirpated, and reformed; and some States were risen to such greatnesse, as not only serued to defend themselues, but to giue protection to others. This conuersion to the better, proceeded from the like dissentions and tumults in *Macedon*, as had bin in *Greece*, when *Philip* first began to encroach vpon it. For after many quarrels and great wars, about the Kingdome of *Macedon*, beween *Antigonus* the elder, *Cassander*, *Demetrius*, *Lysimachus*, *Seleucus*, *Pyrrhus*, and the *Gaules*: *Antigonus*, the sonne of *Demetrius*, finally got and held it, reigning sixe and thirtie yeares; yet so, that he was diuers times thence expelled, not only by the *Gaules*, and by *Pyrrhus*, as hath bin already shewed, but by *Alexander* the son of *Pyrrhus* the *Epirot*, from whose father he had hardly won it. This happened vnto him, by the reuolt of his souldiers, euen at such time, as hauing ouerthrowne with great slaughter an Armie of the *Gaules*, he was conuerting his forces against the *Athenians*, vvhom he compelled to receiue his Garrisons. But his young sonne *Demetrius* raised an Armie, wherewith he chased *Alexander*, not only out of *Macedon*, but out of his own *Epirus*, and restored his father to the Kingdome.

By the help of this young Prince *Demetrius* (though in another kind) *Antigonus* got into his possession the Citadell of *Corinth*; vvhich was iustly termed *the fetter of Greece*. The Citadell called *Acrocorinthus*, stood vpon a steepe rockie hill on the North side of the towne, and was by nature and art so strong, that it seemed impregnable. It commanded the town; which was of much importance, as occupying the whole breadth of the *Isthmus*, that running betweene the *Ægean* and *Ionique* Seas, ioyneth *Peloponnesus* to the maine of *Greece*. Wherefore he that held possession of this Castle, was able to cut off all passage by land, from one halfe of *Greece* vnto the other; besides the commodity of the two Seas, vpon both of which, this rich and goodly Citie had commodious hauens. *Alexander*, the son of *Polysperchon*; and after his death, *Cratesipolis* his wife, had gotten *Corinth* in the great shuffling of Prouinces and Townes, that was made betweene *Alexanders* Princes. Afterwards it passed from hand to hand, vntill it came, I know not how, to one *Alexander*; of vvhom I finde nothing else, than that he vvas thought to be poysoned by this *Antigonus*, who deceiued his wife *Nicæa* thereof, and got it from her by a tricke. The deuice was this. *Antigonus* sent his young *Demetrius* to *Corinth*, vvilling him to court *Nicæa*, and seeke her marriage. The foolish old widow perceiued not how vnfit a match she was for the yong Prince, but entertained the fancie of marriage; whereto the old King was euen as ready, to consent, as vvas his son to desire, and came thither in person to solemnize it. Hereupon all *Corinth* vvas filled with sacrifices, feasts, plaies, and all sorts of games: in the middest of vvhich, *Antigonus* vvatched his time, and got into the Castle, beguiling the poore Lady, whose iealousie had bin exceeding diligent in keeping it. Of this purchase he was so glad, that he could not containe himselfe within the grauity beseeming his old age. But as he had stollen it; so vvas it againe stollen from him: neither liued he to reuenge the losse of it, being already spent with age.

Demetrius, the son of this *Antigonus*, succeeding vnto his father, reigned ten yeares. He made greater proofe of his vertue before he was King than after. The *Dardanians*, *Ætolians*, and *Achæans*, held him continually busied in war; wherein his fortune was variable, and for the more part ill. About these times the power of the *Macedonians* began to decay: and the *Grecians* to cast off their yoke.

Philip, the only son of *Demetrius*, vvas a young child when his father died; & therfore *Antigonus*, his vncle, had the charge of the Kingdome, during the minority of the Prince;

Prince; but he assumed the name and power of a King, though he respected *Philip* as his own son, to whom he left the Crowne at his death; This *Antigonus* vvas called the *Tutor*, in regard of his protectorship; and was also called *Doson*, that is as much as, *Willgine*, because he was slow in his liberalitie. He repressed the *Dardanians* and *Thessalians*, which molested his Kingdome, in the beginning of his reigne. Vpon confidence of this good seruice, he took state vpon him, as one that rather were King in his own right, than only a Protector. Hereupon the people fell to mutinie; but vvere soone appeased by faire words, and a seeming vnwillingnesse of his to meddle any more with the Gouernement. The *Achaians* tooke from him the City of *Athens*, soone after *Demetrius* his death; and likely they were to haue wrought him out of all, or most that he held in *Greece*, if their own estate had not bin endangered by a neerer enemy. But ciuill dissention, which had ouerthrown the power of *Greece*, when it flourished most; ouerthrew it easily now againe, when it had scarcely recouered strength after a long sicknesse; and gaue to this *Antigonus* no lesse authority therein, than *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, got by the like aduantage.

These *Achaians* from small beginnings, had increased in short time to great strength and fame: so that they grew the most redoubted Nation of all the *Greekes*. By the equalitie of their Lawes, and by their clemencie (notwithstanding that they were a long time held vnder by the *Macedonians* and *Spartans*) they did not only draw all others by their loue and alliance, but induced, through their example, the rest of the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, to be gouerned by one Law, and to vse one and the same sort of weights, measure, and mony.

Aratus, the *Sicyonian*, was the first that vnited them againe; and gaue them courage, after that they had bin by the *Macedonian* Captaines diuided into many Principalities. In elder times they were gouerned by Kings, as most of the great Cities of *Greece* were; to which kinde of rule they first subiected themselues, after the descent of the *Heraclidæ*, when *Tisamenus* the son of *Orestes* possest the Territorie of *Achaia*. In this estate they continued to the time of *Gyges*; after whom, when his sons sought to change the Legall gouernment of their Predecessors into Tyrannie, they expelled them, and made their State popular; as seeming most equall. This forme of Common-weale had continuance, with some small changes according to the diuersitie of times, till the reigne of *Philip* and *Alexander* Kings of *Macedon*: who tempest-like ouerturned all things in that part of the world. For those twelue Cities, called *the Cities of alliance*, whereof *Helice*, and *Bura* or *Olenus*, the Sea had eaten vp a little before the Battaile of *Leuctres*; were, by disturbance of the *Macedonians*, diuided from each other, and trained into a war, no lesse foolish than cruell, among themselues. But in the one hundred and foure and twentieth *Olympiad*, in which, or neere it, *Ptolomie* the son of *Lagus*, *Lysimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolomie Ceraunus*, left the world; two of ten remaining Cities and people, namely, the *Patrenses* and the *Dimæi*, vnited themselues, and laid the foundation of that generall accord, and re-vnion, vvhich after followed. For hauing bin, some of them *Partisans* with sundrie *Macedonian* Captaines, and others hauing bin grouerned by petty Kings; they began to fasten themselues in a strong league of amitie, partly, in the *Olympiad* before spoken of, and partly, at such time as *Pyrrhus* made his first voyage into *Italie*. Now after the vniting of the *Patrenses* and *Dimæi*, to whom also the Cities of *Tritæa*, and *Phara*, ioyned themselues; *Ægira* chased out her Garrisons: and the *Burians*, killing their Kings, entred with the *Ceraunians* into the same Confederacie. These Cities, for twentie and fiue yeares, vsed the same forme of Gouernment with the *Achaians*; who by a Senatorie and two Prætors, ordered all things in their Commonweale; and soone after, by one Prætor, or Commander: of which, *Marcus Carynensis* was the first, and *Aratus* the second.

This *Aratus* was a noble young Gentleman of *Sicyon*, who liuing at *Argos* in exile, whilest his Countrie was oppressed by Tyrants, found meanes, through the helpe of other banished men, to enter their own Citie by night, with ladders; whence they chased the Tyrant, and restored the people to libertie. This was in the time of *Antigonus Gonatas* King of *Macedon*, a Prince more busie in watching what to get among the *Greeks*, than wise in looking to his own. For feare of *Antigonus*, the *Sicyonians* enter into the *Achaian* league: which though at that time it receiued more increase by their accession, than it added strength to them; yet the benefit of this coniunction serued well enough against

against *Antigonus*, whose subtiltie was somewhat greater than his valour. As the industry and counsaile of *Aratus* deliuered his Country from bondage, and fortified it by the *Achaian* league; so further, by his great liberalitie, with the exceeding great cost of 150. talents, he pacified the inexplicable controuersies, between the banished *Sicyonians*, which returned with him, & the other Citizens that had possession of these mens Lands; as also with the same money he drew many others to assist him in those enterprises following, that redounded to the singular good of all *Achaia*. The mony he obtained of *Ptolomy Euergetes* King of *Egypt*; who partly had a desire to hold some strong and sure friendship in *Greece*, partly was delighted with the conuersation of *Aratus* himself, that made a dangerous voyage to him into *Egypt*, and fed his pleasure in goodly pictures, with the gift of many curious peeces, wherein the workemen of *Sicyon* excelled.

The first of *Aratus* his great attempts, was the surprize of the *Acrocorinthus* or Citadell of *Corinth*; which he wanne by night, being thereinto guided by some theeues that he had hired for the purpose, who liuing in the place, had practised to rob *Antigonus* his treasurie, passing in and out by a secret path among the rockes. Yet was he faine to fight for it, ere he could get it: though indeed *Antigonus* his Souldiers were rather ouercome by their owne feare, than by any force of the assailants; as mistrusting lest the *Achaians* were more in number, than in truth they were, and hauing lost the aduantages of the place already, vpon which they had presumed, before they were aware of any enemie.

In these kinde of night-seruices, ambushments, surprises, and practices, *Aratus* was verie cunning, aduenturous, and valiant: in open field, and plaine battaile, he was as timorous. By this strange mixture of cowardize and courage, he ministred argument of disputation, to Philosophers and others; Whether a valiant man (as he was esteemed, and in some cases approued) might looke pale and tremble, when he began battaile; and whether the vertue of Fortitude were diuersified, by the sundry natures of men, & in a manner confined, vnto seuerall sorts of action. In resoluing which doubts it may be said, that all vertue is perfected in men by exercise, wherein they are trained by occasion: though a naturall inclination standeth in need of little practice; whereas the defect hereof must be supplied with much instruction, vse, good successe, and other helpe, yet hardly shall grow absolute in generall. Such was *Aratus* in matter of Warre. In sincere affection to his Countrie he vvas vnreproueable, and so acknowledged: as his following actions will truely testifie.

When *Acrocorinthus* was taken, and ioyned vnto the Common-wealth of *Achaia*, the *Megarians* reuolted soone after from *Antigonus*, and entred into the same Corporation. So did the *Trœzenians*, and the *Epidaurians*: whereby this new erected State grew so powerfull, that it aduentured to take *Athens*, from the *Macedonians*; and *Argos* & *Megalopolis*, from Tyrants that held them. The enterprise vpon the *Athens* vvas of none effect. For though *Aratus* wasted the Ile of *Salamis*, to shew his strength, and sent home the *Athenian* prisoners, without ransome, to allure the Citie by shew of loue; yet the *Athenians* stirred neither against him, nor for him, as being now growne honest slaues to the *Macedonians*. Vpon *Argos* the aduenture was carried more strongly. The *Achaians* came sometimes to the gates of the Citie, but the people stirred not: once they entred it, and might haue wonne it, if the Citizens would haue lent any helpe to the recouerie of their owne freedome; sundry times, and with diuers euents, they fought with the Tyrants, (who rose vp one after another in *Argos*) in open field, and slue one of them in battaile; but all sufficed not: vnrill at length *Aristomachus* the Tyrant was so terrified, perswaded, and hired, by *Aratus*, that he consented to resigne his Estate. The like did *Xenon* the Tyrant of *Hermione*, and *Cleonymus* that had oppressed the *Phliasians*.

Whilest this businesse with the *Argiues* was on foot, *Lysiadas* the Tyrant of *Megalopolis*, was so well handled by *Aratus*, that, without compulsion, he gaue libertie to his Citie, and annexed it to the Councell of *Achaia*: whereby he got such credit, that he was chosen Generall of their forces (which was a yearely Office, and might not be held two yeeres together by one man:) euery second yeare, for a certaine while, he and *Aratus* succeeded one another by turnes. But those late Tyrants, and new Citizens, *Lysiadas* and *Aristomachus*, were carried with priuate passion from care of the generall good; in which courses they opposed *Aratus*, to the great hurt of *Achaia*, as shall appeare in due time.

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The *Achaans* hauing obtained so much puissance and reputation, that *Ptolomie* King of *Egypt* was become Patron of their Alliance, and (in title of honour) Generall of their forces by Sea and Land; made open War vpon *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus Gonatas*, for the liberty of *Athens*. It is strange and worthy of noting, That when *Aratus* in this quarrell had lost a battaile, the *Athenians* wore Garlands, in signe of ioy, to flatter their good Lords the *Macedonians*, that had won the victory. Such were now the *Athenians* become; in vvhom the rule was verified, that holds true in generall of the multitude, *Aut humiliter seruit, aut superbè dominatur*; *It is either base in seruice, or insolent in command*. Neuertheless when *Demetrius* vvas dead, *Aratus* performed that by mony, which he could not by force; & corrupting the Captaine of the *Macedonian* Garrison, purchased liberty to the *Athenians*, vvho thenceforth held good correspondence with the *Achaans*, louing them, and speaking vvell of them, vvhich was all that they could doe: but into their Corporation they entred not, scorning it belike, in regard of their own out-worne glory.

Now as the Common-wealth of *Achaia* daily increased within *Peloponnesus*, by iustice and honestie; so did the *Ætolians*, in the vtter part of *Greece*, yea and within *Peloponnesus* it selfe, waxe very powerfull, by sturdinesse of body, & rude courage in fight, without help of any other vertue. They had stoutly defended themselues against *Antipater* and *Craterus*; partly by daring to do & suffer much; partly by the naturall strength & fastnesse of their Country; but especially by the benefit of the time, vvhich called away these famous Captaines to other businesse, as hath bin related. They had molested *Cassander*, in fauour of *Antigonus*; & vvere themselues as much plagued by him, & by the *Acarnanians*, a little, but a stout Nation, that tooke his part. Afterwards they had to do with *Demetrius*, the son of the first *Antigonus*, & more or lesse, with all the Kings of *Macedon* succeeding him. They likewise held often War vvith the *Acarnanians*, *Athamanians*, *Epirots*, & many Cities in *Peloponnesus*: so that they vvere hardned with perpetuall trauaile; seldome putting off their Armour. But their hardinesse ill deserued the name of valour, seeing they had no regard of honesty or friendship; measuring all things by their own insolent wils, & thinking all people base-minded, that were not as fierce and outragious as themselues.

These *Ætolians* had lately made great spoyles in *Peloponnesus*, and occupied a good part of the Country. They had inuaded the friends of the *Achæans*, taken and sacked *Pallene*; where although they were soundly beaten by *Aratus*, yet their desire of gaine made them make a new voyage thither, as to a Country wherein somewhat was to be gotten. But they were forced to looke another vway, by *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus Gonatas*: who pressed them so hardly, that they vvere driuen to seeke helpe of the *Achaans*; which they obtained. The vvar vvhich the *Achæans* made vpon *Demetrius*, without *Peloponnesus*, in *Attica*, though it tended to expelling the *Macedons* out of *Greece*, yet the benefit therof redounded chiefly vnto the *Ætolians*, at whose instance it was set on foot: for therby vvere the *Macedonian* forces diuerted from them. Neither was this good turne vnacknowledged; though very basely the *Ætolians*, giuing thanks in words, deused how to requite the benefit with some great mischiefe. They saw that the *Achæans* were desirous, to bring all *Peloponnesus* into their Alliance & Corporation: of which intent, the *Lecedæmonians* were very iealous. Wherefore these *Ætolians* laboured earnestly, to set the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans* together by the eares: hoping that if this might come to passe, they themselues should be called in to helpe (it skilled not on what side) and so get no small share, both in bootie and Territorie. Neither did they forbeare to communicate this their deuice vnto *Antigonus*; offering to make him partaker of their gaine, whom they knew to be offended with the many losses, that this Kingdome had sustained by the *Achæans*. Of this plot *Aratus* was aware: who therefore determined to suffer many indignities, rather than to giue the *Lacedæmonians* cause to take Armes. But this resolution was taken somewhat too late: and not altogether in his own power to hold. He had bin meddling with the *Arcadians*, that were dependants of *Lacedæmon*: and thereby had prouoked the *Lacedæmonians* to looke about them; seeing that all *Peloponnesus*, excepting themselues, the *Eleans*, and a few *Arcadians* their friends (who also were attempted) was already become *Achæan*.

The Citie of *Sparta* was in ill case about these times; and subiect to the iniuries of any stronger Neighbor. *Pyrrhus* had greatly weakned it; The *Ætolians* entring *Laconia* with

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an Armie, had carried away fiftie thousand slaues; and, vvhich was worse, their discipline was corrupted, Auarice & Luxurie reigned among them, the poore was oppressed by the rich, & the generositie of spirit, that had sometime bin their generall vertue, was hardly now to be found among the best of them. There were left in *Sparta* no more than seuen hundred natural Citizens; of whom not aboue one hundred had Lands: all the rest were needie people, and desirous of innouation. Hereupon followed intestine sedition; which endangered the Citie most of all. *Agis* a good King, who sought to reforme the disorders of the State, exhorted the people to a strict obseruation of *Lycurgus*, his lawes. To which purpose he caused them to passe an Act, for the abolishing of all debts, and equall diuision of Lands. All the younger, and poorer sort were glad of this: but the rich men opposed it. These had recourse vnto *Leonidas* the other King, (for in *Sparta* were two Kings) who tooke their part: being himselfe a dissolute man, as one trained vp in the Court of *Syria*, whence also he had his wife. In this contention *Leonidas* was expelled the Citie, and a new King chosen in his stead. But *Agis* his friends & Counsailors in this enterprise, abused his good meaning to their owne priuate commoditie. They vvere hastie to take away all debts, & cancell all bands, for they themselues were deeply indebted: but the diuision of lands they afterwards hindred, because their own possessions were great. Hence arose a tumult in *Sparta*, vvhich these men increased by their foule oppression of the poorer Citizens. So that in fine, *Leonidas* was brought home, and restored to his Kingdome, and the two aduerse Kings driuen to take Sanctuarie; out of vvhich, *Cleombrotus*, the late-made King, was dismissed into exile: but *Agis* was trained forth, drawn into prison, and thereby his enemies condemned & strangled, together with his Mother, & his old Grandmother. The like to this was neuer known in *Sparta*: and (which is the more odious) this crueltie proceeded from the *Ephori*, Magistrates that should haue giuen Patronage to the lawes, vsing their power, and more power than to them belonged, against a King, that had proceeded orderly in reforming the Citie, as the law required.

The death of *Agis* was much lamented by all good Citizens; & serued to establish the impotent rule of a few tyrannicall oppressors. In which case *Aratus* might well hope to adioyne *Lacedæmon* to the *Achæans* Common-wealth: though it were great iniustice to take such aduantages, and attempt by force, that which would haue redounded to the generall good of *Peloponnesus*, and to the benefit of *Sparta* it selfe, if it could haue bin wrought by perswasion.

But the same man who redressed the disorders of *Sparta*, and reuenged the death of *Agis*, did also requite the iniust attempts of the *Achæans*, euen in their own kinde: obtruding vpon them by force, an vnion of all *Peloponnesus*; though little to their good liking, for that the *Lacedæmonians* and their King, should haue bin the principall; not they and their Prætor. *Leonidas* hauing thus caused *Agis* to be slaine, tooke his wife that vvas very rich and beautifull, and gaue her in marriage (perforce) to his own son *Cleomenes*. This young Prince fell greatly enamoured on his wife, & sought to win her affection, as well as he had her person. He discourſed much with her about the purpose of her former husband *Agis*, & by pittying his misfortune, began to entertaine a desire of accomplishing that, wherein *Agis*, had failed. So comming himselfe to be King, whilest he was very young, he gladly embraced all occasions of War: for that he hoped by strong hand to effect that, which *Agis*, by proceeding formally, in so corrupt an estate of the Citie, had attempted to his own ruine. Therefore when the *Ephori* gaue him in charge, to take and fortifie *Athenaum*, a Temple on the marches of *Laconia*, to vvhich both they & the *Megalopolitans* pretended title; he readily performed it. Hereof *Aratus* made no complaint, but sought to take by surprize *Tegea* & *Orchomenus*, Cities then confederate with the *Lacedæmonians*: wherin, his intelligence failing, he lost the labor of a painful nights trauel, & discouered his enmity to *Sparta*; of which *Cleomenes* was nothing sorrie. By these degrees the war began. In the entrance whereto *Aratus* had discouered the *Ætolian* practice, & therefore would haue staied the quarrell from proceeding too far. But *Lysiadas* & *Aristomachus* would needs fight, and he could do none other than be ruled by them; especially seeing *Cleomenes* vvas so vrgent. *Aristomachus* was at that time Generall of the *Achæans*, (He and *Lysiadas* being of great account, since they had abandoned their tyrannie) who sent vnto *Aratus*, lying then in *Athens*, and required his assistance in a iournie to be made into *Laconia*. No dissvasions of *Aratus* would seruе therefore

therefore he came in person, and tooke part of a businesse, little pleasing him in the present, and lesse in the future. When he met with *Cleomenes*, he durst not fight; but opposed himselfe against *Aristomachus* who desired to giue battaile. Yet had the *Achæans* twentie thousand foot, and one thousand horse, in their Armie: whereas *Cleomenes* had no more than fiue thousand in all. This gaue reputation to the *Lacedæmonian*, and raised an ill report vpon *Aratus*; which *Lysiadas* helped to make worse, by accusing his cowardize. Neuertheleſse the *Achæans* would not fall out with *Aratus* their Benefactor, but chose him their Generall the yeare following, against *Lysiadas* his accuser that sued for the place. Being Generall himselfe, it behooued him to confute, with deedes, the slanderous words of *Lysiadas*. Therefore he purposed to set vpon the *Eleans*: but was met withall on the way, neere vnto the Mount *Lycæus*, by *Cleomenes*; who vanquished him in a great battaile, and draue him to hide himselfe all night for feare, so that he was thought to haue bin slaine. This misaduenture *Aratus* recompenced by a tricke of his owne more naturall occupation: performing with his broken Armie, that which could hardly haue bin expected, had he bin victorious. For whilest there vvas no suspicion of any great matter that he could vndertake; he suddenly wrought with some of the *Mantineans*, who did let him into their Citie. These *Mantineans*, (whom he had thus brought to his purpose) had once before ioyned themselues with the *Achaians*; but shortly vpon feare, or some other passion, they gaue themselues to the *Ætolians*; and from the *Ætolians*, presently after this victorie, to *Cleomenes*, from whom immediately they were thus wonne. For this their leuitie they vvere not punished, but freely admitted now again into the *Achæan* societie. As this good successe repaired the credit of *Aratus*; so another battaile almost ruined it. *Cleomenes* and he encountred neere vnto *Megalopolis*; where the *Achæans* had somewhat the better at the first, but their General durst not follow his aduantage. Thereupon *Lysiadas*, of whom we spake before, grew somewhat impatient with anger; and taking with him all the horse, brake vpon the *Lacedæmonians*, whom he routed at the beginning, but pursuing them too far into places of hard passage, he was slaine by them, and his followers driuen backe vpon their owne Companions; in such sort, that finally all the Armie was disordered and put to flight. This was a great losse, and incensed the *Achæans* against *Aratus*: yet their indignation proceeded no further, than that they refused to make any longer contribution, towards the pay of those Mercenaries which he had waged. This *Aratus* tooke patiently, and followed the warre neuertheleſse; wherein though *Cleomenes* wanne some Townes, and *Aratus* got the better in one small fight, yet little of importance was done; the *Achæans* being wearie, and the *Spartan* King intentiue to another businesse.

Cleomenes hauing ledde into the field all that were like to hinder his purpose, and tired them with painfull iournies, forsooke the *Achæan* warre on a sudden, and came vnexpected home to *Sparta*, where he slue the *Ephori*, and restored by force the ancient discipline of *Lycurgus*. Then gaue he an account of his doings: and shewing by what degrees the *Ephori* had incroched vpon the power of Kings, & many disorders had grown in the Citie; he iustified his proceedings, and forthwith began to make equall diuision of the Lands, reducing all to the first institution. He also supplied the defect of Citizens, by choosing new, out of such as were friends to the State, and valiant men: so that henceforth his Countrie might not altogether stand in need of Mercenarie helpe, as it lately had done, to saue it selfe from the *Ætolians*, *Illyrians*, and such other enemies. All this was dispatched in great haste; the *Spartans* well satisfied; and *Cleomenes* himselfe ready in the field, ere his enemies could take any aduantage of these his domestical troubles.

The *Achæans* hearing of this great alteration in *Sparta*, thought that it would be long ere *Cleomenes* durst issue forth of the Citie, for feare of some rebellion. But it was not long ere they heard, that he had wasted all the Countrie of *Megalopolis*; had ranged ouer all *Arcadia* at his pleasure; and was admitted into *Mantinea*; and ready to take other places, euen of *Achaia*. These newes displeased them not a little: but they must patiently endure to heare worse. For when *Cleomenes* had shaken off the power of the *Ephori*, that curbed his authoritie, he proceeded more roundly in his worke; being better obeyed and by better men. His *Lacedæmonians* resumed their ancient courage; and he himselfe had the heart to demand the Principalitie of *Greece*. He did not therefore henceforth contend about the possession of a few Townes: but aduentured to winne or loſe all,

all. The *Ætolians*, in fauour of his attempt, declared themselues on his side: and whereas he had gotten *Mantinea*, *Tegea*, and other places, to which they had some title, they willingly renounced all their interest vnto him.

Aratus did apprehend the danger of his Countrie, and saw that *Antigonus*, with the *Ætolians*, or perhaps without them, would shortly make an end of that, which *Cleomenes* had thus begunne. Therefore he deuised how to prouide against the worst, and either to repaire all, or (if it could not be) to saue all from vtter ruine. The office of Generall when it was next put vpon him, he refused; fearing to be so far prest, as to hazard in one battaile all the force of his Countrie, to which as he had neuer any affection, nor perchance courage, so was his manner of warfare otherwise. For he commonly attempted to by surprise, & defended vpon the aduantage of place, after the manner of the *Irish*, and of all other Nations, ouer-charged with numbers of men. Yet did he not forsake the care of the Weale-publique, though in aiming at the generall good, it seemes that priuate passion drew him into an ill course. He saw, that *Megalopolis* could not be defended without making a dangerous hazzard of battaile; that *Mantinea* had not onely opened her gates vnto *Cleomenes*, but slaine the *Achæan* Garrison that lay therein; that other Townes had yeelded vnto him, without compulsion; and that *Aristomachus*, once Tyrant of *Argos*, and since Generall of the *Archæans*, was now reuolted vnto the enemie, following the fortune of *Cleomenes*. *Ptolomie* was too farre off to helpe; and the neerenesse of *Antigonus* was very dangerous; yet might be vsefull, if this King would (as *Polybius* saith) like others, be friend or enemie, as should best agree with his owne profit. To make triall heereof, *Aratus* practised with some of *Megalopolis*, whom he found apt vnto his purpose; and instructed them how to deale both with *Antigonus*, and the *Achæans*.

The Citie of *Megalopolis* had beene well affected to the *Macedonians*, euer since the time of *Philip* the Father of *Alexander*, who had obliged it vnto him by some especiall benefits. At this time it lay neerest vnto the danger; was very faithfull, and therefore deserued succour; yet could not well be releeued by the *Achæans*, with their owne proper strength. Wherefore it was thought meet, that Embassadours should be sent vnto the generall Councell of *Achaia*, requesting leaue and good allowance, to trie the fauour of *Antigonus* in their necessitie. This was granted, for lacke of what else to answer: and the same Embassadours dispatched away to *Antigonus*. They did their owne errand briefly; telling him of the good will and respect which their Citie had of long time borne vnto him and his Predecessors; of their present neede; and how it would agree with his honour to giue them aide. But when they deliuered the more generall matter, wherein *Aratus* had giuen them instruction; shewing how the ambition of *Cleomenes*, and violence of the *Ætolians*, might redound to his owne great losse or danger, if the one and the other were not in time preuented; how *Aratus* himselfe did stand affected; and what good likelihood there was of reducing the *Achæans* vnder the Patronage of *Macedon*: then beganne *Antigonus* to lend a more attentiue eare to their discourse. He embraced the motion: and to giue it the more life, he wrote vnto the *Megalopolitans*, that his helpe should not be wanting, so farre forth, as it might stand with the *Achæans* good liking. Particularly he commended himselfe, by these Messengers to *Aratus*, assuring them, that he thought himselfe highly bound to this honourable man, whose former actions he now perceiued, not to haue beene grounded vpon any hatred to the *Macedonians*, but onely vpon a iust and worthy loue to his owne Nation. With this answer they returned to *Megalopolis*: and are presently sent away to the Councell of *Achaia*; there to make some speedy conclusion, as the necessity of the time required. The *Achæans* were glad to heare, that *Antigonus* was so inclinable to their desire; and therefore were ready to entertaine his fauour, with all good correspondence. Hereunto *Aratus* gaue his consent; and praised the wisedome of his Countrimen, that so well discerned the best and likeliest meanes of their common safetie: adding neuertheleſſe, that it were not amisse, first of all to try their owne abilitie; which if it failed, then should they doe well to call in this gracious Prince, and make him their Patron and Protector. Thus he shewed himselfe moderate, in that which himselfe of all others did most wish: to the end, that he might not afterward sustaine the common reprehension, if any thing fell out amisse; since it might appeare, that hee had not beene Author of this Decree, but onely followed, and that leisurably, the generall consent.

Neuertheleſſe

Neuertheleſſe in true estimation, this fineneſſe of *Aratus* might haue bin vsed, with his greater commendation, in a contrary course. For it had bin more honourable, to make an end of the War, by yeelding vnto *Cleomenes* that power which they gaue vnto *Antigonus*: since therby he should both haue freed his Country from all further trouble; & withall should haue restored vnto the vniuersall state of *Greece*, that honourable condition, wherein of the *Macedonians* had bereft it. But it is commonly found (which is great pitty) that Vertue hauing risen to honour by degrees, and confirmed it selfe, (as it were) in the seat of Principality, by length of time, and successe of many actions; can ill endure the hastie growth of any others reputation, wherewith it sees it selfe likely to be ouer-topped. Other cause to despise the *Lacedæmonians* there was none, than that they lately had bin in dangerous case: neither could any reason be found, why *Aratus* should preferre *Antigonus* before *Cleomenes*, than that he had stood in doubt of the one, when he thought himselfe more mighty than the other. Wherefore he was iustly plagued, when he saw his own honours reuersed by the insolent *Macedonians*; and instead of liuing as a companion with *Cleomenes*, that was descended of a long race of Kings, the posterity of *Hercules* was faine to do sacrifice vnto *Antigonus*, as vnto a god, and was finally poysoned by *Philip*, whose Nobility was but of fiue descents, & whom perhaps he might haue seene his fellowes, if he had not made them his Lords. By this inclination to the *Macedonians*, the loue of *Ptolomie* was lost; who forthwith tooke part with *Cleomenes*; though he did not supply him with such liberality, as he had vsed to the *Achæans*; being warned, as may seeme, by their example, to be more wary both in trusting and disbursing. *Cleomenes* himselfe, whilest this businesse with *Antigonus* was a-foot, passed through *Arcadia* with an Armie, and laboured by all meanes to draw the *Achæans* to battaile. At the Citie of *Dymes* in *Achaia* were assembled all the remaining forces of the Nation; with which it was concluded, to make triall, whether perhaps they might amend their estate, without seeking helpe of the *Macedonian*. Thither went *Cleomenes*, & there fought with them; where he had so great a victory, that the enemy was no longer able to keep the open field. The calamitie was such, that *Aratus* himself durst not take vpon him to be their Generall, when his turne came in the next election. Wherefore the *Achæans* were compelled to sue for peace; which was granted vpon this easie condition: That they should not arrogate vnto themselues the command of *Peloponnesus*, but suffer the *Lacedæmonians* (as in formes ages) to be their Leaders in warre. Hereunto if they would condescend, he promised vnto them, that he would presently restore all places taken from them, & all his prisoners ransom-free; also that they should enioy their own Lawes & Liberties without molestation. This gentle offer of *Cleomenes* was very pleasing to the *Achæans*: who desired him to come to the Citie of *Lerna*, where a Parliament should be held, for the conclusion of the Warre.

Now seemed the affaires of *Greece* likely to be setled in better order, than they had euer bin since the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* Wars, yea or since the *Persian* inuasion: when God, who had otherwise disposed of these matters, hindred all, with a draught of cold water, which *Cleomenes* drank in great heat, & thereupon fell extreame sicke, & so could not be present at *Lerna*, but caused the Parliament to be deferred to another time. Neuertheleſſe he sent home the chiefe of his prisoners, to shew that he meant none other than good faith. By this faire dealing he confirmed the *Achæans*, in their desire of his friendship: who assembled againe at *Argos*, there to establish the League. But *Aratus* was violently bent against it, & sought by great words, & terrible threats, to make his Countrimen afraid of resoluing. When all would not serue turne, he betooke himselfe to his cunning, and sent word to *Cleomenes*, that he should do well to leaue his Armie behinde him, and come alone into *Argos*, receiuing hostages for safetie of his person. *Cleomenes* was already far on his way, when he met with this aduertisement: and tooke it in ill part, that he should be thus deluded. For if he had bin an easie matter to haue told him so much at the first, and not haue made him come so far with an Army, which afterwards he must dismisse. Yet that which chiefly seemes to haue troubled him, was the drift of his oppugners, who sought therby, either to make him wait without the gates, and deale only with themselues and their Messengers; or if he would aduenture himselfe into the Citie, then to deprine him of all Royall shew, that might breede respect of him in the multitude. This was that indeed which *Aratus* feared, & for which he sought to hinder his comming thither in person; least the people, hearing the promises

of *Cleomenes* ratified by his owne mouth, should presently be wonne with his gentle words, and finish the bargaine without more adoe. Therefore *Cleomenes* wrote vnto the whole Councell, bitterly complaining against these iuggling trickes: and *Aratus* was not farre behind with him, in as bitter an Oration. So betweene feare of the one, and reuerence of the other, the Assembly knew not how to proceed, but abruptly brake vp, leauing all as it were to fortune. *Cleomenes* tooke his aduantage of their present weakenesse, and renewed the Warre. Many Cities yeelded vnto him willingly; many he forced; and partly by force, partly by terrour, he wanne *Argos*, which neuer King of *Sparta* before him could doe. In this case *Aratus* sent his owne sonne to *Antigonus*, entreating him to deferre no time, but come presently to relieue the distressed *Achæans*. *Antigonus* gaue good words as could be wished: fauing that hee vtterly refused to doe any thing, vnlesse hee might first haue *Acrocorinthus* put into his hands. This demaund was somewhat like vnto that of the Hunter, who promised to helpe the Horse against his enemie the Stagge: but with condition, that the horse should suffer himselfe to be saddled and bridled. *Aratus* was herewithall contended, but wanted all honest colour to doe it: seeing the *Corinthians* had no way deserued, to be thus giuen away to the *Macedonians*. Yet at length an occasion was found; for that the *Corinthians*, perceiuing what hee intended, were minded to arrest him. So he withdrew himselfe out of their Citie, and sent word to *Antigonus*, that their Castle should be ready to let him in. The *Corinthians* on the other side ranne to *Cleomenes*; who lost no time, but made haste with them to *Corinth*, where he sought how to get possession of their Castle, or at least to saue it from *Antigonus*, by surrounding it within Trenches, that none might issue nor enter without his leaue. Whilest this was doing, he tooke speciall order, that *Aratus* his house and goods, within the Towne, should be kept for the Owner; to whom he sent Messenger after Messenger, desiring him to come to agreement, and not to bring in the Barbarous *Macedonians*, and *Illyrians*, to *Peloponnesus*; promising that if he would hearken to these perswasions, then would he giue him double the same pension, which he had been wont to receiue of King *Ptolomie*. As for the Castle of *Corinth*, which was the gate of *Peloponnesus*, and without which none could hold assured soueraignrie of the Country; hee desired that it might not be committed vnto his owne disposition, but be iointly kept by the *Lacedemonians* and *Achæans*. All this entreaty serued to no purpose. For *Aratus*, reiecting vtterly the motion, sent his owne sonne as an Hostage to *Antigonus*; and laboured with the *Achæans*, to put *Acrocorinthus* into his hands. Which when *Cleomenes* vnderstood, he seised vpon the goods of *Aratus* in *Corinth*, and wasted all the Couuntrey of *Sicyon*, wherof this his Aduersary was natiue.

Antigonus in the meane time drew neere to the *Isthmus*; hauing passed with his Army through *Euboea*, because the *Ætolians* held the streights of *Thermopyla* against him. This they did, either in fauour of *Cleomenes*, which they pretended; or in doubt of the greatnesse, whereunto the *Macedonians* might attaine by the good successe of this iourny. At his comming thither he found the *Lacedemonians* ready to forbid his entrance: and that with sufficient strength; yet with no purpose to hazzard battaile, but rather to weary him thence with hunger, against which he came not well prouided. *Antigonus* therefore laboured hard to make his way by force; but he was not able so to doe: he secretly got into the *Corinthian* Hauen; but was violently driuen out againe, with great losse of men; finally he resolued to turne aside, and seeke a passage ouer the gulfe of *Corinth*, to *Sicyon*, or some other part of *Achaia*; but this required much time, and great preparation, which was not easily made.

In this perplexity newes from *Argos* came by Sea, that greatly comforted *Antigonus*, and no lesse troubled his enemies. The *Achæans* were gotten into that Citie; and the Garrison which *Cleomenes* had left therein, though it was not driuen out of the Citadel, yet was hardly distressed, and stood in need of present helpe. *Argos* had alwayes bin enemy to *Sparta*, and well affected to the Kings of *Macedon*. When *Cleomenes* tooke it, he forbare to chase out those whom he most suspected, partly, at the entreaty of friends; and partly, for that they all made shew to be glad of his prosperity. They were glad indeed of *Cleomenes* his victories, both in *Argos* and elsewhere, as many as hoped that hee would cause all debtors to be discharged from their creditors, as he had lately done in *Sparta*. But that which *Cleomenes* had done in *Sparta*, was agreeable to the *Spartan* institution: in other places where it would haue been tyrannicall, he did it not. Thereupon, such

such as were disappointed of their vniust hopes, began to turne good Common-wealths men; and called him Tyrant for his doings at home, because he vvould not doe the like abroad. So they tooke their time; inuited the *Achæans*; assailed his Garrison; cut in peeces the Rescue that he sent; and compelled him at length, to forsake the defence of *Corinth*, and looke vnto the enemies that were behind his back. For when he vnderstood by continuall messages, that his men which held the Citadell at *Argos*, were almost lost; he began to feare, lest his labour in guarding the entry, should grow friuolous; the *Achæans* in the meane while spoiling all that lay within. Therefore he forsooke his custody of the *Isthmus*, and made all haste towards *Argos*: vvhich if he could saue, he meant to trust fortune with the rest. And so farre he preuailed at his comming to *Argos*; that both *Argiues* and *Achæans* vvere glad to house themselues, leauing him Master of the streets: when the horsemen of *Antigonus* were discouered a farre off, hasting to relieue the Citizens; and *Antigonus* himselfe (to whom *Corinth* was yeelded, as soone as the *Spartan* had turned his backe) following apace with the body of his Armie. *Cleomenes* therefore had no more to do, than to make a safe retrait. This he did; and got him home into *Laconia*: losing in short space all, or most of that which he had bin long in getting.

Antigonus hauing shewed himselfe at *Argos*, and commended the Citizens, vvent into *Arcadia*; where he vvan such Castles as were held for *Cleomenes*, and restored them to the old Possessors. This done, he tooke his vvay to *Ægium*, vvhere vvas held a Parliament by the *Achæans*; to whom he declared the cause of his comming, and spake braue words, that filled them with hope. The *Achæans* were not behinde with him; but made him Captaine Generall ouer them and their Confederates; and further entred into couenant with him, That they should not deale with any Prince or State, either by writing or Embassadour, without his consent. All this while, and somewhat longer, *Aratus* was the only man, that seemed to rule the Kings heart: carrying him to *Sicyon*, his owne Town (for Winter was come on) where he not only feasted him as a great Prince; but suffered more than humane honours, as sacrifices and the like, to be done vnto him. This example of *Aratus* and his *Sicyonians*, was followed by the rest of *Achaia*: vvhich had made (forsooth) a very wise bargaine, if in stead of *Cleomenes* that vvould haue bin a King, it had obtained the protection of a God. But this God was poore; and wanting wherwith to pay his *Macedonians*, imposed the burthen vpon the *Achæans*. This vvas hardly taken: yet worse must be endured in hope of better. Neither vvas *Aratus* himselfe ouer-carefully respected; when the statues of those Tyrants, which he had throwne downe in *Argos*, were again erected by *Antigonus*; or when the statues, which he had erected, of those that had taken *Acrocorinthus* with him, were all thrown downe by the same King, and one only left vnto himselfe at his earnest entreaty. It might therefore appeare, that this God was also spightfull. Neuertheless in taking reuenge vpon those that offended him, *Aratus* did satisfie his own passion by the ayde of these *Macedonians*. For with extreame torments he did put *Aristomachus* to death, vvho had bin once Tyrant of *Argos*; afterwards Generall of the *Achæans*, and from them reuolting vnto *Cleomenes*, did fall at length into their hands. In like sort handled he (though not as yet) the *Mantineans* for their ingratitude and cruelty shewed to the *Achæans*. For he slue all the principall Citizens, and sold the rest, men, women, and children, all for bond-slaues: diuiding the spoile; two parts to the *Macedonians*, and the third to the *Achæans*. The town it selfe was giuen by *Antigonus* to the *Argiues*: who peopled it with a Colony of their own; and *Aratus* hauing charge of this businesse, caused it to be new-named *Antigonia*. Surely of this cruelty there can be no better excuse; than euen the flattery, vvhich *Aratus* vvas driuen to vse *Antigonus*: forasmuch as it was a token of seruility, whereinto they had vrged and brought him; whom he, as in reuenge thereof, did thus requite. But leauing to speake of this change, which the comming in of the *Macedonian* wrought, in the Ciuill state of the *Achæans*; Let vs returne into his warre against the *Lacedemonian*.

The next Summer *Antigonus* wan *Tegea*, *Mantinea*, *Orchomenus*, *Herea*, and *Telphussa*; *Mantinea* he dispeopled, as was said before; in *Orchomenus* he placed a Garrison of his *Macedonians*; the rest he restored to the *Achæans*: with whom he wintered at *Ægium*, where they held a Parliament. Once only *Cleomenes* had met him this yeare; and that was on the borders of *Laconia*, where he lay ready to defend his own Territories. The

reason

reason why he stirred no further, nor followed *Antigonus* to *Mantinea*, & to those other Townes that he wan, vvas this: He had few Souldiers, and had not mony enough to wage more. *Ptolomie* the *Egyptian* promised much, but would performe nothing, vnlesse he might haue *Cleomenes* his own Mother, and his children in pledge. These were sent into *Egypt*, yet the aide came not. For *Ptolomie* vvas slow; as dealing in the businesse of *Greece*, rather for his mindes sake, than vpon any apprehension of necessitie. *Cleomenes* therefore prouided for himselfe, as well as his own ability would serue. He manumised all the *Heilotes*, which vvere the *Lecedæmonian* slaues: taking mony for their liberty, and arming two thousand of them, after the *Macedonian* fashion. Hauing thus increased his forces, he came on the sudden to *Megalopolis*; that lay secure, as hauing defended it selfe in more dangerous times, and hauing now *Antigonus* neere at hand in *Ægium*. The towne he wan: but after he was entred, all that vvere fit to beare Armes, rose hastily against him; and though they could not driue him out, yet saued the multitude, to whom they gaue a Port free for their escape. He sent after the Citizens, offering their Town and goods to them againe, if they would be of his party. But they brauely refused his offer: wherfore he sacked and ruined it, carrying with him to *Sparta* a great bootie that he found therein. These newes astonished the *Achæans*, at *Ægium*: who thereupon brake vp their Parliament. *Antigonus* sent hastily for his *Macedonians*, out of their wintering places: but they were so long in comming, that *Cleomenes* vvas safely gone home. Therefore he returned them backe to their lodgings, and went himselfe to *Argos*, there to passe the rest of his vnlucky winter, somewhat further from the eyes of the grieued *Achæans*. When he had laine a while at *Argos*, *Cleomenes* vvas at the gates; with no great number of men, yet with more than *Antigonus* had then about him. The *Argiues* perceiuing that their Country would be spoiled, if *Antigonus* did not issue into the field; vvere very earnest with him to go forth and fight. But he vvas wiser than to be moued with their clamors; and suffered them to see their villages burnt, to bid him resigne his Office of Protector vnto some that vvere more valiant; and to satisfie their passions with foolish words; rather than he vvould be ouer-come in fight, and thereby lose more honor than could easily be repaired. By this *Cleomenes* had his desire, in weakning the reputation of his enemie: though he therby added neither followers, nor other strength, vnto *Lacedæmon*.

Afterwards, when the season was more fit for war, *Antigonus* gathered together all his troups; meaning to requit these brauado's of his enemy, vvith the conquest of *Sparta*. *Cleomenes* on the other side, laboured to keepe the vvar from his own gates; and therefore entred vpon the Country of *Argos*, where he made such hauocke, as drew *Antigonus* thither, from his intended inuasion of *Laconia*. Many great affronts the *Macedonian* was faine to endure, in coasting of the *Spartan* King; that ranging ouer the Country of the *Argiues*, *Phliasians*, and *Orchomenians*, draue a Garrison of his out of *Oligyrtis*; and did sacrifice, as it were, before his face, in the suburbs of *Argos*, without the Temple of *Iuno*, that was shut vp; sending vnto him in scorne, to borrow the keyes. These were light things; yet serued to dis-hearten the *Achæan* side, and to fill the enemy with courage, which was no matter of light importance. Therefore he concluded to lay apart all other regard of things abroad, and to put all to hazzard; by setting vp his rest, without any more delay, vpon *Sparta* it selfe. He had in his Army eight and twenty thousand foot, and twelue hundred horse, collected out of sundry Nations, as *Macedonians*, *Illyrians*, *Gaules*, *Epirotes*, *Bœotians*, *Acarnanians*, and others; together with the *Achæans*, and their friends of *Peloponnesus*. *Cleomenes* had of all sorts, twentie thousand, vvith which he lay at *Selasia*: fortifying slightly the other passages into *Laconia*, through which the *Macedonians* were not likely to seeke entrance. *Antigonus* comming vnto *Selasia*, found his enemy so strongly incamped, vpon and between the hills of *Eua* and *Olympus*, that he was constrained to spend much time there, before he could aduance any one foot: neither lay it in his power to come hastily to blowes, vvhich he greatly desired, without the hazard of his whole Armie, in assayling their wel-defenced Campe. But at length (as it happens, when men are weariebeth of their hopes and feares) both Kings being resolued to make an end one way or other; *Antigonus* attempted with his *Illyrians*, to force that part which lay on the hill *Eua*. But his *Illyrians* were so ill seconded by the *Achæan* foot, that the *Spartan* horse, and light-armed foote, incamped in the streight vally between those hills, issuing forth, fell vpon their skirts, and not onely disordered them, but were like to haue endangered all the rest. If *Cleomenes* himselfe had stood in that part of the battaile, he would haue made great vse of such a faire beginning. But *Euclydas*, his brother, a more valiant than skilful Souldier, commanded in that wing: who neither followed this aduantage, nor tooke such benefit as the ground affoorded, whereon he lay. *Philopæmen* the *Arcadian* of *Megalopolis* who afterwards prooued a famous Captaine, serued then on horse, as a priuate young man, among the *Achæans*. He seeing that all was like to go to rout, if their *Illyrians* were driuen to fall back vpon the Armie following them; perswaded the Captaines of the *Achæan* horse, to breake vpon the *Spartan* Mercenaries. But they would not: partly despising his youth and want of charge; partly, for that *Antigonus* had giuen order, that they should keepe their places, vntill they receiued a signe from him, which was not as yet. *Philopæmen* perceiuing them to be more orderly, than wel aduised; entreated some of his own Countrimen to follow him; gaue a charge on the *Spartans*; & forced them, not only to leaue the *Illyrians*, but seeke how to saue themselues. Being so far aduanced, he found the place vvhich the *Illyrians* had attempted, like enough to be wonne, through the skilfulnesse of him that held it. Wherefore he allighted, and perswaded the men at Armes his Companions, to do the like: the folly of *Euclydas* being manifest, vvho kept the top of the Hill, and stirred not to hinder those that ascended, but waited for them in a Plaine, where they might fight vpon euen termes. So he recouered the Hill top; where though he was sore hurt, yet he made good the place that he had gotten, vntill the whole Armie came vp to him; by which the *Lacedæmonians* were beaten from it, with great slaughter of them in their descent. This ouerthrow, and death of *Euclydas*, made *Cleomenes* lose the day: vvho fighting brauely on the other side, vpon *Olympus*, against *Antigonus* himself, vvas like to haue bin surrounded and lost, if he had not withdrawn himself vvith an extraordinary speede. In this battaile ended the glory of *Lacedæmon*, vvhich, as a light ready to goe out, had with a great, but not long blaze, shined more brightly of late, than in many ages past.

Cleomenes fled vnto *Sparta*: where he had no desire to stay; finding onely two hundred left, of sixe thousand *Spartans* that he had led vnto this battaile, and most of his hired Souldiers dead, or gone away. So he perswaded his people to yeeld themselues vnto *Antigonus*; and promising to doe all that should at any time lye in his own power, for their good, he hasted away to the Sea-side (where he had shipping long before prouided against all that might happen) & imbarqued himselfe for *Egypt*. He vvas louingly entertained by *Ptolomie Euergetes*; who vndertooke to restore him to his Kingdome, and (perhaps) meant no lesse, as being much delighted with his gallant behauiour and qualities. In the meane season he had a pension allowed him, of foure and twenty Talents, yearely. But this *Ptolomie* died; and his son *Ptolomie Philopater* succeeded him: a vicious young Prince, vvholly gouerned by lewd Women, and base Men, vnmindfull of all vertue, and hating any in vvhom it vvas found. When therfore *Cleomenes* was desirous to returne into *Greece*, whither the troubles in *Peloponnesus*, did seeme to inuite him; *Ptolomie* and his Minions, vvould neither giue him aide; nor yet dared to dismisse him (as he desired) to trie his own friends in *Greece*, because he vvas too vvell acquainted with the weakenesse of *Egypt*: nor well knew how to detaine him against his will. At length they deuised matter against him, and made him prisoner. The last act of him, vvas; that vvith thirty of his Countrimen, he vndertooke a desperate enterprize: breaking out of the prison, and prouoking the *Alexandrians* to rebell and seeke their liberty. In vvhich attempt he slue some enemies of his that he met; and hauing vvalked vp and down the streets without resistance (no man offering to take his part, or, vvhich is very strange, to fight against him on the Kings behalfe) he, and his Companions, agreed together to be ministers of their own death. Vpon his dead body *Ptolomie* vvas bold to shew his indignation: and slue his Mother and Children, that had bin sent thither as Hostages, together vvith the vviues of his Adherents, as many as were there, attending vpon the old Queene. Such vvas the end of *Cleomenes*; a generous Prince, but Son of *Leonidas*, vvho had caused *Agis*, with his Mother and Grandmother, to come to such a bloudy end, as now befell his own Wife, Son, and Grandchildren.

After the victory at *Sellasia*, *Antigonus* without resistance entred *Sparta*: vvherein to neuer the force of any Enemy, before him, could make vvay. He kindly intreated the

the Citizens, and left them to their own Lawes and Gouernment: tarrying there no longer than two or three daies; after which he hastened out of *Peloponnesus*, and neuer returned. The cause of his speedy departure vvas, an aduertisement that he receiued out of *Macedon*; how the *Illyrians* ouer-ran, and destroyed the Countrie. Had these newes come a little sooner; or had *Cleomenes* either deferred the fight, a few daies longer; or at least-wise tarried a few daies after the fight, in *Sparta*: the Kingdome of *Lacedæmon* vvould haue stood, and perhaps haue extended it selfe ouer all *Greece*. But God had otherwise determined.

Antigonus fought a great battaile vvith the *Illyrians*, and ouercame them. Yet therein he caught his bane: not by any vvound, but by ouer strayning his voyce; wherewith he brake a veine that bled inwardly, and in short space finished his life, vvho vvas troubled before vvith a consumption of the lungs. His Kingdome descended vnto *Philip*, the son of *Demetrius*, being then a Boy: as also about the same time it was, that *Antiochus*, surnamed (I know not why) *the Great*; and *Ptolomie Philopater*; began to reigne in *Asia*, and *Egypt*; Boyes all. Of these, *Ptolomie*, though old enough to loue Harlots, when he first was King, yet continued a Boy, all the seuenteen yeares of his reigne. The vnripe age of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, bred such intestine inconuenience to their Kingdomes, as is vsuall in the minoritie of Princes: but their elder yeares brought them acquainted vvith the *Romans*; vpon vvhich occasion, vvhen it comes, vve shall more seasonably speake of them, and of their Kingdomes, more at large.

§. VII.

How the Illyrians infested the coast of Greece; and how they were subdued by the Romanes.

WHilest things thus passed in *Greece*; and whilest the *Carthaginians* were busie in their conquest of *Spaine*: the *Romans* had found themselues work among the *Sardinians* and *Corsicans*, that were easily subdued at first, and easily vanquished again, when they rebelled. They made also war with the *Illyrians*, wherein they got much honour vvith little pain. With the *Gaules* they had much adoe, that lasted not long; being rather, as *Liuie* saith, a tumult than a vvar. So that by all these light exercises their valour was hardly kept from rust. How they got the Ilands in the *Mediterran Sea*; it hath bin shewed before: of their dealings with *Illyrians* and *Gaules*, it is not meete to be vtterly silent. *Liu. l. 21.*

The *Illyrians* inhabited the Country now called *Slauonia*: a troublesome Nation, impatient of rest, and continually making war for gaine, without either regard of friend or foe. They were inuited by *Demetrius* King of *Macedon*, to help the *Mydionians*, his friends, that were besieged by the *Ætolians*; for that they refused to be of their society. Before the *Illyrians* succours came, the *Mydionians* were so far spent, that the *Ætolians* contended about the booty: the old Prætor, or chiefe Magistrate of their Nation, who was going out of his Office, clayming to haue the honour of the victory, and the diuision of the spoyle to be referred vnto him; for that he had in a manner brought the siege to an end, and won the towne: others, that were in hope to be chosen into the Office, contradicting this, and desiring that old orders might be kept. It was a pretie strife, and somewhat like to that of the *French* in later ages, who thought vpon diuiding the prey, before they had vvon the victories, which anon they lost, at *Poitiers* and *Agincourt*. The *Ætolians* wisely compounded the difference, ordering it thus; That the old, & the new Prætor, should be ioyntly intitled in the victorie, and haue equal authority in distribution of the gettings. But the *Illyrians* finished the strife much more elegantly, & after another fashion. They arriued, and landed, ere any was aware of them; they fell vpon the *Ætolians*; and though good resistance was made, yet got the victorie, partly by force of their multitude, partly by the help of the *Mydionians*, that were not idle in their own busines, but stoutly sallied out of the Towne. Many of the *Ætolians* were slaine, more were taken, their Campe and all their baggage was lost: the *Illyrians* tooke the spoyle, & went their way; the *Mydionians* erected a Trophie, inscribing the names, both of their old and new Magistrate (for they also chose new Officers at the same time) as the *Ætolians* had directed them by example.

The successe of this voyage, highly pleased *Agron* King of the *Illyrians*: not onely in

regard

The desert Arabia
Saccæa
Agrei
Saue or Saba from whens the Sabeans spoyled Iob
Alsadamus mons
Palmerina
Syria damasci
Emath or Ituria of Tohu
Hermon
Bathanea
The mountains Sanir
Gessuri regio
Damascus
Machati
MANASSES
Raconitis
Bethsaida desert
Galilee superior
The sea of Galile
NEPTALIM
ZABVLON
ASOR
ISSACHAR
Libanus
Beritus
Sidon
Tyre
THE PHOENICIAN SYRIAN OR MEDITERAN SEA
Cyprus
Arabia the stonie
Agubeni
South
East
West
The country of ye Amonites some time Zuzimins now
Philadelphia
The mountains of Arnon
Mountaines of Arabia ye stonie
Gilead mont
Moabites somtime Emims
Medians
Moab desert
Petra deserti
The dead sea, or ye Asphaltidis
Sodom
Gomorra
Adama
Seboim
Plaines of Iericho
Iericho
Iordan
Iudea
Jerusalem
Enachim
Samaria
EPHRAIM
MANASSES
Amaus
Cariathsepher or Dabir
SIMEON
DAN
MEON
Gaza
Azotus
Ascalon
THE ÆGYPTIAN SEA

reg ard of the mony, wherewith *Demetrius* had hired his assistance; or of the booty that vvas gotten; but for that hauing vanquished the stoutest of the *Greeks*, he found it not vneasie, to enrich himselfe by setting vpon the lesse warlike. For ioy of this he feasted, and dranke so immoderately, that he fell into a *Pleurisie*, which in few dayes ended his life. His Kingdome, together with his great hopes, he left vnto *Teuta*, his wife.

Teuta gaue her people free liberty, to rob all sorts at Sea, making no difference between friend and foe; as if she, had bin sole Mistresse of the salt Waters. She armed a fleet, and sent it into *Greece*: vvilling her Captaines, to make vvarre where they found aduantage, without any further respect. These fell with the westerne coast of
10 *Peloponnesus*; where they inuaded the *Eleans*, and *Messenians*. Afterwards they returned along by *Epirus*, and stayed at the Citie of *Phœnice*, to take in victualles and other necessaries. There lay in *Phœnice* eight hundred *Gaules*; that hauing bin Mercenaries of the *Carthaginians*, went about to betray, first *Agrigentum*, then *Eryx*, to the *Romans*; but failing to doe either, they neuertheleſſe reuolted, and were for their misdeedes disarmed & sent to Sea by the *Romans*, yet entertained by these *Epirots*, and trusted to lye in Garrison within their Towne. The *Gaules* vvere soone growne acquainted vvith the *Illyrians*, to whom they betrayed *Phœnice*; vvhich deserued none other, in trusting them. All *Epirus* vvas presently in armes, and hastned to driue out these vnwelcome guests. But whilest the *Epirots* lay before the Towne, there came newes into their Campe, of another *Illyrian* Armie, that vvas marching thitherward by Land, vnder one *Scerdilaïdas*,
20 whom Queen *Teuta* had sent to help his fellowes. Vpon this aduertisement, a part of them is sent away towards *Antigonia*, to make good that Town, & the streights adioyning, by vvhich these new commers must enter into their Country; another part of them remaines at *Phœnice*, to continue the siege. Neither the one, nor the other, sped vvell in their businesse. For *Scerdilaïdas* found meanes to ioyne vvith his fellowes; and they that vvere besieged within *Phœnice*, sallied out of the towne, and gaue such an ouerthrow to the *Epirots*, as made them despaire of sauing their Country, without great and speedy help from abroad. Wherefore Embassadours were sent to the *Achæans* and *Ætolians*: craua their help, with very pittifull tearmes of entreatie. They obtained their suit;
30 neither was it long, before an Army, sent by these two Nations, was ready in *Epirus*, to present battaile vnto *Scerdilaïdas*. But *Scerdilaïdas* vvas called home, by letters from *Teuta* the Queen, that signified a rebellion of some *Illyrians* against her: so that he had no minde to put his forces to hazzard, but offered composition, vvhich vvas accepted. The agreement vvas, That the *Epirots* might ransome their Towne, and all their people that vvere prisoners; and that the *Illyrians* should quietly depart, vvith all their booty and slaues. Hauing made this profitable and honourable bargaine; the *Illyrians* returned into their own Country by Land, sending their booty away by Sea.

At their comming home, they found no such great trouble, as that which they brought, or had occasioned in this voyage. For in fulfilling the commandement of their Queene,
40 they had taken many *Italian* Merchants, whilest they lay at *Phœnice*; and made them good prize. Hereof the complaints, made vnto the *Roman* Senate, vvere so frequent, that Embassadours were sent to require of *Teuta*, that she should abstaine from doing such iniuries. These Embassadours found her very iolly; both for the riches which her fleet had brought in; and for that she had, in short space, tamed her Rebels, and brought all to good order, saue only the towne *Issa*, vvhich her forces held streightly besieged. Swelling with this prosperity, she could hardly afford a good look to the *Romans*; that found fault with her doings; and calling them by a true name, *Pyracy*, required amends. Yet when their speech vvas ended, she vouchsafed to tell them, That iniury in publike she vvould do them none: as for priuate matters, no account was to be made of them; neither was it the manner of Kings to forbid their Subiects to get commodity, how they
50 best could by Sea. But (said the younger of the two Embassadours) we *Romanes* haue a manner, & a very laudable one, to take reuenge in publicke, of those priuate wrongs that are borne out by publike authority: therfore vve shall teach you, God willing, to reforme your kingly manners, and learne better of vs. These words the Queene tooke so impatiently, that no reuenge could satisfie her, but the death of him that had spoken them. Wherefore, without all regard of the common Law of Nations, she caused him to be slaine: as if that had bin the way, to set her heart at rest; vvhich vvas indeed the meane, to disquiet and afflict it euer after.

The

The *Romans*, prouoked by this outrage, prepare two great Armies; the one by Sea, consisting of two hundred saile, commanded by *C. Fuluius*; the other by Land, led by *A. Posthumus*. They trouble not themselues any more, with requiring satisfaction: for this iniurie is of such nature, as must be required with mortall war. It is indeede contrary to all humane Law, to vse violence towards Embassadours: the reason and ground wherof, seemes to be this; that since vvithout mediation, there would neuer be an end of vvar and destruction, therfore it vvas equally receiued by all Nations, as a lesson taught by Nature, that Embassadours should passe freely, & in safety, between enemies. Neuertheleſſe, as I take it, this generall Law is not without limitation. For if any King or State, lay hold vpon Embassadors sent by their enemies, not vnto themselues, but vnto some third, whom they should draw into the quarrell; then it is as lawfull, to vse violence to those Embassadors (thus employed, to make the war more terrible) as it is to kill the men of war, & subiects of an enemy. And so might the *Athenians* haue answered it, when they slew the *Lacedæmonian* Embassadours, that were sent to *Xerxes*, to draw him into a vvar vpon the *Athenians*. Neither are those Embassadours, vvhich practise against the person of that Prince, in whose Countries they reside, warranted by any Law vvhatsoeuer. For vvhereas the true Office of an Embassadour residing, is the maintenance of amitie; if it be not lawfull for one Prince, to practise against the life of another, much lesse may an Embassadour do it without incurring iustly the same danger of punishment, vvith other Traitors; in which case, his place giues him no priuiledge at all. But we will leaue this dispute to the *Ciuilians*; and go on with the reuenge, taken by the *Romanes*, for the slaughter of their Embassadour *Coruncanus*.

The *Illyrian* Queen vvas secure of the *Romans*, as if they would not dare to stir against her. She vvas indeed in an errour; that hath vndone many of all sorts, greater and lesse than she, both before and since: *Hauing more regard vnto fame, than vnto the substance of things*. The *Greekes* were at that time more famous than the *Romans*; the *Ætolians* and *Epirots* had the name of the most warlike people in *Greece*; these had she easily vanquished, and therefore thought, that with the *Romans* she should be little troubled. Had she considered, that her whole Army, which wrought such wonders in *Greece*, was not much greater, than of ten thousand men; & that neuertheleſſe, it preuailed as much, by oddes of number, as by valour, or skill in armes; she vvould haue continued to vse her aduantage, against those that were of more fame than strength, vvith such good caution, that she should not haue needed to oppose her late-gotten reputation, against those that were more mighty than her selfe. But she vvas a woman, and did what she listed. She sent forth a greater fleet than before, vnder *Demetrius* of *Pharos*; with the like ample commission to take all that could be gotten. This fleet diuided it selfe, & one part of it fell with [a] *Dyrrachium*, the other with *Corcyra*. *Dyrrachium*, vvas almost surprised by the *Illyrians*; yet was it rescued by the stout Citizens. In [b] *Corcyra* the *Illyrians* landed, wasted the Isle, and besieged the Towne. Hereupon the *Ætolians* and *Acheans*, vvere called in to helpe: vvho came, and vvere beaten in a fight at Sea; losing, besides others of lesse note, *Marcus Carynensis*, the first Prætor of *Achaia*, whom *Aratus* succeeded. The Town of *Corcyra*, dismaied vvith this ouerthrow, opened the gates vnto *Demetrius Pharius*; vvho tooke possession of it, with an *Illyrian* Garrison; sending the rest of his forces to besiege *Dyrrachium*. In the meane season, *Teuta* vvas angry with her Captaine *Demetrius*: I know not why; but so, as he resolued to trie any other course, rather than to trust her.

[a] *Dyrrachium*, sometime called *Epidamus*, and now *Durazzo*, seated vpon the *Adriatick* Sea, betweene the Ilands of *Pharos* & *Corcyra*.

[b] *Corcyra*, an Iland of the *Adriatick* Sea, not farre from *Durazzo*: called now *Corfu*, and in the possession of the *Venetians*.

The *Romans* vvere euen ready to put to Sea, though vncertaine which vway to take, when aduertisement was brought to *C. Fuluius* the Consull, of *Demetrius* his feare and discontent. Likely it vvas, that such an occasion might greatly helpe to aduance the businesse in hand. Wherefore the Consull sailed thither; vvhere he found the Town of *Corcyra* so well prepared to his hand by *Demetrius*, that it not only receiued him willingly, but deliuered into his power the *Illyrian* Garrison, and submitted it selfe vnto the *Roman* protection.

After this good beginning, the Consull sailed along the coast, to [c] *Apollonia*; accompanied with *Demetrius*, whom he vsed thenceforth as his counsailer and guide. To *Apollonia* came also *Posthumus*, the other Consull, with the Land-Armie, numbred at twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Thence they hasten towards *Dyrrachium*, which the *Illyrians* had besieged; but vpon newes of the *Roman* Armie, they disperse themselues.

[c] *Apollonia*, a Citie neere *Dyrrachium*, or *Durazzo*, vpon the Sea-coast. *Pinetus* calls it *Sissopolis*.

From

From thence the *Romans* enter *Illyria*, and take *Parthenia*; beat the *Illyrians* by Sea, take twenty of their ships, and enforce the Queene *Teuta* to forsake the coast, and to couer her selfe in *Rison*, far within the Land. In the end, part of the *Romans* haste them homeward, and leaue the best places of *Illyria* in the hands of *Demetrius*; another part staies behinde, and prosecutes the war, in such sort, that *Teuta* was forced to beg peace; which she obtained vpon miserable conditions; to wit, That she should quit the better part of *Illyria*, & pay tribute for the rest; & from thenceforth, neuer send any of her ships of war, towards the coasts of *Greece*, beyond the Iland of *Lissa*: except it were some one or two vessels, vnarmed, and by way of Trade.

After this *Illyrian* war, the *Romanes* sent Embassadours into diuers parts of *Greece*, signifying their loue to the Country, and how, for good will thereunto, they had made war with good successe vpon *Teuta*, and her people. They hoped, belike, that some distressed Cities would take this occasion, to desire their patronage: which if it hapned, they were wise enough to play their own games. But no such matter fell out. The Embassadours were only rewarded with thankes; and a decree made at *Corinth*, That the *Romans* thenceforth might be partakers of the *Isthmian* pastimes. This was an idle courtesie, but well meant by the vaine *Greekes*, & therefore well taken by the *Romans*: who by this *Illyrian* Expedition got nothing in *Greece*, saue a little acquaintance, that shall be more hereafter.

§. VIII.

Of the warre betweene the Romans and Gaules, somewhat before the comming of Hannibal *into Italie.*

THe *Gaules* that dwelt in *Lombardie*, vvere the next, against whom the *Romans* tooke Armes. These were a populous Nation, and often molested *Rome*; sometimes vvith their own forces, and sometimes vvith the assistance of those that inhabited *France*. Once their fortune was good; when they tooke *Rome*, and burnt it: though the issue of that war proued not answerable to the beginning, if we may giue credit vnto *Roman* Historians. In following times, their successe was variable, and commonly bad. Many ouerthrowes they receiued; and if they got any victory, it yeelded them no profit, but was soone extorted out of their hands. They were indeede more fierce, than well aduised: lightly stirred vp to vvar, and lightly giuing ouer. At the first brunt, they were said to be more than men; but when that vvas past, lesse than vvomen. The *Romans* were acquainted with their temper, by long experience, and knew how to handle them: yet gaue alwayes carefull heede to their approach, vvere it only bruited. For the danger of them vvas sudden, and vncertaine; by reason of their neighbourhood and want of intelligence among them. Few of their attempts vpon *Rome*, vvere called warres, but *tumultus Gallici*, *tumults of the Gaules*: and rightly. For they gaue many alarms to *Italie*, and vsed to rise with great Armies: but after a few dayes march, and sometimes before their setting forth, any small occasion serued to disperse them. Hauing receiued an ouerthrow; they would rest ten or twelue yeares, sometimes twenty or thirty: till they were stirred vp again, by younger heads, vnacquainted with the danger. Whilest they rested, the state of *Rome*, that against these made only defensiue vvar, had leisure to grow, by setting vpon others. Herein God prouided well for that Monarchie, which he intended to raise: that the *Gaules* neuer fell vpon *Italie* with a mighty power, in the time of any other great and dangerous war. Had they attempted to conquer it, whilest *Pyrrhus* was trauailing in the same enterprise; or in either of the two former *Punicke* wars: it may be doubted what would haue become of this imperious Citie. But it seemes that the *Gauls* had no better intelligence in the affaires of *Italie*, than strangers had in *Gaule*. At least, they knew not how to vse their times: and were therfore like to smart, whensoeuer the enemies, whom they had much prouoked, and little hurt, should finde leisure to visit them at their own home: which was now after the first *Punike* Warre. Once before this, the *Romans* had bin bold, to set vpon the *Gaules* in their own Country: and that was three yeares before the comming of *Pyrrhus* into *Italie*. At that time the *Senones*, a Tribe of the *Gaules*, inuading *Hetruria*, and besieging *Arretium*, had won a great battaile, and slaine *L. Cæcilius* with the most of his Armie. *Manius Curius* the new Consull, sent Embassadours to them, to treat about ransome of prisoners. But these

Embassa-

Embassadors they sue. Therfore when fortune turned to the better, the *Romans* followed it so well, that they expelled these *Senones* out of their Country, & sent a Colonie of their own to inhabit it. This caused the [e] *Boij*, another people of *Gaule*, to feare the like measure: who thereupon tooke armes, and drew the *Hetrurians* to their side. But the *Romans* ouerthrew them in two great battailes; and thereby made them sue for peace, which lasted vntill this end of the *Illyrian* war.

It vexed the *Gaules*, to see a *Roman* Colony planted in their Country; who had bin accustomed to enlarge their bounds, by driuing out their Neighbours perforce. Wherfore they laboured with the *Transalpines* (so the *Romans* called those in *France*, as lying from them beyond the *Alpes*, though to vs they were neerer; like as they called *Cisalpines*, or *by-hither the Alpes*, those who dwelt between them and the Mountaines) to draw them to their party; reasonably presuming, that as their dis-iunction had caused their losse, so their vnion might recompence it, with large amends. But the businesse was so foolishly carried, that the *Cisalpines* and *Transalpines*, fell together by the eares, putting the *Romans* only to *a tumult*, without further trouble of war. Soone after, they were vrged by a greater indignity, to go more substantially to work. For *C. Flaminius*, a popular man in *Rome*, proposed a Decree which was ratified by the people; That, besides one Colony already planted in the territory of the *Senones*, as many more should be caried thither, as vvould serue to people the whole Country between *Ancona* and *Ariminum*: exterminating veterly those *Gaules*. Such an offer, were it made in *England*, concerning either *Virginia*, or *Guiana* it self, would not ouer-ioy the Multitude. But the Commonalty of *Rome* took this in so good part, notwithstanding all danger ioyned with the benefit, that *Flaminius* had euer after their good will.

This dreadfull President extremely despleased the *Boij*: who being Neighbours to *Ariminum*, feared the like displantation. And because the rest of the *Gaules* had reason to resolue, that themselues also should be rooted out by degrees; the great Nation of the *Insubrians*, which inhabited the Duchy of *Milan*, ioyned with the *Boij*, and vpon a common purse entertained the *Gessates*, Nations about *Rhodanus*, wageable as the *Switzers* in these times. The *Gessates* hauing receiued a great Impreſt, come to the field vnder the conduct of their Kings, *Concolitanus* and *Aneroestus*: who with the *Boij* and *Insubrians*, compound an Armie of fiftie thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, and those of the best men, and best appointed, that euer inuaded the *Roman* Territorie; to whom, the *Senogalli*, that had bin beaten out of their possessions, gaue a great increase of strength. On the contrary side, the *Venetians*, and the [f] *Cenomanni*, adhered to the *Romans*; as better beleeuing in their prosperitie & rising fortune. For feare of vvhose incursions therefore, the *Gaules* were forced to leaue a good part of their Armie, on the frontier of *Milan*: vvith the rest of their forces they entred into *Tuscane*. The *Romans* hearing of this danger, send *Æmilius* to *Rimine*, to stop their passage; and in the place of *C. Atilius* their other Consull, who then was in *Sardinia*, they imploy one of their Prætors, for the defence of *Tuscane*.

Being at this time greatly troubled, vvith the consideration of this powerfull Armie, which the *Gaules* had assembled, they caused a view to be taken, as well of all their owne forces, as of those of their Allies: vvho were no lesse willing than themselues, to oppose the incursions of the barbarous people; fearing, as they had cause, that their own destruction could not be preuented otherwise, than by the good fortune of *Rome*. The numbers, found in this Muster, deserue to be recorded: because they set out the power of the *Romans* in those dayes. With the Consulls they sent forth to the war foure Legions of their own: euery Legion consisting of fiue thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse; and of their Allies, thirtie thousond foot, and two hundred horse. There vvere also appointed for Supplies (if any misaduenture came to these) of the *Sabines* and *Hetrurians* fifty thousand foot, and foure thousand horse; vvhich Armie was to be lodged in the border of *Hetruria*. Of the *Vmbri* and *Sarsinates*, which inhabited the *Apennes*, there were twentie thousand; and of the *Venetians* and *Cenomans*, other twenty thousand: which latter Armies were directed, to inuade the *Boij*, that forcing them to defend their own Territories, the generall Armie of the *Gaules* should be thereby greatly diminished. There were besides these, to be ready against all vncertaine chances of war, thirtie thousand foot, and fifteene hundred horse, garrisond in *Rome* it selfe, of their own people; and of their Allies, thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. Ouer and aboue

[e] There were diuers nations of the *Boii*; as in *Pannonia*, *Illyria*, *Germania*, in *Bourbonois*, in *France*, and in *Aquitane*; but these *Boii* were of the *French* race and dwelt at this time about the mouth of the Riuer of *Po*.

[f] *Cenomanni*, are the people about *Bergamo*, on the Northside of the Riuer *Po* in *Italie*. There were also of these *Cenomanni* in *France*, and inhabited the Countrie of *Main*.

aboue these great troupes; in the Roll of the *Latines*, that was sent vnto the Senate, there were numbred foureſcore thousand foot, and fiue thousand horse; in that of the *Samnites*, seuentie thousand foot, and of horse seuen thousand; in that of the [g] *Iapyges*, & *Messapyges*, fifty thousand foot, and sixteene thousand horse; the *Lucans* sent a list of thirtie thousand foot, and three thousand horse; the [h] *Marsi*, [i] *Marrucini*, [k] *Ferentani*, and the *Vestini*, of twenty thousand foot, and foure thousand horse. The *Romans* had also two Legions in *Sicill*, and about *Tarentum*, containing eight thousand foure hundred foot, & foure hundred horse. So as of the *Romans* and *Campans* ioyntly, reckoning men armed, and fit to beare armes, there were registred two hundred and fifty thousand foot; and of horse, three and twenty thousand: of which, reckoning the *Romans* apart, there were an hundred and fifty thousand foot, and about sixe thousand horse. Casting vp the whole forces of all the Prouinces in *Italie*, both of the *Romans* & their Confederates, it amounted to seuen hundred thousand foote, and seuenty thousand horse. But the number is somwhat misse-cast by *Polybius*; not with a purpose to enrich himself by the dead paies: for where hee reckons nine hundred horse too many, hee fals short nine thousand two hundred of the foot.

How great soeuer this Muster was, it seemes to haue been like vnto that, which *Lodowick Sforza* made, when *Lewis* the twelfth inuaded *Milan*: at what time, the better to encourage himselfe, and his subiects, he tooke a Roll of all persons able to beare armes, within the Duchie, though indeed he were neuer able to bring a tenth part of them into the field. Certaine it is, that the battailes of *Trebia*, *Trasymene*, and *Canna*, did not consume any such proportion, as was answerable to this large accompt. Yet were the *Romans* faine to arme their slaues, euen for want of other Souldiers, after their ouerthrow at *Cannæ*. Wherfore the marvaile is not great, that the *Carthaginians* and others were little terrified, with report of such a multitude. For all heads are not fit for Helmets: though the *Roman* Citizens were, in general, as good fighting men, as elsewhere might be found.

Notwithstanding all these counter-preparations, the *Gaules* keepe on their way: and entring into *Tuscane*, destroy, and put to fire and sword, all that lay before them. From thence they march directly towards *Rome*; hoping to finde the *Romans*, rather in deliberation, than in the field. But their intelligence failes them. For the *Roman* Army, sent into *Tuscane*, hauing taken some other way than they did, and finding that it had missed of them, came againe fast after them, to arrest them in their iourny. Hereof when they heard the rumour, fearing to be charged on their backes, they turned head: and in the time euening discouered the *Roman* Army, by whom they incamped. It was now a matter of apparant necessity, that fight they must. Wherefore they helped themselues with a stratagem: that shewed no great finenesse of vvit, but such, as well beseemed those that had none other occupation than warre; and stood them in good stead at the present. In the dead of the night, they cause their foot to march away, but not farre: leauing their horse in guard; to vvhom they giue order, to come off at the first light of day, with such a speed, as might rather argue a running away, than a retrait, as if they had not dared to abide battaile. The *Romans*, interpreting this their hasty departure, as the *Gaules* desired they should, follow them in disorder. The *Gaules* returne; charge them, and kill sixe thousand vpon the place; the rest take a piece of ground of aduantage, and defend themselues, till *L. Æmilius*, being at *Ariminum*, comes to their succour. Vpon the comming of the Consull, the *Gaules* consult, whether they should giue the *Romans* battaile, or forbeare. In which dispute, *Aneroestus*, one of their Kings, perswades them, rather to returne into their owne Countries; where, after they had disposed of the great spoiles and riches which they had gotten, they should then renew the warre, being without carriage, peſter, or other impediment. This aduice they all embrace; for seeing they that were Mercenaries, had obtained what they came for, to wit, the spoiles of their enemies; they thought it wisedome, to hazzard neither it, nor themselues, any further.

This indeed had been a good resolution, if they had taken it, before the enemy had been in sight. But as well in the warres of these latter ages, as in former times, it hath euer been found extreme dangerous, to make a retrait in the Head of an Enemies Army. For although they that retire, doe often turne head; yet in alwaies going on from the pursuing enemy, they finde within a few miles, either streight, hedge, ditch, or place of disaduantage, which they are inforced to passe in disorder. In such cases, the Souldier knowes

[g] *Iapyges*; and *Messapyges* seeme to bee one Nation & who are also called *Salentines*, *Peucetians*, *Apulians*, & *Calabrians*: The Country is now *Apulia*, containing the Norther most head-land of *Calabria*.

[h] A people of the kingdome of *Naples*.

[i] *Ptolomie* calls them a people of *Italie*.

[k] A people of *Campania*, called to this day *Ferentino*, saith *Leander*.

knowes it, as well as the Captaine, that he which forsakes the field, perceiues, and feares some aduantage of the Enemies. Feare, which is the betrayer of those succours that Reason offereth, when it hath once posset the heart of man; it casteth thence both courage and vnderstanding. They that make the retrait, are alwayes in feare to be abandoned; they that lead the way, feare to be ingaged: and so the hindmost treads on his heels that is foremost, and consequently, all disband, run, & perish, if those that fauour the retrait, be not held to it by men of great courage. The miserable ouerthrow that the *French* receiued in *Naples*, in the yeare 1503. vpon a retrait made by the *Marques of Sal*, doth testifie no lesse. For although a great troupe of *French* horse sustained the pursuing Enemy a long time, and gaue the foot leisure to trot away; yet being retarded by often turnings, the *Spanish* foot ouertooke, and defeated them vtterly. During the wars between the *Imperials*, & the *French*, *Boisi* and *Mont* were lost at *Brignolles*, who in a brauery would needs see the Enemy, before they left the field. So was *Strosi* ouerthrowne by the *Marques of Marignan*, because he could not be perswaded, to dislodge the night before the *Marques* his arriuall. Therefore did the *French* King *Francis* the first, wisely: when without respect of *point of honour*, he dislodged from before *Landersey*, by night; as many other, the most aduised Captaines, (not finding themselues in case to giue battaile) haue done. *Ie ne trouue point* (saith the *Marshall* Monluc) *au fait des armes chose si difficile, qu'une retrait; I finde nothing in the art of warre so difficult, as to make a safe retrait.* A sure rule it is, that there is lesse dishonor to dislodge in the darke, than to be beaten in the light. And here of M. *de la Noüe* giues this iudgement of a dayes retrait, made in *France*, presently before the battaile at *Moncontour*. For (saith he) staying vpon our reputation, in shew, *not to dislodge by night*; vve lost our reputation indeede, by dislodging by day: whereby we were forced to fight vpon our disaduantage, and to our ruine. And yet did that vworthy Gentleman, *Count Lodowick of Nassau*, brother to the late famous *Prince of Orange*, make the retrait at *Moncountour* with so great resolution, as he saued the one half of the *Protestant* Army, then broken and disbanded; of vvhich my selfe was an eye-witnesse; and was one of them that had cause to thanke him for it.

Now the *Gaules*, embracing the safe aduice (as they take it) of one of their Kings; turn their backs to the enemy, and their faces homeward: *Æmilius* followes them, as neer as he can, without ingaging himselfe, attending his aduantage. In the meane while, *C. Atilius* the other Consull, with the Legions of *Sardinia*, lands at *Pisa*; so as the *Gaules*, inclosed between two Armies are forced to fight. They therefore equally strengthen their Rear, and Front. To sustaine *Æmilius*, they appoint the *Gessates*, and the *Milanois*; in the Front, they range the *Piemontois*, and the rest of the *Gaules* inhabiting vpon the Riuer of *Po*. The manner of the fight *Polybius* describeth at large: which was well fought of all hands. But in the end the *Gaules* fell; and so did *Atilius* the Consull: who died in the place, accompanied with the two Kings of the *Gaules*, *Concolitanus* and *Aneroestus*; with forty thousand of their Vassals.

After this fatall ouerthrow, the *Gaules* lost courage; and, ere long, all that they held in *Italie*. For they vvere inuaded the yeare following this ouerthrow, by the new Consuls, *Fuluius* and *Mantius*. The *Romans* knew vvell how to vse their victory: they gaue not ten, twentie, or thirty yeares time, to the *Gaules*, to repaire their forces, as the *Gaules* had done to them. These new Consuls beat the *Boij*; but by reason of the great raines that fell, and the great pestilence that reigned, they were compelled for that present to surcease. In the second yeare, *Furius*, & *Flaminius*, inuade the *Milanois*; and preuaile very far, being strongly assisted by the *Cenomanni* and the *Venetians*. Neuertheless these Consuls were reuoked out of their Prouince, by the Senate of *Rome*, & compelled to resigne their Office: because the *Augures*, or *Soothsayers*, had found, that some token or other of the Birds (in which, and all sorts of their diuination, the *Romans* were extreamely superstitious) had not onely foreshewed little good, vvhen they vvere chosen, but had also nullified the election. *C. Flaminius*, receiuing letters of this reuocation, from the Senate, & being otherwise aduertised of the contents, was not hastie to open them: but first gaue battaile vnto the enemies, vanquished them, and spoiled their Country: then perused the letters, & returning home obtained a triumph, sore against the will of the Senate, and not altogether with good liking of the people, who yet bare him out, for that he sided in faction with the Commonaltie, though a man of great Nobilitie.

This

This was that *Flaminius*, who had propounded the Decree, for diuiding the Countrie of the Senones among the people of Rome. He was the first, or one of the first, that vnderstanding the Maiestie of Rome to be indeed wholly in the people, and no otherwise in the Senate, than by way of Delegacie, or grand Commission; did not stand highly vpon his birth and degree, but courted the multitude, and taught them to know and vse their power, ouer himselfe, and his fellow-Senators, in reforming their disorders. For this, the Commons highly esteemed him, and the Senators as deeply hated him. But he had the surer side, and found imitators, that rose by the same art, vvhich in processe of time, grew the onely or chiefe way to preferment.

Flaminius and his Colleague, being deposed; *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and *Cn. Cornelius Scipio*, were chosen Consuls, for the rest of that yeer. The Gaules about this time desired peace, and were like to haue obtained it: though the new Consuls were against it, as fearing to vvant vvork. But when thirty thousand of the Gessates, following their King *Britomarus*, were come ouer the Alpes, & ioyned with the Insubrians; all other discourse, than of present warre, was at an end. So the Consuls hasted into their Prouince, where they besieged Acerræ, a town not farre from Nouaro (so far had the Romans pierced already in the Duchie of Milan. To diuert them from this siege, *Britomarus* sat down before Clastidium, a towne in the same Tract, with great part of his forces, leauing the rest, with the Insubrians, to attend vpon the Consuls at Acerræ, and to look to the defence of Milan. But this would not suffice, to make the Romans breake vp their siege. *Marcellus*, taking with him the greatest part of the horse, and sixe hundred foot lightly armed, thought to deale well enough with those at Clastidium. *Britomarus* heard of the Consuls comming, and met him vpon the way: so suddenly, that the Romans had no leisure to rest themselues after their iourny, but were compelled instantly to fight: Herein *Britomarus* had done well, if he had not forthwith, in a rash brauery, lost his game at a cast. He had aduantage enough in number, both of horse and foot: but he thought so well of his owne personall valour, that he rode out single before his Armie, prouoking any one to fight with him. *Marcellus* was no lesse daring, than the barbarous king: whether more wise in this action, I will not dispute; he was more fortunate, and that sufficed to commend him. He slue and disarmed *Britomarus*, in presence of both Armies: whereby his owne men tooke such courage, and his enemies were so dismaied, that without much trouble of fight the Romans obtained a great victory.

This was the third and last time, that euer any Roman Generall slue the Generall of the enemies, vvith his owne hand. To this kinde of victory, belonged a peculiar triumph, whereof onely *Romulus*, *Cossus*, and this *Marcellus*, had the honour: yet I dare say, that the two *Scipio's*, and diuers other Roman Captaines, especially *Cæsar*, were better men of vvarre than any of these three, though they neuer offered vp to *Iupiter*, *Opima spolia*, *The Armour of a Generall slaine by themselues, when they were Generall*, nor perhaps affected so to doe.

After this victory, Acerræ was yeelded to the Romans; & Milan soone after: vvith all that belonged to the Cisalpines, or Gaules, that dwelt in Lumbardie. This was that valiant and mighty Nation, that had so many yeers vexed the State of Rome, and in former times taken the Citie it selfe, brought to nothing in a short time; their pleasant and fertile Territorie posset by the Romans; and the remainder of their Nation, inhabiting Italie, so many as vvould not subiect their necks to the Roman yoke, either forced to abandon their Countries, or to hide themselues in the cold and barren Mountaines, like Outlawes and Theeues. And thus did the Romans spend the three and twentie yeers, following the peace made with Carthage. In part of which time, they were at such leisure, that they closed vp the Temple of *Ianus*: which they neuer did before, (it standing alwayes open, when they had any vvarre) saue once, in the reigne of *Numa*, nor in long time after, vntill the reigne of *Augustus*. But this their present happinesse was not to last long; a dangerous warre, and perhaps the greatest that had euer been, vvas to come vnto their gates, which being vvell ended, they might boldly vndertake, to extend their Monarchie as far, as their ambition could reach.

SEE CHAP.

Chap. III.

Of the second Punick Warre.

§. 1.

The Warres of Hannibal *in Spaine. Quarrels betweene the Romans and Carthaginians.* Hannibal *besieget h and taketh Saguntum, whilest the Romans are busied with the Illyrians. Warre proclaimed between Rome and Carthage.*

Hannibal, the sonne of *Amilcar*, was about sixe and twenty yeers old, when he was chosen Generall of the Carthaginian forces in Spain. He was elected by the Armie, as soone as *Asdrubal* was dead: and the election was ratified by the State of Carthage; wherewith *Hanno* and his Complices were nothing pleased. This was now the third of the Barchine family (so called of *Amilcar*, whose surname was *Barcas*) that had command in chiefe, ouer the men of warre. Which honour would perhaps haue beene lesse enuied, by these domesticall enemies; if the Allies and Friends of the Barchine house, had not also borne the whole sway in gouernment, and been the onely men regarded, both by the Senate and the people. This generall good will, as it was first purchased by the most worthy deserts of *Amilcar*, in sauing his Countrie from imminent ruine, inlarging the Dominion thereof, and inriching it with treasures and great reuenues; so was it retained by the same good arts, among his friends and followers. *Hanno* therefore, and his Partisans, being neither able to taxe the vertue of their enemies, that was vnreproueable; nor to performe the like seruices vnto the Common-weale; had nothing left, whereby to value themselues, excepting the generall reprehension of Warre, and cautelous aduice of not prouoking the Romans. This they seasoned other-whiles with detraction; saying, that the Barchine faction went about to oppresse the libertie of the Citie. But their malicious words were vnregarded; and if it were factious, to beare ill will to Rome, then were all the Citizens (very few excepted) no lesse Barchine, than *Hannibal* himselfe. For it was long since apparant, that the oath of the Romans, to the articles of peace, afforded no securitie to Carthage, were she neuer so quiet, and officious; vnlesse she would yeeld to become their Subiect. Since therfore the peace was like to hold no longer, than vntill the Romans could finde some good aduantage, to renew the vvarre: it was rather desired by the Carthaginians, that whilest their owne state was in good case, the vvarre should begin; than that in some vnhappy time of famine or pestilence, or after some great losse of Armie or Fleet, they should be driuen to yeeld vnto the impudent demands of their enemies; and to giue away basely their lands and treasures, as they had lately done; or miserably fight, vpon tearmes of disaduantage.

This disposition of his countrimen, *Hannibal* well vnderstood. Neither was he ignorant (for his father, and other friends, had long time deuised of this businesse) that in making war with the Romans, it was no small aduantage to get the statt of them. If once he could bring an Armie into Italie, without molestation; there was good hope, that he should finde friends and assistance, euen of those people, that helped to increase the Roman armies in forreigne wars. But this could neuer be effected, if the matter vvere openly disputed at Carthage. For it was to be doubted, that the Carthaginians, how glad soeuer they would be, to hear that he had set the vvar on foot, would neuertheless be slow and timorous, as commonly men are in the beginning of great enterprises, if the matter were referrred to their deliberation. Which if it should happen; then were the Romans like to be made acquainted, not onely with the generalities of his purpose, but with such particulars as must be discourse d of, in procuring allowance to his designe. This might suffice to disorder the whole Proiect. Wherefore, he resolued to lay siege vnto Saguntum, which might seeme not greatly to concerne the Romans, and would highly please the Carthaginians, that had fresh in minde the indignitie of that Spanish Towns alliance with their halfe friends. So should he assaie both the patience of his enemies, and the disposition of his owne Citizens.

Hauing

Hauing thus concluded, he neuertheless went faire and orderly to worke: and beginning with those that lay next in his way, approaching vnto Saguntum by degrees. This he did (saith *Liuie*) to giue some colour to his proceedings: as if he had not principally intended the warre against Saguntum, but had been drawne thither by course of businesse. Yet reason teacheth plainly, that without regard of such formalities, it was needfull to finish the conquest of the rest, before he did any thing that should prouoke the Romans. First therefore he entred vpon the Territorie of the * Olcades; and hauing besieged Althæa (*Liuie* calleth it Carteia) their chiefe Citie, he became, in a few dayes, Master, not onely therof, but of all the other townes of their Countrie. This Nation which he first vndertooke, being subdued, and the winter at hand; he rested his Armie in New Carthage, or Carthagena; and imparted liberally to the Souldiers, the spoiles he had gotten in his late conquest.

In the Spring following, he pursued the warre against the [a] Vaccæi: and without any great difficultie, wan first Salmantica, now called Salamanca; and after it, [b] Arbucala, by assault: though not without a long siege, and great difficulty. But in his returne, he was put to the height, both of his courage, and of his Martiall iudgement. For all such of the Vaccæi, as were able to beare armes, being made desperate, by the spoile of their country, with those of Salamanca, and of the Olcades, that had escaped in the late ouerthrow, ioyning themselues with the Tolerans; compounded an Armie of an hundred thousand able men: and stayed *Hannibal* on the bankes of the Riuer Tagus, which runneth to the Sea by Lisborne in Portugale. These foure Nations, hauing had experience of *Hannibals* inuincible courage, and that he neuer saw enemy, vpon whom he durst not giue charge; were throughly resolued; that his naturall valour would at this time no lesse neglect the cold aduise of discretion, than at other times it had seemed to doe, when the like great occasion perswaded him to vse it. But he that makes himselfe a body of Chrystall, that all men may look through him, and discerne all the parts of his disposition; makes himselfe (withall) an Asse: and thereby teacheth others, either how to ride, or driue him. Wise men, though they haue single hearts in all that is iust and vertuous; yet they are like Coffers with double bottomes: which when others looke into, being opened, they see not all that they hold, on the sudden, and at once. It is true, that this subtile Carthaginian, when he serued vnder *Asdrubal*, was, of all the men of marke in the Armie, the most aduenturous. But that which may beseeme a Captaine, or inferiour Commander, doth not alwaies become a Chiefe; though it hath sometime succeeded well with such great ones, as haue beene found more fortunate, than vvise. At this time, our great Man of warre knew as well how to dissemble his courage, as at other times to make it good. For he vvith-drew himselfe from the Riuer-side, as if fearefull to foord it; thereby to draw ouer that great multitude, from their bankes of aduantage. The Spaniards, apprehending this in such sort, as *Hannibal* desired that they should; thrust themselues in furie and disorder, into the swift streame, with a purpose to charge the Carthaginians, abandoning (as they thought for feare) the defences on the contrary side. But when *Hannibal* saw them in their vway, and vvell neare ouer; he turned backe his Elephants to entertaine them at their landing: and thrust his Horse-men, both aboue and beneath them, into the Riuer. These carrying a kinde of *Lance de gay*, sharpe at both ends, which they held in the middest of the staffe; had such an aduantage ouer the foot, that were in the Riuer, vnder their strokes, clattered together, and vnable to moue or shift their bodies, as on firme ground; that they slue all those, (in a manner) without resistance, vvhich vvere already entred into the vvater; and pursued the rest, that fled like men amazed, with so great a slaughter, as from that day forward, there was not any Spaniard, on that side the Riuer of Iberus, (the Saguntines excepted) that had the daring to lift vp their hands against the Carthaginians.

The Saguntines, perceiuing the danger towards them; cryed before they were hurt. They sent Embassadours to Rome, and bemoaned themselues, as likely to suffer that, which afterwards they suffered indeed; onely because of their alliance and friendship with this honourable Citie, which the Carthaginians hated. This tale moued the Senate, but much more a report, that Saguntum was aleady besieged. Hereupon some cry out, that Warre should be proclaimed by Land and Sea; as also that the two Consuls should be sent with Armies, the one into Spaine, the other into Africk. But others went more

* A people (saith *Stephanus*) neere the Riuer of Ebro. But in the old description of Spain, in *Ortelius*, they are found neere Tagus, and by *Suidas*, not far from New Carthage.

[a] A people of Castile the old.

[b] Arbucala, or Albricala, an inland Citie of the Vaccæi in Aragon.

more Roman-like to worke, and carried it. So it was onely concluded, that Embassadours should be sent into Spaine, to view the state of their Confederates: which were indeed none other, than the Saguntines. For if *Hannibal* intended warre against Rome, it was likely, that he would giue them, ere it were long, a more plausible occasion to take armes against him: if he had no such purpose, yet would it be in their power, to determine what they listed themselues, vpon the report of these Embassadours; and this their gratuity, in being not too rash at first, would serue to countenance their following Decree. Of these Embassadours *Liuie* reports, that they found *Hannibal* before Saguntum, but could not get audience of him, and therefore went to Carthage, where also they were not regarded, nor heard. But *Polybius* an Historian of sinceritie lesse questionable, tels, that they found him at Carthagena, & had conference with him, though such as left them doubtfull. This is more agreeable to the rest of *Hannibal* his whole course. And surely we might wonder, why the Carthaginians should afterwards admit a more peremptorie Embassage (as *Liuie* confesseth) & fall to disputation about the couenants of peace, if they had reiected that which was sent vpon none other pretence, than prouidence of warre.

Whilest the Embassadours passed to and fro, *Hannibal* prepared not onely his forces, but some Romane pretences, against Saguntum. He found out Mamertines, or people that should doe as the Mamertines in Sicil had done for the Romans; and implore his help against the Saguntines. These were the Turdetani; a Nation adioyning to Saguntum, & hauing many quarrels with them: (as happens commonly among Neighbors) of which, *Hannibal* himselfe had hatched some. Finding therefore such an occasion, whatsoeuer it was, as made him able to say, that the Saguntines had first prouoked him, ere he meddled with them, he made no more adoe, but sat down with his whole power before their Towne. He was now more secure, than he had formerly been, of his owne Citizens: for that they had not entertained the Roman Embassadors, with any trembling reuerence, as of late yeers they had been wont. Neuertheless, hee was glad of any handsome colour, to shadow his actions, not onely because the war, which he so much desired, was not proclaimed; but that he might not be checked in his course, as an open enemy, before he could set foot in Italie. The Romans had the like, though contrary desire. They were glad of the quarrell: as hoping, that Carthage, with all thereto belonging, should thereby in short space become their owne. Yet vvere they not hastie to threaten, before they were ready to strike; but meant to temporize, vntill they had an Armie in readinesse to be sent into Spaine, vvhere they thought to make Saguntum, the seate of the Warre.

In the meane while, *Demetrius Pharius*, whom the Romans had made King ouer a great part of Illyria, rebelled against them: either for that he found himself ouer-streightly tyed vp by them, with hard conditions, or rather because he was of an vnthankefull disposition. The commotion of the Gaules, and afterward, the fame of the Carthaginian warre, emboldened him to despise his Benefactors and Patrons: whom he ought to haue defended and aided, in all perils, euen with the hazard of his whole estate, which he had receiued of their gift. But he was a Traitor to his own Queene; and therefore dealt according to his kinde, with those that had rewarded him for being such. First, he built ships, & spoiled the Iles of Greece; against the couenants to which he was bound. Then he aduentured further, & seised vpon some places, that the Romans kept in their owne hands. If he had begun sooner, or rather if he had stayed somewhat longer, he might haue spedde better. For the businesse with the Gaules, was ended; with *Hannibal*, not throughly begun: when he declared himselfe, by his doings, an enemy, and was vanquished. The Roman Consul, *Æmilius*, was sent against him: who in seuen dayes wan the strong towne of Dimalum; and thereby brought such terrour vpon the Countrie round about, that Embassadours were sent from all places, to yeeld themselues, without putting him to further paines. Onely the Citie of Pharus, in which *Demetrius* lay, prepared to resist: which he might haue done long, if the hot-headed Rebell had not been too foolish. *Æmilius* landed a great part of his Armie, in the Isle of Pharus, by night; and bestowed them in couert, presenting himselfe the next morning, with twenty ships before the towne, and offering to force the Hauen. *Demetrius* with all his power issued out against the Consul, & was soone intercluded from the town, by those that lay in ambush. Wherfore he fled away through by-paths to a creeke, where he had shipping ready

ready for him, and imbarqued himselfe: leauing all his estate vnto them, of whose liberality he first had it.

This businesse, though it were soone dispatched, yet preuented it not the siege of Saguntum; before which *Hannibal* sate downe, ere *Æmilius* was landed in Illyria. In the beginning of the siege, the Carthaginians were much discouraged, by reason of the braue sallies made by the Saguntines; in one of which, their Generall receiued a dangerous wound in the thigh, that caused him to lie many dayes vnable to moue. Neuertheless he was not vnmindfull of his worke in the meane while; but gaue order to raise certaine moueable Towers, that might equall those which were built on the wals of the Citie; and to prepare to batter the curtaines, and make a breach. These being finished and applied, had soone wrought their effect. A great and large breach was made, by the fall of diuers Towers, and a great length of wall; whereat an hot assault was giuen: but it was so well sustained by the Saguntines, as the Carthaginians were not onely beaten from the breach, and out of some ground within the Towne, which vpon the first furie they had won; but they were pursued euen to their owne trenches and campe. Neuertheless the Carthaginian Armie, wherein were about an hundred and fiftie thousand men, did so vvearie the townesmen with continuall trauaile, that at length it got within the wals; and was onely hindred from taking full possession of the Citie, by some counter-works of the Saguntines, that were also ready to be won. In this extremity, there was one *Alcon* a Saguntine, that conueyed himselfe out of the towne, to treat with *Hannibal* for some accord. But the conditions vvhich the Carthaginian offered, vvere so seuere, & without all compasse of honour, as *Alcon* durst not returne to propound them to his countrimen. For *Hannibal* demanded all that they had, gold, siluer, plate, and other riches within the citie: yea, the citie it selfe to be abandoned by the citizens; promising, that he would assigne some other place for their habitation: not allowing them, to carry out vvith them any other thing, vvherewith to sustaine themselues, than the cloathes on their backes; or other armes, to defend them, than their nailes and teeth. Yet might they farre better haue submitted themselues vnto this miserable appointment, (seeing thereby they might haue inioyed their liues, and saued the honour of their wiues and daughters) than to haue rested at the discretion of the Conquerour, as soone after they did: by whom their vviues and daughters were deflowred before their own faces; and all put to sword, that were aboue fourteen yeers of age. For it vvas a poore comfort, vvhich a great number of them tooke; vvhen not daring to fight, and sell their bloud at the dearest rate, they shut themselues vp like most wretched creatures in their owne houses, and therein burnt themselues vvith all that they had: so dying vnreuenged. The treasures found in Saguntum, which were very great, *Hannibal* kept, therwith to pay his Armie: the slaues, and other bootie, he diuided among his Souldiers, reseruing some things of choice, vvherewith to present his friends at Carthage, and to animate them vnto the Warre.

These tidings exceedingly vexed the Romans, who had good cause to be angry at their own slownesse, in forbearing to send helpe vnto the Saguntines, that held out eight moneths, looking still for succour, but in vaine. Wherefore they determined to repaire their honour, by taking sharpe reuenge. To this end they sent Embassadours againe to Carthage: demanding onely, *whether it were by generall consent and allowance of the* Carthaginians, *that Hannibal had made warre vpon* Saguntum: which if they granted (as it seemed they would) then to giue them defiance. Hereunto answere was made, in the Senate of Carthage, to this effect; That this their second Embassage, howsoeuer qualified with milde words, vvas indeed more insolent than the former. For in that, they onely required iustice against *Hannibal*, but in this, the very State and Commonwealth of Carthage, was vrged to plead guilty, or not guilty. But (said the Carthaginian speaker) whether the Generall of our Armie in Spain, in besieging Saguntum, haue only followed his owne counsaile; or vvhether he did it, by direction from vs: it is not the question which the Romans ought to aske vs. That which is indeed worthy examination or dispute, is; *whether it were lawfull or vnlawfull, for* Hannibal *to doe as he hath done.* For it belongs to vs, to call our own Commanders in question, and to punish them according to their faults and errors; to you, to challenge vs, if we haue done any thing contrary to our late League and contract. It is true, that in our negotiation with *Lutatius* the Consull, the Allies of both Nations were comprehended: but the Saguntines were not

not then of your Allies, and therefore no parties to the peace then made; for of your Allies in the future, or of ours, there was no dispute. As touching the last agreement, between you and *Asdrubal*, wherein you will say, that the Saguntines vvere comprehended by name; it is you that haue taught vs, how to answer that particular. For vvhatsoeuer you found in the Treatie between vs and *Lucatius*, to your owne disaduantage, you cast it vpon your Consuls presumption; as promising those things, for which he had no warrant from the Senate and People of Rome. If then it be lawfull for the Romans, to disanow the actions of their Consuls and Commanders, concluding any thing without punctuall and precise vvarrant; the same liberty may vve also assume, and hold our selues no way bound in honour, to performe those bargaines, which *Asdrubal* hath made for vs, without our commandement and consent. 10

This vvas an impertinent answer, and little better than a meere cauill. For *Lucatius* the Consul, in his Treatie of peace with the Carthaginians, had expresly referred the allowance thereof to the people of Rome. It had been therefore much better, to haue dealt plainely; and to haue alleadged, That after this League was made, and confirmed on both parts, it was broken by the Romans, in robbing the Carthaginians of the Isle of Sardinia, and vvithall of twelue hundred talents: vvhich periurie the State of Carthage, being now growne able, vvould reuenge vvith open vvar. As for the Saguntines, it little skilled that the Romans had admitted them into confederacie, and forthwith inserted their names into the Treatie of peace vvith *Asdrubal*: seeing that the Treatie vvith *Asdrubal*, and all other businesse between Rome aud Carthage, following the violence and breach of peace, in taking away Sardinia, vvere no better than Roman iniuries, as implying this commination, *Doe whatsoeuer we require, else will we make warre, without regard of our oath, which we haue already broken.* 20

But this the Carthaginians did not alledge, forgetting, in heat of contention (as *Polybius* takes it) the best of their Plea. Yet since *Liuie* himselfe doth remember and acknowledge, that the taking of Sardinia from the Carthaginians, did inflame the spirit of *Amilcar* vvith desire of reuenge: vve may resonably thinke, that the mention of this iniurie vvas omitted, not so much vpon forgetfulnesse, as for that it was not thought conuenient, by ripping vp such ancient matter of quarrell, to shew that the vvar, now towards, had long been thought vpon, aud like to be made vvith extraordinary force; in other manner than heretofore. In conclusion, the Carthaginian Senate moued the Roman Embassadors, to deliuer vnto them in plain termes the purposes of those that sent them, and the worst of that, vvhich they had long determined against them: as for the Saguntines, and the confining of their Armies within *Iberus*; those were but their pretences. Whereupon *Q. Fabius* gathering vp the skirt of his Gowne, as if somewhat had beene laid in the hollow thereof, made this short reply: I haue here (quoth he) in my Gowne-skirt both Peace and War: make you (my Masters of the Senate) election of these two, which of them you like best, & purpose to imbrace. Hereat all cryed out at once; Euen which of them you your selfe haue a fancy to offer vs. Marry then (quoth *Fabius*) take the Warre, and share it among you. Which all the assembly vvillingly accepted. 30 40

This was plaine dealing. To wrangle about pretences, when each part had resolued to make warre, it was meerely friuolous. For all these disputes of breach of peace, haue euer bin maintained by the partie vnwilling, or vnable to sustaine the warre. The rustie sword, and the emptie purse, doe alwaies plead performance of couenants. There haue been few Kings or States in the World, that haue otherwise vnderstood the obligation of a Treatie, than with the condition of their owne aduantage: and commonly (seeing peace between ambitious Princes and States, is but a kinde of breathing) the best aduised haue rather begun vvith the sword, than with the trumpet. So dealt the Arragonois with the French in Naples; *Henry* the second of France, with the Imperials, when he wrote to *Brisac*, to surprise as many places as he could, ere the war brake out; *Don Iohn*, vvith the Netherlands, and *Philip* the second of Spaine, vvith the English, when in the great Imbarge he tooke all our ships and goods in his Ports. 50

But *Hannibal*, besides the present strength of Carthage, and the common feeling of iniuries receiued from these enemies, had another priuate and hereditatie desire, that violently carried him against the Romans. His father *Amilcar*, at what time he did sacrifice being ready to take his iourney into Spaine, had solemnly bound him by oath, to pursue them with immortall hatred, and to worke them all possible mischiefe, as soone as he

he should be a man, and able. *Hannibal* was then about nine yeeres old, when his father caused him to lay his hand vpon the Altar, and make this vow: so that it was no maruel, if the impression were strong in him.

That it is inhumane, to bequeath hatred in this sort, as it were by Legacy, it cannot be denyed. Yet for mine owne part, I doe not much doubt, but that some of those Kings, with whom we are now in peace, haue receiued the like charge from their Predecessors, that as soone as their coffers shall be full, they shall declare themselues enemies to the people of England.

10

§. II.

Hannibal *takes order for the defence of Spaine, and Africk. His iourney into Italy.*

WArre being thus proclaimed, *Hannibal* resolued, not to put vp his sword, which he had drawne against the Saguntines, vntill he had therewith opened his passage vnto the gates of Rome. So began the second Punicke Warre; second to none, that euer the Senate and people of Rome sustained. *Hannibal* wintred at Carthagena; where he licensed his Spanish Souldiers to visit their friends, and refresh themselues against the Spring. In the meane while he gaue instructions to his brother *Asdrubal*, for the gouernment of Spaine in his absence. He also tooke order, to send a great many troopes of Spaniards into Africke, to equall the numbers of Africans formerly drawne thence into Spaine; to the end, that so the one Nation might remaine as pledges and gages for the other: Of the Spaniards, he transported into Africk thirteene thousand, eight hundred and fiftie foot, and twelue hundred horse; also eight hundred slingers of the * *Baleares*. Besides these, he selected foure thousand foot, all young men, and of qualitie, out of the best Cities of Spaine; which he appointed to be garrisond in Carthage it selfe, not so much in regard of their forces, as that they might serue for hostages: for among those foure thousand, the best of the Spanish Citizens, and those that swayed most in their seuerall States, had their Sonnes or Kinsmen. He also left with his brother, to guard the coast and Ports, fiftie and seuen Gallies; whereof thirty seuen were presently armed, and appointed for the warre. Of Africans and other Nations strangers, he left with him aboue twelue thousand foote, and two thousand horse, besides one and twenty Elephants. * *Maiorca, & Minorca.*

Hauing in this sort taken order for the defence of Spaine and Africk, he sent Discouerers before him, to view the Passages of the Pyrenæan Mountaines, and of the Alpes. He also sent Embassadors to the Mountainers of the Pyrenes, and to the Gauls, to obtain a quiet passage: that he might bring his Armie entire into Italy, and not bee compelled to diminish his forces, by any warre in the way, till hee came to encounter the Romans. His Embassadors and discouerers being returned with good satisfaction; in the beginning of the Spring, he past ouer the Riuer of Iberus, with an Armie consisting of foure-score and ten thousand foot, and twelue thousand horse. All those parts of Spaine, into which he had not entred before, he now subdued: and appointed *Hanno* (not that old enemie of his house, who sate still at Carthage) to gouern Spaine on the East side of Iberus; to whom he left an Army of ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Being arriued at the borders of Spaine, some of his Spanish Souldiers returned home, without asking leaue: which that others might not also doe, or attempt, he courteously dismissed many more, that seemed willing to be gone. Hereby it came to passe, that the iourney seemed the lesse tedious vnto those that accompanied him; as beeing not enforced by compulsion. With the rest of his Armie, consisting now but of fiftie thousand foot, & nine thousand horse, he past the Pyrenes, & entred into Gaule. He found the Gauls that bordered vpon Spaine, ready in Armes, to forbid his entrance into their Countrey: but won them, with gentle speech, and rich presents that hee bestowed vpon their Leaders, to fauour his Expedition. So without any molestation, he came to the banke of Rhodanus; where dwelt, on each side of the Riuer, a people called *Volcæ*. These were vnacquainted with the cause of his comming; and therefore sought to keepe him from passing ouer the water. But he was greatly assisted by some of those Gaules, that inhabited on the West side of Rhodanus; to wit, by those of Viuaretz and Lionnois. For although many of them had transported themselues and their goods, into the Countrie of Dauphine,

not then of your Allies, and therefore no parties to the peace then made; for of your Allies in the future, or of ours, there was no dispute. As touching the last agreement, between you and *Asdrubal*, wherein you will say, that the Saguntines vvere comprehended by name; it is you that haue taught vs, how to answer that particular. For vvhatsoeuer you found in the Treatie between vs and *Lutatius*, to your owne disaduantage, you cast it vpon your Consuls presumption; as promising those things, for which he had no warrant from the Senate and People of Rome. If then it be lawfull for the Romans, to disauow the actions of their Consuls and Commanders, concluding any thing without punctuall and precise vvarrant; the same liberty may vve also assume, and hold our selues no way bound in honour, to performe those bargaines, which *Asdrubal* hath made for vs, without our commandement and consent.

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§. II.

Hannibal *takes order for the defence of Spaine, and Africk. His iourney into Italy.*

WArre being thus proclaimed, *Hannibal* resolued, not to put vp his sword, which he had drawne against the Saguntines, vntill he had therewith opened his passage vnto the gates of Rome. So began the second Punicke Warre; second to none, that euer the Senate and people of Rome sustained. *Hannibal* wintred at Carthagena; where he licensed his Spanish Souldiers to visit their friends, and refresh themselues against the Spring. In the meane while he gaue instructions to his brother *Asdrubal*, for the gouernment of Spaine in his absence. He also tooke order, to send a great many troopes of Spaniards into Africke, to equall the numbers of Africans formerly drawne thence into Spaine; to the end, that so the one Nation might remaine as pledges and gages for the other: Of the Spaniards, he transported into Africk thirteene thousand, eight hundred and fiftie foot, and twelue hundred horse; also eight hundred slingers of the * *Baleares*. Besides these, he selected foure thousand foot, all young men, and of qualitie, out of the best Cities of Spaine; which he appointed to be garrisond in Carthage it selfe, not so much in regard of their forces, as that they might serue for hostages: for among those foure thousand, the best of the Spanish Citizens, and those that swayed most in their seuerall States, had their Sonnes or Kinsmen. He also left with his brother, to guard the coast and Ports, fiftie and seuen Gallies; whereof thirty seuen were presently armed, and appointed for the warre. Of Africans and other Nations strangers, he left with him aboue twelue thousand foote, and two thousand horse, besides one and twenty Elephants.

* *Maiorca, & Minorca.*

Hauing in this sort taken order for the defence of Spaine and Africk, he sent Discouerers before him, to view the Passages of the Pyrenæan Mountaines, and of the Alpes. He also sent Embassadors to the Mountainers of the Pyrenes, and to the Gauls, to obtain a quiet passage: that he might bring his Armie entire into Italy, and not bee compelled to diminish his forces, by any warre in the way, till hee came to encounter the Romans. His Embassadors and discouerers being returned with good satisfaction; in the beginning of the Spring, he past ouer the Riuer of Iberus, with an Armie consisting of foure-score and ten thousand foot, and twelue thousand horse. All those parts of Spaine, into which he had not entred before, he now subdued: and appointed *Hanno* (not that old enemie of his house, who sate still at Carthage) to gouern Spaine on the East side of Iberus; to whom he left an Army of ten thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Being arriued at the borders of Spaine, some of his Spanish Souldiers returned home, without asking leaue: which that others might not also doe, or attempt, he courteously dismissed many more, that seemed willing to be gone. Hereby it came to passe, that the iourney seemed the lesse tedious vnto those that accompanied him; as beeing not enforced by compulsion. With the rest of his Armie, consisting now but of fiftie thousand foot, & nine thousand horse, he past the Pyrenes, & entred into Gaule. He found the Gauls that bordered vpon Spaine, ready in Armes, to forbid his entrance into their Countrey: but won them, with gentle speech, and rich presents that hee bestowed vpon their Leaders, to fauour his Expedition. So without any molestation, he came to the banke of Rhodanus; where dwelt, on each side of the Riuer, a people called *Volcæ*. These were vnacquainted with the cause of his comming; and therefore sought to keepe him from passing ouer the water. But he was greatly assisted by some of those Gaules, that inhabited on the West side of Rhodanus, to wit, by those of Viuaretz and Lionnois. For although many of them had transported themselues and their goods, into the Countrie of Dauphine,

phine, thinking to defend the further banke against him : yet such as remained, being very desirous to free their Countrie of so many ill guests, were better pleased to haue their Countrie-men well beaten, which had abandoned them, than to haue their owne store of corne and cattell wasted, by the long stay of so great an Army, as lay vpon them. For which reason, they helped him to make boates; informed him of another more easie passage, higher vp the Riuer : and lent him guides. When the Vessels for transportation of his Armie were in readinesse; he sent *Hanno*, the sonne of *Bomilcar*, vp the Riuer : himselfe in the meane while making countenance to enter the Foord below. The end of this labour, was: that *Hanno* charging the Gaules vnawares vpon their owne side, and *Hannibal*, at the same time, passing the Riuer in their faces, the further banke was wonne, though with some difficultie; and the enemies dispersed. Yet was he greatly troubled in conueying ouer his Elephants; who maruellously feared the water. Hee was therefore driuen to make raffes of trees, and couer them with earth and Turfe; whereof he fastened one to each banke, that might serue as a bridge, to and from another of the same sort, but loose, vpon which the beasts were towed ouer.

Hauing past this first brunt, and ouer-come both the rage of the Riuer, and of those that defend it, he was visited by the Princes of the Gaules Cisalpines, that inhabited Piemont and Milan, who lately had reuolted from the Romans. These informed him of the passages of the Alpes, that they were not so difficult, as common report made them; and from these he receiued guides, with many other encouragements. All which notwithstanding, he found himselfe extreamely incombred by the Sauoians : and lost, both of his carriages, and of his Carthaginians, more than willingly he would, or had formerly thought that he should. For he was twice mainely assailed by them, before he could recouer the plaine Countries on the other side. And whereas this iourney ouer the Mountaines cost him sifteene dayes trauaile, hee was euery day, more or lesse, not onely charged by those Mountainers, but withall extreamely beaten with grieuous weather and snow : it being the beginning of Winter, when hee began, and ouer-came this passage. But the faire and fertile Plaines, which were now ready to receiue them; with the assistance and conduct of the Cisalpine Gaules, who by their proper forces had so often inuaded the Roman Territorie; gaue them great comfort and encouragement to goe on : hauing nothing else of difficultie remaining, but that which from the beginning they made accompt to ouer-come, by their proper valour and resolution, namely the Roman Armies, and resistance.

§. III.

How the Romans in vaine sollicited the Spaniards and Gaules to take their part. The rebellion of the Cisalpine Gaules against the Romans.

THE Countries of Spaine and Gaule, through which the Carthaginians marched thus farre, had beene sollicited before, by the same Roman Embassadors, who had denounced the warre at Carthage. These, as they were instructed by the Senate, took Spaine in their way homeward from Carthage, with a purpose to draw into the Roman Alliance, as many of the Cities and Princes as they could; at least to dissuade them from contracting any friendship with the Carthaginians. The first which they attempted, were the Volcians, a people in Spaine; from whom, in open assembly, they receiued by one that spake for the rest, this vncomfortable answer : With what face (saith he) can ye Romans persuade vs to value your Alliance, or to prefer it before the friendship of the Carthaginians; seeing we are taught by the example of the Saguntines, to be more wise, than so ? For they, relying on your faith and promised assistance, haue beene vtterly rooted out, & destroyed by the Carthaginians; whom they might else haue held their assured friends, and good neighbours, as wee, and other the people of Spaine haue found them. Ye may therefore be gone, with this resolution from vs, That for our parts (and so I thinke, I may answer for the rest of our Countrimen) the Romans henceforth are not to expect any kindnesse at our hands; who are resolued, neuer to make account of their protection, nor amitie. From the Volcians, the Embassadors tooke their way towards the Gaules; vsing their best arguments to persuade them not to suffer the Carthaginians to passe into Italy, through their Territory : and withall greatly glorifying themselues,

selues, their strength, and large Dominion. But the Gaules laught them to scorne, and had hardly the patience, to heare them speake. For shall we (said one of their Princes) by resisting *Hannibals* passage into Italy, entertain a war which is not meant to be made against vs ? Shall we hold the warre among our selues, and in our owne Territorie, by force, which marcheth with a speedy pace from vs, towards our ancient enemies ? Haue the Romans deserued so well of vs, & the Carthaginians so ill; that we should set fire on our owne houses, to saue theirs from burning ? No, wee know it well, that the Romans haue already forced some Nations of ours, out of their proper Territorie and inheritance; and constrained others, as free as themselues, to pay them tribute. We will not therefore make the Carthaginians, our enemies; who haue no way as yet offended vs, nor we them.

With this vnpleasing answer the Embassadors returned home : carrying no good newes, of friends likely to helpe them; but rather some assurance from the people of Massilia, which were Confederates with Rome, that the Gaules were determined to take part with their enemie. Of this inclination, the Cisalpine Gaules gaue hastie proofe. For when the newes was brought into Italy, that the Carthaginians had passed Iberus, and were on the way towards Rome; this alone sufficed to stirre vp the Boij, and Insubrians, against the Romans. These people were lately offended at the plantation of new Roman Colonies, at Cremona, and Placentia, within their Territories. Relying therfore vpon the Carthaginian succour, which they supposed to be now at hand; they laid aside all regard of those hostages, which they had giuen to the Romans, and fell vpon the new Colonies. The Townes it seemes they could not winne; for *Hannibal* shortly after failed to get them. But they forced the Roman Commissioners, (who belike were abroad in the Countrie) to flie to Modena : where they besieged them. The siege of Modena had continued some small time; when the Gaules, hauing little skill in assaulting Cities, waxed wearie, & seemed desirous to haue peace, and to come to some good accord with the Romans. This they did of purpose, to draw on some meeting; that they might thereby lay hand vpon the Roman Deputies, thereby to redeeme their Hostages, in way of exchange. And it fell out, in part, according to their wish. For the Romans sent out Embassadours to treat with them, and to conclude a peace; whom they detained. *Manlius* the Prætor, who lay in these quarters with an Armie, hearing this outrage; marched in all haste to the reliefe of the besieged. But the Gaules, hauing laid a strong ambush in a wood ioyning to the way, fell vpon the Prætor so opportunely, as hee was vtterly ouer-throwne, and all his followers left dead in the place; a few excepted, that recouered, by fast running, a little village, but defensible, vpon the Riuer of Po. When this was heard at Rome, *C. Atilius*, another of the Prætors, was hastily sent, to relieue the besieged, with a Legion, and fiue thousand of the Roman associates : which forces were taken out of the Consuls Armie, and supplied by a new leuie.

As the Gaules were too rash and hastie : so were the Romans too slow, and indeed too ill-aduised, in the beginning of this war. They were not perswaded, that Carthage, which had almost seruilely endured so many indignities, in time of the late peace; would be so braue and couragious on the sudden, as to attempt the conquest of Italy it selfe. Wherefore they appointed one of their Consuls, to make warre in Spaine, the other in Africk : resting secure of all danger at home. *Titus Sempronius* tooke his way toward Africk, with an hundred and sixty *Quinqueremes*, or Gallies, of fiue to an oare, which preparation may seem to threaten euen the Citie of Carthage, to which it shall not come neere. *P. Cornelius Scipio*, the other Consull, made all possible haste, by the way of Genoa, into Prouence; and vsed such diligence, hauing the winde also fauourable, as in fiue dayes he recouered Massilia. There he was aduertised, of *Hannibal* his hauing passed the Riuer of Rhodanus, whom he thought to haue found busie yet a while in Spaine. *Hannibal* had also newes of the Consuls arriuall : whereof he was neither glad, nor sorry, as not meaning to haue to doe with him. Each of them sent forth Scouts, to discouer the others number and doings : *Hannibal*, about fiue hundred Numidians; *Scipio*, three hundred of his better appointed Roman horse. These met and fought, and the Numidians were beaten : yet could not the Romans greatly bragge, hauing slaine onely two hundred, and lost of their owne, one hundred and fortie. But when *Scipio* drew neere, to haue met with the Carthaginians; he found, that they were gone three dayes before; and that (as he then found assuredly true) with an intent to look vpon the walls of Rome.

This

This interrupted his intended voyage into Spaine. Neuertheleſſe hee ſent away thither his brother *Cn.Cornelius Scipio*, with the greateſt part of his Fleet and Army, to trie what might be done againſt *Aſdrubal* & the other Carthaginian Lieutenants in that Countrie. He himſelfe, taking with him a few choice bands, returned by Sea to Piſa; and ſo paſſing through Tuſcane into Lombardie, drew together the broken troups of *Manlius* & *Atilius* that lately had bin beaten by the Gaules: with which forces hee made head againſt the enemie, thinking to finde him ouer-laboured, with trauaile of his painefull iourney.

§. IIII.

Scipio *the Romane Conſul ouercome by* Hannibal *at Ticinum. Both of the Romane Conſuls beaten by* Hannibal, *in a great battell at Trebia.*

FIue Moneths *Hannibal* had ſpent in his tedious iourney from Carthagena; what great muſter he could make, when hee had paſſed the Alpes, it is not eaſily found. Some reckon his foote at an hundred thouſand, & his horſe at twentie thouſand; others report them to haue beene onely twentie thouſand foot, and ſixe hundred horſe. *Hannibal* himſelfe, in his Monument which he raiſed, in the Temple of *Iuno Lacinia*, agreeth with the latter ſumme. Yet the Gaules, Ligurians, and others that ioyned with him, are likely to haue mightily increaſed his Armie, in ſhort ſpace. But when hee marched Eaſtward from the bankes of Rhodanus, he had with him eight & thirty thouſand foot, and eight thouſand horſe; of which, all ſaue thoſe remembred by himſelf in the Inſcription of his Altar in *Iuno's* Temple, are like to haue periſhed, by diſeaſes, enemies, Riuers, and Mountaines; which miſchiefes had deuoured, each, their ſeuerall ſhares.

Hauing newly paſſed the Alpes, and ſcarce refreſhed his wearied Armie in the Countrie of Piemont; he ſought to win the friendſhip of the [a] Taurini, who lay next in his way. But the Taurini held warre at that time with the Inſubrians, which were his good friends; and refuſed (perhaps for the ſame cauſe) his amitie. Wherefore he aſſaulted their Towne; and wanne it by force in three daies. Their ſpoyle ſerued well to hearten his Armie; and their calamitie, to terrifie the Neighbour places. So the Gaules, without more adoe, fell vnto his ſide: many for feare, many alſo for good-will, according to their former inclination. This diſpoſition ranne through the whole Countrie: which ioyned, or was all in readineſſe to ioyne with the Carthaginians; when the newes of *Scipio* the Conſul his arriuall, made ſome to be more aduiſed, than the reſt. The name of the Romans was terrible in thoſe quarters; what was in the Carthaginians, experience had not yet laid open. Since therefore the Roman Conſull was already gotten through the moſt defenſible paſſages, ere any ſpeech had beene heard of his approach: many ſate ſtill for very feare, who elſe would faine haue concluded a League with theſe newcome friends; and ſome, for greater feare, offered their ſeruice againſt the Carthaginians, whom neuertheleſſe they had wiſhed well to ſpeed.

[a] These dwelt about Turine, a goodly City, now subiect vnto the Duke of Sauoy: which from them tooke the name of *Augusta Taurinorum.*

This wauering affection of the Prouince, whereinto they were entred, made the two Generals haſten to the trial of a battaile. Their meeting was at Ticinum, now called Paüia; where each of them wondred at the others expedition: *Hannibal* thinking it ſtrange that the Conſul whom hee had left behinde him on the other ſide of the Alpes, could meet him in the face, before he had well warmed himſelfe in the Plaines; *Scipio* admiring the ſtrange aduenture of paſſing thoſe Mountaines, and the great ſpirit of his Enemie. Neither were the Senate at Rome little amazed at *Hannibals* ſucceſſe, and ſudden arriuall. Wherefore they diſpatched a Meſſenger in all haſte vnto *Sempronius*, the other Conſul, that was then in Sicilia, giuing him to vnderſtand hereof: & letting him further know, that whereas he had bin directed to make the warre in Africa, it was now their pleaſure that he ſhould forbeare to proſecute any ſuch attempt, but that he ſhould return the Armie vnder his charge, with all poſſible ſpeed, to ſaue Italy it ſelfe. According to this order, *Sempronius* ſent off his Fleet from Lilybæum; with direction to land the Armie at Ariminum, a Port Towne not farre from Rauenna: quite another way from Carthage, whither he was making haſte. In the meane while, *Scipio* and *Hannibal* were come ſo neere, that fight they muſt, ere they could part aſunder. Hereupon, both of them prepared the mindes of their Souldiers, by the beſt arguments they had: vnto which *Hannibal* added the Rhetoricke of a preſent example, that hee ſhewed vpon certaine prisoners

priſoners of the Sauoyans, which he brought along with him, fitted for the purpoſe, into Italy. For theſe, hauing beene no leſſe miſerably fettered and chained, than ſparingly fed; and withall ſo often ſcourged on their naked bodies, as nothing was more in their deſire, than to bee deliuered from their miſeries by any kinde of preſent death, were brought into the middle of the Armie: where it was openly demanded, which of them would fight hand to hand with ſome other of his Companions, til the one of them were ſlaine, with condition being the Victor, to receiue his libertie, and ſome ſmall reward. This was no ſooner propounded, than all of them together accepted the offer. Then did *Hannibal* cauſe lots to be caſt, which of them ſhould enter the Liſt, with ſuch weapons, as the Chieftaines of the Gaules were wont to vſe in ſingle combats. Euery one of theſe vnhappy men wiſhed, that his owne lot might ſpeed; whereby it ſhould at leaſt bee his good fortune, to end his miſeries by death, if not to get a reward by victorie. That couple, whoſe good hap it was to be choſen, fought reſoluedly: as rather deſiring, than fearing death; and hauing none other hope, than in vanquiſhing. Thus were ſome few couples matched, it skilled not how equally: for all theſe poore creatures were willing, vpon whatſoeuer vneuen termes, to ridde themſelues out of ſlauerie. The ſame affection that was in theſe Combatants, and in their fellowes which beheld them, wrought alſo vpon the Carthaginians, for whom the ſpectacle was ordained. For they deemed happy, not only him, that by winning the victory had gotten his liberty, together with an horſe and armour: but euen him alſo, who being ſlaine in fight, had eſcaped that miſerable condition, vnto which his Companions were returned. Their Generall perceiuing what impreſſion this dumbe ſhew had wrought in them, began to admoniſh them of their owne condition, ſpeaking to this effect: That hee had laid before them an example of their owne eſtates: ſeeing the time was at hand, wherein they were all to runne the ſame fortune, that theſe ſlaues had done; all to liue victorious and rich; or all to die, or (which theſe priſoners eſteemed farre more grieuous) to liue in a perpetuall ſlauerie: That none of them all, in whom was common ſenſe, could promiſe to himſelfe any hope of life by flight; ſince the Mountaines, the Riuers, the great diſtance from their owne Countries, and the purſuit of mercileſſe Enemies, muſt needs retrench all ſuch impotent imaginations. Hee therefore praied them to remember, that they, who had euen now praiſed the fortune both of the Victor, and of the vanquiſhed, would make it their owne caſe; ſeeing that there was neuer any in the world, appointed with ſuch a reſolution, that had euer had bin broken, or beaten by their enemies. On the contrarie, hee told them that the Romans, who were to fight vpon their owne ſoile, & in view of their owne Townes; who knew as many waies to ſaue themſelues by flight, as they had bodies of men to fight withall, could no way entertaine ſuch a reſolution as theirs: ſeeing the ſame neceſſitie, (to which nothing ſeemes impoſſible) did no way preſſe them, or conſtraine them. In this ſort did *Hannibal*, with one ſubſtantiall argument, *That there was no meane betweene Victorie and Death*, encourage his Companions. For, (ſaith a great Captaine of France) *la comodite de la retraicte aduance la fuite; The commoditie of a retrait, doth greatly aduance a flat running away.*

Scipio on the other ſide, after that he had giuen order for the laying of a bridge ouer the Riuer of Ticinus, did not neglect to vſe the beſt arguments and reaſons he could, to encourage the Army he led: putting them in minde of the great conqueſts and victories of their Anceſtors; againſt how many Nations they had preuailed; and ouer how many Princes, their Enemies, they had triumphed. As for this Armie commanded by *Hannibal*, although it were enough to tell them, that it was no better than of Carthaginians, whom in their late warre they had ſo often beaten, by Land and Sea; yet he prayed them withall to conſider, that at this time it was not onely ſo diminiſhed in numbers, as it rather ſeemed a troupe of Brigants and Theeues, than an Army likely to encounter the Romans, but ſo weather-beaten, and ſtarued, as neither the men, nor horſes, had ſtrength or courage to ſuſtaine the firſt charge that ſhould be giuen vpon them. Nay (ſaid he) yee your ſelues may make iudgement what daring they haue now remaining, after ſo many trauailes and miſeries; ſeeing when they were in their beſt ſtrength, after they had paſſt the Roane, their horſe-men were not onely beaten by ours, and driuen back to the very Trenches of their Camp, but *Hannibal* himſelfe, fearing our approach, ranne head-long towards the Alpes: thinking it a leſſe diſhonour, to die there by froſt, famine, and precipitation, than by the ſharpe ſwords of the Romans, which had ſo often cut downe his people,

people, both in Africa, and in Sicill. It was not long after this, ere the two Generals met; each being far aduanced before the grosse of his Armie, with his Horse, and the Roman hauing also with him some light-armed foot, to view the ground, and the enemies countenance. When they discouered the approach one of the other; *Scipio* sent before him his horsemen of the Gaules, to begin the fight, and bestowing his Darters in the voide ground betweene their troupes, to assist them: himselfe with his Roman men at armes, followed softly in good order. The Gaules (whether desirous to trie the mettall of the Carthaginians, or hoping therby to get fauour of the Romans) behaued themselues courageously, and were as courageously opposed. Yet their foot that should haue aided them, shranke at the first brunt, or rather fled cowardly away, without casting a Dart; for feare of being troden downe by the enemies horse. This notwithstanding, the Gaules maintained the fight, and did more hurt than they receiued, as presuming that they were well beseene. Neither was the Consull vnmindfull to relieue them: their hardinesse deseruing his aide; and the hastie flight of those that should haue stood by them, admonishing him that it was needfull. Wherefore he aduentured himselfe so farre, that he receiued a dangerous wound; and had beene left in the place, if his sonne (afterward surnamed *Africanus*) had not brought him off: though others giue the honour of this rescue to a Ligurian slaue. Whilest the Romans were busied in helping their Consull, an vnexpected stroke came driuing at their backes, and made them looke about how to helpe themselues. *Hannibal* had appointed his Numidian light-horse, to giue vpon the Romans in flanke, and to compasse them about, whilest hee with his men at Armes sustained their charge, and met them in the face. The Numidians performed this very well: cutting in pieces the scattered foot, that ranne away at the first encounter; and then falling on the backs of those, whose lookes were fastened vpon *Hannibal* and *Scipio*. By this impression, the Romans were shuffled together, and routed: so that they all betooke them to their speed, and left vnto their enemies the honour of the day.

When *Scipio* saw his horsemen thus beaten, and the rest of his Armie thereby greatly discouraged; he thought it a point of Wisedome, hauing lost so many of his Fleet vpon the first puffe of the winde, to take Port with the rest, before the extreamest of the tempest ouertooke him. For he saw by the lowring morning what manner of day it was like to proue. Therefore his battaile of foot being yet vnbroken, he in a manner stole the retrait; and recouered the bridge ouer Tiesinus, which hee had formerly built. But notwithstanding all the haste that he made, he left sixe hundred of his Reare behinde him: who were the last that should haue passed, and staid to breake the bridge. Herein hee followed this rule of a good man of warre, *Si certamen quandoq; dubium videatur, tuta miles arripiat fugam: fuga enim aliquando laudanda*: which must be vnderstood in this sort: *If a Generall of an Armie, by some vnprosperous beginnings doubt the successe; or finde his Army fearefull or wauering; it is more profitable to steale a safe retrait, than to abide the vncertaine euent of battaile.*

It was two daies after, ere *Hannibal* could passe the Riuer; *Scipio* the whilest refreshing his men, and easing himselfe of his wound in Placentia. But as soone as *Hannibal* presented his Armie before the Towne, offering battaile to the Romans, who durst not accept it, nor issue forth of their Campe; the Gaules, that hitherto had followed *Scipio* for feare, gathered out of his feare, courage to forsake him. They thought that now the long-desired time was come, in which better Chieftaines and Souldiers, than *Anerobestus, Britomarus*, and *Oesdates*, were come to helpe them: if they had the hearts to help themselues. Wherefore the same night they fell vpon the Roman Campe; wounded and slue many; especially of those guards that kept watch at the gate, with whose heads in their hands, they fled ouer to the Carthaginians, and presented their seruice. *Hannibal* receiued them exceeding courteously; and dismist them to their owne places: as men likely to bee of more vse to him, in perswading the rest of their Nation to become his Confederates, than in any other seruice at the present.

About the fourth watch of the night following, the Consull stole a retrait, as he had done before; but not with the like ease and securitie. *Hannibal* had a good eye vpon him; and ere he could get farre, sent the Numidians after him: following himselfe with all his Armie. That night the Romans had receiued a great blow, if the Numidians, greedy of spoile, had not staid to ransacke their camne; and thereby giuen time to all, saue some few in Reare, that were slaine or taken, to passe the Riuer of Trebia, and saue themselues.

Scipio,

being both vnable to trauaile by reason of his wound, & withall finding it expedient to attend the comming of his fellow-Consull, in camps himselfe strongly vpon the bankes of Trebia. Necessitie required that he should so doe; yet this diminished his reputation. For euery day, more and more of the Gaules fell to the Carthaginian side; among whom came in the *Boy*, that brought with them the Roman Commissioners, which they had taken in the late Insurrection. They had hitherto kept them as pledges, to redeeme their own Hostages: but now they deliuer them vp to *Hannibal*, as tokens and pledges of their affections towards him; by whose help they conceiued better hope of recouering their owne men and lands. In the meane while, *Hannibal*, being in great scarcity of victualls, attempted the taking of Clastidium, a Towne wherein the Romans had laid vp all their store and munition. But there needed no force; a Brundusian, whom the Romans had trusted with keeping it, sold it for a little money.

The newes of these disasters, brought to Rome, filled the Senate and People, rather with a desire of hastie reuenge, than any great sorrow for their losse receiued; seeing that in a manner, all their foot, wherein their strength and hope consisted, were as yet entire. They therefore hasted away *Sempronius*, that was newly arriued, towards Ariminum, where the Armie, by him sent out of Sicil, awaited his comming. Hee therefore hasted thither; & from thence he marched speedily towards his Colleague: who attended him vpon the bankes of Trebia. Both the Armies being ioyned in one, the Consuls deuised about that which remained to be done: *Sempronius* receiuing from *Scipio* the relation of what had passed since *Hannibals* arriuall; the fortune of the late fight; and by what error or misaduenture the Romans were therein foiled: which *Scipio* chiefly laid on the reuolt and treason of the Gaules.

Sempronius, hauing receiued from *Scipio* the state of the affaires in those parts; sought by all meanes to trie his fortune with *Hannibal*, before *Scipio* were recouered of his wounds, that thereby he might purchase to himselfe the sole glorie of the victory, which he had alreadie, in his imagination, certainely obtained. Hee also feared the election of the new Consuls: his owne time being well-neere expired. But *Scipio* perswaded the contrarie, obiecting the vnskilfulnesse of the new-come Souldiers: and withall gaue him good reason, to assure him that the Gaules, naturally vnconstant, were vpon termes of abandoning the party of the Carthaginians, those of them inhabiting between the Riuers of Trebia and Po, being already reuolted. *Sempronius* knew all this as well as *Scipio*; but being both guided and blinded by his ambition, he made haste to finde out the dishonor which he might otherwise easily haue auoided. This resolution of *Sempronius* was exceeding pleasing to *Hannibal*: who feared nothing so much as delay and losse of time. For the strength of his Armie, consisting in strangers, to wit, in Spaniards and Gaules; he no lesse feared the change of affection in the one, than the impatiencie of the other: who being farre from their owne home, had many passions mouing them to turne their faces towards it. To further the desire of *Sempronius*, it fell out so, that about the same time, the Gaules inhabiting neere vnto Trebia, complained of iniuries done by the Carthaginians. They did not supply *Hannibal* with necessaries, as hee supposed that they might haue done; although he daily reprehended their negligence, telling them, that for their sakes, and to set them at libertie, he had vndertaken this Expedition. Seeing therefore how little they regarded his words, he was bold to be his owne Caruer, and tooke from them by force, as much as he needed of that which they had. Hereupon they flie to the Romans for helpe: and, to make their tale the better, say that this wrong is done them, because they refused to ioyne with *Hannibal*. *Scipio* cared not much for this: hee suspected their falshood, and was assured of their mutability. But *Sempronius* affirmed, that it stood with the honor of Rome, to preserue their Confederates from suffering iniuries: and that hereby might be wonne the friendship of all the Gaules. Therfore he sent out a thousand horse: which comming vnlooked for vpon *Hannibal* his forragers, and finding them heauy loaden, cut many of them in pieces, and chased the rest euen into their own campe. This indignitie made the Carthaginians sallie out against them: who caused them to retire faster than they came. *Sempronius* was ready to backe his owne men; and repelled the enemies. *Hannibal* did the like. So that at length, all the Roman Armie was drawne forth; and a battaile readie to bee fought, if the Carthaginian had not refused it.

This victorie (for so the Consull would haue it called) made the Romans in generall desirous

desirous to trie the maine chance in open field: all the perswasions of *Scipio* to the contrarie notwithstanding. Of this disposition *Hannibal* was aduertised by the Gaules, his spies, that were in the Roman Campe. Therefore he bethought himselfe how to helpe forward the victorie, by adding some stratagem to his forces: hee found in the hollow of a water-course, ouer-growne with high reede, a fit trench to couer an ambush. Therein he cast his brother *Mago* with a thousand choyce horse, and as many foot. The rest of his Armie, after they had well warmed, and well fed themselues in their campe, hee led into the field, and marched towards the Consul. Early in the morning, hee had sent ouer *Trebia* some companies of Numidian light-horse; to braue the enemie, and draw him forth to a bad dinner, ere he had broken his fast. *Sempronius* was ready to take any opportunitie to fight: and therefore not onely issued out of his Campe, but foorded the Riuer of Trebia, in a most cold and miserable day; his foot being wet almost to the arme-holes: which, together with the want of food, did so enfeeble and coole their courages, as they wanted force to handle the armes they bare. Strong they were in foot, as well of their owne Nation, as of the Latines: hauing of the one, sixteene, of the other, twentie thousand. The masse of these they ranged in a grosse Battalion, guarded on the flankes with three thousand horse: thrusting their light-armed, and Darters, in loose troupes in the head of the rest, in the nature of a Vantguard. The Carthaginian numbers of foot, were in a manner equall to their enemies; in horse, they had by far the better, both in number and goodnesse. When therefore the Roman horse, ranged on the flankes of their foot, were broken by the Numidians; when their foot were charged both in front and flanke, by the Spaniards, Gaules, and Elephants; when finally the whole Armie was vnawares prest in the Reare, by *Mago* and his two thousand, that rose out of their place of ambush: then fell the Romans, by heapes, vnder the enemies swords; and being beaten downe, as well fighting in disorder, as flying towards the Riuer, by the horsemen that pursued them, there escaped no more of fixe and thirty thousand, than ten thousand of all sorts, Horse and Foot.

Three great errours *Sempronius* committed, of which euery one deserued to bee recompenced with the losse that followed. The first was, that he fought with *Hannibal* in a Champaine, being by farre inferiour in horse, and withall thereby subiect to the African Elephants, which in inclosed or vn-euen grounds and wood-lands, would haue been of no vse. His second error was, that he made no discouerie of the place vpon which he fought; whereby he was grossely ouer-reacht, and insnared, by the ambush which *Hannibal* had laid for him. The third was, that hee drenche his footmen with emptie stomackes, in the Riuer of Trebia, euen in a most cold and frostie day, wherby in effect they lost the vse of their limbs. For as one saith well; *There is nothing more inconuenient and perillous, than to present an Armie tyred with trauaile, to an enemie fresh and fed; since where the strength of body faileth, the generositie of minde is but as an vnprofitable vapour.*

The broken remainder of the Roman Armie, was collected by *Scipio*, who got there with into Placentia; stealing away the same night, which was exceeding rainy, from the Carthaginians, who either perceiued him not, because of the showres, or would not perceiue him, because they were ouer-wearied. *Sempronius* escaped with extreame danger; flying through the Countrie that was ouer-runne by the enemies horse. Hee was attended by more, than were requisite in a secret flight; yet by fewer, than could haue made resistance, if the enemie had met with him. Neuertheless hee got away, and came to Rome, where he did his office in choosing new Consuls for the yeere following: and then returned into his Prouince, with a fresh supply against *Hannibal*.

§. V.

The departure of Hannibal *from the Cisalpine Gaules into Hetruria.* Flaminius *the Roman Consul slaine; and his Army destroyed by the Carthaginians, at the Lake of Thrasimen.*

THe Winter growing on a pace, was very sharpe, and vnfit for seruice: to the great contentment of the Romans, who being not able to keepe the field, lay warme in Placentia, and Ceremona. Yet *Hannibal* did not suffer them to rest very quiet: but vexed them with continuall Alarmes; assaylingdiuers places; and taking some; beating the Gaules their adherents; and winning the Lygurians to his partie, who presented him, in token of their faithfull loue, with two Roman Questors or Treasurers,

Treasurers, two Colonels and fiue Gentlemen the Sonnes of Senators, which they had intercepted. These, and in generall all such prisoners as he had of the Romans, he held in streight places, loaden with yrons, and miserably fedde: those of their followers he not onely well intreated, but sent them to their Countries without ransome; with this protestation, That he therefore vndertooke the Warre in Italie to free them from the oppression of the Romans. By these meanes he hoped, and not in vaine, to draw many of them to his partie and assistance. But the Gaules were not capable of such perswasions. They stood in feare, lest he should make their Countrie the seat of Warre, and perhaps take it from them. They were also more grieued than reason willed them, at his feeding vpon them, and wasting their Territorie: Wherefore some of them conspired against his life; others admonished him of the danger: and these that gaue him the aduice, were ready soone after to practise against him; but were in like sort detected. He was therefore glad to vse Perwigs of haire, and false beards of diuers colours, to the end that he might not be descried, nor knowne, to those that should vndertake to make him away. Faine he would haue passed the Appenines, vpon the first appearance of Spring; but was compelled by the violence of weather, to tarry among the Gaules, till he had seene more Swallowes than one. At length, when the yeere was somewhat better opened, he resolued to take his leaue of these giddie Companions, and bring the war neerer to the gates of Rome. So away he went, hauing his Armie greatly increased with Ligurians and Gaules; more seruiceable friends, abroad, than in their owne Countrie. That the passage of the Appenine Mountains was troublesome, I hold it needlesse to make any doubt. Yet since the Romane Armies found no memorable impediment, in their marches that way: the great vexation which fell vpon *Hannibal*, when he was trauailing through and ouer them, ought in reason to be imputed rather to the extremity of Winter, that makes all waies foule, than to any intolerable difficultie in that iournie. Neuertheless to auoid the length of way, together with the resistance & fortifications, which may not improbably be thought to haue been erected vpon the ordinary passages towards Rome: he chose at this time, though it were with much trouble, to trauaile through the Fennes and rotten grounds of Tuscane. In those Marishes and bogges, he lost all his Elephants, saue one, together with the vse of one of his eyes; by the moystnesse of the ayre, and by lodging on the cold ground, and wading through deep mire and water. In briefe, after he had with much adoe recouered the firm and fertile Plains; he lodged about Arretium: where he somewhat refreshed his wearied followers, and heard newes of the Romane Consuls.

C. Flaminius, & *Cn. Seruilius* had of late been chosen Consuls for this yeere: *Seruilius*, a tractable man, & wholly gouerned by aduice of the Senate; *Flaminius*, an hot-headed popular Orator; who hauing once been robbed (as he thought) of his Consulship, by a deuice of the Senators, was affraid to be serued so againe, vnlesse he quickly finished the warre. This iealous Consul thought it not best for him to be at Rome, when he entred into his Office, least his aduersaries, by fayning some religious impediment, should detaine him within the Citie, or finde other businesse for him at home, to disappoint him of the honour, that he hoped to get in the Warre. Wherefore he departed secretly out of the Towne, and meant to take possession of his office, when the day came, at Ariminum. The Fathers (so the Senators were called) highly displeased with this, reuoked him by Embassadors: but he neglected their inunction; and hasting to meet with the Carthaginians, took his way to Arretium, where he shortly found them.

The fierie disposition of this Consul, promised vnto *Hannibal* great assurance of victorie. Therfore he prouoked, with many indignities, the vehement nature of the Roman: hoping thereby to draw him vnto fight, ere *Seruilius* came with the rest of the Armie. All the Countrie between Fesulæ & Arretium he put to fire and sword, euen vnder the Consuls nose; which was enough to make him stirre, that would not haue sitten still, though *Hannibal* had been quiet. It is true, that a great Captaine of France hath said, *Fay gaste n'est pas perdu*, *A wasted Countrie is not thereby lost.* But by this waste of the Countrie, *Flaminius* thought his owne honour to be much impaired; and therefore aduanced towards the Enemie. Many aduised him (which had indeed been best) to haue patience a while, and stay for his Colleague. But of this hee could not abide to heare: saying, that he came not to defend Arretium, whilest the Carthaginians went burning downe all Italie before them, to the gates of Rome. Therefore he tooke horse,

and

and commanded the Armie to march. It is reported as ominous, that one of their Ensignes stucke so fast in the ground, as it could not be plucked vp by the Ensigne-bearer. Of this tale, whether true or false, *Tully* makes a iest; saying, That the cowardly knaue did faintly pull at it (as going now to fight) hauing hardily pitched it into the earth. Neither was the answer of *Flaminius* (if it were true) disagreeable hereto: for he commanded, that it should be digged vp, if feare had made the hands too weake to lift it: asking withall; whether letters were not come from the Senate, to hinder his proceedings. Of this their iealousie, both hee and the Senate that did giue him cause, are likely to repent.

All the Territorie of Cortona, as farre as to the Lake of Thrasymene, was on a light fire; which whilest the Consull thought to quench with his enemies bloud, hee pursued *Hannibal* so vnaduisedly, that hee fell with his whole Armie into an ambushi cunningly laid for him, betweene the Mountaines of Cortona, and the Lake. There was hee charged vnawares, on all sides, (saue onely where that great Lake of Perusia permitted neither his enemies to come at him, nor him to flye from them) knowing not which way to turne, or make resistance. So was hee slaine in the place, accompanied with fifteene thousand dead carkasses of his Countrie-men. About sixe thousand of his men, that had the Vantguard, tooke courage, as for the most part it happens, out of desperation; and breaking through the enemies, that stood in their way recouered the tops of the Mountaines. If these had returned, and giuen charge vpon the Carthaginians backs, it was thought that they might haue greatly amended, if not wholly altered, the fortune of the day. But that violence of their feare, which kindled by necessitie, had wrought the effects of hardinesse; was well asswaged, when they ceased to despaire, of sauing their liues by flight. They stood still, in a cold sweat, vpon the Hill-top; hearing vnder them a terrible noise, but not any way discouering how things went, because of the great fogge that held all that morning. When it grew toward noone, the ayre was cleared, and they might plainely discerne the lamentable slaughter of their fellowes. But they staid not to lament it: for it was high time, they thought, to be gone, ere they were discried, and attached by the enemies horse. This they should haue thought vpon sooner; since they had no minde to returne vnto the fight. For discried they were, and *Maharbal* sent after them; who ouer-tooke them by night in a Village, which he surrounded with his horse: and so they yeelded the next day, rendring vp their armes, vpon his promise of their liues and liberties.

This accord *Hannibal* refused to confirme; saying, That it was made by *Maharbal*, without sufficient warrant, as wanting his authoritie to make it good. Herein he taught them (yet little to his owne honour) what it was to keepe no faith: and fitted them with a tricke of their owne. For if it were lawfull vnto the Romans, to alter couenants, or adde vnto them what they listed; if the Carthaginians must be faine to pay certaine hundreds; and yet more hundreds of talents, besides their first bargaine; as also to renounce their interest in Sardinia, and be limitted in their Spanish Conquests, according to the good pleasure of the Romans, whose present aduantage is more ample, than the conditions of the late concluded peace: then can *Hannibal* be as a Roman, as themselues; and make them know, that perfidiousnesse gaineth no more in prosperitie, than it loseth in the change of fortune. Fifteene thousand Italian prisoners, or thereabout, he had in his hands: of which all that were not Romans, he set free without ransome; protesting, as he had done before, that it was for their sakes, and to free them and others from the Roman tyrannie, that he had vndertaken this warre. But the Romans he kept in straight prison, and in fetters; making them learne to eat hard meate. This was a good way, to breed in the people of Italie, if not a loue of Carthage, yet a contempt of Rome; as if this war had not concerned the generall safetie, but onely the preserving of her owne neck from the yoke of slauerie, which her ouer-strong enemies would thrust vpon her in reuenge of her oppressions. But an ancient reputation, confirmed by successe of many ages, is not lost in one or two battailes. Wherefore more is to bee done, ere the Carthaginians can get any Italian Partisans.

Presently after the battaile of Thrasymene, *C. Centronius*, with foure thousand Roman horse, drew neere vnto the Campe of *Hannibal*. Hee was sent from Ariminum, by *Seruilius* the other Consul, to increase the strength of *Flaminius*: but comming too late, hee increased only the misaduenture. *Maharbal* was employed by *Hannibal*, to intercept this companie;

companie; who finding them amazed with report which they had newly heard of the great ouerthrow, charged them, and brake them: and killing almost halfe of them, draue the rest vnto an high piece of ground, whence they came downe, and simply yeelded to mercie, the next day. *Seruilius* himselfe was in the meane while skirmishing with the Gaules; against whom he had wrought no matter of importance, when the newes was brought him, of his Colleagues ouerthrow and death in *Hetruria*; that made him hasten backe to the defence of Rome.

In these passages, it is easie to discerne the fruits of popular iealousie, which perswaded the Romans to the yearely change of their Commanders in the wars; which greatly endangered, and retarded the growth of that Empire. Certaine it is, that all men are farre better taught by their owne errours, than by the examples of their fore-goers. *Flaminius* had heard, in what a trap *Sempronius* had beene taken vp but the yeere before, by this subtle Carthaginian; yet suffered hee himselfe to be caught soone after in the same manner. Hee had also belike forgotten, how *Sempronius*, fearing to bee preuented by a new Consul, and ambitious of the sole honor of beating *Hannibal* in battaile, without helpe of his companion *Scipio*, had beene rewarded with shame and losse: else would he not, contrarie to all good aduice, haue beene so hasty to fight, before the arriuall of *Seruilius*. If *Sempronius* had been continued in his charge, it is probable that he would haue taken his companion with him the second time, and haue searched all suspected places, proper to haue shadowed an ambush: both which this new Consul *Flaminius* neglected. We may boldly auow it, that by being continued in his gouernment of France ten yeers, *Cæsar* brought that mightie Nation, together with the Heluetians and many of the Germans, vnder the Roman yoke; into which parts had there beene euery yeere a new Lieutenant sent, they would hardly, if euer, haue beene subdued. For it is more than the best wit in the World can doe, to informe it selfe, within one yeeres compasse, of the nature of a great Nation, of the Factions of the Places, Riuers, and of all good helpes, whereby to prosecute a warre to the best effect. Our Princes haue commonly left their Deputies in Ireland three yeeres; whence, by reason of the shortnesse of that their time, many of them haue returned as wise as they went out; others haue profited more, and yet when they began but to know the first rudiments of Warre, and Gouernment, fitting the Countrie, they haue beene called home, and new Apprentices sent in their places, to the great preiudice both of this and that Estate. But it hath euer beene the course of the World, rather to follow old errours, than to examine them: and of Princes and Gouernours, to vp-hold their slothfull ignorance, by the old examples and policie of other ages and people; though neither likenesse of time, of occasion, or of any other circumstance, haue perswaded the imitation.

§. VI.

How Q. Fabius the Roman Dictator, sought to consume the force of Hannibal, *by lingring warre. Minutius the Master of the Horse, honoured and aduanced by the People, for bold and successefull attempting; aduentures rashly vpon* Hannibal, *and is like to perish with his Armie, but rescued by* Fabius.

GReatly were the Romans amazed, at this their ill successe, and at the danger apparant; which threatned them in more terrible manner, than euer did war, since Rome it selfe was taken. They were good Souldiers; and so little accustomed to receiue an ouerthrow, that when *Pyrrhus* had beaten them, once and againe, in open field, all Italy was strangely affected with his successe, and held him in admiration, as one that could worke wonders. But *Pyrrhus* his quarrell was not grounded vpon hate: hee onely sought honour, and fought (as it were) vpon a brauerie: demeaning himselfe like a courteous enemy. This Carthaginian detested the whole Roman name; against which he burned with desire of reuenge. *Ticinum*, *Trebia*, and *Thrasymene*, witnessed his purpose, & his abilitie. Which to withstand, they fled vnto a remedie that had long bin out of vse, and created a Dictator. The Dictators power was greater than the Consuls, and scarcely subiect vnto controll of the whole City. Wherefore this Officer was seldome chosen, but vpon some extremitie, and for no longer time than sixe moneths. Hee was to be named by one of the Consuls, at the appointment of the Senate: though it were so, that the Consul (if he stood vpon his prerogatiue) might name whom he pleased. At this time, the one

one Consul being dead, and the other too farre off, the People tooke vpon them, as hauing supreme authoritie, to giue the Dignitie by their election, to 2. *Fabius*; *MaxCon*- the best reputed man of warre in the Citie. *Novum factum, novum consilium expetit imus, trarie windes, contrarie courses.* 2. *Fabius* chose *M. Minutius Rufus* Master of the Horse: which Officer was customarily, as the Dictators Lieutenant; though this *Minutius* grew afterwards famous, by taking more vpon him.

The first act of *Fabius*, was the reformation of somewhat amisse in matter of religion: a good beginning, and commendable; had the Religion beene also good. But if it were true (as *Liuie* reports it) that the Bookes of *Sybil* were consulted, and gaue direction in this businesse of deuotion; then must we beleeue, that those books of *Sybil*, preserued in Rome, were dictated by an euill spirit. For it was ordained, that some Vow, made in the beginning of this warre to *Mars*, should be made anew, and amplified; as hauing not bin rightly made before: also that great Plaies should be vowed vnto *Iupiter*, and a Temple to *Venus*; with such other trumperie. This vehemencie of superstition, proceeds alwaies from vehemencie of feare. And surely this was a time, when Rome was exceedingly distempered with passion: whereof that memorable accident, of two women that suddenly died, when they saw their sons returne aliue from *Thrasymene*, may serue to beare witnesse; though it be more properly an example of motherly loue. The walls and towers of the City were now repaired and fortified; the bridges vpon Riuers were broken downe; and all care taken for defence of Rome it selfe. In this tumult, when the Dictator was newly set forth against *Hannibal*; word was brought that the Carthaginian fleet had intercepted all the supply, that was going to *Cn. Scipio* in Spaine. Against these Carthaginians, *Fabius* commanded *Seruilius* the Consul to put to Sea; and taking vp all the ships about Rome and Ostia, to pursue them: whilest he, with the Legions, attended vpon *Hannibal*. Foure Legions he had leuied in hast: and from Ariminum he receiued the Armie, which *Seruilius* the Consull had conducted thither.

With these forth with he followed apace after *Hannibal*; not to fight, but to affront him. And knowing well, what aduantage the Numidian horse had ouer the Romans, he alwaies lodged himselfe on high grounds, and of hard accesse. *Hannibal* in the meane while, pursuing his victorie, had ranged ouer all the Countrie, and vsed all manner of cruelty towards the inhabitants; especially to those of the Roman Nation, of whom he did put to the sword, all that were able to beare arms. Passing by Spoletum & Ancona, he incamped vpon the Adriatick shores; refreshed his diseased, and ouer-trauailed Companies; armed his Africans after the manner of the Romans, and made his dispatches for Carthage, presenting his friends, which were in effect all the Citizens, with part of the spoiles that he had gotten. Hauing refreshed his Army; fed his horses; cured his wounded Souldiers; & (as *Polybius* hath it) healed his horse heels of the scratches, by washing their pasternes in old wine: hee followed the coast of the Adriatick Sea towards Apulia, a Northerne Prouince of the Kingdome of Naples; spoiling the Marrucini, and all other Nations lying in his way. In all this ground that he ouer-ran, hee had not taken any one City: only he had assaied Spoletum, a Colonie of the Romans; and finding it well defended, presently gaue it ouer. The malice of a great Army is broken, and the force of it spent, in a great siege. This the Protestant Armie found true at Poictiers, a little before the battaile of Moncounter; and their victorious enemies, anon after, at S. *Iean d'Angeley*. But *Hannibal* was more wise. He would not engage himselfe in any such enterprize, as should detaine him, and giue the Romans leaue to take breath. All his care was to weaken them in force and reputation: knowing, that when once he was absolute Master of the field, it would not be long ere the walled Cities would open their gates, without expecting any engine of battery. To this end he presented *Fabius* with battaile, as soone as he saw him; and prouoked him with all manner of brauado's. But *Fabius* would not bite. Hee well knew the differences, betweene Souldiers bred vp, euer since they were Boyes, in warre and in bloud, trayned and hardened in Spaine; made proud and aduenturous by many victories there, & of late by some notable acts against the Romans; and such, as had no oftner seen the enemy, than bin vanquished by him. Therefore he attended the Carthaginian so neere, as hee kept him from straggling too farre; and preserued the countrie from vtter spoyle. He inured his men by little and little, and made them acquainted with dangers by degrees; and he brought them first to looke on the Lyon a farre off, that in the end they might sit on his taile.

Now

Now *Minutius* had a contrary disposition, and was as fiery as *Flaminius*; taxing *Fabius* with cowardise and feare. But all stirred not this well-aduised Commander. For wise men are no more moued with such noise, than with winde bruised out of a bladder. There is nothing of more indiscretion, and danger, than to pursue misfortune: It wasteth it selfe sooner by sufferance, than by opposition. It is the inuading Armie that desires battaile: and this of *Hannibal*, was both the inuading and victorious. *Fabius* therfore suffered *Hannibal* to crosse the Apennines, and to fall vpon the most rich & pleasant Territorie of Campania; neither could he by any arguments be perswaded, to aduenture the Romian Armie in battaile: but being farre too weake in horse, he alwayes kept the Hils & fast grounds. When *Hannibal* saw he could by no means draw this warie Dictator to fight, that the Winter came on, & that the Towns stood firme for the Romans, whose Legions were in fight, though a farre off; he resolued to rest his Armie, that was loaden vvith spoyle, in some plentifull and assured place, till the following Spring. But ere this can be done, he must passe along by the Dictators campe, that hung ouer his head vpon the hils of Callicula, and Casilinum: for other way there was none, by which he might issue out of that goodly Garden-countrie, vvhich he had already wasted, into places more abundant of prouision for his vvintering. It was by meere errour of his guide, that he first entred vvithin these streights. For he would haue bin directed vnto Cassinum, vvhence he might both assay the faire citie of Capua, which had made him friendly promises vnder hand, & hinder the Romans from comming neer it to preuent him. But his guide mis-vnderstood the Carthaginian pronunciation, and conducted him awry another vvay, from Cassinum to Casilinum, vvhence *Fabius* hoped that he should not easily escape. Now began the wisedome of *Fabius* to grow into credit; as if he had taken the Carthaginians in a trap, & won the victory, vvithout blowes. But *Hannibal* reformed this opinion, and freed himselfe, by a slight inuention, yet seruing the turne as vvell as a better. In driuing the country, he had gotten about two thousand Kine, vvhose hornes he dressed vvith dry faggots, and setting fire to them in the darke night, caused them to be driuen vp the hils. The spectacle vvas strange, and therefore terrible; especially to those, that knew it to be a vworke of a terrible enemy. What it should mean, *Fabius* could not tell: but thought it a deuice to circumuent him; and therefore kept vvithin his Trenches. They that kept the hil-tops, vvere horribly afraid, vvhen some of these fiery Monsters vvere gotten beyond them; and ran therefore hastily away, thinking that the enemies were behind their backs, & fell among the light-armed Carthaginians, that vvere no lesse afraid of them. So *Hannibal*, with his vvhole Armie, recouered sure ground vvithout molestation: vvhere he staied till the next morning, and then brought off his light footmen, with some slaughter of the Romans, that began to hold them in skirmish: After this, *Hannibal* made semblance of taking his iourny towards Rome: & the Dictator coasted him in the wonted manner; keeping still on high grounds, betweene him and the Citie, whilest the Carthaginian wasted all the Plaines. The Carthaginian tooke Geryon, an old ruinous Town in Apulia, forsaken by the Inhabitants; which he turned into Barnes and Store-houses for winter, and incamped vnder the broken wall. Other matter of importance he did none: but the time passed idly, till the Dictator was called away to Rome, about some businesse of Religion, and left the Armie in charge with *Minutius*, the Master of the horse.

Minutius was glad of this good occasion to shew his owne sufficiency. He was fully perswaded, that his Romans, in plaine field, would be too hard for the Africans & Spaniards: by whom if they had been foiled already twice or thrice, it was not by open force, but by subtiltie and ambush, which he thought himselfe wise enough to preuent. All the Armie was of his opinion; and that so earnestly, as he vvas preferred, by iudgment of the Souldiers, in worthinesse to command, before the cold and vvarie *Fabius*. In this iollity of conceit, he determined to fight. Yet had he been peremptorily forbidden so to doe, by the Dictator; the breach of whose command was extreame perill of death. But the honour of the victory, which he held vndoubtedly his owne; and the loue of the Armie; and the friends that he had at home bearing office in Rome, were enough to saue him from the Dictators rods and axes, tooke he the matter neuer so hainously: *Hannibal* on the other side was no lesse glad, that he should play with a more aduenturous gamester. Therfore he drew neer; & to prouoke the Romans, sent forth a third

part

part of his Armie to waste the Countrie. This was boldly done, seeing that *Minutius* incamped hard by him: but it seemes, that he now despised those whom he had so often vanquished. There was a piece of high ground between the two campes; which because it would be commodious to him that could occupie it, the Carthaginians seized vpon by night with two thousand of their light-armed. But *Minutius*, by plaine force, wan it from them the next day; and intrenching himselfe thereupon, became their neerer neighbour.

The maine businesse of *Hannibal* at this time was, to prouide abundantly, not onely for his men, but for his horses, which he knew to be the chiefe of his strength; that he might keepe them in good heart against the next Summer: if besides this he could giue the Romans another blow, it would increase his reputation, incourage his owne men, terrifie his enemies, and giue him leaue to forrage the Countrie at will. Since therefore *Minutius* did not in many dayes issue forth of his Campe, the Carthaginian sent out (as before) a great number of his men, to fetch in harvest. This aduantage *Minutius* wisely espied, and tooke. For he led forth his Armie, and setting it in order, presented battaile to *Hannibal*, that was not in case to accept it, euen at his owne Trenches. His horses, and all his light Armature, diuided into many companies, he sent abroad against the forragers; who being dispersed ouer all the fields, and loaden with bootie, could make no resistance. This angred *Hannibal*, that was not able to helpe them; but worse did it anger him, when the Romans took heart to assaile his Trenches. They perceiued that it was meere weakenesse, which held him within his campe, and therefore were bold to despise his great name, that could not resist their present strength. But in the heat of the businesse, *Asdrubal* came from Geryon with foure thousand men, being informed of the danger, by those that had escaped the Roman horse. This imboldned *Hannibal* to issue forth against the Romans; to whom neuertheleſse he did not such hurt, as he had receiued.

For this piece of seruice *Minutius* was highly esteemed by the Armie, and more highly by the People at Rome, to whom he sent the newes, with somwhat greater boast than truth. It seemed no small matter, that the Roman Armie had recouered spirit, so far forth that it dared to set vpon *Hannibal* in his own campe; & that in so doing, it came off with the better. Euery man therefore praised the Master of the horse, that had wrought this great alteration; and consequently, they grew as far out of liking with *Fabius*, and his timorous proceedings, thinking that he had not done any thing wisely, in all his Dictatorship: saying that he chose such a worthy Lieutenant; whereas indeed in no other thing he had so greatly erred. But the Dictator was not so ioyfull of a little good lucke, as angry with the breach of discipline; and fearefull of greater danger, thereon likely to ensue. He said that he knew his owne place, and what was to be done; that he would teach the Master of the horse to doe so likewise; and make him giue account of what he had done, if he were Dictator: speaking it openly, That good successe, issuing from bad counsaile, was more to be feared, than calamitie; for as much as the one bred a foolish confidence, the other taught men to be warie. Against these Sermons euery one cried out, especially *Metellus*, a Tribune of the people: which Office warranted him to speake, and doe what he list, without feare of the Dictator. Is it not enough (said he) that this our onely Man, chosen to be Generall, and Lord of the Towne, in our greatest necessitie, hath done no manner of good, but suffered all Italie to be wasted before his eyes, to the vtter shame of our State; vnlesse he also hinder others, from doing better than himselfe can, or dares? It were good to consider what he meanes by this. Into the place of *C. Flaminius* he hath not chosen any new Consull all this while; *Seruilius* is sent away to Sea, I know not why; *Hannibal* and He, haue as it were taken Truce; *Hannibal* sparing the Dictators grounds: (for *Hannibal* had indeed forborne to spoyle some grounds of *Fabius*, that so he might bring him into enuie and suspition) and the Dictator giuing him leaue to spoyle all others, without impeachment. Surely his drift is euen this: He would haue the warre to last long, that he himselfe might be long in Office; and haue the sole Gouernment both of our Citie, and Armies. But this must not be so. It were better, that the Commonaltie of Rome, which gaue him this authority, should againe take it from him, and conferre it vpon one more worthy. But lest, in mouing the people hereto, I should seeme to doe him iniurie; thus farre forth I will regard his honour: I will onely

onely propound, That the Master of the Horse may be ioyned in equall authority with the Dictator; a thing not more new, nor lesse necessary, than was the election of this Dictator, by the People.

Though all men, euen the Senators, were ill perswaded of the course which *Fabius* had taken against *Hannibal*, as being neither plausible, nor seeming beneficiall at the present; yet was there none so iniurious, as to thinke that his generall intent, and care of the Weale publique, was lesse than very honourable. Whereas therefore it was the manner, in passing of any Act, that some man of credit & authority, besides the propounder, should stand vp, and formally deliuer his approbation; not one of the principall Citizens was found so impudent, as to offer that open disgrace, both vnto a worthy Personage, and (therewithall) vnto that dignity, whose great power; had freed the State at seuerall times, from the greatest dangers. Onely *C. Terentius Varro*, who the yeere before had beene Prætor, was glad of such an opportunity, to winne the fauour of the Multitude. This fellow was the sonne of a Butcher, afterwards became a Shop-keeper; and being of a contentious spirit, grew, by often brabbling, to take vpon him as a Pleader, dealing in poore mens causes. Thus by little and little he got into Office; and rose by degrees, being aduanced by those, who in hatred of the Nobilitie fauoured his very baseneſse. And now he thought the time was come, for him to giue a hard push at the Consulship, by doing that, which none of the great men, fearing or fauouring one another, either durst or would. So he made an hot inuectiue, not onely against *Fabius*, but against all the Nobilitie; saying, That it grieued them to see the people doe well, and take vpon them what belonged vnto them, in matter of Gouernment; That they sought to humble the Commons by pouertie, and to impouerish them by warre; especially by warre at their owne doores, which would soone consume euery poore mans liuing, and finde him other worke to thinke vpon, than matter of State. Therefore he bade them to be wise: and since they had found one, (this worthy Master of the Horse) that was better affected vnto them and his Countrey, to reward him according to his good deserts; and giue him authority, according as was propounded by the Tribune, that so he might be encouraged and enabled, to proceed as he had begun. So the Act passed.

Before this busie day of contention, *Fabius* had dispatched the election of a new Consull, which was *M. Atilius Regulus*, in the roome of *C. Flaminius*: and hauing finished all requisite businesse, went out of Towne, perceiuing well, that he should not be able to withstand the multitude, in hindering the Decree. The news of *Minutius* his aduancement, was at the campe as soone as *Fabius*: so that his old Lieutenant, and new Colleague, began to treat with him as a Companion; asking him at the first, in what sort he thought it best to diuide their authority: whether that one, one day; and the other, the next; or each of them successiuely, for some longer time, should command in chiefe. *Fabius* briefly told him, That it was the pleasure of the Citizens, to make the Master of the horse equall to the Dictator, but that he should neuer be his superiour: Hee would therefore diuide the Legions with him, by lot, according to the custome. *Minutius* was not herewith greatly pleased; for that with halfe of the Armie he could not worke such wonders, as otherwise he hoped to accomplish. Neuertheleſse he meant to doe his best, and so taking his part of the Armie, incamped about a mile and halfe from the Dictator. Needfull it was (though *Liuie* seemes to taxe him for it) that he should so doe. For where two seuerall Commanders are not subordinate one vnto another, nor ioyned in Commission, but haue each intire and absolute charge of his owne followers, there are the forces (though belonging vnto one Prince or State) not one, but two distinct Armies: in which regard, one Campe shall not hold them both, without great inconuenience. *Polybius* neither findes fault with this distinction, nor yet reports, that *Fabius* was vnwilling to command in chiefe successiuely (as the two Consuls vsed) with *Minutius*, by turnes. He saith that *Minutius* was very refractary; and so proud of his aduancement, that continually he opposed the Dictator; who thereupon referred it to his choyce, either to diuide the forces between them, as is said before, or else to haue command ouer all by course. This is likely to be true. For Natures impatient of subiection, when once they haue broken loose from the rigour of authority, loue nothing more, than to contest with it: as if herein consisted the proofe and assurance of their liberties.

It

It behoued the Master of the horse, to make good the opinion which had thus aduanced him. Therefore he was no lesse carefull, of getting occasion to fight, than was *Fabius* of auoiding the necessity. That which *Minutius* and *Hannibal* equally desired, could not long be wanting. The Country lying between them was open and bare, yet as fit for ambush, as could be wished: for that the sides of a naked valley adioyning, had many, and spacious caues; able, some one of them, to hide two or three hundred men. In these lurking places, *Hannibal* bestowed fiue hundred horse, and fiue thousand foot; thrusting them so close together, that they could not be discouered. But lest by any misaduenture they should be found out, and buried in their holes; he made offer betimes in the morning, to seize vpon a piece of ground that lay on the other hand: wherby he drew the eyes and the thoughts of the Romans, from their more needfull care, to businesse little concerning them. Like vnto this was the occasion, which not long before, had prouoked *Minutius*, to aduenture vpon the Carthaginians. Hoping therefore to increase his honour, in like sort as he got it; he sent first his light armature, then his horse, and at length (seeing that *Hannibal* seconded his owne troupes with fresh companies) he followed in person with the Legions. He was soone caught, and so hotly charged on all sides, that he knew neither how to make resistance, nor any safe retrait. In this dangerous case, whilest the Romans defended themselues, losing many, and those of their best men: *Fabius* drew neere, in very good order, to relieue them. For this old Captaine, perceiuing a farre off, into what extremity his new Colleague had rashly throwne himselfe and his followers; did the office of a good Citizen, and regarding more the benefit of his Country, than the disgrace which he had wrongfully sustained, sought rather to approue himself by hasting to doe good, than by suffering his enemy to feele the reward of doing ill. Vpon *Fabius* his approch, *Hannibal* retyred: fearing to be well wetted with a showre, from the cloud (as he termed the Dictator) that had hung so long on the Hiltops. *Minutius* forthwith submitted himselfe to *Fabius*; by whose benefit he confessed his life to haue been saued. So from this time forwards, the Ware proceeded coldly as the Dictator would haue it; both whilest his Office lasted, which was not long, and likewise afterwards, when he deliuered vp his charge vnto the Consuls, that followed his instructions.

Seruilius the Consul had pursued in vaine a Carthaginian fleet, to which he came neuer within kenning. He ran along all the coast of Italie, tooke hostages of the Sardinians and Corsicans; passed ouer into Africke; and there negligently falling to spoyle the Countrie, was shamefully beaten aboord his ships, with the losse of a thousand men. Weighing anchor therefore in all haste, he returned home by Sicil; and (being so required by the Dictators letters) repaired to the campe, with his fellow-Consul, where they tooke charge of the Armie.

§. VII.

The Roman people, desirous to finish the warre quickly, choose A rash and vnworthy Consul. Great forces leuied against Hannibal. Hannibal *taketh the Romans prouisions in the Castle of Canne. The new Consuls set forth against* Hannibal.

WIth little pleasure did they of the poorer sort in Rome, hear the great commendations that were giuen to *Fabius* by the principall Citizens. He had indeed preserued them from receiuing a great ouerthrow: but he had neither finished the war, nor done any thing in appearance thereto tending. Rather it might seeme, that the reputation of this his one worthy act, was likely to countenance the slow proceedings, or perhaps the cowardize (if it were no worse) of those that followed him, in protracting the worke to a great length. Else, what meane the Consuls to sit idle the whole winter, contrary to all former customs, since it was neuer heard before, that any Roman Generall had willingly suffered the time of his command to run away without any performance: as if it were honourable to doe just nothing? Thus they suspected they knew not what, and were ready euery man, to discharge the griefe and anger of his own priuate losse, vpon the ill administration of the publique.

This affection of the people, was very helpfull to *C. Terentius Varro*, in his suit for the Consulship. It behoued him to make, whilest the Iron was hot: his owne worth being little or none, and his credit ouer-weake, to make way into that high Dignity. But the Commi-

Communaltie were then in such a mood, as abundantly supplied all his defects. Wherein to helpe, he had a kinsman, *Bibius Herennius*, then Tribune of the People; who spared not to vse the liberty of his place; in saying what hee listed, without all regard of truth, or modestie. This bold Orator stucke not to affirme, that *Hannibal* was drawne into Italie, and suffered therein to range at his pleasure, by the Noblemen; That *Minutius* indeed with his two Legions, was likely to haue beene ouerthrowne, and was rescued by *Fabius* with the other two: but had all beene ioyned together, what they might haue done, it was apparent, by the victorie of *Minutius*, when hee commanded ouer all as Master of the horse; that without a Plebeian Consull, the warre would neuer bee brought to an end; That such of the Plebeians, as had long since beene aduanced to honour by the people, were growne as proud as the old Nobilitie, and contemned the meaner sort, euer since themselues were freed from contempt of the more mighte; That therefore it was needfull to choose a Consul, who should be altogether a Plebeian, a meere new man, one that could boast of nothing but the Peoples loue, nor could wish more, than to keepe it, by well deseruing of them. By such perswasions, the Multitude was won, to be wholly for *Terentius*: to the great vexation of the Nobles, who could not endure, to see a man raised for none other vertue, than his detracting from their honour; and therefore opposed him with all their might. To hinder the desire of the People, it fell out, or at least was alleadged, that neither of the two present Consuls could well be spared, from attending vpon *Hannibal*, to hold the Election. Wherefore a Dictator was named for that purpose: and he againe deposed; either (as was pretended) for some religious impediment, or because the Fathers desired an *Inter-regnum*, wherein they might better hope to preuaile in Choice of the new Consuls. This *Inter-regnum* tooke name and being in Rome, at the death of *Romulus*; and was in vse at the death of other Kings. The order of it was this. All the Fathers, or Senators, who at the first were an hundred, parted themselues into *Tens*, or *Decuries*; and gouerned successiuely, by the space of fiue dayes, one *Decurie*, after another in order: yet so, that the *Lictors*, or *Virgers*, carrying the *Fasces*, or bundles of rods and axes, waited onely vpon the chiefe of them with these Ensignes of power. This custome was retained, in times of the Consuls; and put in vse, when by death, or any casualty, there wanted ordinary Magistrates of the old yeare, to substitute new for the yeere following. The aduantage of the Fathers herein was, that if the Election were not like to goe as they would haue it, there needed no more, than to slip fiue dayes, and then was all to begin a new: by which interruption, the heat of the Multitude was comaonly well assuaged. Vpon such change of those, that were Presidents of the Election; it was also lawfull vnto new Petitioners, to sue for the Magistracies that lay void: which otherwise was not allowed; but a time limited, wherein they should publikely declare themselues to seeke those Offices. But no deuice would serue, against the generall fauour borne vnto *Terentius*. One *Inter-regnum* passed ouer, and the malice of the Fathers, against the vertue (as it was beleeued) of this meane, but worthy man, seemed so manifest, that when the People had vrged the busnesse to dispatch, onely *Terentius* was chosen Consull: in whose hand it was left, to hold the election of his Colleague. Hereupon all the former Petitioners gaue ouer. For whereas men of ordinary marke had stood for the place before; it was now thought meet, that, both to supply the defect, and to bridle the violence of this vnexpert, and hot-headed man, one of great sufficiencie, and reputation, should be ioyned with him, as both Companion and opposite. So *L. Æmilius Paulus*; he who few yeeres since had ouer-come the Illyrians, and chased *Demetrius Pharius* out of his Kingdome, was vrged by the Nobility to stand for the place: which he easily obtained, hauing no Competitor. It was not the desire of this honorable man, to trouble himselfe any more in such great businesse of the Common-wealth. For, notwithstanding his late good seruice, He, and *M. Liuius* that had beene his companion in Office, were afterwards iniuriously vexed by the People, and called vnto iudgement: wherein *Liuius* was condemned, and *Æmilius* hardly escaped. But of this iniustice they shall put the Romans well in minde each of them in his second Consulship, wherein they shall honorably approue their worth; the one of them nobly dying, in the most grieuous losse; the other brauely winning, in the most happy victory that euer befell that Common-wealth.

These new Consuls, *Varro* and *Paulus*, omitted no part of their diligence in preparing for the warre: wherein though *Varro* made the greater noise, by telling what wonders he

he would worke, and that he would aske no more, than once to haue a sight of *Hannibal*, whom he promised to vanquish the very first day; yet the prouidence and care of *Paulus*, trauailed more earnestly toward the accomplishment of that, whereof his fellow vainly boasted. He wrote vnto the two old Consuls *Seruilius* and *Attilius*; desiring them to abstaine from hazard of the maine chance; but neuertheleſſe, to plie the Carthaginians with daily skirmish, and weaken them by degrees: that when hee and his Colleague should take the field, with the great Armie which they were now leuying, they might finde the foure old Legions well accustomed to the Enemie, and the Enemie well weakened to their hands. He was also very strict in his Musters; wherein the whole Senate assisted him so carefully, as if in this Action they meant to refute the slanders, with which *Terentius* and his Adherents had burdened them. What number of men they raised, it is vncertaine. Fourescore thousand foot, at the least, and sixe thousand horse, they were strong in the field, when the day came, which *Varro* had so greatly desired, of looking vpon *Hannibal*.

Hiero the old King of Syracuse, as he had relieued the Carthaginians, when they were distressed by their own Mercenaries; so did he now send helpe to Rome, a thousand Archers, and Slingers, with great quantity of Wheat, Barlie, and other prouisions: fearing nothing more, than that one of these two mightie Cities should destroy the other, whereby his owne estate would fall to ruine; that stood vpright, by hauing them somewhat euenly ballanced. He gaue them also counsaile, to send forces into Africa; if (perhaps) by that meanes they might diuert the warre from home. His gifts, and good aduice were louingly accepted; and instructions were giuen to *Titus Octacilius* the Prætor, which was to goe into Sicil, that he should accordingly passe ouer into Africk, if hee found it expedient.

The great Leuies, which the Romans made at this time, doe much more serue to declare their puissance, than any, though larger accompt by Poll, of such as were not easily drawne into the field, and fitted for seruice. For besides these Armies of the Consuls, and that which went into Sicil; twentie fiue thousand, with *L. Posthumius Albinus* another of the Prætors, went against the Gaules, to reclaime that Prouince, which the passage of *Hannibal* through it, had taken from them. The contemplation of this their present strength, might well embolden them to doe as they did. They sent Embassadors to *Philip* the son of *Demetrius*, King of Macedon, requiring him to deliuer into their hands *Demetrius Pharius*: who hauing beene their subiect, and rebell, was fled into his Kingdome. They also sent to the Illyrians, to demand their tribute; whereof the day of payment was already past. What answer they receiued, it is not knowne: onely this is knowne, that *Demetrius Pharius* was not sent vnto them; and that *Philip* henceforth began to haue an eye vpon them, little to their good. As for the Illyrian money; by the shifts that they were driuen soone after to make, it will appeare, that the one halfe of it (how little soeuer) would haue beene welcome to Rome, and accepted, without any cauill about forfeiture for *non-paiment* of the whole.

Whilst the Citie was busied in these cares, the old Consuls lay as neere vnto *Hannibal*, as possibly they could, without incurring the necessity of a battaile. Many skirmishes they had with him; wherein their successe for the most part, was rather good than great. Yet one mischance not onely blemished the honour of their other seruices, but was indeed the occasion, to draw on the misery following. *Hannibal*, for the most part of that time, made his abode at Geryon, where lay all his store for the Winter. The Romans, to be neere him, lodged about Cannusium; and, that they might not be driuen to turne aside for all necessaries, to the losse of good opportunities, they bestowed much of their prouisions in the Castle of *Cannæ*: for the towne was razed the yeere before. This place *Hannibal* wan, and thereby not onely furnished himselfe, but compelled his enemies to want many needfull things, vnlesse they would be troubled with farre carriage. Besides this, and more to his aduantage, he enabled himselfe to abide in that open Countrie, fit for the seruice of his horse: longer than the Romans, hauing so many mouthes to feed, could well endure to tarry, without offering battaile, which he most desired. Of this mishap when *Seruilius* had informed the Senate, letting them vnderstand, how this Peece, taken by *Hannibal*, would serue him to command no small part of the Country adiacent; it then seemed needfull, euen vnto the Fathers themselues, to aduenture a battaile with the Carthaginian, rather than suffer him thus to take roote in the ground of

of Italy. Neuertheleſſe, answer was returned vnto *Seruilius*, that hee should haue patience yet awhile: for that the Consuls would shortly be there, with a power sufficient to doe as need required.

When all things were ready in the Citie, and the season of the yeere commodious to take the field, the two Consuls, with their Armie, set forth against *Hannibal*. This was alwaies done with great solemnitie: especially, whensoeuer they went forth to warre against any noble or redoubted Enemy. For Sacrifices, and solemne Vowes, were made vnto *Iupiter*, and the rest of their gods, for good successe and victorie: which being performed, the Generals in warlike attire, with an honorable traine of the principall men, (not onely such as were of their kindred and alliance, or followed them to the warre, as Voluntaries, for loue; but a great number of others that meant to abide at home,) were accompanied on their way, and dismissed with friendly leaue-taking, and good wishes. At this time, all the Fathers, and the whole Nobility, waited vpon *Æmilius Paulus*, as the onely Man, whom they thought either worthy of this honour, or likely to doe his countrie remarkeable seruice. *Terentius* his Attendants were the whole multitude of the poorer Citizens; a troupe no lesse in greatnesse, than the other was in dignity. At the parting, *Fabius* the late Dictator, is said to haue exhorted the Consull *Paulus*, with many graue words, to shew his magnanimitie, not onely in dealing with the Carthaginians; but (which he thought harder) in bridling the outragious follie of his fellow-Consull. The answer of *Paulus*, was, That he meant not againe to runne into danger of condemnation, by offending the multitude; that he would doe his best for his Countrie: but if he saw his best were likely to be ill taken, he would thinke it lesse rashnesse to aduenture vpon the Enemies sword, than vpon the malice of his owne Citizens.

§. VIII.

Dissention betweene the two Roman Consuls. whether it beelikely, that Hannibal *was vpon point of flying out of Italie, when the Romans pressed him to fight. The great battaile of Cannæ.*

THese new Generals, arriuing at the Campe, dismissed *M. Atilius* one of the last yeeres Consuls, requesting it because of his age and weaknesse: *Seruilius* they retained with them, as their Assistant. The first thing that *Æmilius* thought necessary, was, to hearten his Souldiers with good words; who out of their bad successe hitherto, had gathered more cause of feare, than of courage. He willed them to consider, not onely now, their victories in times past against the Carthaginians, and other more warlike Nations than were the Carthaginians, but euen their owne great numbers: which were no lesse than all that Rome at the present was able to set forth. Hee told them in what danger their Countrie stood; how the state and safetie thereof rested vpon their hands; vsing some such other common matter of perswasion. But the most effectuall part of his Oration, was, That *Hannibal* with this his terrible Army, had not yet obtained one victory by plaine force and valour: but that onely by deceit and ambush he had stolne the honor, which he had gotten at Trebia & Thrasymene. Herewithall he taxed the inconsiderate rashnesse of *Sempronius* and *Flaminius*; of whom the one saw not his enemies, vntill hee was surrounded by them; the other scarce saw them, when they struck off his head, by reason of the thick mist, through the darknesse whereof he went groping (as it were blinde-fold) into their snares. Finally, declaring what aduantages they had against the Enemie; and how destitute the Enemie was of those helpes, by which he had hitherto preuailed against them; he exhorted them to play the men, and doe their best. They were easily perswaded: for the contemplation of their owne multitude, and confidence of the Roman vertue in matter of armes, gaue them cause to thinke, that vnder a Captaine so well experienced, and euery way sufficient, as *Æmilius* was knowne to bee, they should easily preuaile against the Carthaginians: that came short of them in all things else, saue craft; which would not alwayes thriue. But in one thing they mistooke the meaning of their Generall. It was his desire that they should haue heart to fight; not that they should lose the patience of awaiting a conuenient season. But they, hauing preconceiued a victorie, thought all delaies to bee impediments: and thereby sought to robbe themselues of their best helpe; which was,

was, good conduct. They remembred what talke they had heard at Rome: and were themselues affected with the Vulgar desire, of ending the warre quickly; wherein since *Æmilius* had acknowledged, that the aduantage was theirs, why did he make them forbeare to vse it? Thus thought the common Souldier: and thus also thought the Consull *Terentius*; who was no lesse popular in the Campe, than hee had beene in the Citie. Expectation is alwayes tedious; and neuer more, than when the Euent is of most importance. All men longed, both at Rome, and in the Armie, to bee freed from the doubtfull passions of Hope and Feare: therefore *Terentius*, who hastened their desire to effect, was likely to win more thankes, than should his Colleague, though greater in performance.

Thus while the Romans thinke themselues to haue the better of their Enemies, they fall into an inconuenience, than which few are more dangerous; *Dissension* of their chiefe Commanders. *Varro* would fight: *Æmilius* would so too, but said that it was not yet time; why? because the enemy must shortly dislodge, and remoue hence, into places lesse fit for his horse. But shall the Romans wait, till *Hannibal*, hauing eaten vp his last yeeres prouisions, returne into Campania to gather a second Harueſt? This would (said *Varro*) sauour too much of *Q. Fabius*: And your haste (said *Paulus*) doth sauour no lesse of *C. Flaminius*. Their deedes were like their words: for they commanded by turnes interchangeably euery day. *Æmilius* lodged sixe miles from *Hannibal*, where the ground was somewhat vneuen. Thither if the Carthaginians would take paines to come; hee doubted not to send them away in such haste, as they should not leaue running till they were out of Italie. But they came not. *Terentius* therefore the next day descended into the Plaines; his Colleague holding him, and beseeching him to stay. Neuertheless he sate downe close by *Hannibal*: who as an vnbidden guest gaue him but a rude wel-come and entertainment. The Carthaginian Horse, and light armature, fell vpon the Roman Vantcourrers; and put the whole Armie in tumult, whilest it was yet in march: but they were beaten off, not without losse, for that the Romans had among their Velites, some troupes weightily armed, whereas the Carthaginians had none. The day following, *Æmilius*, who could not handsomely withdraw the Armie out of that leuell ground, incamped vpon the Riuer Aufidus; sending a third part of his forces ouer the water, to lye vpon the Easterne banke, where they entrenched themselues. Hee neuer was more vnwilling to fight, than at this present: because the ground serued wholly for the aduantage of his enemie; with whom he meant to deale, when occasion should draw him to more equall tearmes. Therefore he stirred not out of his Trenches, but fortified himselfe; expecting when *Hannibal* should dislodge, and remoue towards Geryon, Cannæ, or some other place, where his store lay, for want of necessaries: whereof an Armie forraging the Countrie, was not likely to carry about with it sufficient quantity, for any long time.

Here it would not be passed ouer with silence, That *Liuie* differeth much in his Relation from *Polybius*: telling many strange tales, of the misery into which *Hannibal* had beene driuen; and of base courses that he deuised to take, if the Romans could haue retained their patience a little longer. Hee had (saith *Liuie*) but tenne dayes prouision of meat. He had not money to pay his Souldiers. They were an vnruly Rabble, gathered out of seuerall Nations, so that he knew not how to keepe them in order; but that from murmuring, they fell to flat exclamations, first, about their Pay, and Prouant, and afterwards for very famine. Especially the Spaniards were ready to forsake him, and run ouer to the Roman side. Yea *Hannibal* himselfe was once vpon the point, to haue stolne away into Gaule with all his horse, and left his foot vnto their miserable destinies. At length for lack of all other counsaile, he resolued to get him as farre as he could from the Romans, into the Southermost parts of Apulia; to the end, that both his vnfaithful Souldiers might finde the more difficulty in running from him; and that his hunger might be relieued with the more early harueſt. But whilest he was about to put this deuice in execution, the Romans pressed him so hard, that they euen forced him to that, which hee most desired; euen to fight a battaile vpon open Champaine ground: wherein hee was victorious. It was not vncommendable in *Liuie*, to speake the best of his owne Citizens; and, where they did ill, to say, That, without their owne great folly, they had done passing well. Further also hee may be excused; as writing onely by report. For thus hee saith; *Hannibal de fugâ in Galliam (dicitur) agitâsse; Hannibal (is said) to*

haue bethought himselfe of flying into Gaule: where hee makes it no more than a matter of heare-say; as perhaps was all the rest of this Relation. As for the processe it selfe, it is very incredible. For if *Hannibal*, comming out of Gaule, through the Marishes and Bogs of Hetruria, could finde victuals enough, and all things needfull vnto his Armie, the Summer foregoing: what should hinder him to doe the like this yeere; especially seeing he had plaid the carefull husband in making a great harueſt; since he had long beene Master of the open field; and besides, had gotten, by surprise, no small part of the Romans prouisions? Suteable hereunto is all the rest. If *Hannibal* had taken nothing but corne and cattell; his Souldiers might perhaps haue fallen into mutinie for pay. But he brought gold with him into Italy: and had so well increased his stocke, since he came into that Countrie, that he had armed his African Souldiers, all Roman-like; and loaden his followers with spoyle: hauing left wherewith to redeeme as many of his owne, as were taken by the Enemy; when the Romans were not willing, as finding it not easie to doe the like. In this point therefore, we are to attend the generall agreement of Historians: who giue it as a principall commendation vnto *Hannibal*, That he alwayes kept his Army free from sedition, though it were composed of sundry Nations; no lesse different in Manners, Religion, and almost in Nature, than they were in languages: and well might hee so doe, hauing not onely pronounced, That which of his men soeuer fought brauely with an Enemy, was therby a Carthaginian; but solemnly protested & swore, (besides other rewards) to make as many of them, as should deserue and seeke it, free Citizens of Carthage. The running away into Gaule, was a senselesse deuice. *Hannibal*, being there with his whole Army, tooke so little pleasure in the Countrie and People, that he made all haste to get him out of it. And what should he now do there with his horse? or how could he be trusted, either there or elsewhere? yea, how could he desire to liue; hauing betrayed all his Armie; and relinquished his miserable foot, to the butcherie of their enemies? This tale therfore *Plutarch* omitteth; who in writing the life of *Hannibal*, takes in a manner all his directions from *Liuie*. But of this and the like it is enough to say; That all Historians loue to extoll their own Countrie-men; and where a losse cannot be dissembled, nor the honor of the victory taken from the Enemy, and giuen vnto blinde Fortune, there to lay all the blame on some strange misgouernment of their own forces: as if they might easily haue won all, but lost all through such folly, as no Enemy can hope to finde in them another time.

Now let vs returne backe to the two Armies, where they lye encamped on the Riuer Aufidus. *Varro* was perswaded, that it concerned him in honour, to make good his word vnto the people of Rome: and since he had thus long waited in vaine, to get the consent of *Paulus*, now at length to vse his owne authoritie; and, without any more disputing of the matter, to fight when his owne day came. When therefore it was his turne to command; at the first breake of the day he began to passe the Riuer, without staying to bid his Colleague good morrow. But *Paulus* came to him; and sought, as in former times, to haue dissuaded him, from putting the estate of his Countrie to a needlesse hazard. Against whose words and substantiall argaments, *Terentius* could alleage none other, than *point of Honour*. *Hannibal* had presented them battaile at their Trenches; should they endure this Brauado? He had sent his Numidians ouer the Riuer but euen the day before, who fell vpon the Romans that were fetching water to the lesser Campe; and draue them shamefully to runne within their defences, which also they made offer to assayle: must this also be suffered? Hee would not endure it: for it could not but weaken the spirit of the Roman Souldier; which as yet was liuely, and full of such courage, as promised assured victory. When *Æmilius* perceiued, that hee could not hinder the obstinate resolution of his Companion; hee tooke all care, that what he saw must be done, might be done well. Ten thousand Roman foot he caused to be left behinde, in the greater campe, opposite vnto the Carthaginian; to the intent, that either *Hannibal* might be compelled to leaue behinde him some answerable number, for defence of his Trenches: (which out of his paucitie he was lesse able to spare from the battaile, than were the Romans) or that these ten thousand, falling vpon the Carthaginian Campe, when the fight began, & taking it with all the wealth therin, might thereby (as commonly doe such accidents) terrifie and distract the Enemies in the heate of fight. This done, the two Consuls went ouer the water with their Armie to the lesser Campe, whence also they drew forth their men, and ranged them in order of battaile: the ground

on the East part of the Riuer, seeming perhaps more fit for marshalling of their Armie. *Hannibal* was glad of this, as he had great cause; and without any delay, passed likewise ouer, somewhat higher vp the streame, which ran from the South; leauing in his owne campe so many, as he thought would serue to defend it, and no more. To encourage his men; Hee bad them looke about them, and view the ground well, vpon which they were to fight. They did so. And could you (said hee) pray for any greater fortune, than to ioyne battaile with the Romans vpon such a leuell ground, where the stronger in horse are sure to preuaile? They all assented to him; and shewed by their countenances, that they were very glad of it. Well then (said hee further) yee are first of all to thanke the gods, that haue brought them hither; and then Vs, that haue trained them along, and drawne them into necessitie of playing for their liues, where they are sure to lose them. As for these Romans, I was faine to encourage you against them, when yee met them first: but now yee may euen encourage your selues, by calling to minde that they are the men, whom yee haue as often beaten as seene. Of one thing onely I will put you in minde: That whereas hitherto you fought for other respects, as, to driue them before you out of Gaule; and, to win the open Countrie, and fields of Italy; both of which yee haue obtained: now are ye to fight for the Townes themselues, and all the riches within them; which this victory shall make yours. Therefore play the stout Souldiers: and ere many houres passe, yee shall be Lords of all that the Romans hold.

When he had said this; his brother *Mago* came to him, whom he had sent to view the countenance of the Enemy. *Hannibal* asked him, what newes; and what worke they were likely to haue with these Romans? Worke enough (answered *Mago*) for they are an horrible many. As horrible a many as they are (thus *Hannibal* replyed) I tell thee, brother, that among them all, search them neuer so diligently, thou shalt not find one man, whose name is *Mago*. With that he fell a laughing, and so did all that stood about him: which gladded the souldiers, who thought their General would not be so merry, without great assurance. Whether it were so, that *Hannibal*, in the pride of his victories already gotten, valued one *Mago* aboue many thousand Romans; or whether he intimated, that the Romans were no lesse troubled with thinking vpon *Mago* and his Companions, than was *Mago* with beholding their huge multitude; or whether hee meant onely to correct the sad moode of his brother with a iest, and shew himselfe merry vnto the Souldiers: this his answer was more manly, than was the relation of his discouerer. But if *Hannibal* himselfe had been sent forth by *Mago*, to view the Romans, he could not haue returned with a more gallant report in his mouth, than that which Captain *Gam*, before the battaile of Agincourt, made vnto our King *Henry* the fift: saying, that of the Frenchmen, there were enow to be killed; enow to be taken prisoners; and enow to run away. Euen such words as these, or such pleasant iests as this of *Hannibal*, are not without their moment; but serue many times, when battaile is at hand, to worke vpon such passions, as must gouerne more of the businesse: especially, where other needfull care is not wanting; without which they are but vaine boasts.

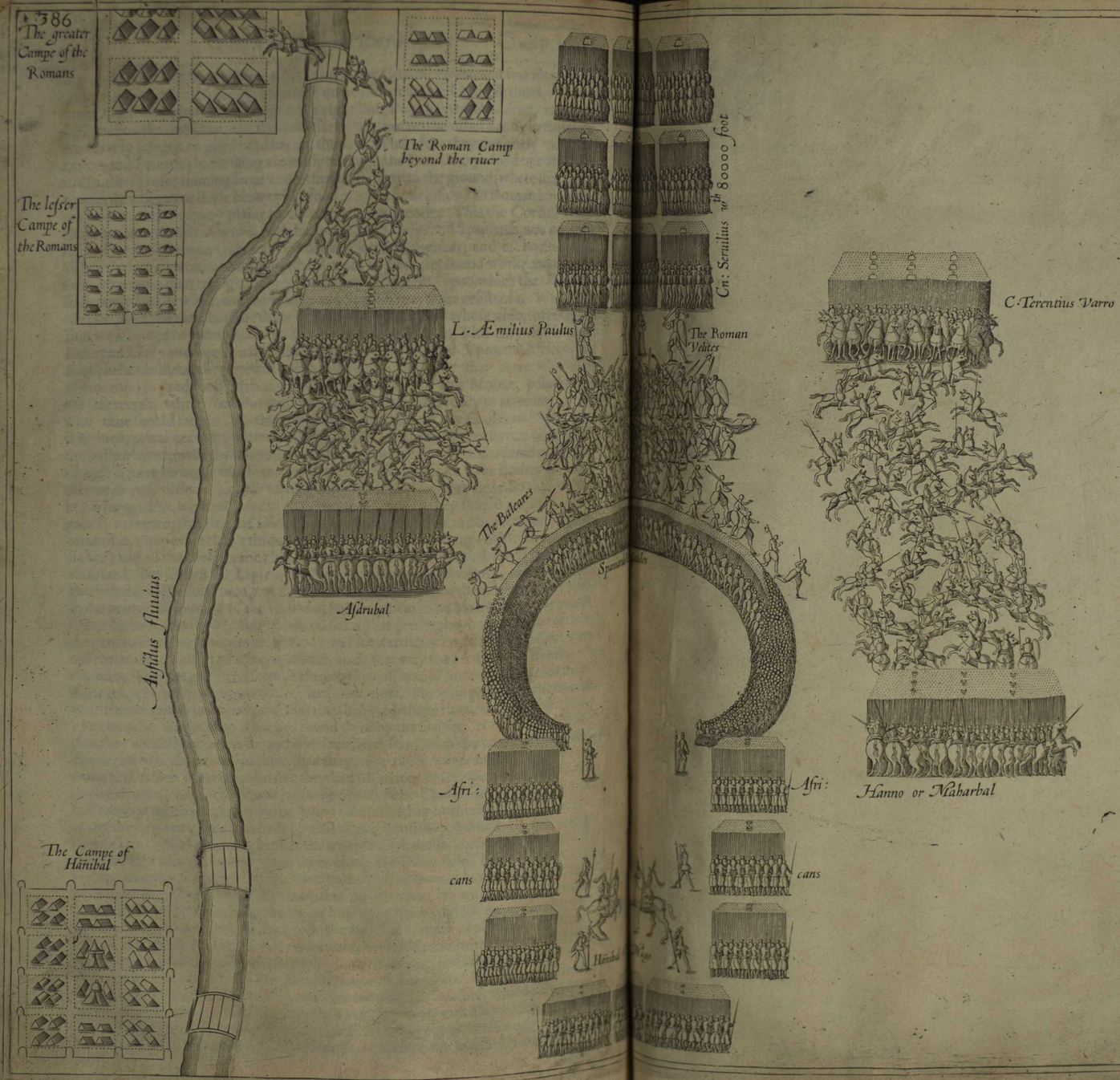
In this great day, the Carthaginian excelled himselfe; expressing no lesse perfection of his militarie skill, than was greatnesse in his spirit and vndertakings. For to omit the commodiousnesse of the place, into which he had long before conceiued the meanes to draw his enemies to battaile; He marshalled his Armie in such conuenient order, that all hands were brought to fight, where euery one might doe best seruice. His Darters, and Slingers of the *Baleares*, hee sent off before him, to encounter with the Roman Velites. These were loose troupes, answerable in a manner to those, which we call now by a French name *Enfans perdues*; but when we vsed our owne termes, *the forlorne hope*. The grosse of his Armie following them, hee ordered thus. His Africans, armed after the Roman maner, with the spoyles which they had gotten at Trebia, Thrasymene, or elsewhere; and well trained in the vse of those weapons, that were of more aduantage, than those wherewith they had formerly serued; made the two wings, very deepe in File. Betweene these he ranged his Gaules and Spaniards, armed, each after their own Countrey manner; their shields alike; but the Gaules vsing long broad swords, that were forcible in a downe-right stroake; the Spaniards, short and well-pointed blades, either to strike or thrust; the Gaules, naked from their nauell vpwards, as confident in their owne fiercenesse: the Spaniards, wearing white cassocks embroidered with purple. This

This medley of two Nations, differing as well in habit and furniture, as in quality, made a gallant shew; and terrible, because strange. The Gaules were strong of body, and furious in giuing charge, but soone wearied, as accustomed to spend their violence at the first brunt, which disposition all that come of them haue inherited to this day. The Spaniards were lesse eager, but more warie; neither ashamed to giue ground, when they were ouer-pressed; nor afraid to returne, & renew the fight, vpon any small encouragement. As the roughnesse of the one, and patience of the other, serued mutually to reduce each of them to a good and firme temper; so the place which they held in this battaile, added confidence ioyntly vnto them both. For they saw themselues well and strongly flanked with Carthaginians and other Africans; whose name was growne terrible in Spaine, by their Conquests; and in Gaule, by this their present warre. Since therefore it could not be feared, that any great calamitie should fall vpon them, whilest the wings on either side stood fast: these Barbarians had no cause to shrinke; or forbeare to imploy the vttermost of their hardinesse, as knowing that the enemy could not presse sore vpon them, without further engaging himselfe than discretion would allow. Hereunto may be added that great aduantage, which the Carthaginian had in horse: by which he was able, if the worst had happened, to make a good retrait. The effect of contraries is many times alike. Desperation begetteth courage; but not greater, nor so liuely, as doth assured Confidence. *Hannibal* therefore caused these Gaules and Spaniards to aduance; leauing voide the place wherein they had stood, and into which they might fall backe, when they should be ouerhardly pressed. So, casting them into the forme of a Crescent, Hee made them as it were his Vantguard: the two points of this great halfe Moone, that looked toward the empty space from which he had drawne it, being narrow and thin, as seruing onely to guide it orderly backe, when need should require; the foremost part of the Ring, swelling out toward the enemies, being well strengthened & thickned against all impression. The circle hereof seemeth to haue beene so great, that it shadowed the Africans, who stood behinde it: though such figures, cut in brasse, as I haue seene of this Battaile, present it more narrow: with little reason, as shall anone appeare: as also in the same figures it is omitted, That any Companies of Africans, or others, were left in the Reare, to second the Gaules and Spaniards, when they were driuen to retrait; though it be manifest, that *Hannibal* in person stood betweene the last rankes of his long battalions, and in the head of his Reare, doubtlesse well accompanied with the choice of his owne Nation. Betweene the left battalion and the Riuer Aufidus, were the Gaules and Spanish horse, vnder the command of *Asdrubal*: On the right wing, toward the wide Plaines, was *Hanno* (*Liuie* saith *Maharbal*) with the Numidian light-horse. *Hannibal* himselfe, with his brother *Mago*, had the leading of the Reare. The whole summe of *Hannibals* Armie in the field this day, was ten thousand horse, and fortie thousand foot; his enemies hauing two to one against him in foot; and Hee, fiue to three against them in horse.

The Roman Army was marshalled in the vsuall forme: but somewhat more narrow, and deepe, than was accustomed; perhaps, because this had beene found conuenient against the Carthaginians, in the former warre. It was indeed no bad way of resistance against Elephants, to make the Ranks *thick and short*, but the Files long; as also to strengthen well the Reare, that it might stand fast compacted as a wall, vnder shelter whereof the disordered troupes might re-ally themselues. Thus much it seemes, that *Terentius* had learned of some old Souldiers; and therefore he now ordered his Battailes accordingly, as meaning to shew more skill, than was in his vnderstanding. But the Carthaginians had here no Elephants with them in the field: their aduantage was in Horse; against which, this manner of embattailing was very vnprofitable, forasmuch as their charge is better sustained in front, than vpon a long flanke. As for *Æmilius*, it was not his day of command: He was but an Assistant; and in such cases it happens often, that wise men yeeld for very wearinesse vnto the more contentious. Vpon the right hand, and toward the Riuer, were the Roman horse-men, vnder the Consul *Paulus*: On the left wing, was *C. Terrentius Varro* the other Consul, with the rest of the horse, which were of the Latines, and other associates: *Cn. Seruilius* the former yeeres Consul, had the leading of the battaile. The Sunne was newly risen, and offended neither part; the Carthaginians hauing their faces Northward, the Romans toward the South.

After some light skirmish, betweene the Roman Velites and *Hannibal* his Darters and

slingers of the Baleares: *Asdrubal* brake vpon the Consull *Paulus*, and was roughly encountred; not after the manner of seruice on horse-backe, vsed in those times, wheeling about *Alman-like*; but each giuing on in a right line, Pouldron to Pouldron, as hauing the Riuer on the one hand, and the shoulder of the foot on the other hand; so that there was no way left, but to pierce and breake thorow. Wherefore they not onely vsed their Lances and Swords; but rushing violently amongst the Enemies, grasped one another: and so, their horses running from vnder them, fell many to the ground; where starting vp againe, they began to deale blowes like foot-men. In conclusion, the Roman horse were ouer-borne, and driuen by plaine force to staggering recoile. This the Consull *Paulus* could not remedy. For *Asdrubal*, with his boisterous Gaules and Spaniards, was not to be resisted by these Roman Gentlemen, vnequall both in number, and in horsmanship. When the battailes came to ioyning, the Roman Legionaries found worke enough, and somewhat more than enough, to breake that great Crescent, vpon which they first fell: so strongly for the while, did the Gaules and Spanish foot make resistance. Wherefore the two points of their battaile drew towards the midst; by whose aide, these Opposites were forced to disband, and flye backe to their first place. This they did in great haste and feare: and were with no lesse haste, and folly pursued. Vpon the Africans that stood behinde them, they needed not to fall foule; both for that there was voide roome enough; and forasmuch as the Reare, or Hornes of this Moone, pointed into the safe retrait, where *Hannibal* with his Carthaginians was ready to re-enforce them, when time should require. In this hasty retrait, or flight, of the Gaules and Spaniards; it hapned, as was necessary, that they vvho had stood in the limbe or vtter compasse of the halfe Moone, made the innermost or concaue surface thereof (disordered and broken though it were) when it was forced to turne the inside outward: the hornes or points thereof, as yet, vntouched, onely turning round, & recoyling very little. So the Romans, in pursuing them, were inclosed in an halfe circle; which they should not haue needed greatly to regard, (for that the sides of it were exceeding thin and broken; and the bottome of it, none other than a throng of men routed, and seeming vnable to make resistance) had all the enemies foot bin cast into this one great body; that was in a manner dissolued. But whilest the Legions, following their supposed victory, rushed on vpon those that stood before them, and therby vnwittingly engaged themselues deeply within the principall strength of the Enemies, hedging them in on both hands; the two African Battalions on either side aduanced so far, that getting beyond the Reare of them, they enclosed them, in a manner, behinde: and forward they could not passe farre, without remouing *Hannibal* and *Mago*; which made that way the least easie. Hereby it is apparant, That the great Crescent, before spoken of, was of such extent, as couered the Africans, who lay behinde it vndiscerned, vntill now. For it is agreed, that the Romans were thus empaled *vnawares*; and that they behaued themselues, as men that thought vpon no other worke, than what was found them by the Gaules. Neither is it credible, that they would haue beene so mad, as to run head-long, with the whole bulke of their Armie, into the throat of slaughter; had they seene those weapons bent against them at the first, which when they did see, they had little hope to escape. Much might bee imputed to their heat of fight, and rashnesse of inferiour Captaines: but since the Consull *Paulus*, a man so expert in warre, being vanquished in horse, had put himselfe among the Legions; it cannot be supposed, that hee and they did wilfully thus engage themselues. *Asdrubal*, hauing broken the troupes of Roman horse, that were led by the Consull *Paulus*, followed vpon them along the Riuer side, beating downe and killing, as many as he could, (which were almost all of them) without regard of taking prisoners. The Consull himselfe was either driuen vpon his owne Legions, or willingly did cast himselfe among them; as hoping by them to make good the day, notwithstanding the defeat of his horse. But he failed of this his expectation. Neuertheless he cheared vp his men as well as he could, both with comfortable words, and with the example of his owne stout behauiour: beating downe, and killing many of the enemies with his owne hand. The like did *Hannibal* among his Carthaginians, in the same part of the battaile; and with better successe. For the Consul receiued a blow from a sling, that did him great hurt: and though a troupe of Roman Gentlemen, riding about him, did their best to saue him from further harme; yet was he so hardly laid at, that he was compelled, by wounds and weakenesse, to forsake his horse. Hereupon all his company


The greater Campe of the Romans
The Roman Camp beyond the riuer
The lesser Campe of the Romans
L. Æmilius Paulus
Cn: Seruilius wth 80000 foot
The Roman Velites
C. Terentius Varro
The Balcares
Asdrubal
Aufidus fluuius
Afri:
cans
Hanno or Maharbal
The Campe of Hanibal

Africans
Aufidus flumen
Aldrubal

Varro
Numidians
Africans
Aldrubal

company alighted, thinking that the Consul had giuen order so to doe: as in many battailes, the Roman men at armes had left their horses, to help their foot in distress. When *Hannibal* (for he vvas neer at hand) perceiued this, and vnderstood that the Consul had vvilled his horse-men to dismount; He was very glad of it, and pleasantly said, *I had rather he would haue deliuered them vnto me, bound hand and foot*: meaning, that he had them now almost as safe, as if they vvere so bound. All this while *C. Terentius Varro*, vvith the horse of his associates, in the left vving, was maruellously troubled by *Hanno* (or *Mabarbal*) and the Numidians: who beating vp and downe about that great sandy Plaine, raised a foule dust; vvhich a strong Southwinde, blowing there accustomarily, draue in-
10 to the eyes and mouthes of the Romanes. These, vsing their aduantage both of number and of lightnesse, wearied the Consul and his followers exceedingly: neither giuing, nor sustaining any charge, but continually making offers, and vvheeling about. Yet at the first they seemed to promise him an happy day of it. For when the battailes vvere euen ready to ioyne; fiue hundred of these Numidians came pricking away from their fellowes, with their shields cast behinde their backes, (as was the manner of those vvhich yeelded) and, throwing downe their armes, rendred themselues. This was good lucke to beginne withall, if there had been good meaning. *Varro* had not leisure to examine them; but caused them, vnweaponed as they vvere, to get them behinde the Armie, where he bade them rest quietly till all was done. These crafty aduenturers did as he
20 bade them, for a while; till they found opportunitie to put in execution the purpose, for which they had thus yeelded. Vnder their Iackets they had short swords and ponyards; besides which, they found other scattered weapons about the field, of such as were slain, and therewithall slew vpon the hindmost of the Romans, vvhilest all eyes and thoughts were bent another way: so that they did great mischiefe, and raised yet a greater terror. Thus *Hannibal*, in a plaine leuell ground, found meanes to lay an ambush at the backe of his enemies. The last blow, that ended all fight and resistance, was giuen by the same hand which gaue the first. *Asdrubal*, hauing in short space broken the Romane troups of horse, and cut in pieces all, saue the Companie of *Æmilius* that rushed into the grosse of his foot, and a very few besides, that recouered some narrow passage, between the Riuer
30 and their owne Battalions; did not stay to charge vpon the face of the Legions, but fell backe behinde the Reare of his owne, and fetching about, came vp to the Numidians; with whom he ioyned, and gaue vpon *Terentius*.

This fearefull cloud, as it shewed at the first appearance what weather it had left behinde it, on the other side: so did it prognosticate a dismall storme vnto those vpon vvhom it vvas ready now to fall. Wherefore *Terentius* his followers, hauing wearied themselues much in doing little, and seeing more worke toward, than they could hope to sustaine; thought it the best way, to auoid the danger by present flight. The Consull was no lesse wise than they, in apprehending the greatnesse of his own perill; nor more desperate, in striuing to worke impossibilities: it being impossible, when so many shranke
40 from him, to sustaine the impression alone, which he could not haue indured with their assistance. Now he found, that it was one thing to talke of *Hannibal* at Rome; and another, to incounter him. But of this; or of ought else, excepting hasty flight, his present leisure would not serue him to consider. Close at the heeles of him and his flying troupes, followed the light Numidians, appointed by *Asdrubal* vnto the pursuit, as fittest for that seruice. *Asdrubal* himselfe; with the Gaules and Spanish horse, compassing about, fell vpon the backes of the Romans; that vvere ere this hardly distressed, and in a manner surrounded on all parts else: He brake them easily; vvho before made ill resistance, being inclosed, and laid at on euery side, not knowing which way to turne.
50 Here began a pittifull slaughter: the vanquished multitude thronging vp and downe, they knew not whither or which way, whilest euery one sought to auoid those enemies, vvhom he saw neerest. Some of the Roman Gentlemen that were about *Æmilius*, got vp to horse, and saued themselues: which though it is hardly vnderstood how they could doe; yet I will rather beleeue it, than suppose that *Liuie* so reporteth, to grace therby his Historie with this following tale. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, *galloping along by a place, where hee saw the Consul sitting all bloudied vpon a stone, intreated him to rise and saue himselfe; offering him his assistance and horse. But* Paulus *refused it; willing* Lentulus *to shift for himselfe, and not to lose time: saying, That it was not his purpose to bee brought againe into iudgement by the People, either as an accuser of his Colleague, or as guiltie himselfe*

selfe of that dayes losse. Further, he willed Lentulus *to commend him to the Senate, and in particular to* Fabius: *willing them to fortifie Rome, as fast as well they could; and telling* Fabius, *that he liued and died mindefull of his wholesome counsaile.* Vnhese words (peradventure) or some to like purpose, the Consul vttered to *Lentulus*, either when against his will he was drawne to that Battaile, or vvhen he beheld the first defeat of his Horse; at what time he put himselfe in the head of his Legions. For I doubt not, but *Hannibal* knew vvhat he said a good while before this; when he thought the Consul & his troupe, in little better case than if they had been bound. The whole Grosse of the Romans, was inclosed indeed as within a sacke; whereof the African Battalions made the sides; the Spaniards, Gaules, and *Hannibal* with his Carthaginians, the bottome; and *Asdrubal* with his horse, closed vp the mouth: in vvhich part, they first of all were shuffled together, and beganne the Rout, vvherein all the rest followed. *Æmilius* therefore, who could not sit his horse, whileſt the battaile yet lasted, and vvhileſt the spaces were somwhat open, by which he might haue vvithdrawne himselfe; vvas now (had he neuer so vvell bin mounted) vnable to flie, hauing in his vvay so close a throng of his owne miserable followers, and so many heapes of bodies, as fell apace in that great Carnage. It sufficeth vnto his honour, That in the Battaile he fought no lesse valiantly, than he had warily before, both abstained himselfe, and dissuaded his fellow-Consull, from fighting at all. If, when the day was vtterly lost, it had lien in his power to saue his own life, vnto the good of his countrie, neuer more needing it; I should thinke, that hee either too much disesteemed himself; or being too faintly minded, was vvearie of the World, and his vnthankefull Citizens. But if such a resolution vvere praise-worthy in *Æmilius*, as proceeding out of Roman valor; then was the English vertue of the Lord *Iohn Talbot*, Viscount *Lisle*, sonne to that famous Earle of Shrewsbury, vvho died in the Battaile of Chastillon, more highly to be honoured. For *Æmilius* was old, grieuously, if not mortally, wounded, & accomptable for the ouerthrow receiued: *Talbot* was in the flowre of his youth, vnhurt, easily able to haue escaped, and not answerable for that dayes misfortune, when he refused to forsake his Father; who foreseeing the losse of the battaile, and not meaning to staine his actions past by flying in his old age, exhorted this his noble sonne to be gone and leaue him.

In this terrible ouerthrow died all the Roman foot, saue two or three thousand, who (as *Liuie* saith) escaped into the lesser campe; whence, the same night, about sixe hundred of them brake forth, and ioyning with such of those in the greater campe, as were willing to trie their fortune, conueyed themselues away ere morning, about four thousand foot, and two hundred horse, partly in vvhole troups, partly dispersed, into Cannusium: the next day, the Roman camps, both lesse and greater, were yeelded vnto *Hannibal* by those that remained in them. *Polybius* hath no mention of this escape: onely he reports, that the ten thousand, whom *Æmilius* had left on the West side of Aufidus (as was shewed before) to set vpon the campe of *Hannibal*, did as they were appointed; but ere they could effect their desire, which they had well-neere done, the battaile was lost: and *Hannibal*, comming ouer the vvater to them, draue them into their own campe; vvhich they quickly yeelded, hauing lost two thousand of their number. Like enough it is, that at the first sight of *Hannibal*, comming vpon them with his victorious Armie, a greater number of these did flie; and thereby escaped, whileſt their fellowes, making defence in vaine, retired into their campe, and held the enemie busied. For about two Legions they were (perhaps not halfe full, but made vp by addition of others, whose fault or fortune vvas like) that hauing serued at Cannæ, vvere afterwards extreamely disgraced by the State of Rome, for that they had abandoned their companions fighting. Of the Romane horse what numbers escaped, it is vncertaine: but very few they vvere that saued themselues in the first charge, by getting behinde the Riuer; and *Terentius* the Consul recouered Venusia, with threescore and ten at the most in his companie. That he was so ill attended, it is no maruell: for Venusia lay many miles off to the Southward; so that his neerest vvay thither, had been through the midst of *Hannibals* Armie, if the passage had beene open. Therefore it must needs be, that vvhen once he got out of sight, he turned vp some by-way; so disappointing the Numidians that hunted *contre*. Of such as could not hold pace vvith the Consul, but tooke other vvaies, and were scattered ouer the fields; two thousand, or thereabout, vvere gathered vp by the Numidians, and made prisoners: the rest vvere slaine, all saue three hundred; who dispersed themselues in flight, as chance led them, and got into sundry Townes. There died in this great Battaile of Cannæ, besides *L. Æmilius Paulus* the Consul, two of the Romane Quæstors or Treasurers, & one and twenty Colonels or Tribunes of the Souldiers, foure score Senators, or such as had borne Office, out of which they were to be chosen into the Senate. Many of these were of especiall marke, as hauing been Ædiles, Prætors, or Consuls: among whom was *Cn. Seruilius* the last yeers Consul, and *Minutius*, late master of the horse. The number of prisoners, taken in this battaile, *Liuie* makes no greater than three thousand foot, and three hundred horse: too few to haue defended for the space of one halfe houre, both the Roman Camps; which yet the same *Liuie* saith, to haue bin ouer-cowardly yeelded vp. We may therefore doe better, to giue credit vnto one of the prisoners, whom the same Historian shortly after introduceth, speaking in the Senate, and saying, That they were no lesse than eight thousand. It may therefore be, that these three thousand were only such as the Enemie spared, when the fury of Execution was past: but to these must be added about fiue thousand more, who yeelded in the greater campe, when their company were either slaine or fled. So the reckoning falls out right: which the Romanes, especially the Consul *Varro*, had before cast vp (as we say) without their Host; nothing so chargeable, as now they finde it. On the side of *Hannibal* there died some foure thousand Gaules, fifteen hundred Spaniards and Africans, and two hundred horse, or thereabouts: a losse not sensible, in the ioy of so great a victory; which if he had pursued, as *Maharbal* aduised him, and forthwith marched away towards Rome, it is little doubted, but that the Warre had presently been at an end. But he beleeued not so farre in his owne prosperity; and was therefore told, That *hee knew how to get, not how to vse, a victorie.*

Liu.1.19.

§. IX.

Of things following the battaile at Cannæ.

NOt vvthout good cause doth *Polybius* reprehend those two Historians, *Fabius* the Roman, and *Philinius* the Carthaginian: who regarding more the pleasure of them, vnto whose honour they consecrated their trauailes, than the truth of things, and information of posteritie, magnified indifferently, whether good or bad, all actions and proceedings, the one of his Carthaginians, the other of his Roman Quirites, and Fathers conscript. No man of sound iudgement will condemne this liberty of censure, which *Polybius* hath vsed. For, to recompence his iuniorities (such as it was) he produceth substantiall arguments, to iustifie his owne Relation; and confuteth the vanity of those former Authors, out of their own writings, by conference of places ill co-hering: which paines is to be suspected, that he would not haue taken, had he been borne in either of these two Cities, but haue spared some part of his diligence, and been contented, to haue all men thinke better and more honourably than it deserued, of his owne Countrie. The like disease it is to be feared, that we shall hereafter finde in others; and shall haue some cause to wish, that either they were somewhat lesse Roman, or else, that some Workes of ther opposite Writers were extant, that so we might at least heare both sides speake: being henceforth destitute of *Polybius* his helpe, that was a man indifferent. But since this cannot be, we must be sometimes bold, to obserue the coherence of things; and beleeue so much only to be true, as dependeth vpon good reason, or (at least) faire probabilitie. This attentiue circumspection is needfull at the present: such is the repugnancie, or forgetfulnesse, which we find in the best Narration, of things following the Battaile of Cannæ. For it is said, that foure thousand foot & horse gathered together about the Consul *Terentius* at Venusia; that others to the number of ten thousand got into Cannusium, choosing for their Captaines, yong *P. Scipio*, and *Ap. Claudius*; yet that the Consull *Terentius Varro*, ioyning his company vnto those of *Scipio* at Cannusium, wrote vnto the Senate, that he had now well-neere ten thousand men about him; that these letters of the Consul were brought to Rome, when the Senate was newly risen, that had been taking order for pacifying those tumults in the Citie, which grew vpon the first bruit of the ouerthrow; and yet, that Embassadours from Capua (after some consultation, whether it were meet to send any, or, without further circumstance, to side with *Hannibal*) were sent vnto *Terentius*, and found him at Venusia, a pretty while before he wrote those letters, vvhich ouer-took (in a manner) at Rome the first news of the ouerthrow

ouerthrow. Among such incoherences, I hold it the best way, to omit so much as hath not some particular connexion vvith matter ensuing: mutuall dependencie in things of this nature, being no small argument of truth.

When *Hannibal* had sacked the Roman camp, and trussed vp the spoiles, forthwith he dislodged, and marched away into Samnium; finding a disposition in the Hirpines, and many other people thereabout, to forsake the Roman partie, & make alliance with Carthage. The first towne that opened the gates vnto him, vvas Cossa, where he laid vp his baggage: & leauing his brother *Mago* to take in other places, He hasted into Campania. The general affection of the multitude, in all the cities of Italie, was inclinable vnto him; not onely in regard of their grieuous losses, sustained abroad in the fields, which the Romans themselues, who could not hinder him from spoyling the countrie, especially the poorer sort of them, did hardly indure; but in a louing respect vnto that great courtesie (as it seemed) which he vsed, vnto such of them as became his prisoners. For as at other times, so now also after his great victory at Cannæ, He had louingly dismissed as many of the Italian Confederates of Rome, as fell into his hands: rebuking them gently for being so obstinate, against him that had sought to deliuer them from bondage. Neither spared he to win their loue by gifts; pretending to admire their valour; but seeking indeed, by all waies & meanes, to make them his, whilest all other motiues were concurrent. At this time also he began to deale kindly (though against his nature) with the Roman prisoners; telling them, that he bore no mortall hatred vnto their Estate; but being prouoked by iniuries, sought to right himselfe and his countrie; & fought with them, to trie which of the two Cities, Rome or Carthage, should beare soueraigne Rule, not, which of them should be destroied. So he gaue them leaue to choose ten of their number, that should be sent home to treat with the Fathers about their ransome: and together with these, he sent *Carthalo* a Nobleman of Carthage, and Generall of his Horse, to feele the disposition of the Senate; whether it were bowed as yet by so much aduersity, and could stoope vnto desire of peace. But with the Romanes these arts preuailed not, as shall be shewed in due place. The people of Italie, all, or most of them, saue the Roman Colonies, or the Latines, were not onely wearie of their losses past, but entertained a deceiueable hope, of changing their old Societie for a better. Wherefore not only the Samnites, Lucans, Brutians, and Apulians, ancient enemies of Rome, & not vntill the former generation vtterly subdued, began to re-assume their wonted spirits: but the Campans, a Nation of all other in Italie most bound vnto the State of Rome, and by many mutuall affinities therewith as streightly conioyned, as were any saue the Latines, changed on a sudden their loue into hatred, without any other cause found, than change of fortune.

Campania, is the most goodly and fruitfull Prouince of Italie, if not, (as some then thought) of all the Earth: and the citie of Capua, answerable vnto the country, whereof it was Head, so great, faire, and wealthie, that it seemed no lesse conuenient a seat of the Empire, than was either Rome or Carthage. But of all qualities, brauery is the least requisite vnto soueraigne command. The Campans were luxurious, idle, and proud: and valuing themselues like Iayes by their feathers, despised the vnfortunate vertue of the Romans their Patrons and Benefactors. Yet were there some of the principal among them, as in other cities, that bore especiall regard vnto the Maiestie of Rome, and could not indure to heare of Innouation. But the Plebeian faction had lately so preuailed within Capua, that all was gouerned by the pleasure of the Multitude; vvhich vvholly followed the direction of *Pacuuius Calauius* an ambitious Noble-man, vvhose credit grew, and was vp-held by furthering all popular desires: whereof, the coniunction with *Hannibal* was not the least. Some of the Capuans had offred their city to the Carthaginians shortly after the battaile of Thrasymene: whereupon chiefly it was, that *Hannibal* made his iourny into Campania; the Dictator *Fabius* waiting vpon him. At that time, either the neernesse of the Roman Armie, or some other feare of the Capuans, hindred them from breaking into actuall rebellion. They had indeed no leisure to treat about any article of new Confederacie: or had leisure serued, yet were the multitude (whose inconstant loue *Hannibal* had wonne from the Romans, by gentle vsage, & free dismissing, of some prisoners in good account among them) vnable to hold any such negotiation, without aduice of the Senate, which mainely impugned it. So they that had promised to yeeld vp their town to *Hannibal*, & meet him on the way, with some of their nobility that should assure him

him of all faithfull meaning, were driuen to sit still in a great perplexitie: as hauing failed to let-in this their new friend, yet sufficiently discouered themselues, to draw vpon them the hatred of the Romans. In this case were no small number of the Citizens; who therupon grew the more incensed against their Senate, on whom they cast all the blame, easily pardoning their own cowardize. The people holding so tender a regard of liberty, that euen the lawfull Gouernment of Magistrates grieued them, with an imaginary oppression; had now good cause to feare lest the Senators would become their Lords indeed, & by helpe of the Romans bring them vnder a more streight subiection, than euer they had indured. This feare being ready to breake into some outrage, *Pacuuius* made vse of, to serue his owne ambition. He discourses vnto the Senate, as they sate in Counsell, about these motions troubling the citie: and said, That he himselfe had both married a Roman Ladie, and giuen his Daughter in marriage to a Roman: but, that the danger of forsaking the Roman partie was not now the greatest: for that the people were violently bent to murder all the Senate, & after to ioyne themselues with *Hannibal*; who should countenance the fact, and saue them harmelesse. This he spake, as a man well knowne to be beloued himselfe by the People, and priuy vnto their designes. Hauing throughly terrified the Senate, by laying open the danger hanging ouer them: He promised neuertheless to deliuer them all, and to set things in quiet, if they would freely put themselues into his hands; offering his oath, or any other assurance that they should demand, for his faithfull meaning. They all agreed. Then shutting vp the Court, and placing a Guard of his owne followers about it, that none might enter, nor issue forth, without his leaue; He called the people to assembly: and speaking as much ill of the Senate, as he knew they would be glad to heare, he told them, that these wicked Gouernours were surprised by his policie, & all fast, ready to abide what sentence they would lay vpon them. Onely thus much he aduised them, as a thing which necessity required, That they should choose a new Senate, before they satisfied their anger vpon the old. So rehearsing vnto them the names of one or two Senators, he asked what their iudgement was of those. All cried out, that they were worthy of death. Choose then (said he) first of all some new ones into their places. Hereat the multitude, vnprouided for such an election, was silent; vntill at last, some one or other aduentured to name whom he thought fit. The men so nominated, were vtterly disliked by the whole Assembly; either for some known fault, basenesse, and insufficiency; or else euen because they were vnknown, and therefore held vnworthy. This difficulty in the new Election appearing more and more, whilest more were to be chosen; (the fittest men to be substituted, hauing been named among the first, and not thought fit enough) *Pacuuius* intreated, and easily preuailed with the people, that the present Senate might for this time be spared, in hope of amends hereafter; which (doubtlesse) they would make, hauing thus obtained pardon of all offences past. Henceforth, not onely the people, as in former times, honoured *Pacuuius*, and esteemed him their Patron; but the Senators also were gouerned by him, to whom they acknowledged themselues indebted, for sauing all their liues. Neither did the Senate faile after this by all obsequiousnes, to court the People; giuing the reines vnto their lawlesse Wil, who else were likely to cast them down: All the city being thus of one mind; onely feare of the Romans kept them from opening their gates to *Hannibal*. But after the Battaile at Cannæ, this impediment was remoued: and few there were, that would open their mouths to speake against the Rebellion. Yet forasmuch as three hundred principal gentlemen of the Campans, did then serue the Romans in the Ile of Sicil: the Parents and Kinsmen of these preuailed so far, that Embassadors were sent vnto *Terentius* the Consul; to see his present case, and what it could minister of Hope or Feare. These, wheresoeuer they found him, found him weakely attended, and as weake in spirit, as in followers. Yet they offered him formally the seruice of their State, and desired to know what he would command them. But he most basely lamented vnto them the greatnesse of the Roman misfortune: saying, that all was lost; and that the Campans must now, not helpe the Romans, who had nothing left wherwith to helpe themselues, but make warre in their defence against the Carthaginians; as the Romans had sometimes done for the Campans against the Samnites. Hereunto hee is said to haue added a foolish Inuectiue against *Hannibal* and his Carthaginians: telling, How he had taught them to make bridges of slaughtered carkases, & to feed vpon mans flesh; with such other stuffe, as only bewraied his own feare. As for the Campans themselues,

He

He put them in minde of their present strength: they hauing thirty thousand foot, and foure thousand horse; with monie, and all prouisions, in abundance. Thus he dismissed them, prouder than they came, & filled them with conceit of getting a great Lordship; vvhereas before, they were somewhat timorous, in aduenturing to seeke their owne libertie. Hauing reported this at Capua: the same Embassadors were dispatched away to *Hannibal*, vvith vvhom they easily made alliance, vpon these conditions; That the Campans should be absolutely free, and ruled by their own Lawes; That no Citizens of theirs should be subiect vnto any Carthaginian Magistrate; in vvhat case soeuer, whether in War or Peace; and, That *Hannibal* should deliuer vnto the Campans three hundred Romane prisoners, such as themselues would choose, vvhom they might exchange for their Gentlemen which vvere in Sicil.

Against all this Negotiation, *Decius Magius*, an honourable Citizen, opposed himselfe earnestly: vsing, in vaine, many perswasions, to the wilful and head-strong Multitude; whom he put in minde of *Pyrrhus* and the Tarentines, wishing them not to change old friends for new acquaintance. This did he, when they were sending Embassadors vnto *Hannibal*: and this also did he, when the new Alliance was concluded; but most earnestly, when a Carthaginian Garrison was entring the towne: at which time hee gaue aduice, either to keepe it out, or to fall vpon it, and to cut it in pieces, that by such a notable piece of seruice, they might make amends vnto the Romans, whom they had forsaken.

Aduertisement hereof was giuen to *Hannibal*: who lying about Naples not farre off, sent for *Magius* to come speake with him in the campe. This *Magius* refused: alleaging, that he vvas, by the late concluded Articles, free from subiection vnto any Carthaginian; & therefore would not come. *Hannibal* thereupon hasted himselfe towards Capua: forbearing to attempt any further vpon Naples; which he thought to haue taken in his way by Scalado, but found the wals too high, & was not well prouided to lay siege vnto it. At Capua he was entertained with great solemnity and pompe: all the people issuing forth of the towne, to behold that great Commander, which had won so many noble victories. Hauing taken his pleasure in the sight of that goodly Citie, and passed ouer his first Entertainments; He came into their Senate: where he commended their resolution, in shaking off the Roman yoke; promising, that ere long all Italie & Rome it selfe, should be driuen to acknowledge Capua as chiefe, and receiue Law from thence. As for *Decius Magius*, who openly took part with the Romans their enemies; He prayed them, that they would not thinke him a Campan, but a traitor to the State: & vse him accordingly, giuing sentence out of hand vpon him, as he deserued. This vvas granted: and *Magius* deliuered vnto *Hannibal*; who vnwilling to offend the Capuans, at his first comming, by putting so great a man to death, yet fearing that they might sue for his libertie, if he kept him aliue, thought it best to send him away to Carthage. Thus *Hannibal* setled his friendship with the Campanes: among whom, onely this *Decius Magius* had openly dared to speake against him; being assisted by *Perolla* the sonne of *Pacuuius*. This *Perolla* would haue murdered *Hannibal*, whilest he was at supper, the first night of his comming; had not his Fathers authority kept him from attempting any such attempt. All the towne (besides) were so earnest in the loue of their new Societie, that they are said to haue murdered all the Romans, vpon vvhom at the present they could lay hand; or, (which is all one) to haue smothered them to death in an hot Bath.

The same course of fortune, vvith those of Capua, ranne some other townes thereabouts, vvhich depended on this, as their Mother-Citie. Nola, Nuceria, Naples, Casilinę, and Acerræ, were the Cities next adioyning, that stood out for the Romans. Against these *Hannibal* went, thinking to finde them weakely manned; as they were indeed, though stoutly defended.

The Romanes at this time vvere not in case, to put Garrisons into all their walled townes; but vvere faine to leaue all places, except a few of the most suspected, vnto the faith and courage of the Inhabitants. Rome it selfe was in extreame feare of *Hannibals* comming, at the first report of the ouerthrow at Cannæ: and the griefe of that losse was so generall, and immoderate, that it much disturbed the prouision against apparant danger. It vvas hard to iudge, whether the losse already receiued, or the feare of destruction presently threatning, were the more terrible. All the Senators found worke enough, to stint the noyse and lamentable bewailings, wherof the streets were full. Courtiers were sent

sent forth, to bring assured ridings how all went: wherof vvhen Letters from the Consull *Varro* had throughly informed them, they vvere so amazed, that they ran into barbarous superstition; & taking direction (as vvas said) from their fatall bookes, buried aliue two men & women *Gaules* and *Greekes*, in their Oxe-market. If the bookes of *Sibyl* gaue them such instructions; we may iustly thinke, that *Sibyl* her selfe was instructed by the Diuell. Yet is it not improbable, that extremity of feare caused them to hearken to wicked Sooth-sayers; whose detestable counsels they afterwards, for their own honor (as ashamed of such Authors) imputed to the books of *Sibyl*. An Embassador was sent to *Delphi*, to consult with the Oracle of *Apollo*; & enquire with what prayers & supplications they might pacifie the gods, & obtain an end of these calamities. This is enough to discouer the greatnes of their fear; though not seruing to giue remedy. At that time came Letters out of *Sicil*, from the Prætor *Octacilius*; whom the Senate had appointed; if he found it meet, to passe ouer into *Africk*. In these were contained newes, of one *Carthaginian* Fleet, that wasted the kingdome of *Hieron* their good friend & confederate; and of another fleet, riding among the Iles *Ægates*, which was in readines to set vpon *Lilybæum*, & the rest of the *Roman* Prouince, if the Prætor stirred aside to the rescue of *Hieron*.

In the middest of these extremities, it was thought needfull to call home *Terentius* the Consul, that he might name a Dictator, to take soueraigne charge of the Weale publique, with absolute power, as necessity required. It must needs seeme strange, that all sorts of people went forth to meet the Consul, & bid him welcome home; giuing him thankes *for that he had not despaired of the weale publique!* But this was done (as may seeme) by order from the Senate: which therein (doubtlesse) prouided wisely, for vpholding the generall reputation. If his comming into the Citie, had renewed the lamentations & out-cries of the people: vvhat else would haue followed, than a contempt of their wretchednes, among those that were subiect vnto their Dominion? Now in finding this occasion (though indeed he gaue it not) of bestowing vpon him their welcome, and thankes; they noysed abroad a fame, which came perhaps vnto the eares of *Hannibal*, of their Magnanimity & Confidence: that might seeme grounded on their remaining strength. This therefore was wisely done. But whereas *Liuie* vvould haue vs thinke, that it was done generously, & out of great spirit, let me be pardoned, if I beleeue him not. It vvas done fearfully, and to couer their griefe: had they dared to shew their indignation, they would haue strucke off his head; as in few yeares after, *Cn. Fulvius* had his life brought into question, & vvas banished by them, being lesse blame-worthy, for a smaller offence. *M. Iunius*, by appointment of the Senate, vvas nominated Dictator; and *T. Sempronius*, Master of the horse. These fell presently to mustering of Souldiers, of whom they raised *foure* new Legions, and a 1000. horse: though with much difficulty; as being fain to take vp some, that were very Boyes. These foure Legions are elsewhere forgotten in accompt of the forces leuied by this Dictator; and *two* Legions only set downe, that had bin enrolled in the beginning of the yeer for custody of the City. So it may be, that these two Legions being drawn into the field, foure new ones of *Prætextati*, or striplings were left in their places. In such raw Souldiers, & so few, little confidence was to be reposed; for which reason they increased their number, by adding vnto them 8000. sturdy slaues, that were put in hope of liberty, if they should deserue it by manfull seruice. This not sufficing, the Dictator proclaimed, That whosoeuer ought mony & could not pay it, or had committed any capitall offence, should forthwith be discharged of his debt, or punishment, if he would serue in the war. To arme these Companies, they were fain to take down, out of their Temples and Porches, the spoiles of their enemies that had bin there set vp: among which, were 6000. Armors of the *Gaules*, that had bin carried in the Triumph of *C. Flaminius*, a little before the beginning of this War. To such mockery had God brought the pride of the *Romans*, as a due reward of their insolent oppressions, that they were fain to issue forth of their own gates, in the habit of strangers, vvhen *Hannibal* vvas ready to encounter them with his *Africans*, armed *Roman-like*.

Liu. lib. 26.

Liu. lib. 22.

Liu. lib. 23.

About the same time it vvas, that *Carthalo*, vvith the Agents of the prisoners taken at *Canna*, came to *Rome*. *Carthalo* was not admitted into the City; but commanded, vvhilest he was on the way, to be gone ere night out of the *Roman* Territory. To the messengers of the captiues, audience was giuen by the Senate. They made earnest Petition, to be ransomed at the publike charge; not only the teares & lamentation of their poore kinsfolke, but the great need, wherin the City then stood, of able Souldiers, commending

their sute; which yet they obtained not. Besides the generall custome of the *Romanes* (held by long Tradition, and strengthened by a notable Precedent, when *Regulus* was ouerthrowne, and taken prisoner in the former Warre) not to be too tender of such as had yeelded to the enemy; much was alledged against these who now craued ransome: but the speciall point was, that they were wilfully lost, since they might haue saued themselues, as others did. It sufficed not vnto these poore men, to say, that their offence was no greater than the Consuls; they were told, that this was great presumption. The truth was, the State wanted money: and therefore could not want excuses, whereby to auoid the disbursement: whether it were so, or not, that any such Plea was held about this matter of redemption, as we find recorded. Neither must wee regard it, that the slaues which were armed for the warre, are said to haue cost more, than the summe did amount vnto, that would haue ransomed these prisoners. For this is but a tale, deuised to countenance the *Roman* proceedings as if they had beene seuere; when as indeed they were sutable to the present fortune, poore, and somewhat beggarly. Hereof it is no little proofe, That *Hannibal* valued those *Roman* slaues, whom he had taken in the Campe among their Masters, at no more, than euery one the third part of a common Souldiers ransome: and likely it is, that he offered them at the price, whereat hee thought them current. But if we should suppose, that by trading with *Hannibal*, a better bargaine for slaues might haue beene made, than was by the State at home, in dealing with priuate men; yet must we withall consider, that these priuate men did onely lend these slaues for a while vnto the Common-wealth, and were afterwards contented *to forbeare the price of them* (when by order from the Senate they were enfranchised) vntill the War should be ended. If *Hannibal* would haue giuen such long day of payment; it is likely that the *Romans* would haue beene his Chapmen: but seeing he dealt onely for ready money, they chose rather to say, We will not giue, than, We cannot. The like austeritie, vpon the same reason, but contrary pretence, was vsed toward the souldiers that escaped from that great Battaile. These were charged for hauing fled: as the prisoners were, for not flying, when they might haue done so. True it is, that in such cases (if euer) that which they call *raggione del Stato* may serue for an excuse: when the Common-wealth being driuen to a miserable exigent, is faine to helpe it selfe, by doing iniuries to priuate men. And so dealt the *Romans* now: condemning all those that had serued at *Canna*, to be transported into *Sicil*; and there to serue, not as others did, vntill they had fulfilled twenty yeeres in the Warres, or else were fifty yeeres of age; but vntill this Warre should be ended, how long soeuer it lasted, and that without reward. The same thrifty censure, was afterwards laide vpon others, for their misbehauiour: but neuer vpon any man of quality, saue only (a good while after this, at better leisure) vpon *Cecilius Metellus*, and a few other hare-braind fooles his companions; who being frighted out of their wittes with the terrour of so great a losse, were deuising, after the battaile, which way to runne out of *Italie*, when *Hannibal* as yet had scarce one Towne within it. The inequality of this rigour grew shortly distastfull to the Commonalty: and was openly blamed by a *Tribune of the people*; neuertheless it was quietly digested, the excuse being no lesse apparant than the fault.

Liu.lib.24.

Liu.lib.25.

M. Iunius the Dictator, hauing dispatched all needfull businesse within the Citie, tooke the field with fiue and twenty thousand men. What he did with this Armie, I cannot find: nor more of him than this, That he spent the time about *Campania*; where (as may be presumed) he was not idle. To him therefore perhaps it may be ascribed, that *Hannibal* did no greater euill: for of any euill done to *Hannibal*, by the *Romans* in this their weake estate, onely *Marcellus* had the honour. *Marcellus*, being then one of the Prætors, lay at *Ostia*, with a Fleet ready to set saile for *Sicil*, hauing one Legion aboord his ships, and fifteene hundred other Souldiers newly taken vp: with which forces hee was to defend that Iland, and doe what harme he could in *Africk*. But hearing of the ouerthrow at *Canna*, hee sent these of his new Leuy to *Rome*, for defence of the Citie; and marched hastily with his Legion toward *Cannusium*: deliuering the Fleete, empty of Souldiers, to *P. Furius* his Colleague. Thence was he called by the Magistrates, and chiefe Citizens of *Nola*, to helpe them: who were like to be forced by the multitude (affected, as were the rest of the *Campanes*) to let in the *Carthaginian*; and knew not how to auoid this otherwise, than by seeming to deliberat about the articles of this new Confederacy. Wherefore hee made great iournies thitherward; and arriued euen time enough

enough to preuent the Enemy. Many idle walkes *Hannibal* made, betwixt *Nola* and *Naples*: assaying by faire words, & terrible threats, the one and the other Citie. *Naples* was strong, and not infected with any the least touch of disloyalty: had also a sure Hauen; whereby it stood in the lesse feare, of sustaining much inconuenience, by spoile of the Lands and Villages abroad in the Country. But at *Nola* it was thought a valuable consideration, That *Hannibal* was Master of the field, which if he laid waste, all the poore people were vtterly vndone. So thought the Multitude; & such talke vsed some, that had little feare of their own priuate want or pouerty, but a great desire to gratifie the *Carthaginian*. Of these, one *L. Bantius* was chiefe; a stout young gentleman, and Souldier of especiall marke, well beloued in the Citie, & one that had done good seruice to the *Romans*: but was found by *Hannibal*, halfe dead at *Canna*, and after much gentle vsage, good attendance, and cure of his vwounds, friendly dismissed with liberall gifts. He therefore thought, that it concerned him in honour, to returne the greatest thankes he could vnto so courteous an enemy. *Marcellus* perceiuing this, wrought vpon the same easie nature of the Gentleman: and taking notice of him, as if it had beene by chance, seemed to wonder, why one that had so well deserued of the *Roman* state, had not repaired vnto him the Prætor, who desired nothing more than such acquaintance. So vwith many commendations, gifs, and louing entertainment, being himselfe also a man highly reputed for his personall valour, he made this *Bantius* so faire in loue with him, that nothing could be attempted within *Nola*, against the *Romans*; whereof he had not presently aduertisement. At the comming of *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* remoued from about *Nola*; and assayed, as formerly he had done, the *Neapolitans*: but they had lately taken in a *Roman* Garrison; vpon confidence whereof they gaue him a peremptorie answer, to his discontent. Thence went he to *Nuceria*: vwhich he tooke by composition; and so returned backe againe to *Nola*. He was not ignorant, what good affection the common people of *Nola* bore vnto him: who although they durst not stirre in his quarrell, being ouer-awed by the *Roman* Garrison; yet if they saw *Marcellus* hardly bestead and forced to turne his care from watching them within, to repelling the enemies assayling him without, like enough it seemed, that they would not be wanting vnto the accomplishment of their own desires. He therefore brought his Army close to the Towne, and skirmished often with *Marcellus*: not in hope thereby to do much good, but only to make shew of a meaning to force the Towne; which he sought in the meane while to take by intelligence. In the night time there passed messages betweene him and the Citizens his partakers: whereby it was concluded, That if once *Marcellus*, with all his forces, could be trained into the field, the Multitude within the Towne should presently rise; and seizing vpon the gates, exclude him as an Enemy. Of this Negotiation *Marcellus* was aduertised; and fearing, lest the Conspirators would shortly aduenture, euen to find him busied within the Citie, whilest the *Carthaginians* should scale the vwalls; he thought it the surest way, to cut off the enemies hope, and send him away betimes. Wherfore ordering his men in three Companies, within three seuerall gates looking towards the enemy: He gaue a streight command, that all the Citizens should keepe their houses. Thus he lay close a good part of the day, to the enemies great vwonder; against whom he had customarily issued forth before more early, euery day, to skirmish. But when it was further noted, that the wales were bare, and not a man appearing on them; then thought *Hannibal*, that surely all was discouered, and *Marcellus* now busied vwith the Citizens. Wherupon he bad his men bring ladders, and make ready for the assault: which was done in all haste. But when the *Carthaginians* were at the very wals, and thought nothing lesse, than that the *Romans* would meet them in the field: suddenly the middle gate was opened, whereat *Marcellus*, with the best and boldest of his Souldiers, brake forth vpon them, with a great noise, to make his vnexpected sally the more terrible. Whilest the *Carthaginians*, much out of order, vwere some of them flying before *Marcellus*, the rest making head against him: the other two gates opened, whereat in like sort issued they of the new leuied Companies, vpon the enemies backes. The sudden terror was more auaileable vnto the *Romans*, than their force: yet the Execution was so great, that this was accounted as a victory, and reputed one of the brauest Acts performed in all that Warre; forasmuch as hereby it was first prooued, that *Hannibal* might be ouercome. After this, *Marcellus*, being freed from his enemies that were departed, tooke a strict accompt of the Citizens of *Nola*: condemning aboue

threescore & ten of high Treason, whose heads he struck off; & so leauing the Town in quiet obedience vnto their Senate, vvent & encamped hard by about *Suessula*. *Hannibal* in the meane season vvas gone to *Acerræ*: where being excluded, he thought it no vvisedome to lose time in perswasions, but laide siege vnto it, & began on all sides to close it vp. This terrified the People, who knew themselues vnable to hold out. Therefore, before his Works vvere finished, and they quite surrounded; they stole out by night, and left him the Town empty: vvhich he sacked and burnt. Then hearing newes of the Dictator, that he vvas about *Casiline*, thither vvent *Hannibal*: as being vnwilling that an Enemy so neere should disquiet him at *Capua*; where he meant to Winter. It seemes, or rather indeed it is plain, that the late victory of *Marcellus* had nothing abated the spirit of the *Carthaginian*: vvho durst with a small part of his Army seeke out the Dictator, that had with him the heart of the *Roman* strength. Wherfore the ioy of his Enemies, vpon so slight an occasion as the death of some two thousand of his men, at the most, and those not slaine in plaine battaile, but by a sudden eruption; witnesseth chiefly, in what great feare they stood of *Hannibal*, & how Crest-fallen they were: that hauing three years since demanded at *Carthage*, the body of *Hannibal*, to be deliuered vnto their pleasure, by his own Citizens; could now please themselues, as with good newes, to heare, That in a skirmish not far from *Rome* he appeared to be a man, and not resistlesse. At *Casilinum* the Dictator vvas not: but many Companies of *Italians*, Confederates of *Rome*, were gotten into the Town, & held it. Fiue hundred of the *Prænestines* there vvere; and about foure hundred of *Perusia*; vvith some of the *Latines*. All these had the good hap, to come too late to the battaile at *Canna*, being sent by their seuerall States to the Campe: whither whilest they vvere marching, the tidings of that great misfortune encountred them, & sent them back sorrowfull; for they loued vvell their Lords the *Romans*, vnder vvhose gouernment they liued happily. So came they all, one after another to *Casiline*, where they met and stayed. Neither had they stayed there long, ere they heard newes from *Capua*, How that great Citie became the Ringleader of all the *Campanes* into rebellion. The people of *Casiline* were affected as they of *Capua*: and therfore sought how to rid their hands of those *Prænestines* and their fellowes; but the Souldiers were too hard for them, and after many traines laide one for another, at last they slew all the Townsmen in a night, and fortified the Westerne part of the Town (for it was diuided by the Riuer *Vulturnus*) against the Enemy. If they had run away with the goods, and pretended, that these of *Casiline* were as the rest of the *Campanes*, all Traitors; they themselues might haue bin reputed, as no better than the *Mamertines*. But their constancy in defence of the place witnesseth, vpon what honest reasons they surprised it. *Hannibal* came thither, thinking to haue encountred with greater forces: but these few found him more vvorke than he expected. Diuers assaults he gaue, but was still repelled with losse: and many sallies they made, with variable euent. The Enemy mined; and they countermined: opposing so much industry to his force, that he was driuen to close them vp, and seeke to winne them by famine. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, that was Master of the horse, lay with the *Roman* Army higher vp the Riuer: who faine would haue relieued *Casiline*, but that the Dictator, being gone to *Rome* about some matters of Religion, had giuen him expresse charge not to fight till his returne. *Marcellus* from *Suessula* could not come: his way being stopped by the ouerflowings of *Vulturnus*; the *Nolans* also beseeching him not to leaue them, vvho were in danger of the *Campanes*, if he departed. Thus it is reported: but if the water stayed his iourney, such entreaties were needlesse. Neither is it like that the Dictator tarryed at *Rome* so long, as till extreme famine had consumed the Garrison in *Casiline*. Wherfore it may be thought, that the Towne vvas lost, because the *Romans* durst not aduenture to raise the siege. Barrels of corne were sent by night, floting down the Riuer; & when some of these, being carryed awry by an Eddie of the water, stucke among the Willowes on the bank, wherby this manner of reliefe was discouered and preuented; *Gracchus* cast a great quantity of Nuts into the streame, which faintly sustained the poore besieged men. At length when all food vvas spent, and whatsoeuer grew greene vnder the Walles was gathered for Sallets; the *Carthaginians* ploughed vp the ground: whereon the besieged presently sowed Rape-seede. *Hannibal* seeing this, admired their patience; and said, That he meant not to stay at *Casiline*, vntill the Rapes were grown. Wherefore, though hitherto he had refused to hearken vnto any Composition,

as intending to make them an example to all others; by punishing their obstinacy; yet now he was content, to grant them their liues at an indifferent ransom; which when they had paid, he quietly dismissed them according to his promise. Seuen hundred *Carthaginians* he placed in *Casiline*, as a Garrison for defence of the *Campanes*; vnto whom he restored it. To the *Prænestine* Souldiers great thankes vvere giuen, and louing rewards; among which they had offer, in regard of their vertue, to be made Citizens of *Rome*. But their present condition pleased them so well, that they chose rather to continue, as they were, in *Prænestè*: vvhich is no weake proofe, of the good estate wherein the Cities flourished, that were subiect to the *Roman* Gouernment. This siege of *Casiline* vvas not a little beneficiall to the *Romans*; as hauing long deained *Hannibal*, and consumed much of his time, that might otherwise haue bin better spent. For Winter ouer-took him, long before he could dispatch the businesse: which how to quit with his honour he knew not, when he was once engaged. Therefore he wintered at *Capua*: where he refreshed his Army, or rather corrupted it, as all Historians report, & made it effeminate; though, effeminate as it was, He therewithall did often beate the *Romans* in following times, as shall appeare hereafter.

§. X.

Of the great supply that was decreed at Carthage to be sent to Hannibal *into Italie. How by the malice of* Hanno, *and sloth or parsimony of the Carthaginians, the supply was too long deferred. That the riches of the Carthaginians grew faster, than of the Romans. Of* Fabius *and other old Roman Historians, how partiall they were in their writings.*

WHen *Mago*, the son of *Amilcar*, had spent some time about the taking in of such *Italians*, as fell from the *Romans* after the battaile at *Canna*, his brother *Hannibal* sent for him to *Capua*, & thence dispatched him away to *Carthage*, vvith the ioyfull message of Victory. He told the *Carthaginian* Senate, with how many *Roman* Generals his brother had fought, what Consuls he had chaced, wounded, or slain; how the stout *Romans*, that in the former war neuer shunned any occasion of fight, vvere now growne so calme, that they thought their Dictator *Fabius* the only good Captain, because he neuer durst aduenture to come to battaile; That, not without reason, their spirits were thus abated, since *Hannibal* had slain of them aboue two hundred thousand, and taken aboue fifty thousand prisoners. He further told them of the *Bratians*, *Apulians*, *Samnites*, *Lucans*, and other people of *Italy*, that following the fortune of those great victories, had reuolted vnto the *Carthaginians*. Among the rest he magnified *Capua*, as a goodly City, and fit to be not only (as already it was) Head of all the *Capuans*, but the chiefe seate of their Dominion in *Italie*: and there he informed them, how louingly his brother had bin entertained, where he meant to rest that winter, attending their supply. As for the vvar, He said it vvas euen at an end, if they vvould now pursue it closely, and not giue the *Romans* any breathing time, wherein to recollect themselues, and repaire their broken forces. He willed them to consider, that the war was far from home, in the Enemies Country; that so many battailes had much diminished his brothers Armie: that the Souldiers, who had so wel deserued, ought to be considered with liberall rewards; and that it was not good to burden their new *Italian* friends, with exactions of mony, corne, and other necessaries; but that these things must be sent from *Carthage*: vvhich the victory vvould requite with large amends. Finally, hee caused the golden rings, taken from the fingers of the *Roman* Knights that were slaine, to be powred out openly in the Court: vvhich being measured, filled (as some say) three bushels, or (as others would rather haue it) no more than one; adding, that by this might appeare the greatnesse of the *Roman* calamity, for as much as none but the * principall of that Order, were accustomed to weare that ornament.

Who so considers the former *Punicke Warre*, may easily find, that the State of *Carthage* neuer did receiue, in all the durance therof, any such hopefull aduertisements from their Captaines abroad. Wherefore it is no maruaile, if the errand of *Mago* found extraordinary welcome. In the vehemency of this ioy, *Himilco*, a Senator aduerse to the faction of *Hanno*, is said to haue demanded of that great perswader vnto peace vvith *Rome*, Whether

* Thus *Liuie* reports it: and credible it is that while *Rome* was poore, the bravery of priuate men was not altogether so great, as the Law would haue permitted; though otherwise *Iustinian*. The wearing of the Ring, was the generall priuiledge of the *Roman Equites*.

Whether he were still of opinion, that *Hannibal* should be yeelded vp vnto the *Romans*; or whether he would forbid them to giue thanks vnto the gods, for this their good successe. Hereunto though it be not likely that *Hanno* made the same formall answer, which *Liuie* puts into his mouth, calling the *Carthaginian* Senators *Patres conscripti*, by a terme proper to the *Romans*, and putting them in minde of his owne shamefull owerthrow receiued at the Ilands *Ægates*: yet the summe of his speech appeares to haue been no lesse malicious, than it is set downe, forasmuch as *Hannibal* himselfe, at his departure out of *Italie*, exclaimed against the wickednesse of this *Hanno*; saying, that his hatred against the *Barchines*, had oppressed their Familie, when otherwise it could not, with the ruine of *Carthage*. Therefore it may well be, that he made such a iest of these victories, as is reported; saying, It ill beseemed him, who had vanquished the *Romans*, to call for more helpe, as if he had been beaten; or him, that had taken their campe, filled forsooth with spoyle, to make request for meate and money. To these cauils, if answer were needfull, it might be said, That other booty than of horses and slaues, little was to be found in the *Roman* campe: the best of the Souldiers carrying no other wealth into the field, than a few [a] siluer studs in the bridles and trappings of their horses. If *Hannibal* had taken any maine conuoy of money and prouisions, going to supply all wants of a great Army in some other Prouince, (as the two *Scipio's* are afterwards said to haue done, when they wanne the campe of *Asdrubal*, that carried along with him all the wealth of *Spaine*, in his iourney towards *Italy*) then might such an obiection more iustly haue been made vnto his demand of a supply. But the most likely part of *Hanno* his Oration, and wherein he best might hope to preuaile, contained a perswasion to vse their fortune with moderation; and now to seeke peace, whilest they had so much the better in warre.

a *Liu. lib.* 22

What would haue been the issue of this counsaile, if it had been followed, it were not easie to say. For though it be likely, that the *Roman* pride would haue brooked much indignity, in freeing *Italy* from the danger of warre, yet it is not likely that the faith, so often broken to the *Carthaginians* in former times, would haue bin kept entire, when any opinion of good aduantage had called for reuenge of so many shameful owerthrowes; since after this warre ended, and a new league concluded, no submissiue behauiour could preserue *Carthage* from ruine, longer than vntill such time, as *Rome* was at leisure from all other warres. This counsaile therefore of *Hanno*, though it might seeme temperate, was indeed very pestilent; and serued onely to hinder the performance of a noble resolution. For it was concluded by a maine consent of the Senate, that forty thousand *Numidians*, forty Elephants, and great abundance of siluer, should be sent ouer to *Hannibal*: and that, besides these, twenty thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, should bee leuied in *Spaine*; not onely to supply, as need should require, the Armies in that Prouince, but to be transported into *Italy*.

This great aide, had it beene as carefully sent, as it was readily decreed, the *Roman* Historians would not haue found cause, to taxe the retchlesse improuidence of *Hannibal*, in forbearing to march directly from *Canna* to *Rome*, or in refreshing his Army among the delights of *Capua*: the next yeeres worke would haue finished the businesse, with lesse dangerous aduenture; and the pleasures, which his men enioyed among the *Campanes*, would haue been commended, as rewards by him well thought vpon, wherewith to animate both them and others, that were to be imployed in the following Warre. But either the too much carelesnesse of those, that were loth to make haste in laying out their money, before extreame necessity required it; or the crafty malice of *Hanno*, and his fellowes, working vpon the priuate humours of men, that had more feeling of their owne commodity, than sense of the publike neede; vtterly peruerted, and made vnprofitable in the performance, the order that had beene so well set downe. The [b] Elephants were sent: and some money peraduenture; vncertaine it is, how long after. But those great forces of threescore thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, came not into *Italy*, till much was lost of that which already had been gotten, and a great part of the old *Carthaginian* Army, was first consumed by time, and sundry accidents of warre. Onely some small numbers, no way answering vnto the proportion decreed, were sent into *Spaine*; and the iourney of *Asdrubal* thence through *France* into *Italie* much talked of, but he not enabled thereunto, till many yeeres were past, and the *Romans* had recouered their strength.

b *Liu. l.* 26.

Heere we may note, what great riches the *Carthaginians* drew into their Citie, both by

by the Tributes receiued from their subiects, and by their wealthy Trade of Merchandize. For it is not long, since the Warre of the Mercenaries, and the perfidious tyranny of the *Romans*, extorting in time of greatest necessitie twelue hundred talents; had exceedingly impouerished *Carthage*: which was before brought into great want, euen by the expence of so much money, as was to be disbursed for redeeming of peace, after the losse at *Ægates*. Yet wee see, what great Armies of *Numidians*, and *Spaniards*, besides those already on foote, are appointed to the seruice in *Italy*, and how little the *Carthaginians* feare the want of money in these chargeable vndertakings: whereas the *Romans*, on the other side, hauing three or foure yeeres together beene forced to some extraordinary cost, are faine to goe vpon credit, euen for the price of those slaues, which they bought of their owne Citizens to arme for their defence. Such aduantage, in meanes to enrich their Treasury, had the wealthy Merchants of *Carthage*, trading in all parts of the *Mediterran Sea*, euen from *Tyrus* their Mother-Citie in the bottome of the streights vnto the great Ocean, aboue the *Romans*: who liued on the fruites of their ground and receiued their Tributes from people following the same course of life. When time therefore was come, that the hatred of *Rome* found leisure to shew it selfe, in the destruction of *Carthage*; the impudence of *Roman* falshood, in seeking an honest colour wherewith to shadow the intended breach of faith, discouered plainly whence the ealousie was bred, that this mighty City would againe rebell. For the *Carthaginians*, hauing giuen vp hostages, euen before the *Roman* Army did set forth, to performe whatsoeuer should be enioyned them, with condition that their City might not bee destroyed; and hauing accordingly, when they were so required, yeelded vp all their weapons, and engines of Warre; the *Romans* told them plainely, That the Citie of *Carthage*, which was the body of the Citizens, should be friendly dealt withall, but the Towne must needes be demolished, and remoued into some other place, that should bee twelue miles distant from the Sea. For (said the *Romans*) this Trade of Merchandize, by which yee now liue, is not so fit for peaceable men, such as yee promise to become hereafter, as is the Trade of Husbandry; an wholesome kind of life, and enduing men with many laudable qualities, which enable their bodies, and make them very apt for conuersation. This villainous dealing of the *Romans*, though sugred with glosing words plainly shewes, what good obseruation the elder *Cato* had made of the hasty growth of *Carthage* in riches. For when, being demanded his opinion in the Senate about any matter whatsoeuer it were, he added still this conclusion, *Thus I think*; *and that Carthage should be destroyed*; Hee may seeme, not onely to haue had regard vnto that present wealth, which at his being there hee had found in the City, but much more vnto these times, and the great height whereunto it rose, euen suddenly as wee see, out of many calamities, whilest the *Romans* thought, that it had not been in case to dare so terrible a Warre.

But as the *Carthaginians*, in gathering wealth, were more industrious and skilfull than the *Romans*; so caine they farre short of them, in the honourable care of the publike good; hauing euery one, or most of them, a more principall regard of his owne priuate benefit. This made them (besides the negligence commonly found in victors) when the first heate of their affection (wherein they concluded to pursue the warre strongly) was ouer-past, goe more leisurely to worke, than had been requisite in the execution. It was easie for *Hanno* to perswade couetous men, that they should first of all defend their owne in *Spaine*. This might be done with little charges. Afterwards, when that Prouince was secured, they might send an Army into *Italie*; so going to worke orderly by degrees. For it were no wisdome, to commit all the strength of the Common-wealth to one hazard of fortune, against the enemies; or (which perhaps were worse) to the Gouernment of an ambitious man, and his brethren; who hauing once (if they could so do) finished the warre, might easily make * *Hannibal* a King, and subdue *Carthage*, with the forces that he had giuen them to the conquest of *Rome*.

By such malicious working of *Hanno*, and by their owne slacknesse, incredulity, dulnes, or niggardize, the *Carthaginians* were perswaded rather to make small disbursements in *Spain*, than to set vp all their rest at once in *Italy*. Yet was it indeed impossible, to hold a Countrey of so large extent, and so open a coast as that of *Spaine*, free from all incursion of the Enemy: especially the affection of the Naturals being (as in a new Conquest) ill established. A better way therefore it had beene to make a running Warre, by which

* Of such ambition *Hanno* directly accused *Hannibal*, saying that he made warre that so hee might liue compassed with Legions, as knowing no other way to make himselfe a King. *Liu. l.* 21.

which the *Romans* might haue bin found occupied, euen vvith the ordinary *Carthaginian* Garrisons, or some little addition therunto. For if it were thought meet, to defer the prosecution of their maine intendment against *Rome* it self, vntill such time as euery little thorne were pulled out of the sides of so great a Prouince, then must *Emporiæ* haue bin besieged and forced: vvhich by reason of alliance with the *Massilians*, gaue vnto the *Romans*, at all times when they pleased, a ready and secure Harbour. But the towne of *Emporiæ* was too strong to be wonne in haste: it had long defended it selfe against the *Barbarians*; hauing not aboue foure hundred paces of wall to the main Land, and exceedingly well fortified; a great *Spanish* Town of the same name, lying without it, that was three miles in compasse, very strong likewise, and friend vnto the *Græcians*, though not ouer-much trusted. Wherfore to force this town of *Emporiæ*, that was, besides the proper strength, like to be so well assisted by the *Massilians*, *Romans*, and some *Spaniards*, vvould haue bin a worke of little lesse difficulty, than vvas the *Roman* warre (in appearance) after the battaile at *Canna*: yea it had bin in effect none other, than to alter the seate of the vvarre; which *Hannibal* had already fixed, with better iudgement, neere vnto the gates of *Rome*. The difficulty of this attempt, being such as caused it altogether to be forborne, great folly it was, to be much troubled about expelling the *Romans* vtterly out of *Spaine*: vvhom they might more easily haue diuerted thence, and drawn home to their own doores, by making strong vvar vpon their City. For euen so the *Romanes* afterwards remooued *Hannibal* into *Africk*, by sending an Army to *Carthage*; and by taking the like course, they now endeuoured to change the seate of the vvar, transferring it out of *Italie* into *Spaine*. But the priuate affections of men, regarding the common good no otherwise, than as it is accessary to their owne purposes, did make them easily winke at opportunities, and hope, that somewhat would fall out well of it selfe, though they set not too their helping hands. *Hanno* vvas a malicious wretch: yet they that thought him so, were well enough contented to hearken vnto his discourses, as long as they were plausible, and tended to keepe the purse full. In the meane vvhile they suffered *Hannibal*, & all the noble house of *Amilcar*, to weary themselues in trauaile for the Common-wealth: vvhich all *Carthage* in generall highly commended, but weakely assisted as if the industry of these *Barchines* had bin somwhat more than needfull. Surely the *Carthaginians*, in generall, were far lesse honourable than the people of *Rome*: not only in gouernment of their subiect Prouinces, but in administration of their own Estate; few of them preferring the respect of the Weale publike aboue their priuate intrest. But as they thriued little in the end, by their parsimony vsed toward their own Mercenaries, vvhen the former *Roman* war was finished: so the conclusion of this vvar present, vvill make them complaine, with feeling sighes, of their negligence in supplying *Hannibal*, after the victory at *Canne*; vvhen gladly they vvould giue all their Treasures, to redeeme the opportunity, that now they let passe, as if it vvere cost enough to send a few handfuls into *Spaine*.

That both the *Spanish* businesse, and the state of *Africk* it self, depended wholly, or for the most part, vpon successe of things in *Italie*; the course of actions following will make manifest. Particularly how matters vvere ordered in *Spaine* by the *Carthaginian* Gouernours, it is very hard, and almost impossible, to set downe. For though we must not reprehend, in that worthy Historian *Liuie*, the tender loue of his own Country, vvhich made him giue credit vnto *Fabius* & others: yet must vve not, for his sake, beleeue those lies, which the vnpartiall iudgement of *Polybius* hath condemned, in the Writers that gaue them originall. It were needlesse to rehearse all that may be found in *Polybius*, concerning the vntruth of that *Roman* Historian *Fabius*. One example may suffice. He saith of *Amilcar* and his men at *Eryx*, in the former vvar, That hauing cleane spent their strength, and being euen broken with many miseries, they were glad to submit themselues vnto the *Romans*. Contrary hereunto we find in *the life of Amilcar*, set downe by *Æmilius Probus*, That *Eryx* vvas in such sort held by the *Carthaginians*, that it seemed to be in as good condition, as if in those parts there had not bin any vvar. These words, being referred to the braue resolution of the *Carthaginian* souldiers, and the singular vertue of their Generall infusing such spirit into them; may be taken as not ouer liberall. For in the treaty of peace between *Amilcar* and *Catulus* when the *Roman* first of all required, that this Garrison of *Eryx* should lay downe their Armes and forsake *Sicil*, threatning, that otherwise he vvould not talke of any composition:

Pol. lib. 1.

Amilcar

Amilcar boldly bad him chuse, whether he would talke of it, or no; for that the Armes, vvhich his Country had put into his hands to vse against her Enemies, it was not his purpose to yeeld vp vnto them. Now since the *Romans*, contrary to their custome vpon like aduantages, were content to let *Amilcar* haue his wil, & not to stand with him vpon point of honour, whilest otherwise they might quietly rid their hands of him; plaine enough it is, that they were farre from thinking him a man consumed with miseries, as *Fabius* would haue him seeme. Hereunto agrees the relation of *Polybius*: who flatly, & by name, chargeth *Fabius* vvith vntruth; saying, that howsoeuer *Amilcar*, & his Souldiers, had endured all extremitie, yet they behaued themselues as men that had no sense therof; and were as far from being either vanquished, or tired, as were their Enemies. Such being the difference between *Fabius* (as also perhaps between other old Writers of the *Roman* story) & those that had more regard of truth, than of flattering the mighty City of *Rome*: vve must take it in good part, that howsoeuer *Liuie* introduceth *Hanno*, in one place, ioyning very foolishly his own shamefull ouerthrow at the Ilands, * *Ægateis*, vvith the great seruices of *Amilcar* at *Eryx*, as if both of them had had a like euent; yet * elsewhere he forbeareth not to put a more likely tale (though with as impudent a commemoration of his own vnhappy conduct) into the same *Hanno* his mouth, making him say, That the affaires of *Carthage* went neuer better, than a little before the losse of their Fleet in that battaile at Sea: wherein himselfe was Generall. Now, concerning the doings of the *Scipio's* in *Spaine*, there is cause to wish, that this *Fabius*, vvith *Val. Antias*, & others of the like stamp, had either written (if they could not write more temperatly) nothing at all; or that the tender affection of *Liuie* to his *Rome*, had not caused him to thinke too well of their relations: which are such as follow.

* *Aegatein Insulas, Eryceumque ante oculos proponite, &c. Liu. lib. 21.*

* *Liu. lib. 23.*

§. XI.

Strange reports of the Roman victories in Spaine, before Asdrubal *the sonne of* Amilcar *followed thence his brother* Hannibal *into Italie.*

IT hath bin shewed already, how *P. Cornelius Scipio* the Consul, returning from *Gaule* into *Italie*, to encountet with *Hannibal* at his descent from the *Alpes*, sent before him his brother *Cneus*, with part of his Fleet and Army, into *Spaine*. Two *Roman* Legions, vvith fourteene thousand foot of the Confederates, and twelue hundred horse, had bin alotted vnto the Consul, therewith to make war in *Spaine* against *Hannibal*: who since he vvas marching into *Italie* with the strength of his Army, *P. Scipio* beleeued, that a good part of these his own forces might well be spared from the *Spanish* Expedition; & therefore made bold to carry some of the number backe with him, sending on his brother with the rest, as his Lieutenant. *Publius* himselfe remained in *Italie* all the time of his Consulship: which being expired, He was sent Proconsul into *Spaine* by the Senate, with an Armie of eight thousand men, and a Fleet of thirty Gallies.

The Acts of these two Brethren in their Prouince, were very great; and, as they are reported, somewhat maruellous. For they continually preuailed in *Spaine*, against the *Carthaginians*: whom they vanquished in so many battailes, and with-drew from their Alliance so many of the *Spaniards* their Confederates; that vve haue cause to wonder, how the enemy could so often find meanes to repaire his forces, and returne strong into the field. But as the *Romans*, by pretending to deliuer the Country from the tyranny of *Carthage*, might easily win vnto their Confederacy, as many as were galled with the *African* yoke, and durst aduenture to breake it: so the ancient reputation of the first Conquerors might serue to arme the Naturals against these Inuaders; and to reclaime those, that had reuolted vnto the *Romans*, vvere it only by the memory of such ill successe, as the like rebellions in former times had found. Hereto may be added the *Carthaginian* Treasure: which easily raised Souldiers, among those valiant, but in that Age poore, and gold-thirsty Nations. Neither was it of small importance, that so many of the *Spaniards* had their children, kinsmen, and friends, abroad with *Hannibal* in his *Italian* Wars, or seruing the *Carthaginians* in *Africk*. And peraduenture, if vve durst be bold to say it, the victories of the *Scipio's* were neither so many, nor so great as they are set out by *Liuie*. This we may be bold to say, That the great Captaine *Fabius*, or *Liuie* in his person, maketh an obiection, vnto *Scipio*, vvhich neither *Scipio*, nor *Liuie* for him,

doth

Liu. lib. 28. doth answer, That *if* Asdrubal *were vanquished, as* Scipio *would say, by him in Spaine: strange it was, and as little to his honour, as it had beene extremely dangerous to Rome, that the same vanquished man should inuade Italie.* And it is indeede an incredible narration, That *Asdrubal* being enclosed on all sides, and not knowing how to escape out of battaile, saue onely by the steepe descent of Rockes, ouer a great Riuer that lay at his backe, ran away with all his mony, Elephants, & broken troups, ouer *Tagus*, directly towards the *Pyrenees*, and so toward *Italy*; vpon which he fell with more than threescore thousand armed souldiers. Neither doe I see, how it hangs well together, That he chose a piece of ground very defensible, but most incommodious for his retrait, if he should happen to be vanquished; and yet, that he sent all his money and Elephants away before him, as not intending to abide the Enemy: Or how it could be true, that these his Elephants, being so sent before, could hinder the *Romans* (for so haue they said to haue done in the last battaile between him & *Scipio*) from breaking into his Campe. Wherefore we can no more than be sorry, that all *Carthaginian* records of this Warre, and *Spanish*, (if there were any) being vtterly lost, we can know no more thereof, than vvhat it hath pleased the *Romans* to tell vs: vnto whom it were no wisedome to giue too much credit. In this regard, I will summarily run ouer the doings of the *Scipio's* in *Spaine*; not greatly insisting on particulars, whereof there is no great certainty.

Cn. Cornelius landed at *Emporia*, an Hauen towne, not farre within the *Pyrenees*, retaining still the same name with little inflection. That by the fame of his clemency, he allured many Nations to become subiect vnto *Rome*, as the storie begins of him, I could easily beleeue, if I vnderstood by what occasion they had need to vse his clemency, or he to giue such famous example thereof, being a meere stranger, and hauing no iurisdiction in the Country. Yet is it certaine, that he was a man very courteous, and one that could well insinuate himselfe into the loue of the *Barbarians*; among whom, his dexterity in practice had the better successe, for that he seemed to haue none other errand, than setting them at liberty. This pretext auailed with some: others were to be hired with mony: and some he compelled to yeeld by force or feare; especially, when he had won a battaile against *Hanno*. Into all Treaties of accord, made with these people, likely it is that he remembred to insert this Article, which the *Romans* in their Alliances neuer forgate, vnlesse in long times past, and when they dealt with the *Carthaginians*, or their Superiours; *Maiestatem Pop. Rom. comiter conseruent*, which is, as *Tullie* interprets it, *That they should gently* (or *kindly*) *vphold the Maiestie of the People of Rome.* This vvas in appearance nothing troublesome: yet implyed it indeed an obscure couenant of subiection. And in this respect it may be true, That the *Spaniards* became *ditionis Romanæ*; *of the Romane iurisdiction*; though hereafter they will say, they had no such meaning. That part of the Country wherein *Scipio* landed, was newly subdued by *Hannibal* in his passage toward *Italy*; and therefore the more easily shaken out of obedience. Particularly in the *Bargutians*; *Hannibal* had found, at his comming among them, such an apprehension of the *Roman* greatnesse, as made him suspect, that any light occasion would make them start from the *Carthaginians*. Wherefore he not only appointed *Hanno* Gouernour ouer them, as ouer the rest of the Prouince between *Iberus* and the *Pyrenees*, but made him also their *Lord*; that is, (as I conceiue it; for I doe not thinke he gaue the Principality of their Country vnto *Hanno* and his Heires,) He made him not only Lieutenant generall ouer them, in matters of Warre, and things concerning the holding them in obedience to *Carthage*; but tooke from them all inferiour Officers of their own, leauing them to be gouerned by *Hanno* at his discretion. These therefore had good cause to reioyce at the comming of *Scipio*: with whom, others also (no doubt) found reasons to ioyne; it being the custome of all conquered Nations, in hatred of their present Lords, to throw themselues indiscreetly into the protection of others; that many times proue worse than the former. So were the *Neapolitans*, and *Milanois*, in the age of our Grand-fathers, weary by turnes of the *Spaniards*, and *French*; as more sensible still of the present euill which they felt, than regardfull of the greater mischiefe, whereinto they ran by seeking to auoide it. This bad affection of his Prouince, vvould not suffer *Hanno* to temporize. Ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, *Hannibal* had left vnto him: besides which it is like, that some forces he was able to raise out of his Prouince. Therfore he aduentured a battaile with *Scipio*; wherein he was ouerthrowne and taken. Following this victory, *Scipio* besieged *Seissum*, a Towne hard by, and wonne it.

Liu. lib. 28.

Cicer. pro Con. Ballo.

Liu. lib. 21.

Pol. lib. 3.

it. But *Asdrubal* hauing passed *Iberus*, and comming too late to the reliefe of *Hanno*, with eight thousand foot, and a thousand horse, fell vpon the *Roman* Sea-forces, that lay not farre about *Tarracon*, whom he found carelesse, as after a victory, rouing abroad in the countrey; and with great slaughter draue them aboord their ships. This done, hee ranne vp into the Countrey, where he withdrew the *Illergetes* from the *Roman* partie, though they had giuen Hostages to *Scipio*. *Scipio* in the meane season was gone to visit and aide his Fleete: where hauing set things in order, he returned backe, and made toward *Asdrubal*; who durst not abide his comming, but withdrew himselfe againe ouer *Iberus*. So the *Illergetes* were compelled by force; hauing lost *Athanagia* their chiefe Citie, to pay a fine to the *Romans*, and increase the number of their Hostages. The *Ausetani* likewise, Confederates of the *Carthaginians*, were besieged in their chiefe Towne: which they defended thirty dayes; hoping, in vaine, that the sharpe Winter, and great abundance of Snow that fell, would haue made the *Romans* to dislodge. But they were faine at length to yeeld: and for this their obstinacy, they were amerced twenty talents of siluer. During the siege, the *Lacetani* came to helpe their distressed Neighbours; and were beaten home by *Scipio*, leauing twelue thousand of their Company dead behinde them. I cannot but wonder, how these *Lacetani*, that are said to be the first which embraced the friendship of *Scipio*, should without any cause remembred, become *Carthaginian* on the sudden, in the next newes that we heare of them. As also it is strange, that all the Sea-coast Northward of *Iberus*, hauing lately become voluntarily *ditionis Romanæ*, *subiect vnto Rome*, should in continuance of the Story, after a few lines, hold Warre against *Scipio*, without any resistance of the *Carthaginians*. Neither can I beleeue, that *Asdrubal*, as it were by a charme, stirred vp the *Illergetes*, making them lay aside all care of their Hostages, and take Armes in his quarrell; whilest himselfe had not the daring to stand against *Scipio*, but ranne away, and saued himselfe beyond *Iberus*. *Philinus* perhaps, or some *Carthaginian* Writer, would haue told it thus: That *Scipio* aduenturing too farre into the Countrey, was beaten by *Asdrubal* backe to his ships, whence he durst not stirre, vntill Winter came on: at what time the *Carthaginian* returned into the heart of his Prouince, leauing some few Garrisons to defend those places, that after *Scipio* wonne, by returning vpon them, vnlooked for through a deepe snow. As for the *Lacetani*, *Illergetes*, and the rest, wee may reasonably thinke, that they sought their owne benefit: helping themselues one while by the *Romans* against the *Carthaginians*; and contrariwise, vpon sense of iniuries receiued, or apprehension of more grieuous tyranny, vnder which they feared to be brought by these new Masters, harkening againe vnto the comfortable promises of those, that had ruled them before. For that it was their intent to liue vnder their owne Countrey Lawes, and not vnder Gouernours sent from *Rome* or *Carthage*, their demeanour in all Ages following may testifie: euen from henceforth vnto the dayes of *Augustus Cæsar*; till when they were neuer thoughly conqueted.

Liu. lib. 21.

They eeere following this, *Cn. Scipio* had a victorie against the *Carthaginians* in fight at Sea; or rather came vpon them vnlooked for, while they rode at Anchor, most of their men being on shore. All their ships, that ranne not two farre on ground, he tooke: and thereby grew Master of the whole coast; landing at pleasure, and doing great hurt in all places that were not well defenced. After this victory, aboue one hundred and twenty Nations, or petty Estates, in *Spaine*, are said to haue submitted themselues vnto the *Romans*, or giuen Hostages: whereby *Asdrubal* was compelled to flie into the vtmost corners of the land, and hide himselfe in *Lucitania*. Yet it followes; that the *Illergetes* did againe rebell; that *Asdrubal hereupon came* ouer *Iberus*; and that *Scipio* (though hauing easily vanquished the *Illergetes*) went not forth to meete him, but stirred vp against him the *Celtiberians*, that lately were become his subiects, and had giuen him Hostages. These tooke from the *Carthaginian* three Townes, and vanquished him in two battailes; wherein they slew fifteene thousand of his men, and tooke foure thousand Prisoners. Then arriued *P. Scipio*, with the supply before mentioned: and henceforward the two brethren ioyntly administred the busnesse in *Spaine*.

The *Carthaginians* being occupied in the *Celtiberian Warre*; the two *Scipio's* did *haud cunctanter*, *without both feare or doubt*, passe ouer *Iberus*, and besieged *Saguntum*. Little cause of doubt had they, if *Cn.* had already subdued many Nations beyond it, and, among many others, the same *Celtiberians*, that with their proper forces were able to vanquish

Asdrubal

Asdrubal. *Bostar*, the Gouernor of *Saguntum*, a simple man, suffered himself to be perswaded by one *Acedux* a *Spaniard*, that the only way to get the fauour & hearty good will of the Country, vvas by freely restoring vnto them their Hostages; as resting, vvithout any pledge, assured of their faith. But the crafty *Spaniard*, being trusted with this message & restitution of the Hostages, carried them all to the *Roman* Generals: perswading them, as he had done *Bostar*, to make the Liberality their own. Hereby the *Romans* purchased much loue, if the tale vvere true; & if it vvere not rather true, as afterward, and ere this we find, that all the *Spanish* Hostages were left in new *Carthage*. I am vveary of rehearsing so many particularities, vvhereof I can belecue so few. But since vve find no better certainties, we must content our selues with these.

The yeare following was like vnto this: *Asdrubal* must be beaten again. The two *Scipio's* diuide their forces: *Cn.* makes vvar by Land; *P.* by Sea. *Asdrubal*, vvith much labour and entreaty, hath gotten foure thousand foot, & fiue hundred horse, out of *Africk*: He repaires his Fleet; and prouides euery way to make resistance. But all his chiefe Sea-men, and Masters of his ships, reuolt vnto the *Romans*: because they had bin chidden the last yeare for their negligence, which had betrayed the Nauy. The reuolt of these ship-masters animates to rebellion the *Carpetians*, or *Carpetani*, an In-land people about *Toledo*, in the very Center of *Spaine*. These do much mischiefe, so that *Asdrubal* is fain to make a iourney to them. His sudden comming cuts off some of them, that were found scattered abroad in the fields. But they, making head, so valiantly assaile him, that they driue him, for very feare, to encampe himselfe strongly on an high peece of ground; whence he dares not come foorth to giue them battaile. So they take a Town by force, wherein he had laid vp all his prouisions; and shortly make themselues Masters of the Country round about. This good successe breeds negligence; for vvhich they dearely pay. *Asdrubal* comes vpon them, takes them vnprepared, beats them, kils the most of them, and disperseth the rest; so that the whole Nation yeeldeth to him the next day. Then come directions from *Carthage*; that *Asdrubal* should leade his Army forth into *Italy*: which we may wonder, why the *Carthaginians* would appoint him to do, if they had bin informed by his letters in what hard case he was; and had so weakly supplyed him, as is shewed before. But thus we find it reported: and that vpon the very rumour of this his iourney, almost all *Spaine* vvas ready to fall to the *Romans*. *Asdrubal* therfore sends word presently to *Carthage*, That this must not be so: or, if they will needs haue it so, that then they must send him a Successor, and well attended with a strong Army, which to imploy they should find worke more than enough; such notable men were the *Roman* Generals. But the Senate of *Carthage* is not much mooued vvith this excuse: *Asdrubal* must needs be gone; *Himilco*, vvith such forces as are thought expedient for that seruice both by Land & Sea, is sent to take the charge of *Spain*. Wherfore *Asdrubal* hath now no more to do, than to furnish himselfe with store of mony, that he might haue wherewithall to win the friendship of the *Gauls*; through whose Countries he must passe, as *Hannibal* had done before him. The *Carthaginians* vvere greatly too blame, for not remembring to ease him of this care. But since it can be no better, he layes great Impositions vpon all the *Spaniards* his subiects: and hauing gotten together as much treasure as he could, onward he marcheth toward *Iberus*. The *Scipio's* heaking these news, are carefull how to arrest him on the way. They besiege *Ibera* (so called of the Riuers name running by it) the richest towne in all those quarters, that was confederate with *Asdrubal*: who therupon steps aside to relieue it. The *Romanes* meet him, and fight a battaile with him: which they winne the more easily; for that the *Spaniards*, his followers, had rather be vanquished at home; than get the victory, and afterwards he haled into *Italy*. Great numbers are slaine: and few should haue escaped, but that the *Spaniards* ranne away, ere the battailes were fully ioyned. Their Campe the *Romans* take, and spoile: whereby (questionlesse) they are maruellously enriched; all the mony that could be raked together in *Spaine*, being carried along in this *Italian* expedition. This dayes euent ioynes all *Spaine* to the *Romanes*, if any part of the Country stood in doubt before; and puts *Asdrubal* so far from all thought of trauelling into *Italy*, that it leaues him small hope of keeping himselfe safe in *Spaine*. Of these exploits aduertisement is sent to *Rome*: and *Letters* to the Senate, from *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, whereof the Contents are; That they haue neither mony, apparrell, nor bread, wherewith to sustaine their Army and Fleet; That all is wanting: so as vnlesse they may be supplyed from *Rome*,

Liu. lib. 23.

Rome, they can neither hold their forces together, nor tarry any longer in the Prouince. These Letters come to Rome in an euill season, the State being scarcely able, after the losse at Cannæ, to helpe it selfe at home. Yet reliefe is sent: how hardily, and how much to the commendations of that loue and care, which the priuate Citizens of Rome bare vnto the Common-wealth, shal be inserted else-where; into the relation of things wherof the truth is lesse questionable. At the comming of this supply, the two *Scipio's* pursue *Asdrubal*, and hunt him out of his lurking holes. What else can we thinke, than remember the last newes of him, and how fearefully he mistrusted his own safetie? They find him, and *Mago* & *Amilcar* the sonne of *Bomilcar*, with an Army of threescore thousand men, besieging Illiturgi: (which the learned *Ortelius*, and others, probably coniecture to haue stood, where Carinnena is now, in the Kingdome of Aragon; for there was *Iliturgis*, afterward called *Forum Iulij*, quite another vway) a Towne of the Illergetes their neerest Neighbours, for hauing reuolted vnto the Romans. The towne is greatly distressed; but most of all, for vvant of victuals. The Romans therefore brake through betweene the Enemies Campes, vvith terrible slaughter of all that resist them: and hauing victualled the place, incourage the townes-men to defend their walls as stoutly, as they should anon behold them fighting manfully with the besiegers, in their behalfe. So they issue forth, about sixteen thousand against threescore thousand: and killing more of the enemies, than themselues were in number, draue all the three Carthaginian Commanders, euery one out of his quarter; and tooke that day, besides prisoners and other bootie, fiftie and eight Ensignes. *Liu. lib. 23.*

The Carthaginian Armie, being thus beaten from Illiturgi, fall vpon Incibili, that stood a little Southward from the mouth of Iberus. The Spaniards are blamed, as too greedy of earning money by warre, for thus re-inforcing the broken Carthaginians. But it may be wondred, whence the Carthaginians had money to pay them; since *Asdrubal* was lately driuen to poll the Country, wanting money of his owne; and being beaten in his iourny, had lost his wealthy carriages, when his Campe was taken after the battel by *Ibera*. Howsoeuer it happens, the Carthaginians (according to their custome) are beaten againe at Incibili: where there were of them aboue thirteen thousand slaine, and aboue three thousand taken; besides two and forty Ensignes, and nine Elephants. After this, (in a manner) all the people of Spaine fell from them vnto the Romans. Thus could *Fabius*, *Valerius Antias*, or some other Historian, to whom *Liuie* gaue credit, conquer all Spaine twice in one yeere, by winning famous victories; whereof these good Captaines, *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, perhaps were not aware. *Liu. lib. 23.*

The Romans, notwithstanding this large accesse of Dominion, winter on their owne side of Iberus. In the beginning of the next yeere, great Armies of the Spaniards rise against *Asdrubal*; and are ouerthrowne by him. *P. Scipio*, to helpe these his friends, is forced to make great hast ouer the Riuer. At Castrum altum, a place in the mid-way between new Carthage and Saguntum, famous by the death of the great *Amilcar*, *Publius Scipio* incampeth: and stores the place with victuals, being strong and defencible; as intending to make it his seate for a while. But the Country round about is too full of Enemies: the Carthaginian horse haue charged the Romans in their march, & are gone off cleare; falling also vpon some stragglers, or such as lagged behind their fellowes in march, they haue cut off two thousand of them. Hereupon it is thought behouefull, to retire vnto some place more assured. So *Publ.* withdrawes himselfe vnto *Mons victoriæ*, that rising somewhat Eastward from Incibili, ouer-looketh the Southerne Out-let of Iberus. Thither the Carthaginians pursue him: His brother *Cn.* repaires vnto him; & *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gesco*, with a full Army, arriues to help his Companions. As they lie thus neere incamped together, *P. Scipio*, with some light-armed, going closely to view the places thereabouts, is discouered by the enemies: who are like to take him; but that he withdrawes himselfe to an high piece of ground; where they besiege him, vntill his brother *Cn.* fetcht him off. After this (but I know not why) Castulo, a great city of Spain, whence *Hannibal* had taken him a wife, ioyneth with the Romans; though being farre distant from them, and seated on the head of the Riuer Bœtis. Neuertheless the Carthaginians passe ouer Iberus, to besiege Illiturgi again, wherein lodgeth a Roman garrison; hoping to win it by famine. We may iustly wonder, what should mouethem to neglect the rebellion of *Castulo*, yea and the Roman Army lying so close by them, and to seeke aduentures further off, in that very place, wherein they had been so grieuously beaten

the yeer before. But thither they goe: and thither followes them *Cn. Scipio* with one Legion: who enters the Towne by force, breakes out vpon them the next day, and in two battels kils aboue twelue thousand, and takes more than a thousand of them prisoners, with fixe and thirty Ensignes. This victorie (doubtlesse) is remarkeable: considering that the greatest Roman Legion at this time, consisted of no more than fiue thousand men. The vanquished Carthaginians besiege Bigarra: but that siege is also raised by *Cn. Scipio*. Thence the Carthaginians remoue to Manda; where the Romans are soone at their heeles. There is a great battaile fought, that lasteth foure houres, wherein the Romans get a notable victory; and a more notable would haue gotten, had not *Cn. Scipio* beene wounded. Thirty nine Elephants are killed, & twelue thousand men; three thousand prisoners taken, and seuen and fifty Ensignes. The Carthaginians flie to Auringes; and the Romans pursue them. *Cn. Scipio* in a Litter is carried into the field, and vanquisheth the Carthaginians againe: but kils not halfe so many of them, as before; good cause why, for there are *fewer* of them left to fight. Notwithstanding all these ouerthrowes, the Spaniards, a people framed euen by nature to set warre on foot, quickly fill vp the broken troops of *Asdrubal*, who hauing also hired some of the Gaules, aduentures once more to trie his fortune with the Romans. But he is beaten againe: and loseth eight thousand of his men; besides Prisoners, Elephants, Ensignes, and other appurtenances. After so many victories, the Romans are euen ashamed, to leaue Saguntum enthralled vnto the Carthaginians; since, in behalfe of that Citie, they had at first entred into this warre. And well may we thinke it strange, that they had not recouered it long before; since we may remember, that long before this they had wonne all the Country once and againe. But it must not be forgotten, that they had ere now besieged Saguntum; and were faine (as appeares) to goe their way without it: so as they need not to blush, for hauing so long forborne to doe that, which ere now they had attempted, but were vnable to performe. At the present they wonne Saguntum: and restored the possession thereof vnto such of the poore dispersed Citizens, as they can finde out. They also waste and destroy the country of the Turdetani, that had ministred vnto *Hannibal* matter of quarrell against the Saguntines. This last action (questionlesse) was much to their honour; and wherein we may be assured, that the Carthaginians would haue disturbed them, if they had been able.

Liu. lib. 24.

But ouer-looking now this long continuance of great victories, which the Romans haue gotten in Spaine, other print or token of all their braue exploits, we can perceiue none, than this recouery of Saguntum: excepting the stopping of *Asdrubals* iourny; which was indeed of greatest importance, but appertaining to their owne defence. For they haue landed at Emporiæ, an Hauen towne, built and peopled by a Colonie of the Phocæans, kinne to the Massilians, friends to the Romans; They haue easily wonne to their party, lost, recouered, and lost againe, some petty bordering Nations of the Spaniards, that are carried one while by perswasion, other-whiles by force, and sometimes by their owne vnsettled passions; and now finally they haue won a town, whereof the Carthaginians held intire possession, who had rooted out the old inhabitants. Wherefore we may easily beleeue, that when they took Saguntum (if they tooke it not by surprise; which is to be suspected, since in this Action we finde no particulars remembred, as when the same place was taken by *Hannibal*) they had gotten the better of their Enemies in some notable fight. In like sort also must we thinke, that all those battailes lately remembred, after euery one of which *Asdrubal* sate down before some place, that had rebelled, or seemed ready to rebell, were prosperous vnto the Carthaginians. For it is not the custome of Armies vanquished, to carry the warre from Town to Towne, and beleaguer Cities of their Enemies; but to fortifie themselues within their owne places of strength, and therein to attend the leuie and arriuall of new supplies. And surely, if the Romans had been absolute Masters of the field, when they won Saguntum, they would not haue consumed a whole yeere following, in practising onely with the Celtiberians the next adioyning people. Yet made they this little lesse than two yeers businesse. Of these Celtiberians we heare before, That they haue yeelded vp themselues vnto the Romans; for securitie of their faith, giuen Hostages to *Scipio*; and, at his appointment, made warre against the Carthaginians, with their proper forces. Wherefore it is strange, that they are now thus hardly wrought; and, not without expresse condition of a great summe, hired to seruc in the Roman camp. How this may hold together I cannot perceiue;

perceiue; vnlesse perhaps in those daies it were the Roman custome, or rather the custom of some bad Author whom *Liuie* followes, to call euery messenger, or straggler, that entred their campe, an Hostage of that people from whom he came.

The Celtiberians at length, hired with great rewards, send an Army of thirty thousand to helpe the Romans: out of which, three hundred the fittest men are chosen, and caried into Italy, there to deale with their Country men that follow *Hannibal* in his warres. But if any of these three hundred returne backe into Spaine, it is to be feared, that he brings with him such news of the riches and welfare of *Hannibals* men, that all his fellowes at home are the lesse vnwilling to follow *Asdrubal*, when he shall next haue a desire to leade them into Italy. Hereof we find more than probability, when these thirteen ay Celtiberians meet the Carthaginian Army in the field. The two *Scipio's*, presuming on this accesse of strength, diuide their forces, and seeke out the Enemies, who die not farre off with three Armies. *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar*, is neerest at hand, euen among the Celtiberians, at Anitorgis. With him *Cn. Scipio* doubts not to take good order: but the feare is, that this one part of the Carthaginian forces being destroyed, *Mago* the sonne of *Gesco*, hearing the newes, will make vse of their distance, which is fiue dayes march, and, by running into the furthest parts of the Country, saue themselues from being ouer-taken. *Publius* therefore must make the more haste, and take with him the better souldiers, that is, two parts of the old Roman Armse, leaning the third part, and all the Celtiberians, to his brother. He that hath the longer iourny to make, comes somewhat the sooner to his liues end. *Mago*, and *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gesco*, are not studying how to runne away: they finde no such necessity. They ioyne their forces together, meet with *Publius Scipio*, and lay at him so hardly, that hee is driuen to keepe himselfe close within his Trenches: wherein he thinkes himselfe not well assured. Especially he is vexed by *Masanassa*, Prince of the Massæsyli, Numidians bordering vpon Mauritania, in the Region called now Tremizen: to whom the chiefe honor of this seruice is ascribed, for that he becomes afterward Confederate with the Romans. In this dangerous case, *P. Scipio* gets intelligence, that *Indibilis* a Spanish Prince, is comming with seuen thousand & fiue hundred of the Suessetani, to ioyne with his Enemies. Fearing therefore to be streight shut vp, and besieged, he issues forth by night, to meet with *Indibilis* vpon the way, leaning *T. Fonteius* his Lieuetenant, with a small company to defend the camp. He meets with *Indibilis*, but is not able, according to his hope, to defeat him at the first incounter. The fight continues so long, that the Numidian horse appeare (whom he thought to haue been ignorant of his departure) and fall vpon the Romans on all sides: neither are the Carthaginians farre behinde; but come so fast vpon him in Reare, that *P. Scipio*, vncertaine which way to turne, yet fighting, and animating his men, where need most requireth, is strucke through with a lance, and slaine: very few of his Army escaping the same destinie, through benefit of the darke night. The like end hath *Cn. Scipio* within nine and twenty dayes after. At his meeting vvith *Asdrubal*, the Celtiberian Mercenaries all forsake him; pretending that they had warre in their owne Country. If Anitorgis, where *Asdrubal* then lay, were, as *Ortelius* following *Beuterus* takes it, a Celtiberian towne; this was no vaine pretence, but an apparant truth. But we may iustly beleeue, that they were wonne by *Asdrubal*, and easily perswaded to take as much mony for not fighting, as they should haue had for hazarding their liues. *Cn. Scipio* therefore being vnable to stay them, and no lesse vnable, without their helpe, either to resist the enemie, or to ioyne with his brother, maketh a very violent retrait; herein onely differing from plaine flight, that he keeps his men together. *Asdrubal* presseth hard vpon him: and *Mago*, with *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gesco*, hauing made an end of *Publius*, hasten to dispatch his brother after him. *Scipio* steales from them all, by night; but is ouertaken the next day by their horse, and arrested, in an open place of hard stony ground, where growes not so much as a shrubbe, vnfit for defence of his Legions against such enemies. Yet a little Hill he findes of easie ascent on euery side, which he takes for want of a more commodious place, and fortifies with packe-saddles, and other luggage, for default of a better Pallisado. These weake defences the Carthaginians soone teare in sunder: and, breaking in on all hands, leaue very few of them aliue; that sauing themselues, I know not how, within some woods adioyning, escape vnto *T. Fonteius*, whom *Publius* had left in his camp, as is before said. It is a terrible ouerthrow, they say, out of which no man escapes. Yet, how they that were thus hemmed in on euery

cuery side, in so bare a ground as affoorded not a shrub to couer them, could breake out, and shrowd themselues within woods adioyning, I should much wonder; did not a greater miracle following call away mine attention. *T. Fonteius* is in *P. Scipio's* campe, on the North side of Iberus, fearefull (as may be supposed) of his owne life; since his Generall, with two parts of the Roman Armie, had little hope to remaine long safe within it. Thither comes *L. Martius*, a yong Roman Gentleman of a notable spirit: who hauing gathered together the scattered Souldiers, and drawne some Companies out of their Garrisons, makes a prettie Armie. The Souldiers, being to choose a Generall by most voices, preferre this *L. Martius* before *Fonteius* the Lieutenant, as well they may. For *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Gesco* comming vpon them; this *L. Martius* so incourageth his men, (fondly weeping when he led them forth, vpon remembrance of their more honourable Generals lately slaine) and admonisheth them of their present necessity, that he beates the Carthaginians into their Trenches. A notable victory perhaps he might haue gotten but that he wisely sounds the retrait; reseruing the fury of his Souldiers to a greater occasion. The Carthaginians are at first amazed, and wonder whence this new boldnesse growes in enemies lately vanquished, and now againe little better than taken: but when they see, that the Roman dares not follow his aduantage, they return to their former security; and vtterly despising him, set neither *Corps du gard*, nor Sentinell, but rest secure, as if no enemy were neere. *Martius* therefore animates his souldiers with liuely words; and tels them, That there is no aduenture more safe, than that vvhich is furthest from suspition of being vnder-taken. They are soone perswaded to follow him, in any desperate piece of seruice. So he leades them forth by night, and steales vpon the Campe of *Asdrubal*: vvhere finding no guard, but the enemies fast asleepe, or very drowzie, He enters without resistance, fires their Cabbines, and giues a terrible alarme; so that all affrighted, the Carthaginians run head-long one vpon another, they know not which way. All passages out of their Campe, *Martius* hath prepossessed, so that there is no way to escape, saue by leaping downe the Rampart: which as many doe, as can thinke vpon it, and run away toward the Campe of *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar*, that lay sixe miles off. But *Martius* hath way-led them. In a Valley betweene their two campes he hath bestowed a Roman cohort, and I know not what number of Horse; so that into this Ambush they fall euery one, and are cut in pieces. But lest perchance any should haue escaped, and giue the alarme before his comming; *Martius* hastens to be there as soone as they. By which diligent speed, He comes early in the morning vpon this further campe: which with no great difficulty he enters, and partly by apprehension of danger which the Enemies conceiued, when they beheld the Roman shields, foule, and bloudied vvith their former execution, Hee driues head-long into slight, all that can saue themselues from the fury of the sword. Thirty seuen thousand of the enemies perish in this nights worke; besides a thousand eight hundred and thirty, taken prisoners. Hereunto *Valerius Antius* addes, that the campe of *Mago* was also taken, and seuen thousand slaine: and that in another battaile with *Asdrubal*, there were slaine ten thousand more; besides foure thousand three hundred and thirtie taken prisoners. Such is the power of some Historians. *Liuie* therefore hath elsewhere vvell obserued, That there is none so intemperate, as *Valerius Antius*, in multiplying the numbers that haue fallen in battailes. That, whilest *Martius* was making an Oration to his souldiers, a flame of fire shone about his head, *Liuie* reporteth as a common tale, not giuing thereto any credit: and temperately concludeth, That this Captaine *Martius* got a great name; which he might well doe, if with so small forces, and in such distresse, He could cleerely get off from the Enemies, & giue them any parting blow, though it were farre lesse than that which is here set downe.

Of these occurrents *L. Martius* sent word to Rome, not forgetting his owne good seruice, whatsoeuer it was, but setting it out in such wise, as the Senate might iudge him worthy to hold the place of their Vicegerent in Spaine: which the better to intimate vnto them, He stiled himselfe Propretor. The Fathers were no lesse moued with the tidings than the case required: and therefore took such carefull order, for supplying their forces in Spain, that although *Hannibal* came to the gates of Rome, ere the companies leuied to serue in that Prouince, could be sent away; yet would they not stay a tide for defence of the Citie it selfe, but shipped them in all haste for Spaine. As for that title of Propretor, which *Martius* had assumed, they thought it too great for him, and were offended

offended at his presumption in vsurping it: foreseeing well, that it was a matter of ill consequence, to haue the souldiers abroad make choice, among themselues, of those that should command Armies and Prouinces. Therefore *C. Claudius Nero* was dispatched away, with all conuenient haste, into Spaine: carrying with him about sixe thousand of the Roman foot, and as many of the Latines, with three hundred Roman horse, & of the Latines eight hundred.

It happened well, that about these times, the affaires of Rome began to prosper in Italy, & afforded means of sending abroad such a strong supply: otherwise, the victories of *Martius* would ill haue serued, either to keep footing in Spain, or to stop the Carthaginian Armies from marching towards the Alpes. For when *Claudius*, landing with his new forces, tooke charge of that remainder of the Army, which was vnder *Martius* and *Fonteius*; he found surer tokens of the ouerthrowes receiued, than of those miraculous victories, whereof *Martius* had made his vaunts vnto the Senate. The Roman party was forsaken by most of the Spanish friends: whom how to reclaime, it would not easily be deuised. Yet *Claudius* aduanced boldly towards *Asdrubal* the brother of *Hannibal*: whom he found among the Ausetani, neer enough at hand, incamped in a place called *Lapides atri*; out of which there was no issue, but onely through a streight, whereon the Roman seized at his first comming. What should haue tempted any man of vnderstanding to incampe in such a place, I doe not finde: and as little reason can I find in that which followed. For it is said, That *Asdrubal*, seeing himselfe thus lockt vp, made offer to depart forth-with out of all Spaine, and quit the Prouince to the Romans, vpon condition, that he and his Armie might be thence dismissed; That he spent many dayes, in entertayning parlee with *Claudius* about this businesse; That night by night he conueighed his footmen (a few at a time) through very difficult passages, out of the danger; and that finally taking aduantage of a misty day, He stole away with all his Horse and Elephants, leauing his Camp empty. If we consider, that there were at the same time, besides this *Asdrubal*, two other Carthaginian Generals in Spaine; we shall finde no lesse cause to wonder at the simplicity of *Claudius*, vvho hoped to conclude a bargaine for so great a Country, with one of these three Chieftaines, than at the strange nature of those passages: through which the footmen could hardly creepe out by night; the Horse and Elephants easily following them in a darke misty day. Wherefore in giuing beliefe to such a tale, it is needfull that we suppose, both the danger wherein the Carthaginians were, and the conditions offered for their safe departure, to haue been of far lesse value. Howsoeuer it was; neither this, nor ought else that the Romans could doe, serued to purchase any new friends in Spaine, or to recouer the old which they had lost. Like enough it is, that the old Souldiers, which had chosen *Martius* their Propretor, tooke it not wel, that the Senate, regardlesse of their good deserts, had repealed their election, and sent a Propretor whom they fancied not so well. Some such occasion may haue moued them to desire a Proconsul, and (perhaps) young *Scipio* by name: as if a title of greater dignity, were needfull to worke regard in the Barbarians; and the beloued memory of *Cn.* and *Publius*, likely to doe good, were it reuiued in one of the same family. Whether vpon these, or vpon other reasons; *C. Claudius* was recalled out of the Prouince; and *Publius* the sonne of *P. Scipio* sent Proconsul into Spaine.

This is that *Scipio*, who afterward transferred the warre into Africk: where he happily ended it, to the great honour and benefit of his Country. He was a man of goodly presence, & singularly well conditioned: especially he excelled in Temperance, Continency, Bounty, and other vertues that purchase loue; of which qualities what great vse he made, shall appeare in the tenour of his Actions following. As for those things that are reported of him, sauouring a little too much of the great *Alexanders* vanity; How he vsed to walke alone in the Capitoll, as one that had some secret conference with *Iupiter*; How a Dragon (which must haue been one of the gods; and, in likelihood, *Iupiter* himselfe) was thought to haue conuersed with his Mother, entring her Chamber often, & vanishing away at the comming in of any man; and how of these matters he nourished the rumour, by doubtfull answers; I hold them no better than fables, deuised by Historians, who thought thereby to adde vnto the glory of Rome: that this noble Citie might seeme, not onely to haue surpassed other Nations in vertue of the generality, but also in great worth of one single man. To this end nothing is left out, that might serue to adorne this Roman Champion. For it is confidently written, as matter of

of vnquestionable truth, That when a Proconsull was to be chosen for Spaine, there durst not any Captaine of the principall Citizens offer himselfe as Petitioner, for that honourable, but dangerous charge; That the people of Rome were much astonished thereat; That when the day of Election came, all the Princes of the Citie stood looking one another in the face, not one of them hauing the heart, to aduenture himselfe in such a desperate seruice; and finally, That this *P. Cornelius Scipio*, being then about foure and twentie yeeres of age, getting vp on an high place where he might be seen of all the multitude, requested, and obtained, that the Office might be conferred vpon him. If this were true, then were all the victories of *L. Martius* no better than dreames: and either very vnreasonable was the feare of all the Roman Captains, who durst not follow *Claudius Nero*, that not long before was gone into Spain Propretor; or very bad intelligence they had out of the Prouince, which *Asdrubal* the Carthaginian, as we heard euen now, was ready to abandon. But vpon these incoherences, which I finde in the two partiall Roman Historians, I doe not willingly insist.

P. Scipio was sent Proconsull into Spaine; and with him was ioyned *M. Iunius Syllanus*, as Propretor, and his Coadiutor. They carried with them tenne thousand foot, and a thousand horse, in thirty *Quinquereme* Gallies. With these they landed at Emporiæ; and marched from thence to Tarracon alongst the Sea-coast. At the fame of *Scipio's* arriuall, it is said, that Embassages came to him apace from all quarters of the Prouince: which he entertained with such a maiestie, as bred a wonderfull opinion of him. As for the enemies, they were greatly affraid of him: and so much the greater was their feare, by how much the lesse they could giue any reason of it. If we must beleeue this, then must we needs beleeue, that their feare was euen as great as could be: for very little cause there was, to be terrified with the fame of so young a man, which had as yet performed nothing. All the Winter following (or, as some thinke, all the next yeare) hee did nothing: but spent the time perhaps, as his foregoers had done, in treating with the Spaniards. His first enterprize was against new Carthage: vpon which he came vnexpected, with fiue and twenty thousand foot, and two thousand fiue hundred horse; his Sea forces coasting him, and moderating their course in such wise, that they arriued there together with him. He assailed the Towne by Land and Sea; and wonne it by assault the first day. The Carthaginians lost it, by their too much confidence vpon the strength of it: which caused them to man it more slenderly, than was requisite. Yet it might haue beene well enough defended, if some Fisher-men of Tarracon had not discouered vnto *Scipio*, a secret passage vnto the walles; whereof the Townsmen themselues were either ignorant, or thought (at least) that their enemies could haue no notice. This Citie of new Carthage, resembled the old and great Carthage in situation; standing vpon a demi-Iland, betweene an Hauen and a great Lake. All the Westerne side of the walls, and somewhat of the North, was fenced with this Lake: which the Fisher-men of Tarracon had sounded; and finding some part thereof a shelfe, whereon at low water men might passe knee-deep, or (at most) wading vp to the Nauill, *Scipio* thrust therinto some Companies of his men; who recouered the top of the walles without resistance: the place being left without guard, as able to defend it selfe by the naturall strength. These falling suddenly vpon the backes of the Carthaginians within the Citie; easily forced a gate, and gaue free entrance to the Roman Army. What booty was found within the Towne, *Liuie* himselfe cannot certainly affirme; but is faine to say, That some Roman Historians told lies without measure, in way of amplification. By that small proportion of riches, which was afterward carried by *Scipio* into the Roman Treasury, we may easily perceiue, how great a vanity it was to say, That all the wealth of Africk & Spaine, was heaped vp in that one Towne. But therein were bestowed all the Spanish Hostages: (or at least of the adioyning Prouinces) whom *Scipio* intreated with singular courtesie; restoring them vnto their kindred and friends, in such gracious manner, as doubled the thankes due to so great a benefit. Hereupon a Prince of the Celtiberians, and two petty Kings of the Ilergetes & Lacetani, neerest Neighbours to Tarracon, and dwelling on the North-side of Iberus, forsook the Carthaginian party, & ioyned with the Romans. The speech of *Indibilis*, King of the Ilergetes, is much commended: for that he did not vaunt himselfe, as comonly fugitiues vse, of the pleasure which he did vnto the Romans, in reuolting from their enemies; but rather excused this his changing side, as being thereto compelled by iniuries of the Carthaginians, & inuited by the honourable dealing of *Scipio*.

Scipio. This temperate estimation of his new professed friendship, was indeed no vnsure token, that it should be long-lasting. But if the Ilergetes had long ere this (as wee haue heard before) forsaken the Carthaginian party, and stoutly held themselues as friends to *Cn. Scipio*; then could nothing haue bin deuised more vaine, than this Oration of *Indibilis* their King; excusing, as new, his taking part with the same, when hee should haue rather craued pardon for his breach of alliance, formerly contracted with the Father and the Vncle. Most likely therefore it is, that howsoeuer the two elder *Scipio's* had gotten some few places among these their Neighbours, & held them by strength; yet were the Romans neuer masters of the Countrie, till this worthy Commander, by recouering their Hostages from the Carthaginians, and by his great munificence in sending them home, won vnto himselfe the assured loue and assistance of these Princes. The Carthaginian Generals, when they heard of this losse, were very sorry: yet neuertheless they set a good face on the matter; saying, That a young man, hauing stolne a Towne by surprise, was too farre transported, and ouer-ioyed, but that shortly they would meet with him, and put him in minde of his Father and Vncle; which would alter his moode, and bring him to a more conuenient temper.

Now if I should here interpose mine owne coniecture; I should be bold to say, That the Carthaginians were at this time busie, in setting forth toward Italy; and that *Scipio*, to diuert them, vnder-tooke new Carthage, as his Father and Vncle, vpon the like occasion, sate downe before Ibera. And in this respect I would suppose, that it had not been much amisse, if the passage ouer the Lake had beene vndiscouered, and the Towne held out some longer while. For howsoeuer that particular Action was the more fortunate, in comming to such good issue vpon the first day: yet in the generality of the businesse, between Rome and Carthage, it was more to be wished, that *Asdrubal* should be stayed from going into Italy, than that halfe of Spaine should be taken from him. Whereas therefore he had nothing left to doe, that should hinder his iourney; *Mago*, and *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Gesco*, were thought sufficient to hold *Scipio* worke, in that lingring warre of taking and retaking Townes, whilest the maine of the Carthaginian forces, vnder *Asdrubal*, the son of *Amilcar*, went to a greater enterprise: euen to fight in tryall of the Empire. But the Roman Historians tell this after another fasnion; and say, That *Asdrubal* was beaten into Italy: whither he ran for feare, as thinking himselfe ill assured of the Spaniards, as long as they might but heare the name of *Scipio*. *Scipio*, say they, comming vpon *Asdrubal*; his Vantcurrers charged so lustily the Carthaginian horse, that they draue them into their Trenches: and made it apparant, euen by that small peece of seruice, how full of spirit the Roman Armie was, and how deiected the Enemie. *Asdrubal* therefore by night retyred out of that euen ground, and occupied an Hill, compassed on three sides with the Riuer, very steepe of ascent, and not easie of accesse on the foreside; by which himselfe got vp, and was to be followed by the Romans. On the top of it there was a Plaine, whereon he strongly encamped himselfe: and in the mid-way, betweene the top and root of the Hill, was also another Plaine; into which he descended, more vpon brauery, that he might not seeme to hide himselfe within the Trenches, than for that he durst aduenture his Army to the hazzard of a battaile, for which this was no equall ground. But such aduantage of place could not saue him from the Romans. They climed vp the Hill to him; they recouered euen footing with him; droue him out of this lower Plaine, vp into his Campe on the Hill top: whither although the ascent were very difficult, and his Elephants bestowed in the smoothest places to hinder their approach; yet compassing about, and seeking passage where it was hardest to be found; but much more strongly breaking their way, where the Carthaginians had got vp before them, they draue both Men and Elephants head-long, I know not whither: for it is said, that there was no way to flie. Out of such a battaile, wherein hee had lost eight thousand men, *Asdrubal* is said to haue escaped; and gathering together his dispersed troupes, to haue marched towards the Pyrenees, hauing sent away his Elephants ere the fight began. Neuertheless, *Mago*, and *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gesco*, are reported after this, to haue consulted with him about this Warre; and finally to haue concluded, that goe hee needes must, were it but to carry all the Spaniards as far as might be, from the name of *Scipio*. How likely this was to haue bin true, it shall appeare at his comming into Italy; whence these incoherent relations of the Spanish affaires, haue too long detained vs.

§. XII.

§. XII.

The great troubles that Hannibal *raised in all quarters, to the Citie of Rome.* Posthumius *the Roman Generall, with his whole Army, is slaine by the Gaules.* Philip *King of Macedon, enters into a League with* Hannibal, *against the Romans. The Romans ioyning with the Ætolians, make warre vpon* Philip *in Greece: and afterwards conclude a peace with him; the better to intend their businesse against the Carthaginians.*

WEe left *Hannibal* wintering at Capua: where he and his new Confederates reioyced (as may be thought) not a little, to heare the good newes from Carthage of such mighty aide, as was decreed to be sent thence vnto him. In former times he had found worke enough, to carry the Romans corne into his owne barnes, and to driue away their Cattell to Geryon: his victories affording him little other profit, than sustenance for his Armie; by making him Master of the open field. He might perhaps haue forced some walled townes, in like sort as he did Geryon, and the Castle of Cannæ: but had he spent much time, about the getting of any one place well defended; the hunger, that his Army must haue endured the Winter and Spring following, vntill corne were ripe, would haue grieuously punished him for such imployment of the Summer. This may haue been the reason, why he forbore to aduenture vpon Rome, after his victorie at Cannæ. For had hee failed (as it was a matter of no certaintie) to carry the Citie at his first comming; want of victuals would haue compelled him to quit the enterprise. Yea, many of the people that opened so hastily their gates vnto him, vpon the fresh bruit of his glorious successe, would haue taken time of deliberation, and waited perhaps the euent of another battaile: if being, either for want of meanes to force the Citie, or of necessaries to continue a siege before it, repelled (as might seeme) from the walles of Rome, he had presented himselfe vnto them with a lessened reputation, somewhat later in the yeere; when time to force their obedience was wanting, vnlesse they would freely yeeld it. But this great part of the care and trauell was past, when so many States of Italy were become his: the yeere following, the Samnites, and other old enemies of Rome, were like to receiue a notable pleasure of their new alliance with Carthage, by helping to lay siege vnto that proud Citie, which so long had held them in subiection. Thus the Winter was passed ouer ioyfully, sauing that there came not any tydings of the preparations, to second the welcome report of those mighty forces, that were decreed and expected. The Spring drew on: and of the promised supply there arriued no more, than onely the Elephants. How late it was ere these came, I finde not: onely we finde, that after this he had aboue thirty of them; whereas all, saue one, that he brought ouer the Alpes, had bin lost in his iourney through the Marishes of Hetruria. Very bad excuse of this exceeding negligence, they that brought the Elephants could make vnto *Hannibal*. If they were his friends, they told him truely, what mischiefes the perswasion of *Hanno* wrought among the too niggardly Carthaginians. Otherwise, they might perhaps informe him, that it was thought a safer, though a farther way about, to passe along through Spaine and Gaule, as he himselfe had done; and increase the Army, by hyring the Barbarians in the iourney; than to commit the maine strength of their Citie, to the hazzard of the Seas: especially wanting a commodious Hauen, to receiue the Fleet that should carry such a number of Men, Horses, and Elephants, with all needfull prouisions. With these allegations *Hannibal* must rest content; and seeke, as well as he can, to satisfie his Italian Confederates. Therefore when time of the yeere serued, He tooke the field: and hauing finished what rested to be done at Casilinum, fought to make himselfe Master of some good Hauen-towne therabout, that might serue to entertaine the Carthaginian Fleet, or take from his Enemies at home all excuse, which they might pretend by want thereof. To the same purpose, and to doe what else was needfull, He sent *Himilco* vnto the Locrians, and *Hanno* to the Lucans: not forgetting at once to assay all quarters of Italy, yea, the Iles of Sicil & Sardinia; since the siege of Rome, must needs be deferred vnto another yeer. *Hanno* made an ill iourney of it, being met, or ouer-taken, by *T. Sempronius Longus*: who slue aboue two thousand of his men; with the losse of fewer, than three hundred Romans. But *Himilco* sped farre better. By helpe of the Brutians, his good friends, he won Petellia or Petilia by force; after it had held out some moneths. He won likewise Consentia; and Croton, that was forsaken by the Inhabitants. Also the City of Locri, which was

was of great importance, yeelded vnto him: as did all other places thereabout; except onely the Towne of Rhegium, ouer against Sicil.

The great faith of the Petilians is worthy to be recorded, as a notable testimony of the good gouernment, vnder which the Roman subiects liued. As for the Samnites, Campanes, and others, whose earnestnesse in rebellion may seeme to proue the contrary; we are to consider, That they had lately contended with Rome for Soueraignty, and were now transported with ambition: which reason can hardly moderate, or benefits allay. The Petilians, in the very beginning of their danger, did send to Rome for helpe: where their Messengers receiued answer from the Senate, That the publike misfortunes had not left meanes, to relieue their Associates that were so farre distant. The Petilian Messengers (Embassadours they are termed; as were all others, publikely sent from Cities of the Roman subiection, that had a priuate iurisdiction within themselues) fel down to the ground, and humbly besought the Fathers, not to giue them away: promising to do and suffer whatsoeuer was possible, in defence of their Towne, against the Carthaginians. Hereupon the Senate fell to consultation againe: and hauing throughly considered all their forces remaining, plainely confessed, that it was not in their power to giue any reliefe. Wherefore these Embassadours were willed to returne home, and to bid their Citizens prouide hereafter for their owne safetie, as hauing already discharged their faith to the vtmost. All this notwithstanding, the Petilians (as was said) held out some moneths; and hauing striuen in vaine to defend themselues, when there was no apparant possibilitie, gaue to the Carthaginians a bloudy victorie ouer them; being vanquished as much by famine, as by any violence of the Assailants.

The Romans at this time were indeed in such ill case, that *Hannibal*, with a little helpe from Carthage, might haue reduced them into termes of great extremitie. For whereas, in a great brauerie, before their losse at Cannæ, they had shewed their high mindes; by entertaining the care of things farre off, notwithstanding the great warre that lay vpon them so neere at hand: it now fell out miserably all at once, that their fortune abroad was no whit better than at home. *L. Posthumius Albinus* their Prætor they had sent, with an Armie of fiue and twenty thousand, into Gaule; to the Illyrian king *Pineus* they had sent for their tribute due, whereof the pay-day was past, willing him, if he desired forbearance, to deliuer hostages for his performance of what was due; and to *Philip* king of Macedon they had sent, to require, that he should deliuer vp vnto them *Demetrius Pharius*, their Subiect and Rebell, whom he had receiued. But now from all quarters they heare tidings, little sutable to their former glorious conceits. *Posthumius* with all his Armie was cut in pieces by the Gaules, in such sort, that scarce ten men escaped. The manner of his ouerthrow was very strange. There was a great Wood, called by the Gaules, *Litana*; through which he was to passe. Against his comming, the Enemies had sawed the Trees so far, that a little force would serue to cast them downe. When therefore *Posthumius*, with his whole Armie, was entred into this dangerous passage, the Gaules, that lay about the wood, began to cast downe the Trees: which falling one against another, bore all downe so fast, that the Romans were ouer-whelmed, Men and Horses; in such wise, that no more escaped, than is said before. How this tedious worke of sawing so many Trees, could take desired effect, and neither be perceiued, nor made frustrate, either by some winde, that might haue blowne all downe before the Romans entred, or by some other of those many accidents, whereto the deuice was subiect; I do not well conceiue. Yet some such thing may haue beene done: and what failed in the stratagem, supplied with the Enemies sword. It is not perhaps worthy to be omitted, as a monument of the sauage condition, wherwith Lombardie, a Countrie now so ciuill, was infected in elder times, That of *Posthumius* his skull, being cleansed, and trimmed vp with gold, a drinking cup was made, and consecrated in their principall Temple, as an holy vessel, for the vse of the Priest in their solemnities. Of this great ouerthrow, when word was brought to Rome; the amazement was no lesse than the calamity. But sorrow could giue no remedie to the mischiefe: and anger was vaine, where there wanted forces to reuenge. Tribute from the Illyrians there came none: neither do I finde, that any was a second time demanded; this we finde, That with *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdiletus* Illyrian kings, as also with *Gentius*, who reigned within a few yeers following, the Romans dealt vpon euen tearmes; entreating their assistance against *Philip* and *Perseus*; not commanding their dutie, as Vassals. The Macedonian troubled them yet a little further. For having

hauing assured his affaires in Greece, & enioying leisure to looke into the doings abroad, He sent Embassadours to *Hannibal*: with whom he made a league, vpon these conditions; That the King in person should come into Italy, and with all his forces, by Land and Sea, assist the Carthaginians in the Roman war, vntill it were finished; That Rome, and all Italy, together with all the spoile therein to be gotten, should be left entire vnto the State of Carthage; And that afterwards *Hannibal* with his Armie should passe into Greece, and there assist *Philip*, vntill hee had subdued all his Enemies: (which were the Ætolians, Thracians, King *Antiochus*, and others) leaning semblably vnto him the full possession of that country, and the Iles adjoyning. But such predispositions of Kingdoms and Prouinces, is lightly comptrolled by the diuine Prouidence, which therein shewes 10 itselfe; not (as *Herodotus* fallly termes it, and like an *Atheist*) enuious or malicious, but very just and maiesticall, in vp-holding that vnspeakable greatnesse of Soueraignty, by which it rules the whole World, and all that therein is.

The first Embassadours that *Philip* sent, fell into the Romans hands, in their iourney towards *Hannibal*: & being examined what they were, aduentured vpon a bold lie, saying, That they were sent from the King of Macedon to Rome, there to make a League with the Senate and People, and offer his helpe in this time of great necessitie. These newes were so welcome, that the ioy thereof tooke away all care of making better inquiry. So they were loulingly feasted, and freely dismissed with guides that should leade them the way, and shew them how to auoyde the Carthaginians. But they being thus 20 instructed concerning their iourney, fell wilfully into the campe of *Hannibal*: who entertained them after a better fashion; and concluded the businesse, about which they came, vpon the points before remembred. In their returne homeward, they happened againe vnluckily to bee descried by the Roman fleete; which, mistrusting them to be of the Carthaginian party, gaue them chace. They did their best to haue escaped; but being ouer-taken, they suffered the Romans to come aboord; and trusting to the lie that once had serued them, said it againe, That hauing beene sent from King *Philip*, to make a league with the People of Rome, they were not able, by reason of the Carthaginians lying between, to get any farther than to *M. Valerius* the Pretor, vnto whom they had signified the good affection of the King their Master. The tale was now lesse credible than before: and (which marred all) *Gesco*, *Bostar*, and *Mago*, with their followers, Carthaginians that were sent with them from *Hannibal* to ratifie the agreement, being presently detected, made the matter apparant. Wherefore a little inquisition serued to finde all out; so that at length *Hannibals* owne letters to King *Philip* were deliuered vp, and the whole businesse confessed. The Embassadours and their followers were sent close prisoners to Rome: where the chiefe of them were cast into prison; and the rest sold for bond-slaues. Yet one of their ships that escaped, carried word into Macedon of all that had happened. Whereupon new Embassage was sent, that went and returned with better speed; concluding, as was agreed before; onely with some losse of time.

The Romans were exceedingly perplexed: thinking with what heauy weight this Macedonian warre, in an euill houre, was likly to fall vpon them, when their shoulders were ouer-burdened with the loade of the Carthaginian. Yet they tooke a noble resolution; and suitable vnto that, whereby they kept off the storme, that else would haue beaten vpon them from Spaine. They iudged it more easie, with small forces to detaine *Philip* in Greece, than with all their strength to resist him in Italy. And herein they were in the right. For, that the very reputation of a King of Macedon, ioyning with *Hannibal* in such a time, would haue sufficed to shake the allegeance, not onely of the Latines, and other their most faithfull Subiects, but euen of the Roman Colonies that held all priuiledges of the City; it will appeare by the following successe of things. *M. Valerius* the Pretor, with twenty *Quinquereme* Gallies, was appointed to attend vpon the Macedonian, and to set on foot some commotion in Greece, or to nourish the troubles already therein begunne. *Philip* was busie about the Sea-townes, that looked towards Italy, setting vpon Apollonia; and thence falling vpon Oricum, which he won, and so returned to Apollonia againe. The Epirots craued helpe of *M. Valerius*: or rather accepted his kinde offers; who had none other businesse to doe. The Garrison that *Philip* had left in Oricum, was strong enough to hold the Towns-men in good order; but not to keep out the Romans: of whose daring to attempt any thing against him, on that side the Sea, *Philip* as then had no suspition. *Valerius* therefore easily regained the Towne; and sent thence a thousand

thousand men, vnder *Manius Crispius*, an vnder-taking and expert Captaine; which got by night into Apollonia. These made a notable sallie; and brake into *Philips* Trenches with so great slaughter, that they forced him to forsake his campe, and raise the siege. The King purposed (as it is said) to haue departed thence by Sea: but *Valerius*, coming with his fleet from Oricum, stopped vp the mouth of the Riuer, so that he was faine to burn his ships, (which belike were no better than long boates) and depart ill furnished of carriages, by Land. After this *Valerius* dealt with the Ætolians, a Nation alwayes enemie to the Crowne of Macedon: and easily perswaded them (being so affected, as hath else-where beene shewed) to make strong warre on *Philip*; wherein he promised them 10 great assistance from the Romans. That which most moued the troublesome spirits of the Ætolians, was the hope of getting Acarnania: after which they had gaped long; and wherof the Roman was as liberall in making promise, as if already it had bin his owne. So a league was made betweene them: and afterward solemnely published at Olympia, by the Ætolians; and by the Romans, in their *Capitoll*. The conditions were, That from Ætolia to Corcyra, in which space Acarnania was contained, all the Countrey should be subdued; and left vnto the Ætolians, the pillage onely to be giuen to the Romans. And that if the Ætolians made peace with *Philip*, it should bee with Prouision, to hold no longer than whilest hee abstained from doing iniurie to the Romans, or their 20 Associates. This was indeed the onely point, whereat *Valerius* aimed, who promised as much on the Romans behalfe, That they should not make peace with the Macedonian, vnlesse it were with like condition of including the Ætolians. Into this league was place reserued for the Lacedæmonians and Eleans, as to those that had made or fauoured the side of *Cleomenes* against the Macedonian, to enter at their pleasure. The like regard was had of *Attalus*, *Pleuratus*, and *Scerdiletus*: the first of which reigned at Pergamus, in Asia the lesse, a Prince hereafter much to be spoken of; the other two held some part of Illyria, about which the Romans were so farre from contending with them, that gladly they sought to get their friendly acquaintance. But the names of these Associates, are thrust into the Treatie; rather to giue it countenance, than for any readinesse which they disclose to enter thereinto. The Ætolians alone, and chiefly *Scopas* their Pretor, with *Dorymachus* and others, are yet a while the onely men, of whom the Roman Generals must make much; as the late French King, *Henry* the fourth, when he had onely the title of Nauarre, was said to court the Maiors of Rochel. *Philip* was not idle, when hee heard whereunto the Ætolians tended. He repaired his Armie; made a countenance of warre vpon the Illyrians, and other his borderers, that were wont in times of danger to infest the kingdome of Macedon; wasted the Countrie about Oricum & Apollonia; and ouerrunning the Pelagonians, Dardanians, and others, whom he held suspected, came downe into Thessaly, whence he made shew as if he would inuade Ætolia. By the fame of this Expedition, He thought to stir vp all the Greeks adioyning, against the Ætolians; whom they generally detested as a nest of Robbers, troublesome to all the Countrie. To which purpose, and to hinder the Ætolians from breaking into Greece, He left *Perseus*, his son and heire, with foure thousand men, vpon their borders: with the rest of his Armie, before greater businesse should ouer-take and entangle him, Hee made a long iourney into Thrace, against a people called the Medes; that were wont to fall vpon Macedon, whensoeuer the King was absent. The Ætolians, hearing of his departure, armed as many as they could against the Acarnanians; in hope to subdue those their daily enemies, and winne their little Countrie, ere he should be able to returne. Hereto it much auailed, that the Romans had already taken Oeniadæ and Naxos, Acarnanian Townes conueniently situated to let in an Armie; and consigned them vnto the Ætolians, according to the tenor of the contract lately made with them. But the stout resolution of the Acarnanians, to die (as we say) euery Mothers sonne of them, in defence of their Countrie; together with the great haste of the Macedonian (who layed aside all other busnesse) to succour these his friends; caused the Ætolians to forsake their enterprise. When this Expedition was giuen ouer, the Romans and Ætolians fell vpon Anycyræ, which they tooke: the Romans assailing it by Sea, the Ætolians by Land. The Ætolians had the Towne, and the Romans the spoile.

For these good seruices *M. Valerius* was chosen Consul at Rome; and *P. Sulpitius* sent in his stead, to keepe the warre on foot in Greece. But besides the Roman helpe, *Attalus* out of Asia came ouer to assist the Ætolians. Hee was chiefly moued by his owne iealousie

louſie of *Philips* greatneſſe: though ſomewhat alſo tickled with the vanity, of being choſen by the Ætolians their principall Magiſtrate; which honour, though no better than titularie, he tooke in very louing part. Againſt the forces which *Attalus* and the Romans had ſent, being ioyned with the maine power of Ætolia, *Philip* tried the fortune of two battailes: and was victorious in each of them. Hereupon, theſe his troubleſome neighbours deſired peace of him, and vſed their beſt meanes to get it. But when the day appoynted for the concluſion thereof, was come: their Embaſſadours, inſtead of making ſubmiſſion, propoſed vnto him ſuch intolerable conditions, as ill beſeemed vanquiſhed men to offer: and might therefore well teſtifie, that their minds were altered. It was not any loue of peace, but feare of being beſieged in their owne Towns, that had made them deſirous of compoſition. This feare being taken away, by the incouragements of *Attalus* and the Romans, they were as fierce as euer: and thruſt a garriſon of their owne, and ſome Roman friends, into Elis; which threatned Achaia, wherein *Philip* then lay. The Romans, making a cut ouer the ſtreight from Naupactus, waſted the countrey in a terrible brauery: wherein *Philip* requited them; comming vpon them in great haſt from the Nemæan Games (which he was then celebrating) and ſending them faſter away, but nothing richer, than they came.

In the heate of this contention, *Pruſias* King of Bithynia, fearing the growth of *Attalus*, no leſſe than *Attalus* held ſuſpected the power of *Philip*, ſent a Nauie into Greece, to aſſiſt the Macedonian party. The like did the Carthaginians: and vpon greater reaſon; as being more intereſſed in the ſucceſſe of his affaires. *Philip* was too weake by Sea: and though he could man ſome two hundred ſhips, yet the veſſels were ſuch, as could not hold out againſt the Roman *Quinqueremes*. Wherfore it behoued him, to vſe the helpe of his good friends the Carthaginians. But their aide came ſomewhat too late: which might better at firſt haue kept thoſe Enemies from faſtening vpon any part of Greece; than afterward it could ſerue to driue them out, when they had pierced into the bowels of that country. Ere *Philip* could attempt any thing by Sea; it was needfull that he ſhould correct the Eleans, bad neighbours to the Achaians his principall Confederates. But in aſſailing their Town, he was incountred by the Ætolian and Roman garriſon, which draue him backe with ſome loſſe. In ſuch caſes, eſpecially where God intendeth a great conuerſion of Empire, Fame is very powerfull in working. The King had receiued no great detriment, in his retrait from Elis: rather he had giuen teſtimonie of his perſonall valour, in fighting well on foot, when his horſe was ſlaine vnder him. He had alſo ſoone after taken a great multitude of the Eleans, to the number of foure thouſand; with ſome twenty thouſand head of Cattaile, which they had brought together into a place of ſafetie, as they thought, when their Country was inuaded. But it had happened, that in his purſuit of the Roman forragers about Sicyon, his horſe running haſtily vnder a low tree, had torne off one of the hornes, which (after the faſhion of thoſe times) the King wore in his Creſt. This was gathered vp by an Ætolian, who carried it home, and ſhewed it as a token of *Philips* death. The horne vvas vvell knowne, and the tale beleeued. All Macedon therefore was in an vproare: and not only the Borderers, ready to fall vpon the Country, but ſome Captains of *Philip*, eaſily corrupted; who thinking to make themſelues a fortune in that change of things, ranne into ſuch treaſon, as they might better hope to make good, than to excuſe. Hereupon the King returned home, leauing not three thouſand men, to aſſiſt his friends the Achæans. He alſo tooke order, to haue Beacons erected; that might giue him notice of the Enemies doings, vpon whom he meant ſhortly to returne. The affaires of Macedon, his preſence quickly eſtabliſhed. But in Greece all went il-fauouredly: eſpecially in the Ile of Euboea, where one *Plator* be.raied to *Attalus* and the Romans, the Town of Oreum, ere *Philip* could arriue to helpe it: vvhere also the ſtrong Citie of Chalcis vvas likely to haue been loſt, if he had not come the ſooner. He made ſuch haſtie marches, that he had almoſt taken *Attalus* in the Citie of Opus. This Citie, lying ouer againſt Euboea, *Attalus* had wonne, more through the cowardlize of the people, than any great force that he had vſed: now becauſe the Roman ſouldiers had defrauded him in the ſacke of Oreum, and taken all to themſelues: it was agreed, that *Attalus* ſhould make his beſt profit of the Opuntians, without admitting the Romans to be his ſharers. But whilſt he was buſie, in drawing as much mony as he could out of the Citizens: the ſudden tidings of *Philips* arriuall, made him leaue all behinde him, and runne away to the Sea-ſide, where he got aboord his ſhips, finding the Romans

gone before, vpon the like feare. Either the indignity of this miſaduenture; or tydings of *Pruſias* the Bithynian his inuaſion vpon the kingdome of Pergamus; made *Attalus* returne home, without ſtaying to take leaue of his friends. So *Philip* recouered Opus, wonne Torone, Tritonos, Drymus, and many ſmall townes in thoſe parts; performing likewiſe ſome actions, of more brauerie than importance, againſt the Ætolians. In the meane ſeaſon, *Machanidas*, the tyrant of Lacedæmon, had beene buſie in Peloponneſus; but hearing of *Philips* arriuall, was returned home.

The Lacedæmonians, hearing certaine report of *Cleomenes* his death in Ægypt, went about to chooſe two new Kings, and to conforme themſelues to their old manner of government. But their Eſtate was ſo farre out of tune, that their hope of redreſſing things within the Citie, proued no leſſe vnfortunate, than had beene their attempts of recouering a large dominion abroad. *Lycurgus*, a tyrant roſe vp among them: vpon whom ſucceeded this *Machanidas*, & ſhortly after came *Nabis*, that was worſe than both of them. They held on the Ætolian & Roman ſide, for feare of the Achæans, that were the chiefe Confederates of *Philip*, and hated extremely the name both of Tyrant, and Lacedæmonian. But of theſe we ſhall ſpeake more hereafter.

Philip entring into Achaia, and ſeeing his preſence had brought the contentment of aſſurance to that Countrey; ſpake braue words to the Aſſembly of their States, ſaying, That he had to doe with an Enemie, that was very nimble, and made warre by running away. He told how he had followed them to Chalcis, to Orcum, to Opus, and now into Achaia: but could no where finde them, ſuch haſte they made, for feare of being ouertaken. But flight, hee ſaide, was not alwayes proſperous: hee ſhould one day light vpon them; as ere this he ſundry times had done, and ſtill to their loſſe. The Achaians were glad to heare theſe words; and much the more glad, in regard of his good deeds accompanying them. For hee reſtored vnto their Nation ſome Townes that were in his hand, belonging to them of old. Likewiſe to the Megalopolitans their Confederates, he rendered Aliphera. The Dymæans, that had beene taken by the Romans, and ſold for ſlaues, he ſought out, ranſomed, and put in quiet poſſeſſion of their owne Citie. Further, paſſing ouer the Corinthian Gulfe, he fell vpon the Ætolians: whom hee draue into the mountaines and woods, or other their ſtrongeſt holds; and waſted their Country. This done, he tooke leaue of the Achæans: and returned home by Sea, viſited the people that were his ſubiects, or dependants: and animated them ſo well, that they reſted feareleſſe of any threatning danger. Then had he leiſure to make warre vpon the Dardanians, ill neighbours to Macedon: with whom neuertheleſſe he was not ſo far occupied, but that he could goe in hand with preparing a fleet of an hundred gallies, whereby to make himſelfe Maſter of the Sea; the Romans (ſince the departure of *Attalus*) hauing not dared to meet or purſue him, when he lately ranne along the coaſt of Greece, faſt by them where they lay.

This good ſucceſſe added much reputation to the Macedonian, and emboldned him to make ſtrong warre vpon the Ætolians, at their owne doores. As for the Romans, either ſome diſpleaſure, conceiued againſt their Confederates, or ſome feare of danger at home, when *Aſdrubal* was ready to fall vpon Italy; cauſed them to giue ouer the care of things in Greece, and leaue their friends there to their owne fortunes. The Ætolians therefore, being driuen to great extremitie, were faine to ſue for peace vnto *Philip*; and accept it, vpon what euer conditions it beſt pleaſed him. The agreement was no ſooner made, than *P. Sempronius* with ten thouſand foot, a thouſand horſe, and thirtie fiue gallies, came ouer in great haſte (though ſomewhat too late) to trouble it. Hearing how things went in Ætolia, he turned aſide to Dyrrachium, & Apollonia; making a great noiſe as if with theſe his owne forces he would worke wonders. But it was not long ere *Philip* came to viſit him, and found him tame enough. The King preſented him battell, but he refuſed it: and ſuffering the Macedonians to waſte the Country round about, before his eies, kept himſelfe cloſe within the wals of Apollonia, making ſome Ouertures of peace; which cauſed *Philip* to return home quietly. The Romans had not ſo great cauſe to be diſpleaſed with the Ætolians, as had *Philip*, to take in euil part the demeanor of the Carthaginians. For notwithſtanding the royall offer that he made them, to ſerue their turne in Italy, and aſſiſt them, in getting their hearts deſire, before he would expect any requital; they had not ſent any fleet, as in reaſon they ought, and as (conſidering his want of ſufficient abilitie by Sea) it is likely they were bound, either to ſecure the tranſportation

of his Armie, or to free his coast from the Roman and Ætolian Pyracies. Onely once they came to his helpe, which was, at his last iourney into Achaia. But they were gone againe before his arriuall: hauing done nothing, and pretending feare of being taken by the Romans, euen at such time as *Philip*, with his owne Nauie, durst boldly passe by Sea, and found none that durst oppose him. This wretchlesse dealing of the Carthaginians, may therefore seeme to haue bin one of *Hanno* his tricks, whereof *Hannibal* so bitterly complained. For it could not but grieue this malicious man exceedingly, to heare that so great a King made offer to serue in person vnder *Hannibal*, and required the assistance of the same *Hannibal*, as of a man likely to make Monarchs, and alter the affaires of the world at pleasure. Therefore he had reason, such as Enuie could suggest, to perswade the Carthaginians vnto a safe and thrifty course: which was, not to admit into the fellow- 10 ship of their Italian warres so mighty a Prince; whom change of affection might make dangerous to their Empire; or his much affection vnto *Hannibal*, more dangerous to their liberty. Rather they should doe well to saue charges: and feed the Macedonian with hopes; by making many promises of sending a fleet and some other succours. This would cost nothing, yet would it serue to terrifie the Romans, & compell them to send part of their forces from home, that might finde this Enemie worke abroad. So should the Roman Armies be lessened in Italy; and *Philip*, when once hee was ingaged in the warre, be vrged vnto the prosecution, by his owne necessitie: putting the Carthaginians to little or no charges; yea, scarce to the labour of giuing him thankes. Now if it might come to passe, as *Hannibal* euery day did promise, that Rome, and all Italy should 20 within a while be at the deuotion of Carthage: better it were that the Citie should be free, so as the troublesome Greekes might addresse their complaints vnto the Carthaginians, as competent Iudges betweene them and the Macedonian, than that *Hannibal*, with the power of Africke, should wait vpon *Philip*, as his Executioner, to fulfill his will and pleasure, in doing such iniuries, as would both make the name of a Carthaginian hatefull in Greece, and oblige *Philip* to be no lesse impudent, in fulfilling all requests of *Hannibal*. Whether the counsaile of *Hanno* and his fellows, were such as this; or whether the Carthaginians, of their owne disposition, without his aduice, were too sparing, and carelesse, the matter (as farre as concerned *Philip*) came to one reckoning. For they did him no manner of good: but rather dodged with him; euen in their little courtesie which they most pretended. And this perhaps was part of the reason, why hee began 30 the building of an hundred Gallies, as if hee would let them and others know, whereto his proper strength would haue reached, had hee not vainely giuen credit to faithlesse promises. When therefore the Ætolians had submitted themselues already: and when the Romans desired his friendship, as might be thought, for very feare of him, with reputation enough, and not as a forsaken Client of the Carthaginians, but a Prince able to haue succoured them in their necessitie, he might giue ouer the warre, and, without reprehension, leaue them to themselues. For he had wilfully entred into trouble for their sakes: but they despised him, as if the quarrell were meerely his owne, and he vnable to manage it. 40

The vanity of which their conceits would appeare vnto them: when they should see, that with his proper strength he had finished the warre, and concluded it highly to his honour. So the yeere following it was agreed, by mediation of the Epirots, Acarnanians, and others, That the Romans should retaine three or foure Townes of Illyria, which they had recouered in this war, being part of their old Illyrian conquest: Places no way belonging to the Macedonian; and therefore perhaps inserted into the couenants, that somewhat might seeme to haue beene gotten. On the other side, the Atintanes were appointed to returne vnder the obedience of *Philip*: who, if they were (as *Ortelius* probably coniectures) the people of the Countrey about Apollonia, then did the Romans abandon part of their gettings; whereby it appeares, that they did not giue 50 peace, as they would seeme to haue done, but accepted it, vpon conditions somewhat to their losse.

The Confederates and Dependants of the Macedonian, comprehended in this Peace, were *Prusias* King of Bithynia, the Achæans, Bœotians, Thessalians, Acarnanians, & Epirots. On the Roman side were named, first, the people of Ilium, as an honourable remembrance of the Romans descent from Troy; then, *Attalus* king of Pergamus; *Pleuratus*, an Illyrian Prince; & *Nabis*, the tyrant of Lacedæmon, together with the Eleans, Messenians, and

and Athenians. The Ætolians were omitted, belike, as hauing agreed for themselues before. But the Eleans and Messenians, followers of the Ætolians, (and by them, as is most likely, comprised in their League with *Philip*) were also inserted by the Romans; that were neuer slow in offering their friendship to small and feeble Nations. As for the Athenians: they stood much vpon their old honour; and loued to beare a part, though they did nothing, in all great actions. Yet the setting downe of their names in this Treaty, serued the Romans to good purpose: forasmuch as they were a busie people, and ministred occasion to renew the warre, when meanes did better serue to follow it.

10

§. XIII.

How the Romans began to recouer their strength by degrees. The noble affection of the Romans, in relieuing the publike necessities of their Common-weale.

IT was a great fault in the Carthaginians, that embracing so many Enterprises at once, they followed all by the halues: and wasted more men and money to no purpose, than would haue serued (if good order had beene taken) to finish the whole warre, in farre shorter space; and make themselues Lords of all that the Romans held. This errour had become the lesse harmfull, if their care of Italy had bin such as it ought. But they suffered *Hannibal*, to wearie himselfe with expection of 20 their promised supplies: which being still deferred from yeere to yeere, caused as great opportunities to be lost, as a Conquerour could haue desired. The death of *Posthumius*, and destruction of his whole Armie in Gaule; the begun rebellion of the Sardinians; the death of *Hiero* their friend in Syracuse; with great alterations, much to their preiudice, in the whole Isle of Sicil; as also that warre, of which we last spake, threatned from Macedon; happening all at one time; and that so neerely after their terrible ouerthrow at Cannæ, among so many reuolts of their Italian Confederates; would vtterly haue sunke the Roman State, had the Carthaginians, if not the first yeere, yet at least the second, sent ouer to *Hannibal* the forces that were decreed. It is not to be doubted, that euen this diuersitie of great hopes, appearing from all parts, administred mat- 30 ter vnto *Hanno*, or such as *Hanno* was, whereupon to worke. For though it were in the power of Carthage, to performe all that was decreed for Italy: yet could not that proportion hold, when so many new occurrences brought each along with them their new care; and required their seuerall Armies. This had not beene a very bad excuse, if any one of the many occasions offered had beene throughly prosequuted: though it stood with best reason, that the foundation of all other hopes and comforts, which was the prosperitie of *Hannibal* in his Italian warre, should haue beene strengthened; whatsoeuer had become of the rest. But the slender troupes, wherewith the Carthaginians fed the warre in Spaine; the lingring aide which they sent, to vp-hold the Sardinian rebelli- 40 on, when it was already wel-neere beaten downe; their trifling with *Philip*; and (amongst all these their attempts) their hastie catching at Sicil: little deserued to bee thought good reasons of neglecting the maine point, whereto all the rest had reference. Rather euery one of these Actions, considered a part by it selfe, was no otherwise to be allowed as discreetly vnder-taken, or substantially followed; than by making supposition, That the care of Italy, made the Carthaginians more negligent in all things else. Yet if these allegations would not serue to content *Hannibal*, then must hee patiently endure to know, that his owne Citizens were iealous of his Greatnesse, and durst not trust him with so much power, as should enable him to wrong the State at home.

Whatsoeuer he heard or thought, *Hannibal* was glad to apply himselfe to Necessity; to feed his Italian friends with hopes; & to trifle away the time about Nola, Naples, Cumæ, and other places: being loth to spend his Armie in an hard siege, that was to be reserued for a worke of more importance. Many offers he made vpon Nola, but alwayes with bad successe. Once *Marcellus* fought a battell with him there: yet vnder the very walls of the Towne; hauing the assistance of the Citizens, that were growne better affected to the Roman side, since the Heads that inclined them to rebellion, were cut off. About a thousand men *Hannibal* in that fight lost: which was no great maruaile; his forces being then diuided, and imployed in sundry parts of Italy at once. Naples was, euen in those dayes, a strong City; and required a yeers worke to haue taken it by force.

Wherefore

Wherefore the earnest desire of *Hannibal* to get it, was alwaies frustrate. Vpon the town of Cumæ they of Capua had their plot, & were in hope to take it by cunning. They sent to the chief Magistrates of the Cumans, desiring them (as being also Campans) to be present at a solemne sacrifice of the Nation, where they would consult about their generall good: promising to bring thither a sufficient guard, to assure the whole Assembly from any danger that might come by the Romans. This motion the Cumans made shew to entertaine; but priuily sent word of all to *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the Roman Consul.

Gracchus was a very good man of warre, and happily chosen Consull in so dangerous a time. His Colleague should haue beene *Posthumius Albinus*, that was lately slaine by the Gaules: after whose death *Marcellus* was chosen, as being iudged the fittest man to encounter with *Hannibal*. But the Roman Augures either found some religious impediment that nullified the election of *Marcellus*; or at least they fained so to haue done, because this was the first time, that euer two Plebeian Consuls were chosen together. *Marcellus* therefore gaue ouer the place: and *Q. Fabius Maximus* the late famous Dictator, was substituted in his roome. But *Fabius* was detained in the City, about matters of religion, or Superstition: wherewith Rome was commonly, especially in times of danger, very much troubled. So *Gracchus* alone, with a Consular Armie, waited vpon *Hannibal* among the Campans: not able to meet the Enemie in field; yet intentiue to all occasions, that should be presented. The Volones, or Slaues, that lately had beene armed, were no small part of his followers. These, and the rest of his men, He continually trained: and had not a greater care, to make his Army skilfull in the exercises of warre, than to keepe it from quarrels, that might arise by vpbraiding one another with their base conditions.

Whilest the Consul was thus busied at Linternum; the Senators of Cumæ sent him word of all that had passed betweene them and the Capuans. It was a good occasion to flesh his men, and make them confident against the Enemie; of whom hitherto they had bad experience. *Gracchus* therefore put himselfe into Cumæ: whence hee issued at such time, as the Magistrates of that Citie were expected by the Campans. The Sacrifice was to be performed by night, at a place called Hamæ, three miles from Cumæ. There lay *Marius Alfius* the chiefe Magistrate of Capua, with foureteene thousand men; not wholly intent either to the Sacrifice, or to any danger that might interrupt it; but rather deuising how to surprise others, than fearing himselfe to be assailed. The Consul therefore suffering none to goe forth of Cumæ, that might beare word of him to the Enemies, issued out of the towne when it grew darke: his men being well refreshed with meate and sleepe, the day before, that they might hold out the better in this nights seruice. So he came vpon the Capuans vnawares: and slew more than two thousand of them, together with their Commander; losing not aboue a hundred of his owne men. Their campe he tooke: but tarried not long to rifle it, for feare of *Hannibal*, who lay not farre off. By this his prouidence, he escaped a greater losse, than he had brought vpon the Enemies. For when *Hannibal* was informed how things went at Hamæ, forthwith he marched thither: hoping to finde those young souldiers, and slaues, busied in making spoile, and loading themselues with the bootie. But they were all gotten safe within Cumæ; which partly for anger, partly for desire of gaining it, and partly at the vrgent entreatie of the Capuans, *Hannibal* assailed the next day. Much labour, and with ill successe, the Carthaginians and their fellowes spent, about this towne. They raised a woodden Tower against it, which they brought close vnto the walls, thinking thereby to force an Entrie. But the Defendants, on the inside of the wall, raised against this an high Tower: whence they made resistance; and found meanes at length, to consume with fire the worke of their Enemies. While the Carthaginians were busie in quenching the fire; the Romans, sallying out of the towne at two gates, charged them valiantly, and draue them to their trenches, with the slaughter of about foureteene hundred. The Consull wisely sounded the Retreat, ere his men were too farre engaged, and *Hannibal* in a readinesse to requite their seruice. Neither would he, in the pride of his good successe, aduenture forth against the Enemie; who presented him battell the day following, neere vnto the walls. *Hannibal* therefore, seeing no likelihood to preuaile in that which he had taken in hand, brake vp the siege; and returned to his old campe at Tifata. About these times, and shortly after, when *Fabius* the other Consul had taken the field; some small towns were recouered by the Romans, and the people seuerely punished for their reuolt.

The

The Carthaginian Armie was too small, to fill with garrisons all places that had yeelded; and withall to abide (as it must doe) strong in the field. Wherefore *Hannibal*, attending the supply from home, that should enable him to strike at Rome it selfe, was driuen in the meane time to alter his course of war; and, in stead of making (as formerly he had done) a generall inuasion vpon the whole Countrie, to passe from place to place; and wait vpon occasions, that grew daily more commodious to the enemy, than to him. The Countrie of the Hirpines and Samnites was grieuously wasted by *Marcellus*, in the absence of *Hannibal*: as also was Campania, by *Fabius* the Consul; when *Hannibal* hauing followed *Marcellus* to Nola, and receiued there the losse before mentioned, was gone to winter in Apulia. These people shewed not the like spirit in defending their lands, and fighting for the Carthaginian Empire, as in former times they had done; when they contended with the Romans, in their owne behalfe, to get the Soueraignetie. They held it reason, that they should be protected, by such as thought to haue dominion ouer them: whereby at once they ouerburdened their new Lords; and gaue vnto their old, the more easie meanes, to take reuenge of their defection.

The people of Rome were very intentiue, as necessitie constrained them, to the worke that they had in hand. They continued *Fabius* in his Consulship: and ioyned with him *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*; whom they had appointed vnto that honour the yeere before. Of these two, *Fabius* was called the *Shield*: and *Marcellus* the *Roman Sword*. In *Fabius* it was highly, and vpon iust reason, commended, That being himselfe Consul, and holding the Election, he did not stand vpon nice points of formality, or regard what men might think of his ambition, but caused himselfe to bee chosen with *Marcellus*; knowing in what need the City stood of able Commanders. The great name of these Consuls, & the great preparations which the Romans made, serued to put the Campans in feare, that Capua it selfe should be besieged. To preuent this, *Hannibal*, at their earnest entreaty, came from Arpi: (where he lay, hearkening after newes from Tarentum) and, hauing with his presence comforted these his friends, fell on the sudden vpon Puteoli, a Sea-towne of Campania; about which he spent three dayes in vaine, hoping to haue wonne it. The garrison in Puteoli was sixe thousand strong: and did their dutie so well, that the Carthaginian, finding no hope of good successe, could onely shew his anger vpon the fields there, and about Naples; which hauing done, and once more (with as ill successe as before) assayed Nola, he bent his course to Tarentum; wherein hee had very great intelligence. Whilest hee was in his progresse thither; *Hanno* made a iourney against Beneuentum: and *T. Gracchus* the last yeeres Consul, hasting from Nuceria, met him there; and fought with him a battell. *Hanno* had with him about seuenteene thousand foot, Brutians & Lucans for the most part: besides twelue hundred horse; very few of which were Italians, all the rest, Numidians and Moores. Hee held the Roman worke foure houres, ere it could be perceiued to which side the victory would incline. But *Gracchus* his souldiers, which were all (in a manner) the late-armed slaues, had receiued from their Generall a peremptory denunciation, That this day, or neuer, they must purchase their liberty, bringing euery man, for price thereof, an Enemies head. The sweet reward of liberty was so greatly desired, that none of them feared any danger in earning it: howbeit that vaine labour, imposed by their Generall, of cutting off the slaine enemies heads, troubled them exceedingly; and hindred the seruice, by imployment of so many hands, in a worke so little concerning the victorie. *Gracchus* therefore finding his owne errour, wisely corrected it: proclayming aloud, That they should cast away the heads, and spare the trouble of cutting off any more; for that all should haue libertie immediately after the battell, if they wonne the day. This encouragement made them runne headlong vpon the Enemie; whom their desperate furie had soone ouerthrowne, if the Roman Horse could haue made their part good against the Numidian. But though *Hanno* did what he could, and pressed so hard vpon the Romans battell, that foure thousand of the slaues, (for feare either of him, or of the punishment which *Gracchus* had threatned before the battel, vnto those that should not valiantly behaue themselues) retired vnto a ground of strength, yet was he glad at length to saue himselfe by flight, when the Grosse of his Armie was broken; being vnable to remedy the losse. Leauing the field, hee was accompanied by no more than two thousand: most of which were horse; all the rest were either slaine or taken. The Roman Generall gaue vnto all his souldiers that reward of liberty which he had promised; but vnto those foure thousand, which had recoiled

 vnto

vnto the Hill, he added this light punishment; That as long as they serued in the wars, they should neither eat nor drink otherwise than standing, vnlesse sicknesse forced them to breake his order. So the victorious Armie returned to Beneuentum: where the newly enfranchised souldiers were feasted in publike by the townsmen; some sitting, some standing, and all of them hauing their heads couered (as was the custome of slaues manumised) with Caps of white wooll. The picture of this Feast (as a thing worthy of remembrance) was afterward hung vp in a Table by *Gracchus*, in the Temple of Libertie; which his father had built and dedicated. This was indeed the first Battell, worthy of great note, which the Carthaginians had lost since the comming of *Hannibal* into Italy: the victories of *Marcellus* at Nola, and of this *Gracchus* before at Hamæ, being things of small importance. 10

Thus the Romans through industry, by little and little, repaired that great Breach in their Estate, which *Hannibal* had made at Cannæ. But all this while, and long after this, their Treasurie was so poore, that no industrie nor art could serue to helpe it. The fruits of their grounds did onely (and perhaps hardly) serue, to feed their Townes and Armies, without any surplusage, that might be exchanged for other needfull commodities. Few they were in Italy, that continued to pay them tribute: which also they could worse doe than before; as liuing vpon the same trade, and subiect to the same inconueniences, which enfeebled Rome it selfe. Sicil & Sardinia, that were wont to yeeld great profit, hardly now maintained the Roman Armies, that lay in those Prouinces, to hold them safe, and in good order. As for the Citizens of Rome, euery one of them suffered his part of the detriment, which the Common-wealth sustained, and could now doe least for his Countrey, when most need was: as also the number of them was much decreased; so as if money should be raised vpon them by the *Poll*, yet must it be farre lesse, than in former times. The Senate therefore, diligently considering the greatnesse of the warre within the bowels of Italy, that could not be thence expelled, without the exceeding charge of many good Armies; the perill, wherein Sicil and Sardinia stood, both of the Carthaginians, and of many among the Naturalls declining from the friendship or subiection of Rome; the threats of the Macedonian, ready to land in the Easterne parts of Italy, if they were not at the cost to finde him worke at home; the greater threats of *Asdrubal*, to follow his brother ouer the Alpes, as soone as he could rid himselfe of the *Scipio's* in Spaine; and the pouertie of the Common-wealth, which had not money for any one of these mortall dangers; were driuen almost euen to extreme want of counsell. But being vrged by the violence of swift necessitie, signified in the letters of the two *Scipio's* from Spaine; they resolued vpon the onely course, without the which the Citie could not haue subsisted. 20 30

They called the people to assembly: wherein *Quintus Fuluius* the Pretor laid open the publique wants; and plainely said, That in this exigent, there must be no taking of money for victuall, weapons, apparell, or the like things needfull to the Souldiers; but that such as had stuffe, or were Artificers, must trust the Common-wealth with the Loane of their commodities, and labours vntill the warre were ended. Hereunto he so effectually exhorted all men, especially the Publicans or Customers, and those which in former times had liued vpon their dealing in the common Reuenues, that the charge was vndertaken by priuate men; and the Armie in Spaine as well supplied, as if the Treasurie had beene full. Shortly after this; *Marcus Atilius Regulus*, and *Publius Furius Philus* the Roman Censors, taking in hand the redresse of disorders within the Citie, were chiefly intentiue to the correction of those, that had mis-behaued themselues in this present warre. They began with *L. Cecilius Metellus*: who, after the battell at Cannæ, had held discourse with some of his Companions, about flying beyond the Seas; as if Rome, and all Italy, had beene no better than lost. After him they tooke in hand those, that hauing brought to Rome the message of their fellowes made prisoners at Cannæ, returned not backe to *Hannibal*, as they were bound by oath; but thought themselues thereof sufficiently discharged, in that they had stepped once backe into his Campe; with pretence of taking better notice of the Captiues names. All these were now pronounced infamous by the Censors: as also vere a great many more; euen whosoeuer had not serued in the warres, after the terme which the Lawes appointed: Neither was the note of the Censors at this time (as otherwise it had vsed to be) hurtfull onely in reputation; but greater weight was added thereunto, by this Decree of the Senate, 40 50

Senate; following; *That all such as were noted with infamie by these Censors, should bee transported into Sicil, there to serue vntill the end of the warre, vnder the same hard conditions, that were imposed vpon the Remainder of the Armie beaten at Canne.* The office of the Censors was, to take the List and accompt of the Citizens; to choose or displace the Senatours; and to set notes of disgrace (without further punishment) vpon those, whose vnhonest or vnseemely behauiour fell not within the compasse of the Law. They tooke also an accompt of the Roman Gentlemen: amongst whom they distributed the publique Horses of seruice, vnto such as they thought meet; or took them away for their misbehauiour. Generally, they had the ouer-sight of mens liues and manners: and their censure was much reuerenced and feared; though it extended no further, than to putting men out of rancke; or making them change their Tribe; or (which was the most that they could doe) causing them to pay some Duties to the Treasurie, from which others were exempted. But besides the care of this generall Taxe, and matters of Moralitie, they had the charge of all publique Workes; as mending of High-wayes, Bridges, and Water-courses; the reparations of Temples, Porches, and such other buildings. If any man incroached vpon the streets, High-wayes, or other places that ought to be common; the Censors compelled him to make amends. They had also the letting out of Lands, Customes, and other publique Reuenues, to farme: so that most of the Citizens of Rome were beholding vnto this Office; as maintaining themselues by some of the Trades thereto belonging. And this was no small helpe to conserue the dignitie of the Senate: the commonalty being obnoxius vnto the Censors; which were alwaies of that Order, and carefull to vp-hold the reputation thereof. But the Common-weale being now impouerished by warre, and hauing small store of lands to let, or of customes that were worth the farming; *Regulus* and *Philus* troubled not themselues much with purusing the Temples, or other decayed places, that needed reparations: or if they took a view of what was requisite to be done in this kinde; yet forbore they to set any thing in hand, because they had not wherwith to pay. Herein againe appeared a notable generositie of the Romans. They that had been accustomed, in more happy times, to vndertake such pieces of worke, offered now themselues as willingly to the Censors, as if there had been no such want: promising liberally their cost and trauell; without expectation of any payment, before the end of the warre. In like sort, the Masters of those slaues, that lately had been infranchised by *Gracchus*, were very well contented to forbeare the price of them, vntill the Citie were in better case to pay. In this generall inclination of the Multitude, to relieue, as farre forth as euery one was able, the common necessity; all the goods of Orphans, and of Widowes liuing vnder Patronage, were brought into the Treasuries, and there the Quæstor kept a Booke of all that was layed out for the sustenance of these Widowes and Orphans; whilest the whole stocke was vsed by the Citie. This good example of those which remained in the Towne, preuailed with the Souldiers abroad: so that (the poorer sort excepted) they refused to take pay; and called those *Mercenaries*, that did accept it, when their country was in so great want.

The twelue hundred Talents, wrongfully extorted from the Carthaginians; nor any iniuries following, done by the Romans in the height of their pride; yeelded halfe so much commoditie, as might be laid in ballance against these miseries, whereinto their Estate was now reduced. Neuertheless, if we consider things aright, the calamities of this Warre did rather inable Rome to deale with those Enemies, whom she forthwith vnder-tooke, than abate or slacken the growth of that large Dominion, whereto she attained, ere the youngest of those men was dead, whose names we haue already mentioned. For by this hammering, the Roman mettall grew more hard and solide; and by paring the branches of priuate fortunes, the Root and Heart of the Common-wealth was corroborated. So grew the Citie of Athens; when *Xerxes* had burnt the Towne to ashes, and taken from euery particular Citizen, all hope of other felicity, than that which rested in the common happinesse of the vniuersality. Certaine it is, (as Sir *Francis Bacon* hath iudiciously obserued) That a State, whose dimention or stemme is small, may aptly serue to be foundation of a great Monarchie: which chiefly comes to passe, where all regard of domesticall prosperity is laid aside; and euery mans care addressed to the benefit of his Country. Hereof I might say, that our Age hath seen a great example, in the vnited Prouinces in the Netherlands; whose present riches and

and strength grew chiefly from that ill assurance, which each of their Towns, or almost of their Families, perceiued it selfe to hold, whilest the generality was oppressed by the Duke of Alua; were it so, that the people had thereby growne as warlike, as by extreme industrie, and straining themselues to fill their publike Treasurie, they are all growne wealthy, strong at Sea, and able to wage great Armies for their seruices by Land. Wherfore if we value at such a rate as we ought, the patient resolution, conformitie to good Order, obedience to Magistrates, with many other Vertues, and aboue all other, the great loue of the Common-weale, which was found in Rome in these dangerous times: we may truely say, That the Citie was neuer in greater likelihood to prosper. Neither can it be deemed otherwise, than that if the same affections of the people had lasted, when their Empire, being grown more large and beautifull, should in all reason haue been more deare vnto them, if the riches and delicacies of Asia had not infected them with sensualitie, and carried their appetites mainly to those pleasures, wherin they thought their well-being to consist; if all the Citizens, and Subiects of Rome could haue beleeued their owne interest to be as great, in those vvarres which these latter Emperours made for their defence, as in these which were managed by the Consuls: the Empire, founded vpon so great vertue, could not haue been throwne downe by the hands of rude Barbarians, were they neuer so many. But vnto all Dominions God hath set their periods: Who, though he hath giuen vnto Man the knowledge of those waies, by which kingdomes rise and fall, yet hath left him subiect vnto the affections, which draw on these fatall changes, in their times appointed.

§.XIIII.

The Romans winne some Townes backe from Hannibal. Hannibal *winnes Tarentum. The siege of Capua. Two victories of* Hannibal. *The iourney of* Hannibal *to the gates of Rome. Capua taken by the Romans.*

AS the People of Rome strained themselues to the vtmost, for maintaining the warrre: so their Generals abroad omitted no part of industrie, in seeking to recouer what had beene lost. The towne of Casiline, *Fabius* besieged. It was well defended by the Carthaginian garrison; and likely to haue been relieued by those of Capua, if *Marcellus* from Nola had not come to the assistance of his Colleague. Neuertheless the place held out so obstinately, that *Fabius* was purposed to giue it ouer: saying, that the enterprise was not great; yet as difficult, as a thing of more importance. But *Marcellus* was of a contrary opinion. He said, That many such things, as were not at first to haue been vnder-taken by great Commanders, ought yet, vvhen once they were taken in hand, to be prosequuted vnto the best effect. So the siege held on: and the towne was pressed so hard, that the Campans dwelling therein grew feateful, and craued parlee; offering to giue it vp, so as all might haue leaue to depart in safetie, whither they pleased. Whilest they vvere thus treating of conditions: or vvhilest they were issuing forth, according to the composition already made; (for it is diuersly reported) *Marcellus* seizing vpon a Gate, entred with his Armie, and put all to sword that came in their way. Fifrie of those that were first gotten out, ran to *Fabius* the Consul: who saued them, and sent them to Capua in safety; all the rest were either slaine, or made prisoners. If *Fabius* deserued commendations, by holding his vvord good vnto these fifty; I know not how the slaughter of the rest, or imprisonment afterward of such, as scaped the heat of execution, could be excused by *Marcellus*. It may be that he helped himselfe, after the Roman fashion, with some æquiuocation, but he shall pay for it hereafter. In like sort was Mount Marsam in Gascoigne taken by the Marshall *Montluc*, vvhen I was a young man in France. For vvhilest he entertained parlee about composition; the besieged ranne all from their seuerall guards, vpon hasty desire of being acquainted with the conditions proposed. The Marshall therefore discouering a part of the vvalls vnguarded, entred by *Scalado*, and put all saue the Gouernour vnto the vvord. Herein that Gouernour of Mount Marsam committed two grosse errours; the one, in that he gaue no order for the Captaines and Companies, to hold themselues in their places; the other, in that he was content to parlee, without pledges for assurance giuen and receiued. Some such ouer-sight, the Gouernour of Casiline seemeth to haue committed; yet neither the aduantage taken by *Marcellus*, or by *Montluc*, was very honorable.

rable. When this Worke vvas ended, many small townes of the Samnites, and some of the Lucans and Apulians, were recouered: vvherein were taken, or slaine, about fiue and twenty thousand of the Enemies; and the country grieuously vvasted by *Fabius*; *Marcellus* lying sicke at Nola.

Hannibal in the meane while was about Tarentum; waiting to heare from those, that had promised to giue vp the towne. But *M. Valerius* the Roman Propretor had thrust so many men into it, that the traitours durst not stirre. Wherefore the Carthaginian vvas faine to depart, hauing vvearied himselfe in vaine vvith expectation. Yet he vvasted not the country, but contented himselfe vvith hope, that they would please him better in time following. So he departed thence toward Salapia: vvhich he chose for his vvintring place; and began to victuall it, when Summer was but halfe past. It is said, that he vvas in loue vvith a yong Wench in that towne, in vvhich regard if he began his vvinter more timely, than otherwise he required, He did not like the Romans; whom necessity inforced, to make their Summer last as long as they were able to trauell vp & down the country.

About this time began great troubles in Sicil, vvhither *Marcellus* the Consul vvas sent, to take such order for the Prouince, as need should require. Of the doings there, vvhich wore out more time than his Consulship, vve vvill speake hereafter.

The new Consuls, chosen at Rome, were *Q. Fabius* the sonne of the present Consul, and *T. Sempronius Gracchus* the second time. The Romans found it needfull for the publique seruice, to imploy oftentimes their best able men: and therefore made it lawfull, during the vvarre, to recontinue their Officers, and choose such, as had lately held their places before; vvithout regarding any distance of time, which was otherwise required. The old *Fabius* became Lieutenant vnto his sonne: which was perhaps the respect, that most commended his sonne vnto the place. It is noted, That when the old man came into the campe, and his sonne rode forth to meet him: eleuen of the twelue Lictors, which carried an axe with a bundle of rods before the Consul, suffered him, in regard of due reuerence, to passe by them on horse-backe, which was against the custome. But the sonne perceiuing this, commanded the last of his Lictors to note it: who therupon bade the old *Fabius* alight, and come to the Consul on his feete. The father cheerfully did so, saying, *It was my minde, sonne, to make triall, whether thou diddest vnderstand thy selfe to be Consul.* *Cassius Altinius* a wealthy Citizen of Arpi, who, after the battell at Cannæ, had holpen the Carthaginian into that town, seeing now the fortune of the Romans to amend; came priuily to this Consul *Fabius*, and offered to render it backe vnto him, if he might be therfore vvell rewarded. The Consul purposed to follow old examples: and to make this *Altinius* a patterne to all traitors; vsing him, as *Camillus* and *Fabricius* had done those, that offered their faithfull seruice against the Falisci, and King *Pyrrhus*. But *Q. Fabius* the father, was of another opinion: and said, it was a matter of dangerous consequence, That it should be thought more safe to reuolt from the Romans than to turne vnto them. Wherefore it was concluded, that he should be sent to the towne of Cales, and there kept as prisoner; vntill they could better resolue, what to doe with him, or what vse to make of him. *Hannibal*, vnderstanding that *Altinius* was gone, and among the Romans, took it not sorrowfully, but thought this a good occasion, to seize vpon all the mans riches, vvhich were great. Yet that he might seeme rather seuere, than couetous, he sent for the wife and children of *Altinius* into his camp: where hauing examined them by torment, partly concerning the departure and intentions of this fugitiue, partly, and more strictly, about his riches, what they were, and where they lay, He condemned them, as partakers of the treason, to be burnt aliue; and tooke all their goods vnto himselfe. *Fabius* the Consul shortly after came to Arpi: which he wonne by *Scalado*, in a stormy and rainy night. Fiue thousand of *Hannibals* Souldiers lay in the towne; and of the Arpines themselues, there were about three thousand. These were thrust formost by the Carthaginian Garrison; when it was vnderstood, that the Romans had gotten ouer the wall, and broken open a Gate. For the Souldiers held the townsmen suspected; and therfore thought it no wisedome, to trust them at their backs. But after some little resistance, the Arpines gaue ouer fight, and entertained parlee with the Romans: protesting, that they had been betrayed by their Princes; and were become subiect to the Carthaginians, against their wills. In processe of this discourse, the Arpine Pretor went vnto the Roman Consul: and receiuing his faith for security of the Town, presently

presently made head against the garrison. This notwithstanding, like it is, that *Hannibals* men continued to make good resistance. For when almost a thousand of them, that were Spaniards, offered to leaue their campanions, and serue on the Roman side, it was yet couenanted, That the Carthaginians should be suffered to passe forth quietly, & returne to *Hannibal*. This was performed: and so Arpi became Roman againe, with little other losse, than of him that had betrayed it. About the same time, Cliternum was taken by *Sempronius Tuditanus*, one of the Pretors: and vnto *Cneus Fuluius*; another of the Pretors, an hundred & twelue Gentlemen of Capua offred their seruice; vpon no other condition, than to haue their goods restored vnto them, when their citie should be recouered by the Romans. This was a thing of small importance: but considering the generall hatred of the Campans toward Rome, it serued to discouer the inclination of the Italians in those times; and how their affections recoiled from *Hannibal*, when there was no appearance of those mighty succours, that had been promised from Carthage. The Consentines also, and the Thurines, people of the Brutians, which had yeelded themselues to *Hannibal*, returned againe to their old allegeance. Others would haue followed their example, but that one *L. Pomponius*, who of a Publican had made himselfe a Captaine, and gotten reputation by some petty exploits in forraging the Countrey, was slaine by *Hanno*; with a great multitude of those that followed him. *Hannibal* in the meane while had all his care bent vpon Tarentum; which if he could take, it seemed that it would stand him in good stead, for drawing ouer that helpe out of Macedon, which his Carthaginians failed to send. Long he waited, ere he could bring his desire to passe: & being loth to hazzard his forces, where he hoped to preuaile by intelligence; He contented himselfe, with taking in some poore townes of the Salentines. At length, his Agents within Tarentum, found meanes to accomplish their purpose, and his wish. One *Philemo*, that was of their conspiracie, vvho lay at Rome as Embassadour, practising with the Hostages of the Tarentines, and such as had the keeping of them, conueighed them by night out of the Citie. But he and his company were the next day so closely pursued, that all of them vvere taken, and brought backe to Rome, vvhere they suffered death as traitors. By reason of this cruelty, or seuerity, the people of Tarentum grew to hate the Romans, more generally and earnestly than before. As for the Conspirators, they followed their businesse the more diligently; as knowing what reward they were to expect, if their intention should happen to be discouered. Wherefore they sent againe to *Hannibal*: and acquainting him with the manner of their plot, made the same composition with him for the Tarentines, which they of Capua had made before. *Nico* and *Philomenes*, two the chiefe among them, vsed much to goe forth of the towne on hunting by night; as if they durst not take their pleasure by day, for fear of the Carthaginians. Seldome or neuer they missed of their game: for the Carthaginians prepared it readie for their hands, that they might not seeme to haue beene abroad vpon other occasion. From the campe of *Hannibal*, it was about three dayes iourny to Tarentum, if he should haue marched thither with his whole Armie. This caused his long abode in one place the lesse to be suspected: as also to make his Enemies the more secure, He caused it to be giuen out, that he was sicke. But when the Romans within Tarentum, were growne carelesse of such his neighbourhood, and the Conspirators had set their businesse in order; He tooke with him ten thousand the most expedite of his horse and foot; and long before breake of day, made all speed thitherward. Fourescore light horse of the Numidians ran a great way before him, beating all the wayes, and killing any that they met, for feare lest he, and his troupe following him, should be discouered. It had beene often the manner of some few Numidian horse, to doe the like in former times. Wherefore the Roman Gouernour, when he heard tell in the euening, that some Numidians were abroad in the fields, tooke it for a signe, that *Hannibal* was not as yet dislodged; and gaue order, that some companies should be sent out the next morning, to strip them of their bootie, and send them gone. But when it grew darke night; *Hannibal* guided by *Philomenes*, came close to the towne: where, according to the tokens agreed vpon, making a light to shew his arriuall; *Nico*, that was within the towne, answered him with another light, in signe that he was ready. Presently *Nico* beganne to set vpon one of the Gates, and to kill the watchmen. *Philomenes* went toward another gate: and whistling (as was his maner) called vp the Porter; bidding him make haste, for that he had killed a great Bore, so heauy, that scarce two men could stand vnder it. So the Porter opened the wicket: and forthwith

forthwith entred two yong men, loaden with the Boare; which *Hannibal* had prepared large enough, to be worthy the looking on. While the Porter stood wondring at the largenesse of the beast, *Philomenes* ran him through with his Boare-speare; and letting in some thirty armed men, fell vpon all the watch; whom when he had slaine, he entred the great gate. So the Armie of *Hannibal*, entring Tarentum at two gates, went directly toward the Market-place, vvhere both parts met. Thence they were distributed by their Generall, and sent into all quarters of the City, with Tarentines to be their guides. They were commanded to kill all the Romans, and not to hurt the Citizens. For better performance hereof, *Hannibal* willed the Conspirators, that when any of their friends appeared in sight, they should bid him be quiet, and of good cheare. All the towne was in an vproare: but few could tell what the matter meant. A Roman trumpet was vnskilfully sounded by a Greek in the Theater: which helped the suspition, both of the Tarentines, that the Romans were about to spoyle the Towne; and of the Romans, that the Citizens were in commotion. The Gouernour fled into the Port: and taking boat, got into the Citadell, that stood in the mouth of the Hauen; whence he might easily perceiue the next morning, how all had passed. *Hannibal*, assembling the Tarentines, gaue them to vnderstand, what good affection he bore them; inueighed bitterly against the Romans, as tyrannous oppressors; and spake what else he thought fit for the present. This done, and hauing gotten such spoile as was to be had of the Souldiers goods in the Towne, he addressed himselfe against the Citadell; hoping that if the Garrison would sally out, he might giue them such a blow, as should make them vnable to defend the Piece. According to his expectation it partly fell out. For vvhen he beganne to make his approaches, the Romans in a brauery sallying foorth, gaue charge vpon his men: who fell backe of purpose according to direction, till they had drawne on as many as they could, and so farre from their strength, as they durst aduenture. Then gaue *Hannibal* a signe to his Carthaginians, who lay prepared ready for the purpose; and fiercely setting vpon the Enemy, draue him backe with great slaughter, as fast as he could runne; so that afterwards he durst not issue forth. The Citadell stood vpon a Demi-Iland, that was plaine ground; and fortified onely with a ditch and wall against the Towne, whereunto it was joyned by a cawsey. This cawsey *Hannibal* intended to fortifie in like sort against the Citadell; to the end that the Tarentines might be able, without his helpe, to keepe themselues from all danger thence. His worke in few dayes went so well forward, without impediment from the besieged, that he conceiued hope of winning the Piece it selfe, by taking a little more pains. Wherfore he made ready all sorts of engines, to force the place. But whilest he was busied in his workes, there came by sea a strong supply from Metapontum: which took away all hope of preuailing; & made him return to his former counsaile. Now forasmuch as the Tarentine fleet lay within the hauen, and could not passe forth, whilst the Romans held the Citadell: it seemed likely, that the towne would suffer want, being debarred of accustomed trade and prouisions by Sea; whilest the Roman garrison, by help of their shipping, might easily be relieued, and inabled to hold out. Against this inconuenience, it was rather wished by the Tarentines, than any way hoped, that their fleet could get out of the hauen, to guard the mouth of it, and cut off all supply from the Enemy. *Hannibal* told them, that this might well be done: for that their Towne standing in plaine ground, and their streets being faire and broad, it would be no hard matter to draw the Gallies ouer land, and lanch them into the Sea without. This he vndertooke, and effected: wherby the Roman garrison was reduced into great necessity; though vvith much patience it held out, and found *Hannibal* often-times otherwise busied, than his affaires required.

Thus with mutuall losse on both sides, the time passed: and the Roman forces growing daily stronger, *Q. Fuluius Flaccus*, with *Appius Claudius*, lately chosen Consuls, prepared to besiege the great Citie of Capua. Three and twenty Legions the Romans had now armed. This was a great and hastie growth from that want of men, and of all necessaries, wherinto the losse at Cannæ had reduced them. But to fill vp these Legions, they were faine to take vp yong Boyes, that were vnder seuenteen yeers of age; and to send Commissioners aboue fifty miles round, for the seeking out of such Lads as might appeare seruiceable, and pressing them to the wars; making yet a Law, That their yeers of seruice, wherein to they were bound by order of the Citie, should be reckoned, for their benefit, from this their beginning so young, as if they had been of lawfull age.

Before

Before the Roman Armie drew neere, the Campans felt great want of victuall, as if they had already been besieged. This happened partly by sloth of the Nation, partly by the great waste and spoyle, which the Romans had in fore-going yeers made vpon their grounds. They sent therefore Embassadours to *Hannibal*; desiring him to succour them ere they were closed vp, as they feated to be shortly. He gaue them comfortable words: and sent *Hanno* with an Armie to supply their wants. *Hanno* appointed them a day; against which they should be ready with all maner of carriages, to store themselues with victuals, that he would prouide. Neither did he promise more than he performed. For he caused great quantity of graine, that had been laid vp in Cities round about, to be brought into his campe, three miles from Beneuentum. Thither at the time appointed came no more than fortie Carts or Wagons, with a few packe-horses; as if this had been enough to victuall Capua. Such was the retchlesnesse of the Campans. *Hanno* was exceeding angry hereat: and told them they were worse than very beasts; since hunger could not teach them to haue greater care. Wherefore he gaue them a longer day; against which he made prouision to store them throughly. Of all these doings word was sent to the Roman Consuls, from the Citizens of Beneuentum. Therefore *Q. Fuluius* the Consul, taking with him such strength as he thought needfull for the seruice, came into Beneuentum by night; where with diligence he made inquirie into the behauiour of the Enemie. He learned, that *Hanno* with part of his Armie was gone abroad to make prouisions; that some two thousand Wagons, with a great rabble of Carters and other Varlets, lay among the Carthaginians in their campe; so that little good order was kept: all thought being set vpon a great haruest. Hereupon the Consul bade his men prepare themselues to assaile the Enemies campe: and leauing all his impediments within Beneuentum, he marched thitherward so early in the morning, that hee was there with the first breake of day. By comming so vnexpected, he had wel-neere forced the Campe on the sudden. But it was very strong and very well defended: so that the longer the fight continued, the lesse desire had *Fuluius* to lose more of his men in the attempt; seeing many of them cast away, and yet little hope of doing good. Therefore he said, that it were better to goe more leisurely and substantially to worke; to send for his fellow-Consul with the rest of their Armie; and to lye betweene *Hanno* and home; that neither the Campans should depart thence, nor the Carthaginians be able to relieue them. Being thus discoursing, and about to sound the retrait; hee saw, that some of his men had gotten ouer the Enemies Rampart. There was great bootie; or (which was all one to the souldier) an opinion of much that might be gotten in that Campe. Wherefore some Ensigne-bearers threw their Ensignes ouer the Rampart, willing their men to fetch them out, vnlesse they would indure the shame and dishonour following such a losse. Feare of such ignominy, than which nothing could be greater, made the Souldiers aduenture so desperately; that *Fuluius*, perceiuing the heat of his men, changed his purpose, and incouraged those that were somewhat backward, to follow the example of them, that had already gotten ouer the Trenches. Thus the Campe was wonne: in which were slaine aboue sixe thousand; and taken, aboue seuen thousand, besides all the store of victualls, and carriages, with abundance of bootie, that *Hanno* had lately gotten from the Roman Confederates. This misaduenture, and the neerer approach of both the Consuls, made them of Capua send a pitifull Embassage to *Hannibal*: putting him in minde of all the loue, that he was wont to protest vnto their Citie; and how he had made shew, to affect it no lesse than Carthage. But now, they said, it would be lost, as Arpi was lately, if he gaue not strong and speedy succour. *Hannibal* answered with comfortable words: and sent away two thousand horse, to keep their grounds from spoile, whilest he himselfe was detained about Tarentum, partly by hope of winning the Citadell, partly by the disposition, which he saw in many townes adioyning, to yeeld vnto him. Among the hostages of the Tarentines, that lately had fled out of Rome, and being ouer-taken, suffered death for their attempt; were some of the Metapontines, and other cities of the Greeks, inhabiting that Easterne part of Italy, which was called of old *Magna Græcia*. These people took to hart the death of their hostages, and thought the punishment greater than the offence. Wherefore the Metapontines, as soon as the Roman garrison was taken from them, to defend the citadel of Tarentum, made no more adoe, but opened their gates to *Hannibal*. The Thurines would haue done the like, vpon the like reason, had not some companies lyen in their Towne;

Towne; which they feared that they should not be able to master. Neuertheless, they helped themselues by cunning: inuiting to their gates *Hanno* and *Mago*, that were neer at hand: against whom whilest they proffered their seruice to *Atinius*, the Roman Captaine, they drew him forth to fight, and recoyling from him, closed vp their gates. A little formality they vsed in pretending feare, lest the Enemy should breake in together with the Romans, in sauing *Atinius* himselfe, and sending him away by Sea; as also in consulting a small while (because perhaps many of their chiefe men were vnacquainted with the practise) whether they should yeeld to the Carthaginian, or no. But this disputation lasted not long: for they that had remoued the chiefe impediment, easily preuailed in the rest; and deliuered vp the towne to *Hanno* and *Mago*. This good successe, and hope of the like, detained *Hannibal* in those quarters, whilest the Consuls fortifying Beneuentum to secure their backes, addressed themselues vnto the siege of Capua.

Many disasters befell the Romans, in the beginning of this great enterprise. *T. Sempronius Gracchus*, a very good man of warre, that had of late been twice Consul, was slaine, either by treachery of some Lucans, that drew him into ambush, or by some Carthaginian stragglers, among whom he fell vnawares. His body, or his head, was very honourably interred, either by *Hannibal* himself, or (for the reports agree not) by the Romans, to whom *Hannibal* sent it. He was appointed to lie in Beneuentum, there to secure the backe of the Army that should besiege Capua. But his death hapned in an ill time, to the great hinderance of that busines. The Volones or Slaues lately manumised, forsook their Ensignes, and went euery one whither he thought good, as if they had been discharged by the decease of their Leader; so that it asked some labour to seeke them out, and bring them backe into their camp. Neuertheless, the Consuls went forward with their work, and drawing neer to Capua, did all acts of hostility which they could. *Mago* the Carthaginian, and the citizens of Capua, gaue them an hard welcome, wherin aboue fifteene hundred Romans were lost. Neither was it long ere *Hannibal* came thither, who fought with the Consuls, and had the better; insomuch that he caused them to dislodge. They remoued by night, and went seuerall waies: *Fuluius* towards Cannæ; *Claudius* into Lucania. *Hannibal* followed after *Claudius*, who hauing led him a great walke, fetch't a compasse about, and returned to Capua. It so fell out, that one *Marcus Centenius Penula*, stout man, and one that with good commendations had discharged the place of a Centurion, lay with an Army not far from thence, where *Hannibal* rested, when he was weary of hunting after *Claudius*. This *Penula* had made great vaunts to the Roman Senate, of wonders which he would worke, if he might be trusted with the leading of fiue thousand men. The Fathers were vnwilling in such a time, to reiect the vertue of any good Souldier, how meane soeuer his condition were. Wherefore they gaue him the charge of eight thousand: and he himselfe being a proper man, and talking brauely, gathered vp so many voluntaries, as almost doubled his number. But meeting thus with *Hannibal*, he gaue proofe of the difference, between a stout Centurion, and one able to command in chiefe. He and his fellowes were all (in a manner) slaine, scarce a thousand of them escaping. Soone after this, *Hannibal* had word, that *Cneus Fuluius*, a Roman Praetor with eighteen thousand men, was in Apulia, very carelesse, and a man insufficient for the charge which he held. Thither therfore he hasted to visit him: hoping to deale the better with the maine strength of Rome, which pointed at Capua, when he should haue cut off those forces, that lay in the Prouinces about, vnder men of small ability. Coming vpon *Fuluius*, he found him and his men so iolly, that needs they would haue fought the first night. Wherefore it was not to be doubted, what would happen the day following. So he bestowed *Mago* with three thousand of his lightest armed, in places thereabout most fit for ambush. Then offring battell to *Fuluius*, he soone had him in the trap: whence he made him glad to escape aliue, leauing all, saue two thousand of his followers, dead behind him.

These two great blowes, receiued the one presently after the other, much astonished the Romans. Neuertheless, all care was taken, to gather vp the small reliques of the broken Armies: and that the Consuls should goe substantially forwards with the siege of Capua; which was of great consequence, both in matter of reputation, and in many other respects. The two Consuls sate down before the towne, and *C. Claudius Nero*, one of the Pretors, came with his Army from Suessula to their assistance. They made Proclamation, That whosoeuer would issue out of Capua before a certain day prefixed, should haue

haue his pardon, and be suffered to inioy all that vnto him belonged: which day being past, there should be no grace expected. This offer was contumeliously reiected; the Capuans relying on their owne strength, and the succours attended from *Hannibal*. Before the City was closed vp, they sent Messengers to the Carthaginian; which found him at Brundusium. He had made a long iourny, in hope of gaining the Tarentine Citadell: of which expectation failing, he turned to Brundusium, vpon aduertisement that he should be let in. There the Capuans met him, told him of their danger with earnest words; and were with words as brauely re-comforted. He bade them consider, how a few dayes since he had chased the Consuls out of their fields; and told them, that he would presently come thither again, and send the Romans going, as fast as before. With this good answer the Messengers returned, and hardly could get backe into the City; which the Romans had almost intrenched round. As for *Hannibal* himselfe, he was of opinion, that Capua, being very wel manned, and heartily deuoted vnto his friendship, would hold out a long time, and therby giue him leisure, to doe what he thought requisite among the Tarentines, and in those Easterne parts of Italy; whilst the Roman Army spent itselfe in a tedious siege. Thus he lingred, and therby gaue the Consuls time, both to fortifie themselues at Capua, & to dispatch the election of new Magistrates in Rome; whilest he him selfe pursued hopes, that neuer found successe.

Claudius and *Fulvius*, when their terme of office was expired, were appointed to continue the siege at Capua; retaining the same Armies as Proconsuls. The townes-men often sallied out; rather in a brauery, than likelihood to vworke any matter of effect; the Enemy lying close within his Trenches, as intending, without other violence, to subdue them by famine. Yet against the Campan horse (for their foot was easily beaten) the Romans vsed to thrust out some troupes, that should hold them skirmish. In these exercises the Campans vsually had the better, to the great griefe of their proud Enemy, who scorned to take foile at the hands of such Rebels. It was therefore deuised, that some actiue and couragious yong men, should learne to ride behind the Roman men at armes; leaping vp, and againe dismounting lightly, as occasion serued. These were furnished like the Velites, hauing each of them three or foure small darts: which, alighting in time of conflict, they discharged thicke vpon the Enemies horse; whom vanquishing in this kinde of seruice, they much disheartened in the maine. The time thus passing, and famine daily increasing within the City, *Hannibal* came at length, not expected by the Romans: and taking a Fort of theirs, called Galatia, fell vpon their Campe. At the same time the Capuans issued with their whole power, in as terrible manner as they could deuise: setting all their multitude of vnseruiceable people on the wals, which with a loud noyse of Pans and Basons, troubled those that were occupied in fight. *Appius Claudius* opposing himself to the Campans, easily defended his Trenches against them; & so wel repressed them, that he draue them at length backe into their City. Neuertheless, in pursuing them to their gates, He receiued a wound, that accompanied him in short space after to his graue. *Q. Fulvius* was held harder to his taske, by *Hannibal* and the Carthaginian army. The Roman camp was euen at point to haue bin lost; and *Hannibal* his Elephants, of which he brought three & thirty, were either gotten within the rampart, or else (for the report varies) being some of them slaine vpon it, fell into the ditch; & filled it vp in such sort, that their bodies serued as a bridge vnto the Assailants. It is said, that *Hannibal* in this tumult caused some fugitiues, that could speake Latine wel, to proclaim aloud, as it were in the Consuls name, That euery one of the Souldiers should shift for himselfe, and flie betimes vnto the next hils, forasmuch as the Camp was already lost. But all would not serue. The fraud was detected: and the Army, hauing sitten there so long, had at good leisure strongly intrenched it selfe, so as little hope there was to raise the siege by force.

This did extreamly perplex the Carthaginian. The purchase of Capua had (as was thought) with-held him from taking Rome it selfe: & now his desire of winning the Tarentine citadell, had wel-neer lost Capua; in respect of which, neither the Citadell, nor the City of Tarentum, were to haue bin much regarded. Falling therefore into a desperate anger with himselfe and his hard fortune, that of so many great victories he had made no greater vse: on the sudden he entertained an haughty resolution, euen to set vpon Rome; and carry to the walls of that proud City, the danger of warre that threatned Capua. This he thought would be a meane, to draw the Roman Generals, or one

one of them at least, vnto the defence of their owne home. If they rose from the siege with their whole Army, then had he his desire: If they diuided their forces, then was it likely, that either he, or the Campans, should well enough deale with them apart. Neither did he despaire, that the terror of his coming might so astonish the multitude within Rome, as he might enter some part or other of the City. His onely feare was, lest the Campans, being ignorant of his purpose, should thinke he had forsaken them; and therupon forthwith yeeld themselues to the Enemy. To preuent this danger, he sent letters to Capua by a subtile Numidian: who running as a fugitiue into the Roman Camp, conueighed himselfe thence ouer the innermost Trenches into the Citie. The iourney to Rome, was to be performed with great celerity: no small hope of good successe, resting in the suddennesse of his arriuall there. Wherefore he caused his men, to haue in a readinesse ten dayes victualls; and prepared as many boates, as might in one night transport his Armie ouer the Riuer of Vulturnus. This could not be done so closely, but that the Roman Generals by some fugitiues had notice of his purpose. With this danger therefore they acquainted the Senate; which was therewith affected, according to the diuersitie of mens opinions, in a case of such importance. Some gaue counsell to let alone Capua, yea and all places else, rather than to put the towne of Rome into perill of being taken by the enemy. Others were so farre from allowing of this, as they wondred how any man could thinke, that *Hannibal*, being vnable to relieue Capua, should iudge himselfe strong enough to winne Rome; and therefore stoutly said, That those Legions, which were kept at home for defence of the City, would serue the turne well enough, to keepe him out, and send him thence, if he were so vnwise, as to come thither. But it was finally concluded, that Letters should be sent to *Fulvius* and *Claudius*, acquainting them perfectly with the forces, that at the present were in Rome: who, since they knew best, what the strength was which *Hannibal* could bring along with him, vvere best able to iudge, what was needfull to oppose him. So it was referred vnto the discretion of these Generals at Capua, to do as they thought behoueful: & if it might conueniently be, neither to raise their siege, nor yet to put the city of Rome into much aduenture. According to this Decree of the Senate, *Q. Fulvius* took fifteen thousand foot, and a thousand horse, the choise of his whole Army: with which he hasted toward Rome; leauing *App. Claudius*, who could not trauell by reason of his wound, to continue the siege at Capua.

Hannibal, hauing passed ouer Vulturnus, burnt vp all his boats; and left nothing that might transport the Enemy, in case he should offer to pursue or coast him. Then hasted he away toward Rome, staying no longer in any one place, than he needs must. Yet found he the Bridges ouer Liris broken down, by the people of Fregellæ: which as it stopped him a little on his vvay; so it made him the more grieuously to spoyle their lands, vvhiles the Bridges were in mending. The neerer that he drew to Rome, the greater wast he made: his Numidians running before him; driuing the Countrey, and killing or taking multitudes of all sorts and ages, that fled out of all parts round about. The messengers of these newes came apace, one after another into the Citie; some few bringing true aduertisements; but the most of them reporting the conceits of their own feare. All the streets, and Temples in Rome, were pestered with vvomen, crying, and praying, and rubbing the Altars with their haire, because they could doe none other good. The Senators were all in the great market, or place of Assembly; ready to giue their aduice, if it were asked, or to take directions giuen by the Magistrates. All places of most importance were stuffed vvith souldiers: it being vncertaine, vpon vvhich part *Hannibal* would fall. In the midst of this trepidation, there came news that *Quintus Fulvius*, with part of the Army from Capua, was hasting to the defence of the city. The Office of a Proconsul did expire, at his returne home, and entry into the Gates of Rome. Wherefore, that *Fulvius* might lose nothing by comming into the city in time of such need, an Act was passed, That he should haue equall power with the Consuls during his abode there. He and *Hannibal* arriued at Rome, one soone after another: *Fulvius* hauing been long held occupied in passing ouer Vulturnus; and *Hannibal* receiuing impediment in his iourney, as much as the Country was able to giue. The Consuls, and *Fulvius*, incamped without the Gates of Rome, attending the Carthaginian. Thither they called the Senate: and as the danger grew neerer and greater; so took they more carefull and especiall order against all occurrences. *Hannibal* came to the Riuer Anio or Anien, three miles from the Towne; whence he aduanced with two thousand horse, and

and rode along a great way vnder the walls, viewing the site therof, and considering how he might best approach it. But he either went, or (as the Roman Story saith) was driuen away, without doing or receiuing any hurt. Many tumults rose in this while among the people; but were suppressed by care and diligence of the Senators. Aboue the rest one accident was both troublesome, and not without perill. Of Numidians that had shifted side, and fallen (vpon some displeasures) from *Hannibal* to the Romans, there were some twelue hundred then in Rome: which were appoynted by the Consuls, to passe through the Towne, from the Mount Auentine to the Gate Collina, where it was thought that their seruice might be vsefull, among broken wayes, and Garden walls lying in the suburbs. The faces of these men, and their furniture, wherein they differed not from the followers of *Hannibal*; bred such mistaking, as caused a great vproare, among the people: all crying out, that Auentine was taken, and the enemy gotten within the walls. The noyse was such, that men could not be informed of the truth: and the streets were so full of cattell, and husbandmen, which were fled thither out of the Villages adioyning, that the passage was stopt vp: and the poore Numidians pitifully beaten from the house toppes, with stones and other weapons that came next to hand, by the desperate multitude, that would haue run out at the gates, had it not been certaine who lay vnder the walls. To remedy the like inconueniences, it was ordained, *That all which had beene Dictators, Consuls, or Censors, should haue authority as Magistrates, till the Enemy departed.* The day following *Hannibal* passed ouer Anien, and presented battell to the Romans, who did not wisely if they vndertook it. It is said, that a terrible showre of raine, caused both Romans and Carthaginians to returne into their seuerall Camps: and that this happened two dayes together, the weather breaking vp & clearing as soone as they were departed asunder: certain it is, that *Hannibal*, who had brought along with him no more than ten dayes prouision, could not indure to stay there, vntill his victuals were all spent. In which regard the Romans, if they suffered him to wast his time and prouisions, knowing that he could not abide there long, did as became vvell aduised men: if they offred to fight with him, and either had the better, or were parted (as is said) by some accident of weather, the commendations must be giuen to their fortune. The terror of *Hannibals* coming to the City, how great soeuer it was at the first, yet after some leisure, and better notice taken of their forces, vvhich appeared lesse than the first apprehension had formed them, was much and soone abated. Hereunto it helped wel, that at the same time, the supply appointed for Spain, after the death of the two *Scipio's*, was sent out of the town, & went forth at the gate, whilst one Carthaginian lay before another. In all *Punick terrors*, as they are called, whereof there is either no cause knowne, or no cause answerable to the greatnes of the sudden consternation; it is a good remedy to doe somwhat quite contrary to that which the danger would require, were it such as men haue fashioned it in their amazed conceits. Thus did *Alexander* cause his souldiers to disarme themselues, vvhen they were all on a sudden in a great feare of they wist not what. And thus did *Clearchus* pacifie a foolish vproare in his Army, by proclaiming a reward vnto him, that could tell who had sent the Asse into the camp. But in this present example of the Romans, appears withall a great magnanimity: wherby they sustained their reputation, & augmented it no lesse, than by this bold attempt of *Hannibal* it might seeme to haue bin diminished. Neither could they more finely haue checked the glorious conceits of their enemies, and taken away the disgrace of that feare, vvhich cloudedtheir valour at his first coming; than by making such demonstrations, when once they had recouered spirit, how little they esteemed him. To this purpose therfore that very piece of ground, on which the Carthaginian lay incamped, vvas solde in Rome: and sold it was nothing vnder the value, but at as good a rate, as if it had bin in time of peace. This indignity comming to his eare, incensed *Hannibal* so much, that he made port-sale of the Siluer-smiths shoppes, vvhich were neer about the Market or Common place in Rome; as if his owne title to the houses vvithin the Town vvere no whit worse, than any Roman Citizens could be vnto that piece of ground, vvhereon he raised his Tent. But this counter-practise was nothing vworth. The Romans did seek to manifest that assurance, which they iustly had conceiued, *Hannibal*, to make shew of continuing in an hope, which was already past. His victuals were almost spent: and of those ends, that he had proposed vnto himself, this iourny had brought forth none other, than the fame of his much daring. Wherefore he brake vp his Campe: and doing what spoile

spoile he could in the Roman Territorie, without sparing religious places, wherein wealth was to be gotten, he passed like a tempest ouer the Country, and ran toward the Easterne Sea so fast, that he had almost taken the Citie of Rhegium before his arriual was feared or suspected. As for Capua, he gaue it lost: and is likely to haue cursed the whole faction of *Hanno*, which thus disabled him to relieue that faire Citie, since he had no other way to vent his griefe.

Q. Fuluius returning backe to Capua, made Proclamation anew, that whoso would yeeld, before a certaine day, might safely doe it. This, and the very returne of *Fuluius*, without any more appearance of *Hannibal*, gaue the Capuans to vnderstand, that they were abandoned, and their case desperate. To trust the Roman pardon proclaimed, euery mans conscience of his owne euill deserts, told him, that it was a vanity: and some faint hope was giuen, by *Hanno* and *Bostar*, Captaines of the Carthaginian Garrison within the Towne, that *Hannibal* should come againe; if meanes could onely be found, how to conuey such Letters vnto him, as they would write. The carriage of the Letters was vndertaken, by some Numidians: who running, as fugitiues, out of the Towne into the Roman camp, waited fit opportunity to make an escape thence with their packets. But it hapned ere they could conueigh themselues away, that one of them was detected by an harlot following him out of the Towne; and the Letters of *Bostar* and *Hanno* were taken and opened, containing a vehement intreatie vnto *Hannibal*, that he would not thus forsake the Capuans and them. For (said they) we came not hither to make warre against Rhegium & Tarentum, but against the Romans: whose Legions wheresoeuer they lye, there also should the Carthaginian Armie be ready to attend them; and by taking of such course, haue we gotten those victories at Trebia, Thrasymene, and Cannæ. In fine, they besought him, that he would not dishonour himselfe, and betray them to their enemies, by turning another way; as if it were his onely care, that the Citie should not be taken in his ful view: promising to make a desperate sally, if he would once more aduenture to set vpon the Roman Campe. Such were the hopes of *Bostar* and his fellow.

But *Hannibal* had already done his best: and now beganne to faint vnder the burden of that warre, wherein (as afterward he protested) he was vanquished by *Hanno* and his Partisans in the Carthaginian Senate, rather than by any force of Rome. *Liu. lib. 30.* It may well be, as a thing incident in like cases, that some of those which were besieged in Capua, had bin sent ouer by the Hannonians, to obserue the doings of *Hannibal*, and to checke his proceedings. If this were so, iustly might they curse their owne malice, which had cast them into this remediless necessitie. Howsoeuer it were, the Letters directed vnto *Hannibal*, fell (as is shewed) into the Roman Proconsuls hands; who cutting off the hands of all such counterfeit fugitiues, as carried such messages, whipt them backe into the Town. This miserable spectacle brake the hearts of the Campans, so that the multitude crying out vpon the Senate, with menacing termes, caused them to assemble, and consult, about the yeelding vp of Capua vnto the Romans. The brauest of the Senators, and such as a few yeers since had been most forward in ioyning with *Hannibal*, vnderstood well enough whereunto the matter tended. Wherefore one of them inuited the rest home to supper: telling them, that when they had made good cheare, he would drinke to them such an health, as should set them free from that cruell reuenge, which the Enemies sought vpon their bodies. About seuen and twenty of the Senators there were, that liking well of this motion, ended their liues together, by drinking poyson. All the rest hoping for more mercy than they had deserued, yeelded simply to discretion. So one of the Town-gates was set open; whereat a Roman Legion with some other companies, entring, disarmed the Citizens; apprehended the Carthaginian garrison; & commanded all the Senators of Capua to goe forth into the Roman campe: at their coming thither, the Proconsuls laid yrons vpon them all, and commanding them to tell what store of gold and siluer they had at home, sent them into safe custodie, some to Cales, others to Theanum. Touching the general multitude, they were reserued vnto the discretion of the Senate: yet so hardly vsed by *Fuluius* in the meane while, that they had little cause of hope or comfort in this aduersity. *Ap. Claudius* was brought euen to the point of death, by the wound which he had lately receiued: yet was he not inexorable to the Campans; as hauing loued them wel in former times, & hauing giuen his daughter in mariage to that *Pacuuius*, of whom we spake before. But this facility of

of his Colleague,made *Fuluius* the more hastie in taking vengeance: for feare, lest vpon the like respects, the Roman Senate might proue more gentle, than he thought behouefull to the common safety, and honour of their State. Wherefore he tooke the paines, to ride by night vnto Theanum,& from thence to Cales: where he caused all the Campan prisoners to suffer death; binding them to stakes, and scourging them first a good while with rods,after which he strucke off their heads.

This terrible example of vengeance,which the Carthaginians could not hinder,made all townes of Italy the lesse apt to follow the vaine hope of the Campans: & bred a general inclination,to return vpon good conditions to the Roman side. The Atellans,Calatines,& Sabatines,people of the Campans, that in the former change had followed the fortune of Capua,made also now the like submission,for very feare,& want of ability to resist.They were therfore vsed with the like rigour, by *Fuluius*: who deale so extremely with them all,that he brought them into desperation. Wherfore some of their yong gentlemen,burning with fire of reuenge,got into Rome: where they found means by night-time,to set on fire so many houses,that a great part of the city was like to haue bin consumed. The beginning of the fire in diuers places at once, argued that it was no casualtie.Wherfore liberty was proclaimed vnto any slaue, and other sufficient reward to any free man,that should discouer who those Incendiaries were. Thus all came out; and the Campans being detected by a slaue of their own (to whom, aboue his liberty promised,was giuen about the sum of an hundred markes) had the punishment answerable to their deserts.*Fuluius* hereby being more & more incensed against this wretched people,held them in a maner as prisoners within their wals: and this extreme seuerity caused them at length to become Suppliants vnto the Roman Senate; that some period might be set vnto their miseries.That whereu pon the Senators resolued in the end,was worse than all that which they had suffered before. Onely two poor women in Capua (of which once had been an harlot) were found not guilty of the late rebellion.The rest were,some of them,with their wiues and children sold for slaues, and their goods confiscated;others laid in prison,and reserued to further deliberation: but the generality of them,commanded to depart out of Campania by a certaine day, and confined vnto seuerall places,as best liked the angry victors.As for the town of Capua,it was suffered to stand,in regard of the beauty and commodious site:but no corporation or forme of politie,was allowed to be therein; onely a Roman Prouost was euery yeer sent to gouerne ouer those that should inhabit it,and to doe iustice. This was the greatest act, and most important,hitherto done by the people of Rome, after many great losses in the present warre. After this,the glory of *Hannibal* began to shine with a more dimme light, than before: his oile being farre spent; and that which should haue reuiued his flame,being vnfortunately shed; as shall be told in place conuenient.

§. XV.

How the Carthaginians, making a partie in Sardinia and Sicil,held warre against the Romans in those Islands, and were ouercome.

WHilst things passed thus in Italy,the commotions raised in Sardinia & Sicil by theCarthaginians & their friends,were brought to a quiet & happy end by the industrious valour of the Romans. The Sardinian rebellion was great & sudden:aboue thirty thousand being vp in armes, ere the Roman forces could arriue there to suppresse it.One *Harsicoras* with his son *Hyostus*,mighty men in that Iland, were the Ring-leaders; being incited by *Hanno* a Carthaginian, that promised the assistance of his country.Neither were the Carthaginians in this enterprise so carelesse, as in the rest of their maine vndertakings,about the same time. Yet it had been better, if their care had bin directed vnto the prosecution of that maine businesse in Italy; wherson this and all other hopes depended. For it would haue sufficed, if they could haue hindred the Romans from sending an Army into Sardinia. *Harsicoras* with his followers might well enough haue serued to driue out *Quintus Mutius* the Prætor: who lay sicke in the Prouince; and not more weake in his owne body, than in his traine. But whilest they sought reuenge of that particular iniurie, whereof the sense was most grieuous; they neglected the opportunity of requiting those that had done them wrong, and of the securing themselues from all iniuries in the future. Their fortune also in this enterprise

enterprise was such; as may seeme to haue encouraged them from being at the like charge, in cases of more importance. For whereas they sent ouer *Asdrubal*, surnamed *the Bald*, with a competent fleet and armie; assisted in this expedition by *Hanno* the Author of the rebellion, and by *Margo* a Gentleman of the Barchine house,and neere kinsman to *Hannibal*: it so fell out, that the whole fleet by extremity of foule weather, was cast vpon the Baleares: so beaten and in such euill plight, that the Sardinians had euen spent their hearts, and were in a manner quite vanquished, ere these their friends could arriue to succour them.

Titus Manlius was sent from Rome with two and twenty thousand foot, and twelue hundred horse, to settle the estate of that Iland, which he had taken in,and annexed vnto the Roman dominion,long before this, in his Consulship. It was a laudable custome of the Romans, to preserue and vp-hold in their seuerall Prouinces, the greatnesse and reputation of those men, and their families,by whom each Prouince had beene first subdued vnto their Empire. If any iniurie were done vnto the Prouincialls; if any grace were to be obtained from the Senate; or whatsoeuer accident required the assistance of a Patron: the first Conquerour, and his race after him, were the most readie and best approued meanes, to procure the benefit of the people subdued. Hereby the Romans held very sure intelligence, in euery Prouince, and had alwayes in readinesse fit men to reclaime their Subiects, if they fell into any such disorder, as would otherwise haue required a greater charge and trouble. The comming of *Manlius*, retayned in obedience all that were not already broken too farre out. Yet was *Harsicoras* so strong in field,that *Manlius* was compelled to arme his Mariners: without whom he could not haue made vp that number of two and twenty thousand, whereof we haue spoken before: he landed at Calaris or Carallis, where mooring his ships,he passed vp into the Countrey,and sought out the Enemie. *Hyostus*, the sonne of *Harsicoras*, had then the command of the Sardinian Army left vnto him by his father, who was gone abroad into the Countrey, to draw in more friends to their side. This young Gentleman would needs aduenture to get honour, by giuing battell to the Romans at his owne discretion. So he rashly aduentured to fight with an old Souldier: by whom hee receiued a terrible ouerthrow; and lost in one day aboue thirtie thousand of his followers. *Hyostus* himselfe, with the rest of his broken troupes, got into Cornus, the chiefe Towne of the Island: whither *Manlius* pursued them. Very soone after this defeature came *Asdrubal* with his Carthaginians: too late to winne all Sardinia in such haste as he might haue done, if the tempest had not hindered his voyage; yet soone enough, and strong enough to saue the Towne of Cornus, and to put a new spirit into the Rebells. *Manlius* hereupon withdrew himselfe backe to Calaris: where he had not stayed long, ere the Sardinians(such of them as adhered to the Roman party)craued his assistance; their Countrey being wasted by the Carthaginians, and the Rebells, with whom they had refused to ioyne. This drew *Manlius* forth of Calaris: where if hee had stayed a little longer, *Asdrubal* would haue sought him out with some blemish to his reputation, But the fame of *Asdrubal* and his company,appeares to haue bin greater than was their strength. For after some triall made of them in a few skirmishes, *Manlius* aduentured all to the hazzard of a battaile; wherein he slew twelue thousand of the enemies; and tooke of the Sardinians and Carthaginians, three thousand. Foure houres the battell lasted; and victory at length fell to the Romans,by the flight of the Islanders,whose courages had beene broken in their vnprosperous fight, not many dayes before. The death of yong *Hyostus*, and of his father *Harsicoras*, that slew himselfe for griefe, together with the captiuity of *Asdrubal* himselfe, with *Mago* and *Hanno* the Carthaginians, made the victory the more famous. The vanquished Armie fled into Cornus; whither *Manlius* followed them, and in short space wonne the Towne. All other Cities of the Isle that had rebelled,followed the example of *Cornus*,and yeelded vnto the Roman; who imposing vpon them such increase of tribute, or other punishment, as best sorted with the nature of their seuerall offences, or their ability to pay,returned back to Calaris with a great bootie, and from thence to Rome, leauing Sardinia in quiet.

The warre in Sicill was of greater length,and euery way more burdensome to Rome: as also the victorie brought more honour and profit, for that the Romans became thereby, not onely sauers of their owne, as in Sardinia; but Lords of the whole Countrie,by annexing the City and dominion of Syracuse,to that which they enioyed before.Soone after

after the battel of Cannæ, the old king of Syracuse died; who had continued long a sted-
fast friend vnto the Romans, and greatly reliued them in this present warre. He left his
kingdome to *Hieronymus* his grand-child, that was about fifteene yeeres of age; *Gelo* his
sonne, that should haue bin his heire, being dead before. To this young King his succes-
sour, *Hiero* appointed fifteene tutors: of which the principall were *Andronodorus*, *Zoi-*
lus, and *Themistius*, who had married his daughters, or the daughters of *Gelo*. The rest
were such, as he iudged most likely to preserue the kingdome, by the same art, where-
by himselfe had gotten and so long kept it. But within a little while, *Andronodorus* wax-
ing wearie of so many coadiutors, began to commend the sufficiencie of the young
Prince, as extraordinary in one of his yeeres; and said, that he was able to rule the king-
dome without help of any Protector. Thus by giuing ouer his owne charge, he caused
others to do the like: hoping thereby to get the king wholly into his hands; which came
to passe, in a sort, as he desired. For *Hieronymus*, laying aside all care of gouernment,
gaue himselfe wholly ouer to his pleasures: or if he had any regard of his Royall digni-
tie, it was onely in matter of exterior shew, as wearing a Diadem with ornaments of
purple, and being attended by an armed guard. Hereby hee offended the eyes of his
people, that had neuer seene the like in *Hiero*, or in *Gelo* his sonne. But much more hee
offended them, when by his insolent behauiour, sutable to his outward pompe, hegaue
proofe, that in course of life, he would reuiue the memory of Tyrants dead long since,
from whom he tooke the patterne of his habit. He grew proud, lustfull, cruell, and dan-
gerous to all that were about him: so that such of his late tutors as could escape him by
flight, were glad to liue in banishment: the rest, being most of them put to death by the
Tyrant; many of them dying by their owne hands, to auoide the danger of his displea-
sure, that seemed worse than death it selfe. Onely *Andronodorus*, *Zoilus*, and one *Thra-*
so continued in grace with him, and were his Counsailers, but not of his Cabinet.
These, howsoeuer they agreed in other points, were at some dissension about the maine
point of adhering, either to the Romans, or to the Carthaginians. The two former of
them, were wholly for the Kings pleasures, which was set on change: but *Thraso*, ha-
uing more regard of his honour and profit, was very earnest to continue the amitie
with Rome. Whilst as yet it remained somewhat doubtfull, which way the King would
incline: a conspiracie against his person, was detected by a Groome of his; to whom
one *Theodorus* had broken the matter. *Theodorus* hereupon was apprehended, and tor-
mented; thereby to wring out of him the whole practice, and the names of the vnder-
takers. Long it was ere he would speake any thing: but yeelding (as it seemed) in the
end, vnto the extremitie of the torture; he confessed, that he had beene set on by *Thra-*
so; whom he appeached of the treason, together with many more, that were neere in
loue or place vnto *Hieronymus*. All these therefore were put to death, being innocent
of the crime wherewith they were charged. But they that were indeed the Conspira-
tors, walked boldly in the streetes, and neuer shrunke for the matter: assuring them-
selues, that the resolution of *Theodorus* would yeeld to no extremitie. Thus they all
escaped, and soone after found meanes to execute their purpose. The King himselfe,
when *Thraso* was taken out of the way, quickly resolued vpon siding with the Carthagi-
nians, whereto he was very inclinable before. Young men, when first they grow Ma-
sters of themselues, loue to seeme wiser than their fathers, by taking different courses.
And the liberality of *Hiero* to the Romans, in their great necessitie, had of late been such,
as might haue beene termed excessiue, were it not in regard of his prouidence; wherein
he tooke order for his owne Estate, that depended vpon theirs. But the young Nephew,
taking little heed of dangers farre off, regarded onely the things present; the weaknesse
of Rome, the preualent fortunes of Carthage; and the much money that his grand-father
had layed out in vaine, to shoulder vp a falling house. Wherefore he dealt with *Hanni-*
bal: who readily entred into good correspondence with him; that was maintained by
Hippocrates and *Epicides*, Carthaginians borne, but grand-children of a banished Syra-
cusan. These grew into such fauour with *Hieronymus*, that they drew him whither they
listed. So that when *App. Claudius* the Roman Pretor, hearing what was towards, made
a motion of renewing the Confederacie, betweene the people of Rome, and the King of
Syracuse; his Messengers were dismissed with an open scoffe. For *Hyeronymus* would
needs haue them tell him the order of the fight at Cannæ, that he might thereby learne
how to accomodate himselfe, saying, That he could hardly beleeue the Carthaginians;
so

so wonderfull was the victory as they reported it. Hauing thus dismissed the Romans, he
sent Embassadors to Carthage, where he concluded a league: with condition, at first, that
a great part of the Island should be annexed to his Dominion; but afterward, that he
should reigne ouer all Sicil; and the Carthaginians rest satisfied, with what they could
get in Italy. At these doings *Appius Claudius* did not greatly stirre: partly for the in-
dignities that were offered; partly for that it behoued not the Romans, to entertaine
more quarrells, than were enforced vpon them by necessitie; and partly (as may seeme)
for that the reputation, both of himselfe, and of his Citie, had receiued such blemish,
by that which hapned vnto him in his iourny, as much discountenanced him when hee
came into Sicil, and forbade him to looke bigge. The money that *Hiero* had bestowed
formerly vpon the Romans, wherewith to relieue them in their necessitie, this *Appius*
was to carry backe vnto him: it being refused by the Roman Senate, with greater brauе-
rie than their present fortune would allow. But in stead of returning the money with
thankes, as he had bin directed, and as it had bin noised abroad that he should doe: the
warre against *Philip* King of Macedon (whereof we haue spoken before) compelled the
Romans to lay aside their vaine-glorie, and send word after him, that he should consigne
that money ouer to *Marcus Valerius*; of whose voyage into Greece, the City had not o-
therwise wherewith to beare the charge. This was done accordingly, and hereby *Clau-*
dius (which name in the whole continuance of that Familie, is taxed with pride) his er-
rand was changed, from a glorious ostentation of the Roman magnanimitie, into such a
pittifull tune of thanks-giuing, as must needs haue bred sorrow and commiseration, in so
true a friend as *Hiero*; or, if it were deliuered after his death, matter of pastime and scorn,
in *Hieronymus* the new King.

But whilest *Hieronymus* was more desirous of warre, than well resolued how to begin
it: his owne death changed the forme of things, and bred a great innouation in the state
of Syracuse; which thereby might haue prospered more than euer, had it beene wisely
gouerned. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, of whom wee spake before, were sent about the
Countrie with two thousand men, to follicite the Townes, and perswade them to shake
off their obedience to the Romans. The King himselfe with an Armie of fifteene thou-
sand horse and foot, went to Leontium, a City of his owne Dominion: hoping that the
fame of his preparation, would make the whole Island fall to him in all haste, and accept
him for Soueraigne. There the Conspirators took him on the sudden as he was passing
through a narrow street: and rushing betweene him and his guard, strooke him dead.
Forthwith liberty was proclaimed: and the sound of that word so ioyfully answered
by the Leontines, that the guard of *Hieronymus*, had little courage to reuenge their Ma-
sters death. Yet for feare of the worst, a great largesse was promised vnto the Souldiers,
with rewards vnto their Captaines; which wrought so effectually, that when many wic-
ked acts of the murdered King were reckoned vp, the Army, as in detestation of his bad
life, suffered his carkasse to lie vnburied. These newes ranne quickly to Syracuse: whi-
ther some of the Conspirators, taking also of the Kings horses, posted away; to signifie
all that had passed, to stirre vp the people to libertie, and to preuent *Andronodorus*, if he
or his fellowes would make offer to vsurpea tyranny. The Syracusians hereupon pre-
sently tooke Armes, and made themselues masters of their owne Citie. *Andronodorus*
on the other side fortified the Palace, and the Island: being yet vncertaine what to doe;
between desire of making himselfe a soueraigne Lord, and feare of suffering puishment,
as a Tyrant, if his enterprise mis-carried. His wife *Demarata*, that was the daughter of
Hiero, cherished him in his hopes: putting him in minde of that wel-knowne Prouerbe,
which *Dionysius* had vsed; *That a Tyrant should keepe his place, till hee were haled out of it*
by the heeles, and not ride away from it on horse-backe. But feare, and better counsaile
preuailed so farre, that *Andronodorus*, hauing slept vpon the matter, dissembled his af-
fections, and deferred his hope vnto better opportunity. The next day he came forth,
and made a speech vnto the people: telling them, that he was glad to see, how prudent-
ly they behaued themselues in so great a change; that he had stood in feare, lest they
would not haue contained themselues within the bounds of discretion; but rather
haue sought to murder all without difference, that any way belonged to the Tyrant;
and that since he beheld their orderly proceeding, and their care, not to rauish their li-
berty perforce, but to wed it vnto them for euer; he was willingly come to them forth of
his strength, and surrendred vp the charge committed vnto him, by one that had bin an
euill

euill master both to him and them. Hereupon great ioy was made, and Pretors chosen (as in former times) to gouerne the Citie of which *Andronodorus* was one, and the chiefe. But such was his desire of Soueraigntie, and so vehement were the instigations of his wife, that shortly hee began to practise with *Hippocrates*, *Epicides*, and other Captaines of the Mercenaries; hoping to make himselfe strong by their help, that were least pleased with the change. *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* had beene with the Syracusian Pretors, and told them, that being sent from *Hannibal* to *Hieronymus*, they, according to instructions of their Captaine, had done him, whilest he liued, what seruice they could; and that now they were desirous to returne home. They requested therefore that they might be friendly dismissed; and with a conuoy, that might keepe them from falling into the hands of the Romans, and set them safe at Locri. This was easily granted; both for that the Syracusian Magistrates were well contented to earne thankes of *Hannibal*, with such a little courtesie; and for that they thought it expedient, to rid their Towne quickly of this troublesome couple, which were good souldiers. and gracious with the Army, but otherwise lewd men. It was not the desire of these two Scicilians, to be gone so hastily as they made shew; they were more mindefull of the businesse, for which *Hannibal* had sent them. Wherefore they insinuated themselues into the bosomes of such as were most likely to fill the Army with tumult, especially of the Roman fugitiues, and those that had cause to mistrust what should become of themselues, when the Romanes and Syracusians were come to agreement. Such instruments as these, *Andronodorus* had great need of: as also of many other, to helpe him in his dangerous attempt. Hee found *Themistius*, that had married *Harmonia* the sister of *Hieronymus*, ready to take his part; as being carried with the like passions of his owne, and of his wife. But in seeking to increase the number of his adherents, he reuealed the matter to one, that reuealed all to the rest of the Pretors. Hereupon it followed, that he, and *Themistius*, entring into the Senate, were slaine out of hand: and afterward accused to the People, of all the euill which they had done, whilest *Hieronymus* liued, as by his authoritie; and now since attempted, in seeking to vsurp the tyranny themselues. It was also declared, that the daughters of *Hiero* and *Gelo* were accessary to this dangerous treason: and that the vnquiet spirits of these women would neuer cease to worke, vntill they had recouered those royall ornaments and Soueraigne power, whereof their family was now dispossessed. These daughters therfore of *Hiero* & *Gelo* were also condemned to die; and executioners presently sent by the enraged people, to take away their liues. *Demarata* and *Harmonia* had perhaps deserued this heauy sentence: but *Heraclea*, the daughter of *Hiero*, and wife of *Sosippus*, being altogether innocent, was murdered, together with her two young daughters, in the hastie execution of this rash iudgement. Her husband *Sosippus* was a louer of the Common-wealth; and in that respect so hated by *Hieronymus*, that being sent Embassador to king *Ptolomie*, *&c.* he durst not returne home, but stayed in Egypt as a banished man. This consideration, when it was too late, together with some pitifull accidents accompanying the slaughter, so affected the multitude; that (pardoning themselues) all cryed out vpon the authors of so foule a butcherie. Being thus incensed against the Senate; and knowing not otherwise how to satisfie their anger, they called for an election of new Pretors, in the roome of *Andronodorus* and *Themistius*, that were lately slaine: meaning to substitute such in their places, as the Senators should haue little cause to like. At the election were present a great rowt, not onely of the poorer Citizens, but of souldiers that pressed into the throng. One of these, named *Epicides* Pretor; another named *Hippocrates*: and the lesse that the old Pretors and Senators approued this nomination, the more eager was the multitude; and by a generall cry forced them to be accepted. These being made Pretors, did what they could to hinder the agreement that was in hand, betweene the Syracusians and the Romans. But hauing striuen in vaine, and seeing that the People stood in feare of *Ap. Claudius*, and of *Marcellus*, that was lately come into Sicil; they gaue way vnto the time, and suffered the old league of *Hiero* to be re-confirmed, which afterward they purposed to dissolue by practise. The Leontines had some need of a garrison; and to them was sent *Hippocrates* the Pretor, attended by such fugitiues, & mercenary souldiers, as were most burdensome to Syracuse. Thither when he came, he began to doe many acts of hostility against the Romans: first in secret, afterward more openly & boldly. *Marcellus*, rightly vnderstanding the purpose of these two brethren, sent word vnto the Syracusians, that they had already broken the

the league; & that the peace would neuer be kept syncerely, vntill this turbulent paire of brethren were expelled the Island. *Epicides* fearing to sustaine the blame of his brothers proceedings, and more desirous to set forward the warre, than to excuse any breach of peace; went himselfe vnto the Leontines, whom he perswaded to rebell against the Syracusians. For he said, that since they had all of late serued one Master, there was little reason why the Leontines should not be enfranchised by his death; aswell as the Syracusians; yea or much rather, all things considered; since in their streetes the Tyrant was slain; and liberty first proclaymed. Wherefore, since they of Syracuse were not contented to enioy the freedome purchased among the Leontines; but thought it good reason; that they should beare Dominion ouer those that had broken the Chaine, wherewith both the one and the other were bound: his aduice was, that such their arrogancie should be checked betimes, ere it could get any colour of right by prescription. Hereunto occasion was giuen by one article of the League, made of late by the Romans & Syracusians. For it was agreed, *That all which had beene subiect to* Hiero *and* Hieronymus, *should henceforth be Vassals vnto the State of Syracuse.* Against this article, if the Leontines would take exception, and thereby challenge their owne due; *Epicides* told them, that in this noueltie of change, they had fit oportunitie to recouer the freedome, which their fathers had lost not many ages before. Neither was it vnreasonable, which this crafty Carthaginian propounded; if the Leontines had beene subdued by the same hand, which tooke libertie from the Syracusians. But seeing they had long since yeelded vnto Syracuse, and beene subiect vnto that Citie, by what forme soeuer it was gouerned; this claime of libertie was rather seasonable, than iust. Neuertheless, the motion of *Epicides* was highly approued: insomuch that when messengers came soone after from Syracuse, to rebuke the Leontines, for that which they had done against the Romans, and to denounce vnto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, that they should get them gone, either to Locri, or whither else they listed, so that they stayed not in Sicil: word was returned, That they of Leontium had not requested the Syracusians, to make any bargaines for them with the Romans, nor thought themselues bound to obserue the couenants, which others without warrant had made in their names. This peremptory answer was forth-with reported vnto *Marcellus* by the Syracusians; who offered him their assistance in doing iustice vpon the Leontines their Rebells; with condition, That when the Towne was taken, it might be theirs againe. *Marcellus* required no better satisfaction: but forth-with tooke the businesse in hand, which he dispatched in one day. At the first assault, Leontium was taken: all saue the Castle, whereinto *Hippocrates* and *Epicides* fled; and stealing thence away by night, conueyed themselues into the towne of Herbesus. The first thing that *Marcellus* did, when hee had wonne the Towne, was the same, which other Roman Captains vsed after victory, to seek out the fugitiue Roman slaues and renegadoes, whom he caused all to die: the rest both of the Towns-men and Souldiers, he tooke to mercy, forbearing also to strip or spoyle them. But the fame of his doings was bruited after a contrarie sort. It was said, that he had slaine, Man, Woman, and Childe, and put the Towne to sacke. These newes met the Syracusian Army vpon the way, as it was going to ioyne with *Marcellus*, who had ended his businesse before. About eight thousand Mercenaries there were, that had beene sent forth of Syracuse, vnder *Sosis* and *Dinomenes*, two of the Pretors, to serue against the Leontines and other rebels. These Captains were honest men, and well affected to their Countrey: but the Souldiers that followed them, had those diseases, with which all mercenaries are commonly infected. They took the matter deeply to heart, that their fellow-souldiers (as now they termed those against whom they went) had beene so cruelly butchered: and hereupon they fell to mutiny; though what to demand, or with whom to bee angry, they could not tell. The Pretors therefore thought it best, to turne their vnquiet thoughts another way, and set them a-worke in some place else: for as much as at Leontium there was no need of their seruice. So towards Herbesus they marched; where lay *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, the architects of all this mischiefe, deuising what further harme they might doe; but now so weakely accompanyed, that they seemed vnable to escape the punishments belonging to their offences past. Hereof the two brethren were no lesse well aware: and therefore aduentured vpon a remedy little lesse desperate than their present case. They issued forth of Herbesus vnarmed, with Oliue branches in their hands, in manner of Suppliants; and so presented themselues to the Army. Six hundred men of Creet were in the vantguard; that

that had beene well vsed by *Hieronymus*, and some of them greatly bound vnto *Hannibal*, who had taken them prisoners in the Italian warre, and louingly dismissed them. These Cretians therfore welcomed the two brethren, and bade them be of good cheare, saying, That no man should doe them harme, as long as they could vse their weapons. Herewithall the Army was at a stand; and the rumour of this accident, ranne swiftly from man to man, with generall approbation. The Pretors thought to helpe the matter by seuerity, which would not serue. For when they commanded these two traitors to be layd in Irons; the exclamation was so violent against them, that faine they were to let all alone, and returne, vncertaine what course to take, vnto Megara, where they were lodged the night before. Thither when they came, *Hippocrates* deuised a tricke, whereby to help himselfe, and better the vncertaine case wherein he stood. He caused Letters of his owne penning, to be intercepted by some of his most trustie Cretans, directed (as they made shew) from the Syracusian Pretors, to *Marcellus*. The contents hereof were, That *Marcellus* had well done, in committing all to the sword among the Leontines: but that it farther behoued him, to make the like dispatch of all the mercenaries belonging to Syracuse; which were offensiue, all of them in general, to the liberty of the City, and the peace with Rome. When this counterfeit Epistle was openly rehearsed, the vproare was such, that *Sosis* and his fellow Pretor, were glad to forsake the Campe, and flie for their liues. All the Syracusians remaining behinde, had beene cut in peeces by the enraged souldiers, if the two Artificers of the sedition had not saued their liues; rather to keepe them as pledges, and by them, to winne their friends within the Towne, than for any good will. They perswaded also a mischieuous knaue that had serued amongst the Leontines, to justifie the bruit of *Marcellus* cruelty, and to carry home the newes to Syracuse, as an eye-witnes. This incensed not onely the multitude, but some of the Senate; and filled the whole towne with causelesse indignation. In good time (said some) was the auarice and cruelty of the Romans detected; who, had they in like sort gotten into Syracuse, would haue dealt much worse, where their greedy appetites might haue beene tempted with a farre greater bootie. Whilest they were thus discoursing, and deuising how to keepe out the wicked Romans, *Hippocrates* with his Army came to the gates, exhorting the Citizens to let him in, vnlesse for want of helpe, they would be betrayed to their enemies. The Pretors with the best and wisest of the Senate, would faine haue kept him out: but the violence of the souldiers to force a gate, was no whit greater, than the head-strong fury of those within the towne, that laboured to breake it open. So he entred, and immediately fell vpon the Pretors, whom (being forsaken by all men) he put to the sword, and made slaughter of them and their followers vntill night. The next day hee went openly to worke: and after the common example of Tyrants, gaue liberty vnto all slaues and prisoners; and being fortified with adherents of the worst and basest sort, made himselfe and his brother Pretors, in Title, but in effect, Lords of Syracuse.

When *Marcellus* was aduertised of this great alteration, hee thought it no time for him to sit still, and attend the further issue. He sent Embassadours to Syracuse, that were not admitted into the Hauen, but chased out as enemies. Then drew he neere with his Army: and lodging within a mile and a halfe of the towne, sent before him, some to require a parlee. These were entertained without the walls by the two new Pretors: to whom they declared, That the Romans were come thither, not with purpose to do hurt, but in fauour of the Syracusians, which were oppressed by Tyrants; and to punish those, that had murdered and banished so many of the principall Citizens. Wherefore they required, that those worthy men, Their Confederates, which were chased out of the Towne, might be suffered to returne and enioy their owne; as also that the Authors of the great slaughter lately committed, might bee deliuered vp. Hereto *Epicides* briefly answered, That if their errand had beene to him, hee could haue told what to say to them: but since it was directed vnto others, they should doe well to returne, when those to whom they were sent, had the gouernement in their hands. As for the warre which they threatned, he told them, they should finde by experience, That to besiege Syracuse, was another manner of worke, than to take Leontium. Thus hee sent them gone; and returned backe into the City. Immdiately began the siege, which endured longer than the Romans had expected. The quicke and easie winning of Leontium did put *Marcellus* in hope, that so long a circuit of wals as compassed Syracuse, being manned with

with no better kinde of Souldiers, than those with whom he had lately dealt, would in some part or other, be taken at the first assault. Wherefore he omitted no violence or terrour in the very beginning; but did his best both by Land and Sea. Neuertheless all his labour was disappointed; and his hope of prevailing by open force, taken from him by the ill successe of two or three of the first assaults. Yet was it not the vertue of the Defendants, or any strength of the Citie, that bred such despaire of hastie victorie. But there liued at that time in *Syracuse*, *Archimedes* the noble Mathematician: who at the request of *Hiero* the late King, that was his kinsman, had framed such engines of Warre, as being in this extremitie put in vse, did more mischiefe to the *Romans* than could haue beene wrought by the Canon, or any instruments of Gunne-powder; had they in that age beene knowne. This *Archimedes* discoursing once with *Hiero*, maintained that it were possible to remooue the whole earth out of the place wherein it is; if there were some other earth, or place of sure footing, whereon a man might stand. For proofe of this bold assertion, he performed some strange workes; which made the King entreat him to conuert his studie vnto things of vse: that might preserue the Citie from danger of enemies. To such Mechanicall workes, *Archimedes*, and the Philosophers of those times, had little affection. They held it an iniury done vnto the liberall sciences, to submit learned Propositions, vnto the workemanship, and gaine, of base handi-crafts men. And of this opinion *Plato* was an author: who greatly blamed some Geometricians; that seemed vnto him to prophane their science, by making it vulgar. Neither must we rashly taske a man so wise as *Plato*, with the imputation of supercilious austerity, or affected singularitie in his reprehension. For it hath beene the vnhappy fate of great inuentions, to be vilified, as idle fancies, or dreames, before they were published: and being once made knowne, to be vnder-valued; as falling within compasse of the meanest wit, and things, that euery one could well haue performed. Hereof (to omit that memorable example of *Columbus* his discouerie, with the much different sorts of neglect, which he vnder-went before and after it) in a familiar and most homely example, we may see most apparant proofe. He that lookes vpon our *English Brewers*, and their Seruants, that are daily exercised in the Trade; will thinke it ridiculous to heare one say, that the making of Malt, was an inuention, proceeding from some of an extraordinary knowledge in naturall Philosophie. Yet is not the skill of the inuentors any whit the lesse, for that the labor of workmanship growes to be the trade of ignorant men. The like may bee said of many handicrafts: and particularly in the Printing of Bookes; which being deuised, and bettered, by great Scholers and Wisemen, grew afterward corrupted by those, to whom the practice fell; that is, by such, as could slubber things easily ouer, and seede their workemen at the cheapest rate. In this respect therefore, the Alchymists, and all others, that haue, or would seeme to haue any secret skill, whereof the publication might doe good vnto mankinde, are not without excuse of their close concealing. For it is a kinde of iniustice, that the long trauells of an vnderstanding braine, beside the losse of time, and other expence, should be cast away vpon men of no worth, yeeld lesse benefit vnto the Author of a great worke, than to meere strangers, and perhaps his enemies. And surely, if the passion of Enuie, haue in it any thing allowable and naturall, as hauing Anger, Feare, and other like Affections: it is in some such case as this; and seruieth against those, which would vsurpe the knowledge, wherewith God hath denied to indue them. Neuertheless, if we haue regard vnto common charitie, and the great affection that euery one ought to beare vnto the generality of mankinde, after the example of him *that suffereth his Sunne to shine vpon the iust, and vniust*: it will appeare more commendable in wise men, to enlarge themselues, and to publish vnto the world, those good things that lye buried in their owne bosomes. This ought specially to be done, when a profitable knowledge hath not annexed to it some dangerous cunning, that may bee peruerted by euill men to a mischieuous vse. For if the secret of any rare *Antidote*, contained in it the skill of giuing some deadly and irrecouerable poyson: much better it were, that such a iewell remaine close in the hands of a wise and honest man, than being made common, binde all men to vse the remedie, by teaching the worst men how to doe mischiefe. But the works which *Archimedes* published, were such as tended vnto very commendable ends. They were Engines, seruing vnto the defence of *Syracuse*; not fit for the *Syracusians* to carry abroad, to the hurt & oppression of others. Neither did he altogether publish the knowledge, how to vse them, but reserued so much to his owne direction,

direction; that after his death more of the same kinde were not made, nor those of his owne making were employed by the *Romans*. It sufficed vnto this worthy man, that he had approued vnto the vulgar, the dignitie of his Science; and done especiall benefit to his Countrey. For to enrich a Mechanicall trade, or teach the Art of murdering men, it was besides his purpose.

Marcellus had caused certaine of his *Quinquereme* Gallies to be fastned together, and Towers erected on them to beat the defendants from the wall. Against these *Archimedes* had sundrie deuices; of which any one sort might haue repelled the assaylants: but all of them together shewed the multiplicitie of his great wit. He shot heauy stones & long pieces of timber, like vnto the yeards of ships; which brake some of the Gallies by their force and weight. These afflicted such as lay farre off. They that were come neerer the walls, lay open to a continuall volly of shot, which they could not endure. Some with an yron grapple were taken by the prow and hoysted vp, shaking out all the men, and afterward falling downe into the water. Some by strange Engines were lifted vp into the ayre; where turning round a while, they were broken against the walls or cast vpon the rockes: and all of them were so beaten that they durst neuer come to any second assault. In the like sort was the Land armie handled. Stones and timber, falling vpon it like haile, did not onely ouer-whelme the men, but brake downe the *Roman* engins of battery; and forced *Marcellus* to giue ouer the assault. For remedie hereof it was conceiued, that if the *Romans* could early before day get neere vnto the walls: they should be (as it were) vnder the *point blancke*, and receiue no hurt by these terrible Instruments; which were woond vp hard to shoot a great compasse. But this vaine hope cost many of the assaylants liues: For the shot came downe right vpon them: and beating them from all parts of the wall, made a great slaughter of them, all the way as they fled, (for they were vnable to tarry by it) euen till they were gotten very farre off. This did so terrifie the *Romans*, that if they perceiued any peece of timber, or a ropes end, vpon the walls, they ranne away, crying out, that *Archimedes* his engines were readie to discharge. Neither knew *Marcellus* how to ouercome these difficulties, or to take away from his men, that feare, against the cause whereof he knew no remedie. If the engines had stood vpon the wals, subiect to firing, or any such annoyance from without; hee might haue holpen it by some deuice, to make them vnseruiceable. But all, or the most of them were out of sight, being erected in the streetes behinde the walls; where *Archimedes* gaue directions how to vse them. Wherefore the *Roman* had no other way left, than to cut off from the Towne all prouision of victualls, both by Land and by Sea.

This was a very desperate peece of worke. For the enemies hauing so goodly an Hauen, the Sea in a manner free; and the *Carthaginians* that were strong by Sea, willing to supply them: were not likelie so soone to bee consumed with famine, as the besiegers to bee wearied out, by lying in Leaguer before so strong a City, hauing no probabilitie to carrie it. Yet, for want of better counsell to follow, this was thought the best, and most honourable course.

In the meane while, *Himilco*, Admirall of a *Carthaginian* Fleet, that had waited long about *Sicil*, being by *Hippocrates* aduertised of these passages, went home to *Carthage*, and there so dealt with the Senate, that fiue and twentie thousand Foote, three thousand Horse, and twelue Elephants, were committed vnto his charge, wherewith to make warre vpon the *Romans* in *Sicil* by Land. He tooke many Townes; and many that had anciently belonged vnto the *Carthaginians*, did yeeld vnto him. To remedie this mischiefe, and to stay the inclination of men, which following the current of Fortune, beganne to turne vnto the *Carthaginians*; *Marcellus* with a great part of his Armie, rose from *Syracuse*, and went from place to place about the Island. He tooke *Pelorus* and *Herbesus*, which yeelded vnto him. He tooke also *Megara* by force and sackt it; either to terrifie others that were obstinate, especially the *Syracusians*, or else because *Rome* was at this time poore, and his Armie must haue somewhat to keepe it in heart. His especiall desire was to haue saued *Agrigentum*: whither he came too late; for *Himilco* had gotten it before. Therefore he returned backe toward *Syracuse*; carefully, and in as good order as he could, for feare of the *Carthaginian* that was too strong for him. The circumspection, that he vsed, in regard of *Himilco*, stood him in good stead, against a danger that he had not mistrusted. For *Hippocrates*, leauing the charge of *Syracuse* vnto his brother, had lately issued out of the Citie, with ten thousand foote, and fiue hundred horse,

horse, intending to ioyne his forces with *Himilco*. *Marcellus* fell vpon him, ere either was aware of the other: and the *Romans*, being in good order, got an easie victorie, against the dispersed and halfe vnarmed *Syracusians*. The reputation hereof helped a little to keepe the *Sicilians* from rebellion. Yet it was not long, ere *Himilco*, ioyning with *Hippocrates*, ranne ouer all the Island at his pleasure, and presented battaile to *Marcellus*, euen at his Trenches; but the *Roman* wisely refused it. *Bomilcar* also a *Carthaginian*, entred with a great fleet into the Hauen of *Syracuse*, and victualled the Citie. After this, the disposition of the Islanders changed so againe, that although another Legion was come from *Rome*, which escaped from *Himilco*, and safely arriued at *Marcellus* his Campe: yet many places reuolted vnto the *Carthaginians*, and slew or betraied the *Romane* Garrisons.

In the midst of these troubles, Winter enforced both parts to take breath a while: and *Marcellus*, leauing some of his Armie before *Syracuse*, that hee might not seeme to haue giuen ouer the siege, went vnto *Leontium*, where he lay intentiue to all occasions. In the beginning of the Spring he stood in doubt, whether it were better to continue the laborious work of besieging *Syracuse*, or to turne all his forces to *Agrigentum*, against *Himilco* and *Hippocrates*. But it would greatly haue impaired his reputation, if he had gone from *Syracuse*, as vnable to preuaile: & he himself was of an eager disposition, euer vnwilling to giue ground, or to quit, as not feisible, an enterprise that he had once taken in hand. He came therefore to *Syracuse*: where though he found all the difficulties remaining as before; and no likelihood to take the Citie by force or famine; yet was hee not without hope, that continuance of time would bring forth somewhat, which might fulfill his desire. Especially he assaied to preuaile by treason; against wch no place can hold out. And to this end he dealt with the *Syracusian* Gentlemen that were in his Campe; exhorting them to practise with their friends that remained in the Citie. This was not easie for them to doe, because the Town would hearken to no parlee. At length a slaue vnto one of these banished men, making shew to runne away from his Master, got into *Syracuse*; where hee talked in priuate with some few, as hee had beene instructed. Thus began *Marcellus* to haue intelligence within the Citie: whence the Conspirators vsed to send him aduertisement of their proceedings, by a fisher-boat that passed forth in the night: but when they were growne to the number of fourescore, and thought themselues able to effect somewhat of importance; all was discouered; and they, like Traitors, put to death. In the meane while, one *Damasippus* a *Lacædemonian*, that had beene sent out of the Towne as an Embassador to *Philip* King of *Macedon*; was fallen into the hands of *Marcellus*. *Epicides* was very desirous to ransome him: and many meetings were appointed for that purpose, not farre from the walls. There, one of the *Romanes* looking vpon the wall, and wanting the more compendious Art of Geometrie, fell to numbring the stones: and, making an estimate of the height, iudged it lesse than it had beene formerly deemed. Herewith he acquainted *Marcellus*: who causing better notice to be taken of the place, and finding, that ladders of no extraordinary length would reach it; made all things ready, and waited a conuenient time. It was the weakest part of the Town, and therefore the most strongly guarded: neither was there hope to preuaile by force against *Archimedes*, if they failed to take it by surprise. But a fugitiue out of the Towne brought word, that a great feast was to be held vnto *Diana*; which was to last three daies: and that, because other good cheare was not so plentifull within the Citie, as in former times, *Epicides*, to gratifie the People, had made the more large distribution of Wine. A better opportunitie could not bee wished. Wherefore *Marcellus* in the dead of the Festiuall night, came vnto the walls, which he took by *Scalado*. *Syracuse* was diuided into foure parts (or fiue, if *Epipola* were reckoned as one) each of which were fortified as distinct Cities. When therefore *Marcellus* had gotten some peeces, he had the commoditie of a better and safe lodging, with good store of booties; and better opportunitie than before, to deale with the rest. For there were now a great many, as well of those in *Acradina* & the Island, inner parts of the Towne, as of those that were already in the hands of *Marcellus*, that began to hearken vnto composition, as being much terrified by the losse of those parts, which the *Romans* had taken and sackt. As for the weapons of *Archimedes*, little harme, or none they did, vnto those that were sheltred vnder strong houses: although it may seeme, that the inner wals were not altogether vnfurnished of his helpe; since they held out a good while, and were not taken

by force. The *Roman* fugitiues and Renegado's, were more carefull than euer to defend the rest of the Citie: being sure to be rewarded with cruell death, if *Marcellus* could preuaile. *Hippocrates* and *Himilco*, were daily expected; and *Bomilcar* was sent away to *Carthage*, to bring helpe from thence. It was not long ere *Hippocrates* and *Himilco* came: who fell vpon the olde Camp of the *Romans*, whilest *Epicides* sallied out of *Acradinia* vpon *Marcellus*. But the *Romans* made such defence in each part, that the Assailants were repelled. Neuertheless, they continued to beset *Marcellus*: whom they held in a manner as streightly besieged, as hee himselfe did besiege the Towne. But the pestilence at length consumed, together with the two Captaines, a great part of the Armie, and caused the rest to dislodge. The *Romans* were (though somwhat lesse) afflicted with the same pestilence, in so much that *Bomilcar* did put the Citie of *Carthage* in hope, that he might be taken where he lay, if any great forces were sent thither. This *Bomilcar* wanted no desire to doe his Countrie seruice: but his courage was not answerable to his good will. He arriued at *Pachynus* with a strong fleet: where he staid; being loth to double the Cape; for that the windes did better serue the enemie than him. Thither sailed *Epicides* out of *Syracuse*: to acquaint him with the necessities of the Citie; and to draw him on. With much intreatie, at length he came forward: but meeting with the *Roman* fleet, that was readie for him, hee stood off into the deepe; and sailed away to *Tarentum*, bidding *Sicil* farewell. Then durst not *Epicides* returne into *Syracuse*, but went to *Agrigentum*: where he expected the issue; with a very faint hope of hearing any good newes.

The *Sicilian* souldiers that remained aliue of *Hippocrates* his Army, lay as neere as they could safely, vnto *Marcellus*, and some of them, in a strong Towne three miles off. These had done what good they could to *Syracuse*, by doing what hurt they could vnto the *Romans*. But when they were informed, that the state of *Sicil* was giuen as desperate by the *Carthaginians*: they sent Embassadors to treat of peace; and made offer to compound, both for themselues, and for the Towne. Hereunto *Marcellus* willingly gaue eare: for hee had staied there long enough; and had cause to feare, that after a little while, the *Carthaginians* might come thither strong againe. He therefore agreed, both with the Citizens, and with the Souldiers that lay abroad; That they should be Masters of their owne, enioying their libertie and proper lawes; yet suffering the *Romanes* to possesse whatsoeuer had belonged vnto the Kings. Hereupon they, to whom *Epicides* had left his charge, were put to death; new Pretors chosen; and the gates euen ready to bee opened vnto *Marcellus*: when suddenly the *Roman* fugitiues disturbed all. These perceiuing their owne condition to be desperate, perswaded the other Mercenarie souldiers, That the Citizens had bargained onely for themselues, and betraied the Armie to the *Romans*. Wherefore they presently tooke Armes, and fell vpon the new chosen Pretors; whom they slue, and made election of sixe Captaines that should command ouer all. But shortly it was found out, that there was no danger at all to the Souldiers; excepting only the fugitiues. The Treatie was therefore againe set on foot, and wanted little of conclusion: which yet was delaied; either by some feare of the Citizens, that had seene (as they thought) proofe of the *Roman* auarice in the sack of *Epipola*, *Tyche*, and *Neapolis*, the parts already taken; or by some desire of *Marcellus* to get the Towne by force, that he might vse the libertie of a Conqueror, and make it wholly subiect to *Rome*. *Mericus* a *Spaniard* was one of the sixe Captaines, that had been chosen in the last commotion: a man of such faith, as vsually is found in Mercenaries; holding his owne particular benefit aboue all other respects. With this Captaine, *Marcellus* dealt secretly: hauing a fit instrument, of the same Nation, one *Belligenes*; that went in company with the *Romane* Embassadors, daily passing to and fro. This craftie Agent perswaded *Mericus*, That the *Romans* had alreadie gotten all *Spaine*: and that if euer he purposed to make his owne fortune good, either at home in *Spaine*, or any where else; it was now the onely time to do it; by conforming himselfe to the will of the *Roman* Generall. By such hopes the *Spanish* Captaine was easily wonne, and sent forth his owne brother among the *Syracusian* Embassadours to ratific the couenant with *Marcellus*.

This vnder-hand dealing of *Marcellus* against the *Syracusians*, cannot well be commended as honest: neither was it afterwards throughly approued at his comming to *Rome*. For the benefits of *Hiero* to the *Romans* had beene such; as deserued not to be requited with the ruine of his Countrie: much lesse, that the miseries of his people, oppressed (though partly through their owne follie) by an Army of Mercenaries, should minister vnto

vnto the people of *Rome*, aduantage against them. The poore Citizens could not make good their parts against the hired souldiers; and therefore were faine to yeeld vnto the time, and obey those Ministers of *Hannibal*, that rused the Armie. But as long as they were free after the death of *Hieronymus*; and now of late, when they had gathered courage by the flight of *Epicides*: it had beene their chiefe care to maintaine amitie with the people of *Rome*. They had lately slaine many the principall of *Epicides* his followers; and many of themselues had also beene slaine, both lately and in former times, because of this their desire vnto the peace. What though it were true, that the Rascalitie, and some ill aduised persons, ioyned with the souldiers in hatred of the *Romans*, by occasion of the slaughter which they heard to be done at *Leontium*, and afterward beheld in those parts of their owne Citie which was taken? Ought therefore the *Romane* Generall, in a treatie of peace held with the *Syracusians*, to make a bargaine vnder-hand against them, with a Captaine of the Mercenaries? These things were obiected against *Marcellus*, at his returne home. But the Senators thought it a great deale better, to comfort the *Syracusians* with gentle words, & promise of good vsage in time to come; than to restore the booty, and giue ouer the Dominion of a Citie, so great, wealthy strong, and many wayes important. Neuertheless if we consider the many inconueniences and great mischiefes whereunto *Syracuse* was obnoxious; both by euill neighbours; and by that very forme of policie, after which it was gouerned: wee may truely affirme, That it receiued no small benefit, by becomming subiect vnto *Rome*. For thereby it was not onely assured against all forraine enemies, domesticall conspiracies, and such Tyrants as of olde had reigned therein: but freed from the necessitie of banishing, or murdering, the most worthie Citizens; as also from all factions, intestine seditions, and a thousand the like miseries, that were wont to grow out of the ielousie, wherein they held their libertie in vaine. Neither enioyed that City, from her first foundation, any such long time of happinesse, as that wherein it flourished, when it rested secure vnder the protection of *Rome*; and was no more molested, by the disease of ambition; whereof by *Marcellus* his victorie it was throughly cured. But such benefit, arising from wrongs done, serues not to make iniustice the more excusable: vnlesse we should approue the answer of that Thiefe, who being found to haue stollen a siluer cup from a sicke man, said, *Hee neuer leaues drinking*.

By the treason of *Mericus*, the *Roman* Armie was let into possession of all *Syracuse*: wherein, the booty that it found, was said to haue bin no lesse, than could be hoped for, if they had taken *Carthage* it selfe; that maintained warre by Land and Sea against them. All the goodly workes and Imageries, wherewith *Syracuse* was maruellously adorned, were carried away to *Rome*; and nothing left vntouched; saue only the houses of those banished men, that had escaped from *Hippocrates* and *Epicides*, into the *Roman* Campe. Among other pittifull accidents; the death of *Archimedes* was greatly lamented, euen by *Marcellus* himselfe. He was so busie about his Geometrie, in drawing figures, that hee harkened not to the noyse, and vprore in the Citie; no, nor greatly attended the rude Souldier that was about to kill him. *Marcellus* tooke heauily the death of him; and caused his body to be honourably buried. Vpon his Tombe (as he had ordained in his lifetime) was placed a Cylinder & a Sphere, with an inscription of the proportion between them; which hee first found out. An Inuention of so little vse, as this may seeme, pleased that great Artist better, than the deuising of all those engins, that made him so famous. Such difference is in the iudgement of learned men, and of the vulgar sort. For many an one would thinke the monie lost, that had bin spent vpon a sonne, whose studies in the Vniuersitie had brought forth such fruit, as the proportion between a Sphere and a Cylinder.

After the taking of *Syracuse*, all the Townes in *Sicil* yeelded vnto the *Romans*, except *Agrigentum* and a few places thereabout. At *Agrigentum* lay *Epicides* with one *Hanno* a *Carthaginian*, and *Mutines* an *African*, that was lately sent from *Hannibal*. This *Mutines* by many good peeces of seruice, had added some credit to the beaten *Carthaginian* side; and withall made his owne name great. By his perswasions, *Hanno* and *Epicides* aduentured to meet *Marcellus* without the Towne, and not behaue themselues as men expecting to bee besieged. Neither was hee more valiant in counsell, than in execution. Once and againe he set vpon the *Romanes*, where they lay encamped, and droue them fearfully into their Trenches. This bred enuie in *Epicides* and *Hanno*: especially in *Hanno*, that

that hauing beene lately sent from *Carthage*, with commission and authoritie from the State, thought himselfe wronged greatly by *Hannibal*; in that hee had sent vnto him this *Mutines*, to be his Companion, & to take vpon him, like as good a man as himselfe. The indignitie seemed the greater, when *Mutines* being to step aside vnto *Heraclea*, for the pacifying of some troubles there among the *Numidians*; aduised (as directing *Hanno* and *Epicides*) not to meddle with the enemie, vntill his returne. So much therefore the rather would *Hanno* fight: and offered battell vnto *Marcellus*, before he sought it. It is like, that a great part of the *Roman* Army was left behind in *Syracuse*, as need required: which made the *Carthaginians* the better able to deale with those that came against them. But whatsoeuer disproportion was betweene the two Armies; farre greater were the oddes betweene the Captaines. For howsoeuer the people of *Carthage* would giue authoritie by fauour; yet could they not giue worth and abilitie, in matter of warre. The *Numidians*, hauing before conceiued some displeasure against their Captains: and being therefore some of them gone away to *Heraclea*; were much more offended, when they saw that the vaine-glorious enuy of *Hanno* carried him vnto the fight, vpon a foolish desire to get victorie, without the helpe of *Mutines* their Countriman. Wherefore they sent vnto the *Roman* Generall, and bade him be confident; for that it was not their purpose to shew themselues his enemies that day, but onely looke on, and see the proud *Carthaginians* well beaten, by whom they had beene misused. They made good their promise, and had their desire. For *Marcellus*, finding likelihood of truth in their message, did so lustily set vpon the enemies, that hee brake them at the first charge; and with the slaughter of many thousands, droue them backe into *Agrigentum*.

If *Hanno* could haue beene contented, to follow the directions of one, that was a better man of Warre than himselfe, and not haue hazarded a battell without need, the *Romans* would shortly haue beene reduced into termes of great difficultie in their *Sicilian* warre. For *Marcellus* was shortly after to leaue the Prouince; and soone vpon his departure, there landed in the Iland a supply of eight thousand foote, and three thousand *Numidian* horse, that were sent from *Carthage*. The fame of this new Armie drew manie of the *Sicilians* into rebellion. The *Roman* Armie consisting (for the most part) of the Legions of *Canna*, tooke it very hainously, that no good seruice done, could bring them into the fauour of the Senate; but that, as banished men, they were sent farre from home, & not suffered to return back to *Rome* with their general. *Mutines* had pacified his Countrimen the *Numidians*; & like an honest man, did what hee could for those whom he serued, without contending against the foolish pride of *Hanno*, finding that there was a great alteration; and a greater might haue beene, if the Armie lately ouerthrowne had beene entire. *M. Cornelius* the *Roman* Pretor, vsed all diligence, both to pacifie his own men, and to hinder the *Carthaginians*. Hee recouered those In-land Townes that had rebelled: and though he could not hinder *Mutines* from ouer-running all the Country; yet hee hindred the Country from reuolting vnto *Mutines*. Aboue threescore Townes, great and small, the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*: of which *Agrigentum* was the principall, and farre bigger than any of the rest. Thence issued *Mutines* as often as hee pleased, in despight of the *Romanes*: not onely to the succour of his owne adherents, but to the great waste of those that followed the contrarie part. But *Hanno*, in stead of being pleased with all these good seruices, was filled more and more with enuie, against the man that performed them. Hee had (belike) receiued instruction from old *Hanno* at *Carthage*, not to suffer *Hannibal*, or any *Hannibalian*, to haue share in the honour of these *Sicilian* Warres: which were therefore perhaps the more diligently supplied; whilest *Italie* was neglected, that should haue beene regarded more than all the rest. Wherefore to shew his authoritie, and that it was not in the power of *Hannibal*, to appoint vnto him an Assistant, or Director: Hee tooke away from *Mutines* his charge, and gaue it to his owne sonne; thinking thereby to discountenance the man, and make him little esteemed, as one out of Office, among the *Numidians*. But it fell out quite contrarie: and this spightfull dealing, occasioned the losse of whatsoeuer the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicil*. For the *Numidians* were so incensed by the indignitie offered vnto their Countriman, being such a braue Commander, that they offered him their seruice to requite the wrong; and were thenceforth absolutely at his owne disposition. *M. Valerius Lævinus*, the *Romane* Consull, was newly come into the Prouince, when this fell out: and with him did *Mutines* enter into intelligence. For he could no longer brooke these

these indignities; but being, neither a *Carthaginian*, nor fauored by those that bore all the sway in *Carthage*: He thought it the wisest way, to play the best of his owne game, and forsake that Citie, which was likely to perish by the euill counsell that gouerned it. He did not therefore, as his Countrimen had lately done, content himselfe to see his Aduersaries reape the bitter fruits of their owne malicious ouer-weening: and to suffer that harme, in doing whereof he would not beare a part; but conspired against them to deliuer vp *Agrigentum*, and to helpe to expell them vtterly out of *Sicil*. The Consull was glad of his friendship; and carefully followed his aduertisements. Neither was there much cunning needefull, to the performance of that which *Mutines* had vnder-taken: For he with his *Numidians* did forcibly seize vpon a gate; whereat they let in some *Roman* Companies, that lay neere in a readinesse for the purpose. *Hanno*, when first he heard the noyse, thought it had beene no worse matter, than some such tumult of the *Numidians*; as he had beene well acquainted with of late. But when, making haste to pacifie the trouble, he saw and heard, the *Romans* intermixed, among those discontented followers of *Mutines*; forthwith he betooke himselfe to flight: and saiing himselfe, with *Epicides*, in a smal Barke, set saile for *Africke*; leaiing all his Armie and Adherents in *Sicil*, to the mercie of the *Romans*, that henceforward continued masters of the whole Iland.

Lævinus the Consul hauing taken *Agrigentum*, did sharpe execution of iustice vpon all the Citizens. The principall of them he scourged with rods, and afterwards beheaded, as was the manner of the *Romans*: all the rest of them he sold for slaues, and confiscated their goods; sending home to *Rome* the monie that was raised of the bootie. This was indeede a time, wherein *Rome* stood in no lesse necessity of gold, than of steele: which may haue beene the reason, why *Lævinus* dealt so cruelly with the *Agrigentines*. Neuertheless the fame of such seueritie, bred a terrour among all the Dependants of the *Carthaginians*; so that in great haste they sought to make their peace. About fortie Townes yeelded themselues quickly vnto the *Romans*; twenty were deliuered vp by Treason; and sixe onely stayed to be wonne by force. These things done, *Lævinus* returned home to *Rome*; carrying with him aboue foure thousand men from *Agatirna*; that were a companie of out-lawes, bankrouts, and banished men, accustomed to liue by spoyle of others, in these troublesome times. He bestowed them about *Rhegium* in *Italie*, where they might exercise their owne occupation against the *Brutians*; a theeuish kinde of people, that were enemies vnto those of *Rhegium*, and to the *Romans*. As for *Mutines*, he was well rewarded, and made Citizen of *Rome*: where he liued in good accompt; accompanying the two *Scipio's* in their iournie against *Antiochus*, and therein doing (as it is said) very especiall seruice. So by this enterprise of *Sicil*, the *Carthaginians* wasted much of their forces, that with greater profit might haue beene employed in *Italie*: leaiing yet vnto the *Romans*, in the end of this warre, the entire possession of this Iland; which they wanted when it began.

§. XVI.

How the warre passed betweene the Romans and Hannibal *in Italie, from the taking of Capua to the great victorie at Metaurus.*

SHortly after the winning of *Capua*, *Marcellus* came to *Rome*: where for his good seruices done in the Iland of *Sicil*, he had granted vnto him the honour of the lesser Triumph, which was called *Ouation*. The greater Triumph was denied him: because he had not finished the warre, but was faine to leaue his Armie behinde him in the Prouince. He staied not long in *Rome*, before he was againe chosen Consull together with *M. Valerius Lævinus*, who succeeded him in the gouernment of *Sicil*, and was, at the time of his election, making warre against King *Philip* in *Greece*. Great complaint was made against the Consul *Marcellus*, by the *Syracusians*, for that which he had done vnto them: they alledging their great friendship to the people of *Rome*, in the time of their late King *Hiero*; and affirming, that their Citie did neuer willingly breake the alliance, excepting when it was oppressed by such Tyrants, as were not greater enemies to *Rome* than to all good men that liued in *Syracuse*. The Consul, on the other side, reckoned the labours and dangers whereunto they had put him: willing them to bemoane themselues to the *Carthaginians* that had holpen them in their necessitie; and not vnto the

the *Romans* whom they had kept out. Thus each part hauing some good matter to alledge, the Senate made such an end of the controuersie, as best agreed with the benefit of their owne Common-wealth: blaming the too much rigour of *Marcellus*; yet not restoring the bootie that he had taken, nor making the *Syracusians* free from their subiection, but comforting them with gentle words, and hopefull promises, as hath beene shewed before. The two new Consuls *Marcellus* and *Lauinius*, were appointed to make warre, as their lots should fall out; the one in *Italie*, the other in *Sicil*. The Isle of *Sicil* fell vnto *Marcellus*; which Prouince he willingly changed with his Colleague; to the end that the *Syracusians* (whose cause had not as yet beene heard in the Senate) might not seeme hindred by feare, from vttering their grieuances freely. Afterwards, when his business with them was dispatcht, he gently vndertooke the patronage of them: which remained long in his Familie, to the great benefit of their Countrie in times following. So *Valerius*, the other Consul, was sent into *Sicil*, whose doings there haue beene already rehearsed: but *Marcellus* was employed against *Hannibal*.

Before the Consuls departed out of *Rome*, they were much troubled with pressing of Souldiers to the warre, and most of all, with getting Marriners for their Nauie. They were all of the poorer sort, that vsed to be employed in Sea-seruices; especially in rowing. These could not liue without present wages: neither was there monie enough in the Treasurie to giue them pay. Wherefore it was ordained, that they should be set out at the expence of priuate men; who in this necessitie of the State, were driuen to sustaine all publike charges. Hereat the people murmured, and were ready to fall into sedition; had not the Consuls deferred the matter vnto further consideration. The Senate could ill tell, what to determine or doe, in a case of such extremitie. For manifest it was, that the multitude had already endured so much, as well it could vndergoe; and somewhat more, than could with honesty haue beene imposed vpon it. Neuertheless it was impossible to maintaine the warre against the *Carthaginians*, or to keepe the *Macedonian* out of *Italie*, without a strong fleet. Wherefore, some were of opinion; That, since the common Treasure was so emptie, the people must be forced, by right or wrong, to take the burden vpon them. At last the Consuls began to say, That no perswasions would be so effectuall with the people, as good examples: and that if the Senators would follow the Consuls, like it was, that the people also would follow the Senate. Wherefore they propounded, and it was immediately concluded, That euery one of them should bring forth, and put into the Treasurie, all the mony that he had; and that no Senator should keepe any vessell of gold, or plate whatsoeuer; excepting one Salt-seller, and a Bowle wherewith to make their offerings vnto the gods; as also a Ring for himselfe, with such other tokens of ingenuitie for his wife and children, as euery one did vse, and those of as small value as might be. This aduice of the Consuls was not more thankefully accepted by the Senate, than the ready performance thereof by the Senate was highly applauded, and hastly followed by the Gentlemen of *Rome*. Neither did the Commonaltie refuse to doe that, which their betters had openly done before them. For since the publike necessitie could no otherwise be holpen; euery one was contented, that his priuate estate should run the same fortune with the Common-wealth, which if it suffered wracke, in vaine could any particular man hope to enioy the benefit of his proper substance. This magnanimitie deserued well that greatnesse of Empire, whereof it was the foundation.

Conuenient order being thus taken for an Armie and Fleet: *Marcellus* went forth of the Citie against *Hannibal*; and *Lauinus* toward *Sicil*. The armie of *Hannibal* was greatly diminished, by long and hard seruice: neither did his *Carthaginians* seeme to remember him, and thinke vpon sending the promised supply, or any such proportion as he needed. His credit also among his *Italian* friends, was much weakned, by the losse of *Capua*: which gaue them cause to looke vnto themselues; as if in his helpe there were little trust to be reposed, when they should stand in neede. This he well perceiued; yet could not tell how to remedy. Either he must thrust Garrisons into all Townes that he suspected, and thereby so diminish his armie, that he should not be able to keepe the field: or else he must leaue them to their owne fidelity, which now began to waueer. At length his iealousie grew so outragious, that he sacked, and wasted, those places that he was vnable to defend: thinking that the best way to enrich himselfe; and make vnprofitable, to his enemies, the purchase from which he could not hinder them. But by this example, many were quite alienated from him; and some of those, whom before hee had least cause to

to doubt. The towne of *Salapia* yeelded vnto *Marcellus*; and betrayed vnto him a gallant Regiment of *Numidian* horse, the best of all that serued vnder *Hannibal*, which was a greater losse, than the Towne it selfe. *Blasius* the author of this rebellion, could not bring his desire to effect; without getting the consent of one *Dasius*, that was his bitter enemy. Wherefore he brake the matter to this *Dasius* in priuate; and was by him accused vnto *Hannibal*. But when he was conuented and charged of Treason, hee so stoutly denied it, and by way of recrimination, so vehemently pressed his accuser with the same fault: that *Hannibal* thought it a matter deuised out of meere malice; knowing well what enemies they were; and seeing, that neither of them could bring any proofe of what he affirmed. This notwithstanding, *Blasius* did not cease to presse his aduersarie anew, and vrge him from time to time, with such liuely reasons; that he who could not be beleeued by *Hannibal*, was contented at length to win the fauour of *Marcellus*. Presently after this, the Consul tooke by force, *Maronea* and *Meles*, Townes of the *Samnites*; wherein he slew about three thousand of *Hannibal* his men.

Hannibal could not looke to all at once: but was faine to catch aduantages, where hee might get them; the *Romans* now being growne stronger in the field than he. The best was, that his *Carthaginians*, hauing wearied themselues with ill speede in many pettie enterprises, and laid aside all this while the care of *Italie*, to follow businesse of far lesse importance; had now at length resolued, to send presently the great supply, that had beene so long promised & expected. This if they had done in better season; *Rome* it selfe might haue beene strucken downe, the next yeere after that great blow receiued at *Cannæ*. But since that wch is past cannot be amended; *Hannibal* must force himselfe to make a good countenance; and tell his followers, that this mightie succour would come time enough. For *Masanissa* was at *Carthage* with fiue thousand *Numidians*, ready to set saile for *Spaine*: whither when he came, it was appointed, that *Asdrubal* should forthwith take his iournie into *Italie*, of which there had beene so long talke. These newes did not more comfort *Hannibal* and his followers, than terrifie the *Romans*. Wherefore each did their best; the *Romans* to preuent the threatning mischiefe, and winne as much as they could vpon *Hannibal*, before the comming of his brother; *Hannibal*, on the contrarie, to hold his owne, and weaken the *Romans* as much as he was able. He had intelligence, that *Cn. Fulnius*, a *Roman* Pretor, lay neere vnto *Herdonea* to get the Towne by practice. It was not long, since, neere vnto the same place, another *Cn. Fuluius* had lost his Armie. Therefore *Hannibal* made great marches thitherward; & came to *Herdonea* ere *Fulnius* heard newes of his approach. As soone as he came, he offered battaile to the *Roman* Pretor; who accepted it with more haste than good speede. The *Roman* Legions made good resistance a while, till they were compassed round with the *Carthaginian* horse. Then fell they to rout; and great slaughter was made of them. *Fulnius* himselfe, with twelue *Tribunes* or *Coronels*, were lost: of the common Souldiers, that were slaine, the number is vncertaine; some reporting seuen, others thirteene thousand. The Towne of *Herdonea*, because it was at point to haue yeelded vnto *Fulnius*, *Hannibal* did set on fire; and putting those to death that had practised with the Enemie, carried away the multitude, whom he bestowed among the *Thurians* and *Metapontines*. The Consul *Marcellus* hearing of this, wrote vnto the Senate: and exhorted them to be of a good cheere; for that hee would shortly abate the enemies pride. Hee followed the *Carthaginian* apace; and ouertaking him at *Numistro* in the Countrie of the *Lucans*, fought with him a battell: which beginning at nine of the clocke in the morning, lasted vntill night; and ended, by reason of the darkenesse, with vncertaine victorie. Afterward *Hannibal* departed thence into *Apulia*, whither *Marcellus* followed him. At *Venusia* they met, and had many skirmishes; but none of importance. *Hannibal* remoued often; and sought to bring the enemie within danger of some ambush. But *Marcellus*, though he was very eager of battaile, would yet aduenture nothing, but by open day-light, and vpon faire ground.

Thus passed the time away, vntill *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Q. Fuluius*, hee that lately had taken *Capua*, were chosen Consuls. *Fabius*, considering how much the *Romane* affaires were bettered by the taking of *Capua*, purposed that yeere to besiege *Tarentum*: which if he could winne, like it was, that scarce one good Citie would afterwards remaine true to *Hannibal*. Wherefore he vehemently exhorted his Colleague, and *Marcellus*, (to whom was continued the command of those Legions that serued vnder him the yeere before) to presse the *Carthaginian* so hard, as he might haue no leisure to helpe

Tarentum.

Tarentum. *Marcellus* was very glad of this charge: for he thought no *Roman* fitter than himselfe, to deale with *Hannibal* in open field. He followed him therefore to *Cannusium*, and thence from place to place: desiring euer to come to battaile, but vpon equall tearmes. The *Carthaginian* had not minde to hazzard much in fight: but thought it enough to entertaine his enemie with skirmish; as being desirous to keepe his Armie strong vntill the comming of *Asdrubal*. Yet could he not auoide the importunity of *Marcellus*; nor brooke the indignity of being daily braued. He therefore bade his men to be lustie, and to beat soundly this hot-spirited *Roman* Captaine, that would neuer suffer them to be at quiet; vntill they once had cooled well his courage, by letting him bloud. Hereupon followed a battaile; wherein *Hannibal* had the victory; tooke sixe Ensignes, and slew of the *Romans* almost three thousand, among which were some of marke. *Marcellus* was so impatient of this dishonour, that he rated his men, as Pesants, and base cowards: telling them, that they were the first of the *Roman* Legions, which had beene beaten by *Hannibal*, by plaine force and manhood; without being circumuented by any stratageme. With these, and many other the like words, which they were ashamed to heare, he did so vexe them; that thinking themselues better able to endure any violence of the enemy, than such displeasure of their Generall; they besought him to pardon them, and leade them forth once againe to fight. He did so: and placing those Companies foremost, that had lost their Ensignes the day before, bade them be carefull to winne a victory; whereof the newes might be at *Rome*, before the report of their shamefull ouerthrow. *Hannibal* was angry, to see that nothing could make this Enemy quiet: and therefore was ready to fight againe; since all other motiues continued the same, and his men had beene hartned by the late victory. But the *Romans* were stirred vp with desire of reuenge, and of repairing their honor lost, which affections gaue a sharpe edge vnto their valour: whereas the *Carthaginians* were growne dull, and wearie by seeing themselues disappointed of their hope; and the enemy, notwithstanding their late victory, as ready to molest them as before. In this second battaile *Marcellus* got the victory: which he purchased at so deare a rate; that neither he, nor *Hannibal*, had great cause to vaunt; the second night. For if eight thousand of the *Carthaginians* were slaine, and three thousand of the *Roman* side, in this next battaile, the difference was no greater, than euen to recompente the late receiued ouerthrow: especially since the number of the *Romans*, that were wounded, was so great, as disabled *Marcellus* from pursuing *Hannibal*; who dislodged by night. Neuertheless it sufficed, that *Fabius* the Consul hereby got leisure, to follow his businesse at *Tarentum* without any disturbance. *Q. Fuluius* the other Consul, about the same time, tooke in many of the *Hirpines*, *Lucans*, and *Volscentes*, that willingly yeelded themselues, and betrayed the Garrisons of *Hannibal* that lay in their Townes: whom *Fuluius* encertained in louing sort; gently rebuking them for their errours past, without punishing those that had beene authours, or busie doers in the rebellion. That rabble of *Sicilian* theeues, which *Læuinus* had lately brought from *Agaterna*, was then also set on worke to besiege *Caulonia*, a Towne of the *Brutians*: and nothing was omitted, that might serue to diuert *Hannibal*, from the succour of *Tarentum*.

Q. Fabius the Consul, hauing taken *Manduria* a Towne of the *Salentines*, sate downe before *Tarentum*: making all preparation that seemed needfull to carry it, either by assault or long siege. Of the Garrisons in the Towne, a good part were *Brutians*, placed there by *Hannibal*, vnder a Captaine of their owne Nation. This Captaine fell in loue with a *Turentine* wench; whose brother serued vnder *Fabius*. Hereof, she gaue notice by letters to her brother; as thinking belike to draw him from the *Roman* side; by telling him how rich, and of what great accompt her louer was. But her brother made the Consul acquainted with these newes: and said, that if the *Brutian* were farre in loue, he might perhaps be wonne; by intreaty of his Mistris, to doe what she would haue him. The Consul hearing this, and finding likelihood in the matter; willed his souldier to conuey himselfe into the Towne as a fugitiue; and try what good might be done. It fell out according to his desire. The Souldier grew acquainted with this *Brutian* Captaine: and partly by his owne perswasions, partly by the flattering entreatie of his sister; wanne him to betray the Towne to the *Romans*. When they had agreed vpon the businesse, and resolued how to order it; the same Souldier got out of the Towne by night, and acquainted the Consul with his proceedings: telling him in which part that

that *Brutian* kept watch, and what might conueniently be done. So in the night time, *Fabius* gaue an alarme to the Citie; especially about those parts of the wall, which were farthest from the place where he meant to enter. The Captaines in the Towne, prepared to make resistance in those places, where the noise did threaten them with greatest likelihood of danger. But *Fabius* himselfe with the choice of his men, came in great silence to the quarter of the *Brutians*: who being wrought by their Captaine, helped the *Romans* to get vp, and breake open the next gate, whereat the Armie was let in. The *Tarentines* and *Carthaginian* souldiers, made head against *Fabius* in the Market place: but (as hapneth in like cases, where the maine confidence is already taken away) not very obstinately. *Nico*, *Democrates*, and *Philomenes*, with those that before had let in *Hannibal*, vsed now the last of their courage in dying against the *Romans*. *Carthalo*, who commanded the Garrison within the Towne, offered himselfe prisoner: hoping to be well vsed, because of hospitalitie that had passed betweene his Father and the Consul. But he was slaine by the way, ere he could come at *Fabius*. The *Romans* did put all indifferently to the sword, in such sort, that they spared few of the *Brutians*. This slaughter of the *Brutians*, was thought to haue beene made by appointment of the Consul, to the end that he might seeme to haue wonne the Towne by force and not by treason: though he thereby failed of his purpose; and neither had the glory which he expected, nor preserued his reputation of faithfull dealing, and keeping his word. The bootie found in *Tarentum* was very great: whereof the *Roman* Treasurie, whither it was carried, had great neede. As for the Imageries, and other curiosities, that were in the Citie, *Fabius* was contented to let them alone: and being told of some Idols that seemed worthy to be carried away, beeing very goodly pieces, in such habit and posture as if they were fighting: he said, Let vs leaue vnto the *Tarentines* their angrie gods.

Hannibal being gotten cleare from *Marcellus*, fell vpon those that besieged *Caulonia*. They fled at his comming: but he was so neere, that they were faine to betake them to a Hill, which serued to no other purpose, than to beare off the first brunt. There they defended themselues a little while, and then they yeelded. When this businesse was done, he hasted away to relieue *Tarentum*. But when he came within fiue miles of the Citie, he had newes that it was lost. This grieued him: yet he said no more than this, *The Romans haue also their* Hannibal; we haue lost *Tarentum* in such sort as we got it. That he might not seeme to turne backe amazed, or in any feare of the victorious Consul; he incamped a few dayes together, so neere as he was vnto *Tarentum*: and thence departing to *Metapontum*, bethought himselfe how to take *Fabius* in a trap. He caused the chiefe of the *Metapontines* to write vnto *Fabius*, and offer to betray into his hands, the *Carthaginian* Garrison; with condition, that he should in that respect, forgiue them all offences past. These letters were sent by two yong men of the same Citie; who did their errand so well, that the Consul wrote backe by them vnto the *Metapontines*, and appointed the day, when they should expect him. Hereof *Hannibal* was exceeding glad: and at good leisure made ready his ambushes for the warie *Fabius*. But whether some secret notice of the plot were giuen; or whether indeede (as it is related) some tokens in sacrificing, terrified the superstitious *Roman*; the iourny to *Metapontum* was deferred. Hereupon the same two Messengers were employed againe: but being apprehended, and threatned with torture, they discouered all.

This yeere was happy to the *Romans*, in all their warres: for they got euery where; saue onely at *Caulonia*; where they lost a company of such lewd fellowes, that it may seeme good fortune, to haue so beene rid of them. But their common pouerity, & disability to maintaine their charge, continued, and grew greater than it was before. Thirty *Roman* Colonies were then in *Italie*: of which, twelue refused to contribute any longer to the wartes. For it was considered, that the Legions of *Canne*, and those vnhappy Companies that had beene beaten vnder the one and the other *Cn. Fuluius*, were transported into *Sicil*; were they liued, in a sort, as banished men. This grieued their friends at home, and made them reckon vp the more diligently those other miseries which they daily felt. Ten yeeres together they had beene exhausted with leuies of men, and impositions of mony: in euery of which yeeres they had receiued some notable ouerthrow. In this case the least that they could feare; or rather the best that they could hope; was to fall into the hands of the enemy to be made prisoners. For *Hannibal* did gently send home their people that was taken by him: whereas the *Romans* did banish from their homes,

homes, those that had escaped. It was therefore likely to come to passe within a while, that they should be all consumed: since new Souldiers were daily pressed forth of their Townes; and the old ones neuer returned. Such talke was frequent among those of the Colonies: especially where they that were transported into *Sicil*, had most compassionate friends. Wherefore it was concluded by the people of *Ardea*, *Sutrium*, *Alba*, and other good Townes, to the number of twelue, That they should boldy deny vnto the *Romans* their farther helpe. This was thought the likeliest way to obtaine peace: whereof otherwise they saw little hope, as long as *Hannibal* liued. When the Consuls heard the Embassadors of these Townes make such declaration, and protest their disabilitie of giuing any farther helpe; they were much amazed. They willed the Embassadours to 10 returne home, and bring a better answer, forasmuch as this was none other than treason: they bade them to consider, that the people were not *Campans* or *Tarentines*, but the off-spring of the *Romans*; and no lesse partakers of the Empire, than they that inhabited the Mother-Citie. But all would not serue: the Embassadours continuing to protest, that they had already done what they could; and that they had remaining, neither men, nor money. It was well for the *Romans*, that the other eighteene Colonies did not imitate these twelue; but shewed themselues willing to vndergoe whatsoeuer should be layed vpon them, without shrinking vnder the burden. This their offer was so highly pleasing to the Consuls, that the Embassadors of those faithfull Colonies, were brought vnto the Senate, and produced into the Assembly of the people: where, with commemoration of all their former good seruices, this their present loue vnto the State was 20 magnified, and thankes accordingly bestowed vpon them; with promise, that it should not be forgotten. As for the Embassadors of those twelue Colonies, that refused to contribute; it was thought best neither to retaine them in the Citie, nor yet to dismisse them, nor take any notice of them at all; but leaue them to their owne consideration of their ill deseruing.

It may greatly be doubted, what the example of these twelue people would haue wrought in those that were so willing to helpe the State, if *Asdrubel* had been then comming into *Italie*. For then must the *Romanes* haue betaken themselues wholly to their owne defence; whereas now, to the great comfort of their subiects, they employed their 30 forces in the conquest of *Italie*, with hopefull and fortunate successe. Neuertheless, they were faine to open their most priuie treasurie; and thence take out the gold that had beene layed vp to serue them in cases of greatest extremitie. Of the money thus extracted, one quarter was deliuered to *Fabius* the Consull, to set him well out against the *Tarentines*; all the rest was sent into *Spaine* to *Scipio*, for the maintenance of his Armie; and to prouide, that *Asdrubal* might not passe from thence into *Italie*. It is likely that *Fabius* did not spend all his money; finding such easie successe at *Tarentum*, as was shewed before. But to stop the iourney of *Asdrubal*; neither the money sent into *Spaine*, nor any victories won by *Scipio* could suffice. Neuertheless it fell out happily for the people of *Rome*, that this yeere, & the next were spent, before his comming; and they better pre- 40 pared, than at lesse warning they could haue beene, to entertaine him. Here it were not amisse to note, That since the *Romans*, being in so great necessitie of money, were driuen to furnish the Armie in *Spaine*, with the greatest part of all their stocke that was left: it must needs be, that either the bootie taken in new *Carthage*, was far lesse than fame had reported it; or else that *Scipio* had not as yet wonne it: howsoeuer *Liuie* rather inclines to those, who say that he got it soone after his arriuall.

M. Claudius Marcellus, and *T. Quintus Crispinius*, were chosen Consuls after *Fabius* and *Fulius*. In their yeere it was, that *Asdrubal* tooke his iourney out of *Spaine*, though he came not into *Italie* vntill the yeere following. After the great battaile at *Canne*, *Hannibal* had lost much time about *Cume* and *Naples*, in seeking to make himselfe Master of a 50 good hauen, for the landing of those succours that were promised from *Carthage*. The hope that he reposed in *Philip*, caused him to turne his principall care to the Easterne parts of *Italie*; where he made ready a faire entrance for the *Macedonian*, if he had beene ready to come. But since his hope was vanished, and the long promised succour of *Asdrubal* was (though farre later than had beene expedient) ready to arriue: he began to deale with the people of *Hetruria*, through whose Countries his brother was to passe; that therein he might make a partie against the *Romans*. The losse of *Capua*, *Tarentum*, and many other Townes, might haue terrified all other of the *Italian* Towns, from harkening 60

to any solicitation of the Carthaginians. Yet the pouerty of the Romans, & the wearines of their adherents, together with the fame of a greater Army comming, than that which *Hannibal* brought into Italy; did imbolden many of the Hetrurians, especially the Aretines, to take such counsell as they thought most expedient for themselues, without regard of their fidelitie to Rome. The Roman Senate, hearing the rumour of their conspiracy, sent *Marcellus* the new chosen Consul into Hetruria: whose comming did so terrifie them, that they rested quiet for a while. All the yeere following they were deuising how to breake out: as contrariwise the Roman Propretors; partly by terrour of seuere iudgements & inquisitions; and partly by the force of two or three Legions, with which 10 they visited all suspected places, kept them honest against their wils; and took many Hostages for better assurance. The two Consuls had an earnest desire, to make strong warre vpon *Hannibal* without more temporising: perswading themselues, that in battaile they should be too strong for him. *Crispinus* had further his particular desire, to make his Consulship notable by the winning of some good Towne: as *Fuluius* and *Fabius* had gotten honour by Capua and Tarentum. Therefore he went about the siege of Locri; one of the best cities which the Carthaginian then held in Italie: and brought thither all sorts of engines; sending for a fleet out of Sicil to helpe him. But *Hannibal* was not slow to relieue the city: the fame of whose approach, made *Crispinus* desist from his enterprise, & retire vnto his Colleague, that lay at Venusia. Thither followed *Hannibal*; 20 to whom the Consuls daily offered battaile. This great man of warre had no need to stand vpon his reputation: which was already so confirmed, that his refusing to fight, was not likely to be ascribed vnto feare; but rather deemed as part of his wisedome. He entertained the Consuls with many light skirmishes, & sought to take them at some aduantage; reseruing his owne numbers as full as he could, vnto a time of greater imployment. In this lingring manner of War, *Marcellus* took no pleasure: but sought to compell the Enemy to battaile, whether he would or no. The Admiral of the Roman fleet about Sicil, *L. Cincius*, was commanded again to assaile the Towne of Locri: which might well enough be forced, if *Hannibal* continued as he began to trifle away the time at Venusia. To the same purpose a part of the Garrison that lay in Tarentum, was appointed to 30 go by Land to the assistance of *Cincius*. But *Hannibal* had an eye behinde him. He laid an ambush in the way, between Tarentum and Locri, wherinto the Romans fell: and hauing lost aboue three thousand of their company, were well glad, the rest of them, to quit their enterprise, and saue their owne liues within Tarentum. As for the Cousuls, it was the desire of *Hannibal*, to waste their Armie by little and little: which to doe, he neglected no aduantage. There lay betweene him and them an Hillocke, ouer-growne with wood, that seemed fit to couer a number of men: who lying there vndiscerned, might fall vpon such, as should straggle from the Roman campe; and cut them off. Therefore he sent thither by night some companies of Numidians: whom hee willed to keepe themselues close, and attend their best aduantage. To this piece of ground, the Consuls thought it 40 fit to remoue their campe: *Marcellus* thinking that he neuer lay neere enough vnto *Hannibal*. Thither therefore both of them rode to view the place, accompanied with the son of *Marcellus*, a few Colonels, and other principall men: and not many more than two hundred horse, most of them Hetrurians. The Numidian Centinel gaue warning of their approach to his fellows; who discouered not themselues, vntill they had surrounded the Consuls & their train. The Consuls, as necessity compelled them; defended themselues: hoping to be quickly relieued from their campe that was neere at hand. But the Hetrurians ran away from them, at the first: and left them in that great danger, to the weake assistance of no more than forty horse-men, that were of the Colonie of Fregellæ. These 50 Fregellans abode by the Consuls; and did what they could to haue brought them safe off. But when *Marcellus* was stricken thorow with a Lance, and fell downe dead; then began euery one to shift for himselfe, and escape as they might. *Crispinus* the other Consul, had his deaths wound, being stricken with two Darts; and young *Marcellus* was likewise wounded; yet these two recouered their campe: The rest of the Colonels and Officers; together with the Lictors that carried the bundles of Rods and Axes before the Consuls, were all slaine or taken. To the dead body of the Consull *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* gaue honourable Funerall, according to the custome of those times: and bestowing his ashes in a siluer pot, couered it with a crown of gold; and so sent them to yong *Marcellus* to be by him interred, where he thought good.

Presently after this, *Crispinus* bethought himselfe, how that the signet Ring of *Marcellus* was falne into the custody of *Hannibal*; who might vse it, to his owne purposes, ere that which had hapned were well knowne abroad. Wherefore he sent word vnto all the Towns about, that his Colleague was slaine, and that *Hannibal* had gotten his Ring: wishing them in that regard, to giue no credit vnto any letters therewithall signed. This prouidence of *Crispinus* was not more than requisite. For his Messenger was but a little before come to Salapia, when another Messenger arriued there sent from *Hannibal*, bringing letters in the name of *Marcellus*, and sealed with the captiue Ring; whereof the contents were: That it was his purpose to come the same night vnto Salapia; where he willed, that the Souldiers of the Garrison should be in a readinesse, for such imployment as he should thinke needfull. The deuice was plaine: and no lesse plaine was the reuengefull minde, which he bare against that Citie; because of his braue Numidian companies, that had therein beene betraied. The Salapians hereupon bethought themselues, how to take their Enemy in his owne snare. They sent back the Messenger, which was a Roman fugitiue; without letting him perceiue any signe of distrust in them. This done, they prepared all things in a readiness, for the entertainment of such a friend. Late in the night he came thither; with a troupe of Roman fugitiues armed Roman-like, leading the way. These all talking Latine together, called vnto the Watch, and bade open the gate; for the Consul was there. The gate was opened faire and leisurely, and the Port-cullis drawne vp no higher than needs it must be, to let them enter. But when sixe hundred of them were gotten in, downe fell the Port-cullis againe: and they that thought to haue taken others, were taken themselues; being laide at on all hands by the Salapians, that quickly made an end with them.

Hannibal being thus ouer-reached with this stratageme, hasted away to Locri; whereunto *Cincius* the Admirall of the Roman fleet about Sicil, did lay hard siege. The first appearance of the Numidians, *Hannibal* his Vantcurrors, made the Romans in all confused haste, run to their ships: leauing all their engines, and whatsoeuer was in their campe, to the enemies disposition.

The Roman Senate hearing of these accidents, sent vnto *Crispinus* the suruiuing Consul, & requested him to name a Dictator, that might take charge of the Cõmon-wealth, and dispatch the election o f new Magistrates, with other businesse; whereunto himselfe was disabled by his hurts. He did so: and soone after died. Then was it thought needfull, that new Consuls should be chosen out of hand: forasmuch as two Roman Armies lay so neere vnto the enemy, without any Generall. Especially it was desired, that Election should be made of such men, as were not onely valiant, but well aduised: since the best, and most fortunate of their great Darers, *M. Marcellus*, by losing himselfe so strangely, had giuen them a faire warning, not to commit their Armie vnto rash heads. Among those that stood for the Consulship, *C. Claudius Nero*, was the most eminent. He was of great Nobilitie, a good Souldier, and one, whose many seruices in this present warre, did forcibly commend vnto the place. Yet he seemed a little too violent; and one, whose temper needed the allay of a more staied wit. The fathers therefore endeauoured to ioyne vnto him in the Consulship *M. Liuius*: one that had borne the same Office, long before. This *M. Liuius* had beene Consul with *L. Æmilius Paulus*, in the yeere foregoing the beginning of this warre. After their Consulship, wherein they did good seruice, they had both of them beene called into iudgement by the People: and this *Liuius* condemned; *Æmilius* hardly escaping. Though it hath beene once already noted, yet I cannot forbeare to remember it againe: how it pleased God, to vpbraid the vnthankfull Romans, with the malicious iudgement, giuen by their multitude vpon honorable men. For in the battaile of Cannæ, it was apparant, what lamentable effects, the memorie of their iniustice wrought: when *L. Æmilius* rather chose to yeeld to the froward ignorance of his Colleague; and afterward to die in the greatest ouerthrow that euer fell vpon the State of Rome, than by resisting the pernicious courses of *Terentius Varro*, to cast himselfe anew vpon the danger of the popular furie. As for *M. Liuius*, hee is euen now ready, and will so continue, to tell the People of their faults in a diuers manner. Eight yeeres together after his condemnation had he beene absent out of the Citie, and liued in his Countrie Grange; still vexing himselfe with the indignitie of his condemnation. *Marcellus* and *Læuinus*, being Consuls two or three yeeres agoe, had brought him into Rome: where he liued priuate in discontented sort, as might appeare, both

both by his carelesnesse in apparell, and by the wearing of his long haire & beard; which in that time were the badges of men afflicted. Very lately he was compelled by the Censors, to poll his haire, and come into the Senate: where he vsed to sit silent, and signifie his assent or dislike to what was proposed, either in short formall words, or in passing from side to side, when the house was diuided. At length it hapned, that in some businesse weightily concerning one that was his kinsman; he stood vp, & made a set speech: whereby he drew all the Fathers to attention; and bade them enquire of him, and take better notice, what he was, and what he had beene. The Senate was much altered since he had left it; many braue men were lost; new ones were chosen; such as rather serued to fill vp the number, than to answer to the dignitie of the place: and they that were left of ancient standing, had euen spent their Vertues to no great effect. Wherefore, all began to say; that it was great pittie, so worthy and able a man, as this *Liuius*, had beene all this while forgotten; one, of whom the Common-wealth stood in great need, yet had not vsed in this dangerous warre. Now seeing that the Consuls ought, one of them, to be chosen a Patrician, the other, of necessitie a Plebeian: and since, neither *Fabius*, nor *Valerius Læuinus*, being both of them Patricians, could be ioyned with *Claudius Nero*; euery one was of opinion, that there could not be chosen and coupled together, two fitter men than *C. Claudius*, and this *Marcus Liuius*. But *Liuie* would not endure to heare of this. He said it was vnreasonable, that one condemned as a dishonest man, should afterwards be chosen Ruler of the Citie. If they had done ill to trust him with one Consulship, what meant they then to offer him another? With these, and the like phrases he resisted their desires: till by persuasions, and examples rehearsed, of such as had patiently digested iniuries done by the People, and repaied good for euill; he was contented to accept the honour.

Here we may behold a true figure of that Emblème, with which *Themistocles* checked the ingratitude of the Athenians: resembling himselfe to a Plane-tree, the branches and boughs whereof men breake in faire weater; but run vnder it for shelter in a storme. Such vnthankfulnesse, to well-deseruing men, is not rarely found in the outragious multitude. Neither was the late example hereto much vnlike, of *Philip* the second King of Spaine his dealing with the Duke of Alua. For although he had committed the Duke to prison, vpon some small offence conceiued, without all regard of his former deserts: yet when his intended conquest of Portugal, required the seruice of a man, more than ordinarily sufficient; he stood no longer vpon the scanning of late displeasures; but employed the same Duke, whom he had newly disgraced. Thus is wisedome often taught by necessitie.

It was a dangerous yeere toward, when *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Liuius* were chosen Consuls. *Asdrubal* was already come into France, and waited onely, to haue the wayes of the Alpes thawed by warme weather, for his passage into Italy. The Romans vsed at this time the seruice of three and twenty Legions: and wanted not employment, for many more, if they had knowne how to leuie and maintaine them. Of these which they had, foure serued in Spaine, two in Sicil, and two in Sardinia: the rest were so disposed, in seuerall parts of Italy, where need seemed to require, that onely two Legions were left to each of the Consuls. But the Consuls were men of execution: and would not be tied to the punctuall obseruance of what the Senate thought fit. *M. Liuius* would not stirre out of Rome; against so mighty a power as followed *Asdrubal*, vntill he had first obtained, that he might carry with him as many as could wel be spared from other imployments; and those, or the most of them, chosen Companies. It was true, that two Legions, appointed to serue vnder *Lucius Porcius* a Pretor of that yeer, among the Cisalpine Gaules, might be reckoned as an additament to the forces of *Liuius*; to whom the warre against *Asdrubal* was allotted. So might also two other Legions, that were among the Salentines, neere vnto Tarentum, vnder another of the Pretors, be accounted a part of *Claudius* his Armie, that was sent against *Hannibal*. Neuertheless the Consuls, by the especiall instance of *Liuie*, did obtaine, that all might be left to their owne discretion. For newes came, that *Asdrubal* was already passing the Alpes; the Ligurians, who dwelt in the Countrey about Genua, with their Neighbour people, were in readinesse to ioyne with him; and *L. Porcius* sent word, that he would aduenture no further, than hee safely might. When all was ordered, as themselues thought best, the two Consuls went forth of the Citie; each his seuerall way. The People of Rome were now quite otherwise affected,

affected,than they had beene,when *L.Æmilius Paulus* and *C.Terentius Varro*, were sent against *Hannibal*. They did no longer take vpon them, to direct their Generals, or bid them dispatch, and winne the victorie betimes: but rather they stood in feare, lest all diligence,wisedome and valour should proue too little. For since few yeeres had passed, wherein some one of their Generals had not beene slaine; and since it was manifest,that if either of these present Consuls were defeated, or put to the worst; the two Carthaginians would forthwith ioyne, and make short worke with the other: it seemed a greater happinesse than could be expected, that each of them should returne home Victor; and come off with honour, from such mightie opposition, as he was like to finde. With extream difficultie had Rome held vp her head,euer since the battaile of Cannæ: though it were so,that *Hannibal* alone,with little helpe from Carthage, had continued the war in Italy. But there was now arriued another sonne of *Amilcar*; and one,that in his present Expedition,had seemed, a man of more sufficiencie than *Hannibal* himselfe. For,whereas in that long and dangerous march,through barbarous Nations,ouer great Riuers and Mountaines,that were thought vnpassable,*Hannibal* had lost a great part of his Armie: this *Asdrubal*,in the same places,had multiplyed his numbers; and,gathering the people that he found in the way,descended from the Alpes like a rowling Snow-bal,farre greater than he came ouer the Pyrenees at his first setting out of Spaine. These considerations and the like,of which feare presented many vnto them; caused the people of Rome, to wait vpon their Consulls out of the Towne; like a pensiue traine of Mourners: thinking vpon *Marcellus* and *Crispinus*, vpon whom in the like sort they had giuen attendance the last yeere; but saw neither of them returne aliue, from a lesse dangerous warre. Particularly, old *Q. Fabius* gaue his accustomed aduice to *M. Liuius*, that hee should abstaine from giuing, or taking battaile, vntill he well vnderstood the Enemies condition. But the Consul made him a froward answer, and said, That he would fight the very first day: for that he thought it long, till he should either recouer his honour by victory; or by seeing the ouerthrow of his owne vniust Citizens, satisfie himselfe with the ioy of a great, though not an honest,reuenge. But his meaning was better than his words.

Of the ouerthrow that *Asdrubal* receiued in Spaine by *Scipio*, a little before he tooke his iourney into Italy; such mention hath already beene made,as agreed with the report of that noble Historian *Liuie*. Yet I thinke it not amisse to adde in this place, what may be gathered out of the remaining fragments of *Polybius* his historie concerning that accident. *Asdrubal* had wrestled with many difficulties in Spaine; by reason of those Captaines that were sent from the city of Carthage,to ioyne with him in the administration of that Prouince: they being,as it may seeme,of the Hannonian faction; which is to say, thus farre forth Traitors,that they preferred the aduantage of their own side, before the good of their Common-wealth. In what particulars they wronged this worthy sonne of *Amilcar*, and how they hindered his courses vndertaken, it cannot be knowne: since of those bookes,wherein *Polybius* hath exactly handled these matters, there are to vs remaining onely a few broken pieces. But by the spightfull dealing of *Hanno* in Sicil with *Mutines*, a better man of warre than himselfe, whom *Hannibal* had sent into the Iland: we may conceiue, that against the brother of *Hannibal* it was thought needefull, by these mischieuous Partizans of *Hanno*, to vse the violent opposition of more earnest malice. Neuertheless *Asdrubal* was a good Patriot: and therefore endured patiently such indignities, as *Mutines* could not long digest. His iourney into Italy being resolued vpon: hee lay with part of the Armie at Betula, not farre from the Mines of siluer; whence he was to furnish his expedition. Thither came *Scipio*: and draue him out of his Campe, though hee were strongly lodged, before the other Carthaginian Captaines could, or would, come to his assistance. The ouerthrow seemes not to haue beene so great, as it must haue beene supposed, if no way lay open to those that fled. Rather it appeares,that *Asdrubal* dealt like a prouident man,and seeing that his Campe was likely to be forced,sent away all his mony,with his Elephants before him: but staid behinde himselfe,to sustaine the Romans awhile, vntill his carriages might be out of danger. Herein he had his desire. Afterwards,he gathered his broken troups together: and retyred in such sort,that *Scipio* thought it not good to pursue him,and so passed ouer Tagus. Then taking vnto him the forces assigned for his expedition, he marched away toward the Pirenees: leauing the care of Spaine vnto his brother *Mago*, and to *Asdrubal* the

Excerpt.E. Polyb. hist.l.10. & 11.

the sonne of *Gesco*; that thought himselfe the fittest man for the administration thereof. Faine would *Scipio* haue stopped him on his iourney, by sending to defend against him the ordinary way of the Mountains. But whether *Asdrubal* tooke another way,or whether he forced the guards that *Scipio* had set to keep the Pyrenees (as the defence of hard passages commonly sorts to no good effect) he was not letted in his voyage by any such impediment. Comming into Gaule,and following the steps of his brother *Hannibal*: he found the Nations that lay in his way,so well affected,either to him or to his mony,that no passages were defended against him, nor any sort of resistance made; but he,and his Armie, well entertained,and their number much increased, by accesse of such as were desirous to take his pay. Of these he had the better choyce: for that hee was driuen to Winter in their Countrie;whilest that the passages of the Alpes were closed vp with Ice and Snow. The Mountainers likewise;that had so greatly molested *Hannibal* in his iournie ouer the Alps;were easily won to take part with *Asdrubal*,when he trauailed through their Countrie. For these poore men,at the first comming of *Hannibal*,were verily perswaded, that it was his purpose to rob them of their cattaile; and to make spoyle of that little wealth, which they had painfully scraped together out of the desolate rocks. But now in processe of time, they were better informed. Therefore vnderstanding, that there were two mighty Cities, farre dis-ioyned asunder, which made warre vpon each other, by Land and Sea; and that the Alpes did onely lye in the way: they gladly condescended, to take their part in the fortune of the Inuaders. The like affection, vpon greater cause, was afterward found in the Cisalpine Gaules. The Ligurians also ioyned with *Asdrubal*: and so would the Hetrurians haue done; if he had arriued in their Countrie. There was no other Roman Armie neere, than *L.Porcius* with his two Legions; of whom there was no great feare. Therefore did *Asdrubal* set vpon Placentia a Roman Colonie: in hope to make his comming the more terrible, by the destruction of that Towne. But there he lost a great deale of time, and finally was driuen to quit the enterprise: by vndertaking which, he gaue the Roman Consuls leisure to make ready for him; and caused his brother *Hannibal* (who vpon the first bruit of *Asdrubal* his so timely, and easily passing the Alpes, was about to leaue his wintring campes, and goe forth to meet with him) to sit still awhile, as well aware,that Placentia would not be taken in haste.

C.Claudius Nero the Roman Consul,made what speed he could, to meet with *Hannibal*, and stop him from ioyning with his brother. He had about forty thousand foot,and fiue hundred horse: with which he daily offered battaile to the Carthaginians; & had of him the better in many skirmishes. *Hannibal* was once driuen to make a tedious march from the borders of the Salentines and Abulians,into the countrie of the Brutians,there to encrease his forces; which were otherwise too weak for the iourney intended. Afterward comming to Grumentum,a Towne of the Lucans;he there fought vnprosperously with *Nero* the Consul. Neuertheless he got off,and marched away to Venusia. But *Nero* followed him; and had there againe the better of him. Wherefore he was driuen to returne to Metapontum: where ioyning with *Hanno*,that had made ready a good Army, he assaied againe to make way by force to his brother. So he passed onward, and came againe to Venusia,hauing *Nero* still at his heeles. Thence went he ouer the Riuer Ausidus to Canusium,where he sate downe,not farre from the place, in which he had obtained his most memorable victory. There also did *Nero* sit downe by him: and both of them rested, without making offer to fight. It seemed perhaps vnto *Hannibal*, who knew the Countrie very well; that his brother might, with little impediment, ouer-come the way to Canusium: where if he could once again deale with both the Consuls,and all the Roman forces together, he had reason to hope for such another victory, as once he had gotten in the same open Countrie. If this had so falne out; Rome would haue beene vndone for euer. But the Carthaginians should not haue needed to wish any second victory, in the naked Campans about Cannæ; if such an Armie,as this which *Asdrubal* now brings, had come to second *Hannibal*,when he was in his full strength; and the Romans not able to keepe the field. Wherfore this worthy Generall had good reason afterward to say, that *Hanno* was the man, who by delaying the supply, did beate him out of Italy; which else no power of the Romans could haue done.

Whilest *Nero* waited vpon the Carthaginians, and thought it enough to hinder them from meeting with the Armie that was comming to their succour: he was aduertised of

Asdrubal his approach; by Letters and Messengers intercepted, as they were going to *Hannibal*. These gaue notice, that *Asdrubal* had left the siege of Placentia, and drew onwards apace: being already come within two hundred miles of his brother; notwithstanding all opposition that could be made by *Liuie* the Consul. Of these newes *Claudius Nero* was nothing ioyfull. For if *Hannibal* could once be ioyned as head, vnto that great body of an Armie, which *Asdrubal* brought with him: it was most apparant, that howsoeuer the fortune of Rome should auoid, for the present, any great calamitie; yet the very continuance of so strong a warre at home, would enforce the Latines, and other faithfull Associates, to faint vnder the burden; as twelue of the thirtie Roman Colonels had already done. Wherefore he resolued, that it were better to make any desperate aduenture, than to suffer the coniunction of two such malenolent Planets: whose pestilent influence, if not on the sudden, yet within few yeeres, was like to worke most lamentable effects. It seemed apparant, that his Colleague was vnable to stay the progresse of *Asdrubal*: neither were there any good Legions in a readinesse, that could doe seruice in such a needfull case; excepting those, that were already employed vnder the two Consuls. Hereupon he concluded, that it was not expedient for him to tye himselfe to his owne charge, which was the warre against *Hannibal*: but rather that it behoued him, to helpe where more necessity required; and to carry part of his forces vnto his Colleague. This could not be without much danger. Yet since the meeting of the two Carthaginian brethren, was farre more dangerous to the Roman Common-wealth; it seemed the best way to put Fortune in trust, with that which was of the lesse importance. Sixe thousand foot, and a thousand horse he therefore tooke, that were the very choyce of his Armie: and making shew, as if he would onely step aside, to doe some small piece of seruice neere at hand; away he posted as fast as he could, to assist his fellow Consull. His Messengers ranne before him, to giue warning to all Townes by which hee was to passe, that they should bee ready to meet him, with victuals, and all other necessaries for his Armie. *Liuius* the other Consull, at that time, lay incamped, neere vnto *Sena Gallica*; and *Asdrubal* within halfe a mile of him. In sixe dayes *Nero* had finished his iourney thither; and when he drew neere, sent Messengers before him, to giue notice of his comming. Liuie thought it fittest that he should stay in some place of couert vntill darke night, and then enter secretly into the campe: lest the Enemie, perceiuing this accesse of strength, should accordingly frame his counsailes. This was done: and a token giuen, that the Colonels, Captaines, and all Souldiers, aswel horse as foot, that *Nero* had brought with him; should be lodged and entertained by men of their owne sort. Their Companie was somewhat increased by Voluntaries that ioyned with them on the way. Neuertheless, it was not needfull, that the Quarter which receiued them, should bee enlarged; since they had brought with them nothing but their armes. The next day they held a Counsaile of warre: wherein some were of opinion, that it was best for these new-arriued Companies, to refresh themselues a few dayes after their weary iournie, before they should be drawne forth to battaile. But against this, *Nero* was very earnest: and besought his Colleague, to make vse of him out of hand; that he might betimes returne to his owne Campe, ere *Hannibal* should haue notice of his absence. The Souldiers also of *Nero*, were full of spirit; perceiuing that the honour of the victory was like to be theirs: forasmuch as the battaile would not haue beene vndertaken, without this their comming to helpe. Finally, it was agreed when the Counsaile brake vp, that the signe of battaile should be hung out; which was commonly a purple coate ouer the Generals pauilion.

Asdrubal was no lesse willing than the Romans to come to battaile, hauing long desired it, and hitherto not found occasion before. But when he had put his men in order, and was riding before the head of his Armie, to behold the Enemies countenance: it seemed to him, that they were more than they had beene; and some of their armes and horses looked as though they had wanted dressing, after a long iourney. Hereupon he began to with-draw his Armie backe into the Campe: and gaue order, that if no prisoners could be taken, by whom hee might be certified of the truth; yet should there good obseruation be made, whether the enemies campe were enlarged, or no; or what other alteration could be noted, that might shew their forces to be increased. The camp, as hath beene said, was not extended: but the trumpet, that sounded onely once in the quarter of *L. Porcius* the Pretor, did now, contrary to former custome, sound twice in the

the quarter of *Liuius* the Consul. Hereat *Asdrubal* greatly mused: and being well acquainted with the Roman orders; held this for a sure token, that the other Consul was there arriued. How this might be, if *Hannibal* were aliue, and in good case, he was not able to coniecture: but thought it the best way, to goe leisurely to worke, till he might be better informed. Vpon confidence in his owne forces, he had not cared hitherto, how neer he lay to the Romans; nor troubled himselfe perhaps with ouer-strongly fortifying his owne Campe. Yet when he now perceiued, that somewhat was fallen out beside his expectation, he changed his resolution; and held it no dishonour to remoue a little further off. So he dislodged secretly by night, intending to get ouer the Riuer Metaurus; whereby to keepe himselfe as long as he could, from necessity of battaile. But whether it were so, that his guides did steale away from him in the dark, so that he could not finde the way to the Foords; or whether his carriages were too heauy, and hindred his speed: farre he had not gone, ere the Consul *Nero* was at his heeles with all the Roman horse, and staied him from passing any further. Soone after came *L. Porcius* with the light armature: whom the other Consul followed anon with all the Legions; in good order, and ready for battaile. *Asdrubal*, seeing himselfe ouertaken with necessity to fight; omitted no care and circumspection. His Gaules, in vvhom he reposed least confidence, he placed in his left wing vpon a Hill, which the Enemie should not, without much difficultie, be able to climbe: in the right wing he stood himselfe with his Africans & Spaniards; his Ligurians he placed in the midst; and his Elephants, he bestowed in the front of his battailes. On the Roman side, *Nero* had the leading of the right wing; *Liuius* of the left, and *Porcius* of the battaile. Both Romans and Carthaginians well vnderstood, how much depended vpon the fortune of this day; and how little hope of safety there vvas vnto the vanquished. Onely the Romans herein seemed to haue had the better in conceit, and opinion; That they were to fight with men desirous to haue fled from them. And, according to this presumption, came *Liuius* the Consul vvith a proud brauery, to giue charge on the Africans, by whom he was so sharply entertained, that the victory seemed very doubtfull. The Africans and Spaniards were stout Souldiers, and well acquainted with the maner of the Roman fight. The Ligurians also were a hardy Nation, and not accustomed to giue ground; which they needed the lesse, or were able now to doe, being placed in the midst. *Liuius* therefore, and *Porcius*, found strong opposition: and with great slaughter on both sides, preuailed little or nothing. Besides other difficulties, they were exceedingly troubled by the Elephants, that brake their first ranks; and put them in such disorder, as the Roman Ensignes were driuen to fall backe. All this while *Claudius Nero*, labouring much in vaine against a steepe Hill, was vnable to come to blowes vvith the Gaules, that stood opposite vnto him, but out of danger. This made *Asdrubal* the more confident; who seeing his owne left vving safe, did the more boldly and fiercely make impression on the other side, vpon the left wing of the Romans. But *Nero* perceiuing that the place wherein he stood, was such as would compell him to remaine idle till the fight were ended; took a part of his forces, and led them round behind the forces of *Porcius* and *Liuius*: vvhich hauing compassed, he fell vpon *Asdrubal*, and charged him in the flanke. Here began the victory to bee manifest on the Roman side. For *Nero*, finding none to resist him in front, ran all along the depth of *Asdrubal* his battaile: and falling vpon the skirts thereof, disordered the Enemies, and put all to rout. Of the Spaniards therefore and Africans, that were laid at on euery side, the greatest part was slaine. The Ligurians and Gaules escaped as they could; and saued themselues by timely flight. Of the Elephants, foure were taken aliue: the rest vvere slaine; some by the Enemies vveapons, others by their owne guides that rode them. For vvhen any of them, being sore wounded, began to vvaxe vnruly, and rush back vpon their own battailes following them: the guide had in readinesse a Mallet, and a Chizzell, wherwith he gaue them a stroke between the eares, in the ioynt of the neck, next vnto the head; wherewith he killed the beast vpon the sudden. This speedy way of preuenting such harme as the Elephants, being hurt, were wont to doe to the squadrons following them; is said to haue been the deuice of *Asdrubal* himselfe, vvho dyed in this battaile.

Great commendations are giuen to *Asdrubal*, both by *Polybius*, and by *Liuie*. He is said at all times to haue shewed himselfe worthy of *Amilcar* his father, and *Hannibal* his brother: to haue striuen with great patience, against many difficulties; whereinto hee fell

fell by the meanes of those Captains that were sent from Carthage into Spain; to haue performed in this last battaile all duties of a worthy Generall; and finally when he saw the losse irreparable, to haue ridden manfully into the thickest of his Enemies; where, fighting brauely, he was slaine. Of the number that died with him in this battaile, the report of *Liuie*, and of *Polybius*, doe very much disagree. For *Liuie* saith, that the Carthaginians had no lesse an ouerthrow, than was that, which they gaue to the Romans at Cannæ; that fiftie sixe thousand of them were slaine, fiue thousand and foure hundred taken prisoners; and aboue foure thousand Roman Citizens, whom they had captiues with them, deliuered, and set at libertie. He saith also, that of the Romans and their Associates there were slaine eight thousand: and of the bootie, that it was exceeding great; not onely in other kindes, but in gold and siluer. Concerning the bootie; *Polybius* hath no mention of it. Likely it is to haue been as rich as *Liuie* reporteth it; for *Asdrubal* came well-stored with money. But *Polybius* (who had no desire to make this battaile of Metaurus, a parallel vnto that of Cannæ) reports no more than about ten thousand of the Carthaginian side, and two thousand of the Roman, to haue bin slaine. The number of the prisoners he doth not mention: but only saith, That some of the Carthaginian Princes were taken aliue; and that all the rest died in the battaile. Wherby it may seeme that they were all Barchines: forasmuch as they preferred the honour of themselues; and of their country, aboue their liues.

The ioy of this victory was no lesse in Rome, than had been the feare of the euent. For euer since it was knowne in what sort *Nero* had left his Army; the whole City was troubled, as much as lately at *Hannibal* his comming thither. Men thought it strange, that the Consull should make such a great aduenture, as thus to put the one half of all the Roman forces, vnto hazard of the Dice. For what if *Hannibal* should chance to haue notice of this his departure; and either pursue him, or set vpon the Army that staied behinde, much weakened, and without a Generall? Thus did they talke; yet reseruing their censure vnto the successe; with liberty to approue or condemne, according to the issue. In the meane time the people filled the Market-place; the Women ranne to the Temples, with Vowes and Prayers; and the Senators were daily in counsaile, waiting stil ready at hand vpon the Magistrates, as if some great matter were likely to fal out, that would aske euery ones helpe. In briefe, they were all so full of melancholy, that when first newes of the victorie came, there were not many that would beleeue it. Afterwards when Messengers arriued from the Consuls, with Letters containing all that had passed: there was not onely great and ioyfull concourse of all sorts of men vnto the Temples, but the very face of the City was altered; and men from thenceforth began to follow their priuate businesse; making contracts one with another (which they had long forborn to doe) and attending their owne affaires in such wise, as if *Hannibal* were already driuen out of Italy.

Nero teturning to his campe, threw forth openly the head of *Asdrubal* before the Carthaginians: and producing his African prisoners bound; sent two of them loose to giue *Hannibal* notice of what had hapned. These two prisoners might haue serued well enough to certifie *Hannibal* of the misaduenture, without doing wrong to the dead body of *Asdrubal*: especially since *Hannibal*, in honourable, and farre different manner, had giuen buriall to *Gracchus* and *Marcellus*; yea to all the Roman Generals, whose carkasses fell into his hands. But it may seeme, that howsoeuer the People of Carthage wanted much of the generous disposition, which was found among the Romans, in their loue vnto the Common-weale: yet in dealing with enemies, they were far more ciuill, and lesse prone to the insolency of reuenge. The best excuse of this outrage done by *Nero*, is, that he hoped much more by the sudden terrour of such a spectacle, than by the simple relation of that which had passed, to make a deep impression of feare into the Carthaginians. It may also be said, That he forgot himselfe, being ouer-ioyed with the greatnesse of his prosperity. For it was the battaile of Metaurus that weighed downe the ballance, and turned the Tide of the Roman fortune: which being then at the lowest Ebbe, ceased not afterwards to flow, till it could not be contained within any banks; *Hannibal* hauing lost in this vnhappy fight (besides that worthy Gentleman his Brother) all the hope that so long sustained him in Italy, with-drew himselfe into the Countrie of the Brutians: and thither he caused all the Lucans that were of his partie to remoue; as likewise all that dwelt in Metapontum. For he wanted men to defend

defend so many places as he held at the present, because they lay too farre asunder. Wherefore he drew them all into a lesser compasse in the vtmost corner of Italy; it being a country of much fastnesse, and the people exceedingly deuoted to his seruice. In this businesse *Nero* gaue him no memorable impediment: either because *Hannibal* was too strong for him, hauing all his forces vnited; or because it is likely that this remoue of the Lucans & Metapontines, was not before the end of Summer, when their haruest was gathered in: at what time the Senate called him home to Rome. *M. Liuius* the other Consul taried among the Cisalpine Gaules vntill the end of Summer, there to set things in such order as he thought requisite: which done, he wrote vnto the Senate, that there was no more need of him and his Army in that Prouince, but that *L. Porcius*, with the two Legions that were there before, might very well discharge the place. For this cause, he desired leaue to returne home; and that he might bring his Army vvith him. The Senate well vnderstood his meaning: which was, to haue the honour of triumph, as he well deserued. But forasmuch as it was well knowne, what interest *Nero* had in the late victory: order was giuen, that not onely *Liuie* with his Armie should come home; but likewise *Nero*; though leauing his Armie behind him, to confront *Hannibal*. So the honour of triumph was granted to them both: in the pompe whereof *Liuie* made the greater shew, as riding in a Chariot, and followed by his Souldiers; because in his Prouince, and vpon his day of command; the victory was gotten: his Armie also being present at the triumph. But *Nero* that rode on horse-backe, and without such attendance, was the more extolled by the People and Souldiers; by whom, the victory vvas in a manner wholly ascribed vnto his great worth. Neither wanted *L. Veturius Philo*, and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, Lieutenants to the Generals, the due acknowledgment of their good seruice. For they were commended vnto the People, as men worthy to be chosen Consuls: and Consuls they were chosen for the yeer following. But nothing was done by them, worthy of memory in their Consulship. Neither indeed from this yeer, which vvas the thirteenth of the present warre, vntill the eighteenth yeere wherein it ended, was there any matter of importance wrought in Italy; saue only the taking of Locri from the Carthaginians by surprise. For *Hannibal* wanted strength, wherewith to make any great offer: and the Romans had little minde to prouoke him; but thought it well that he was quiet. Such opinion had they conceiued of him, that though all about him went to ruine; yet in him alone they thought there was force enough to hold himselfe vpright. And surely very notable are the commendations giuen vnto him by *Polybius*, vvhom *Liuie* therein followes: That making warre vpon a People, of all other the most warlike, he obtained so many victories by his owne good conduct: and that leading an Army, compounded of so many sundry Nations, Africans, Spaniards, Gaules, Carthaginians, Italians, and Greeks; which were, neither in Language, Lawes, Conditions, or any other thing, one like to another; he held them all in such good order, that they neuer fell to sedition among themselues, or against their Generall. But that which *Liuie* addes hereto, is yet perhaps of greater admiration: That he sustained his Army, without help from other places, from this time forward, vpon the hungry soile of the Brutians: which, when it was best manured in time of peace, could hardly suffice to nourish the Inhabitants. It is therefore apparant, that by his proper worth and vertue, he kept his Armie in such order and obedience, rather than by any greatnesse of reward and bootie: since, after the death of *Asdrubal*, he made no inuasion vpon the wealthier parts of Italy; but held himselfe still among the poore Brutians. Where we must leaue him, vntill he be drawne into Africk by *Scipio*, whose doings will henceforth entertaine, and leade vs, vnto the end of this Warre.

§. XVII.

How P. Cornelius Scipio *the Roman, made entire conquest of Spaine.*

¶. I.

How the Carthaginians were driuen by Scipio *from the Continent into the Isle of Gades.*

MAgo and *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gesco*, took vpon them the charge of Spain, where *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar* departed thence into Italy. These agreed together, that *Mago* should make a voyage to the Baleares; there to leuie a supply of men;

men: and *Asdrubal* with-draw himself into Lusitania (which is now Portugal) vvhither the Romans had ill meanes to follow, being altogether vnacquainted in those parts. *Mago* had soon ended his businesse, and returned into Spaine: vvhere he met with one *Hanno* (the same perhaps that had lately bin imployed in Sicily) who brought new forces out of Africk, & came to succeed in place of *Asdrubal* the Barchine. It is not vnlikely that Spaine was now the better, and more readily furnished with men, and all things needfull from Carthage, when that sonne of *Amilcar*, vvhose authority had been greatest, was thence departed. For hereby might the factious diligence of old *Hanno* approue it selfe, against that noble race of Warriours; when it should appeare, that things did prosper much the better by being left vnto the handling of other men. Whether it were vpon desire to make good some such opinion raised of him at home, or whether vpon confidence in the forces that he brought ouer: *Hanno* took the field, and led *Mago* with him; as purposing afresh to set vpon the Romans. So he entred into the country of the Celtibbrians, not very far from new Carthage: where, by mony, and other perswasions, he leuied aboue nine thousand men.

P. Scipio in the meane while contained himselfe in the Easterne parts of Spaine: attentiue, as it may seeme, to the proceedings of *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Amilcar*; against whom, he is reported by some Writers to haue sent part of his forces into Italy, to the assistance of *C. Claudius Nero*, and *M. Liuius* the Consuls. But hearing of the leuie made by *Hanno* and *Mago*, among the Celtiberians: he sent *M. Syllanus* the Propretor, with ten thousand foot and fiue hundred horse. *Syllanus* got intelligence by some fugitiue Celtiberians, who became his guides, that their Countrimen incamped apart from the Carthaginians in great disorder: as men fearing no danger, because they were at home. Wherefore as closely as he was able, he drew neer to these Celtiberians: & falling vpon them on the sudden, gaue them such an ouerthrow, that *Hanno* and *Mago* comming to their succour, in stead of heartening & re-inforcing them, became partakers of the losse. *Mago* saued himselfe with all the horse, and old Companies of foot, which were about two thousand: and in ten daies iourny brought them safe to *Asdrubal*. The rest of the Africans were either slaine or taken: among whom, *Hanno* had the ill lucke to be taken prisoner; though he kept himselfe out of the fight vntill all was lost. As for the Celtiberians, they knew better how to make shift; and saued most of themselues by running into the vvoods.

It could no otherwise be, but that *Scipio* was much troubled with the danger wherin Italy stood, by the comming thither of *Asdrubal*. Ten thousand foot and eighteen hundred horse he did therefore send out of Spain (as it is reported by some Authors) to the defence of his owne Countrie: or was perhaps about to send them; and thereupon remained at new Carthage, intentiue to the necessity and successe of his Countrimen at home. But when he had word of the great victory at Metaurus, which fell out long before the end of the Summer, then might he well aduenture, to take in hand the intire conquest of Spain; which must needs be much alienated from the Carthaginians, by the report of such an ouerthrow. The Spanish Souldiers that serued vnder *Hannibal*, and those that had bin sent ouer into Africke; were as pledges heretofore, by whom their country was held obnoxious to the Carthaginians. But when it was noysed abroad, That all which had followed *Asdrubal* into Italy; were fallen into the hands of the Romans; and that *Hannibal* with his Army was closed vp in a streight, whence he could not get out: then did it greatly behoue the Spaniards to conform themselues vnto the will of the Victors. That it was the successe of things in Italy, which gaue such confidence vnto *Scipio*; it is the more probable, because he took not this great enterprise in hand, vntill the Summer was almost spent. *Asdrubal* therefore vsed the benefit of the season; and by disposing his Armie into many Garrisons; hindred the Enemy from doing any great exploit before Winter. So the very length of way, and the time of the yeere, caused *Scipio* to returne backe: without any other matter performed, than that his Brother *L. Scipio* took by assault the Towne of Oringis.

Against the next yeers danger, *Asdrubal* prepared a great Army: and spared not cost, nor trauaile, in strengthening himselfe, for the triall of his last fortune in Spaine. With seuenty thousand foot, foure thousand horse, and two and thirty Elephants, he took the field: which number I beleeue, that he could hardly haue raised, without boldly denying the truth of those reports that came from Italy. *Scipio* thought his Roman Legions too

too weake to incounter with such a multitude. Wherefore he iudged it needfull to vse the helpe of his Spanish friends. But the death of his Father and Vncle, that were cast away by the treason of such false Auxiliaries, made him on the other side very doubtfull, of relying vpon those, that might perhaps betray him in his greatest need. Yet since one *Colchas*, that was Lord of eight and twenty towns, had promised him the last Winter, to raise three thousand foot, and fiue hundred horse for his seruice: he resolued to make vse of those, and some few others, that might helpe to make a shew; and yet not be able to doe any great harme, if they would reuolt. So with fiue and forty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, he sought out the Enemy; neer vnto whom he incamped. At his first comming, *Mago* and *Masanissa* fell vpon him; vvith hope to take him vnprepared, whilest he was making his lodgings. But he layde certain troups of horse in couert: which breaking vpon them vnexpected; caused them to fall off. They made at first an orderly retreat: but being more hardly pressed, they shortly betooke themselues to plaine flight. After this incounter, which added some courage to the Romans, and abated the presumption of the Carthaginians, there were daily skirmishes between the horse and light armature, on both sides; wherein was nothing done of importance. *Asdrubal* drew forth his Armie, and arranged it before his Trenches: the like did *Scipio*; each of them to shew that he durst fight, yet not proceeding any farther. Thus they continued many daies: *Asdrubal* being still the first that issued forth in the morning; and the first that, in the euening, withdrew himselfe into his Trenches. The Spanish Auxiliaries were placed on both sides in the wings; the Carthaginians were in the midst, with their Elephants before them; and opposite to these on the other side were the Roman Legions. When they had in this order confronted one another, though at farre distance, many daies together: it grew to be the common opinion, that they should shortly meet in the same forme; and be matched on each part, with the Enemies long before designed. But *Scipio* when he purposed indeed to fight, altered the forme of his Armie; and withall, came forth earlier than he had been wont. He caused his men and horses, to be well fedde betimes in the morning before day: and then sent forth his horse and light armature, to traine out the Carthaginians with their bellies empty: vsing herein the same tricke, whereby he might remember that *Hannibal* had beaten his father in the battaile of Trebia. His Roman Legions he bestowed in the wings; his Spaniards, in the battaile. *Asdrubal* sent forth his horse in all haste, to entertaine the Romans; whilest he himselfe arranged his men, in their wonted order, at the Hill foot, vpon which, hee encamped. In the skirmishes of the horse it could not bee discerned which part had the better: since being ouer-pressed on either side, they had a safe retrait vnto their foote; and one troupe seconding another by course, returned to charge. This fight was protracted by *Scipio* to a great length: because his men, hauing well fed themselues, were like to hold out better than the Enemie. But about noone he caused his wings to aduance a good pace; leaning their battaile of Spaniards far behinde them, that came on leisurely, according to direction. The Spanish Mercenaries that stood in *Asdrubal* his wings, were no way comparable, saue only in number, to the Latine and Roman Souldiers, that came against them; for they were fresh Souldiers, leuied in haste; and fighting onely in respect of their pay. Being therefore charged in front by the Legions, and in flanke, at the same time, by the Roman Velites, and by some cohorts, that were appointed to wheele about for the same purpose, they were sorely pressed; and with much difficultie made resistance. The Carthaginians would faine haue succoured them; but that they durst not stir out of their places, because of the Spanish battell which was comming against them; though it were as yet farre off. Thus the best part of *Asdrubal* his Armie stood idle, vntill the wings were broken. For, had he aduentured to meet with the Spaniards, hee must haue cast himselfe into the open space that lay before him, betweene the Roman wings: to the depth whereof when hee had arriued, he should haue found himselfe inclosed in such sort, as was the Consull *Paulus* at the battaile of Cannæ. Wherefore he did onely imploy his Elephants; which did, according to their manner, no greater harm to his Enemies, than to his Friends. When they were chased with wounds, they could no longer be ruled by their guides; but ran, as chance led them, and troubled both parts; or those perhaps the more, that were the more vnwilling to kill them. In processe of the fight, the Romans, who had well refreshed their bodies in the morning, endured iustie; when the others began to faint with trauell and heate of the day.

Where-

Wherefore perceiuing their aduantage, they followed it the more hotly: and gaue not ouer, till they had forc't the enemy to change his pace, and run from him. *Asdrubal* did his best to haue made an orderly retrait; and afterward againe, to haue caused his men turne head, at the Hill foot. But the Romans would not suffer the victory to be so extorted from them: neither was it easie to put fresh courage into the vanquished; ledde by the obstinate passion of feare, which hearkens to no perswasion. The Campe of *Asdrubal* had that day beene taken; if a storme of raine, which fell violently on the sudden, and bred some superstition in the Romans, had not caused them to giue ouer.

The same night *Asdrubal* gaue no rest to his men: but caused them, hungry, and ouer-laboured as they were, to take paines in fortifying the Campe; wherin he feared to be assaulted. But little assurance could he haue in the strength of his Trenches, when he had lost the hearts of his Spanish Souldiers. One *Attanes*, that was Lord of the Turdetani, fled from him to the Romans, with a great Band of his subiects: many followed this example; and soone after, two strong Townes were yeelded vp to *Scipio*, and the Garrisons betraied. It seemes that the peruerse fortune of this late battaile, whereupon *Asdrubal* had set his rest, bred in the Spaniards a disposition, to beleeue the more easily those reports which they heard from Italy. For henceforward, they neuer did good office to the Carthaginians. *Asdrubal*, perceiuing this, withdrew himselfe, and marched away faster than an ordinary pace, toward the Ocean Sea. *Scipio* followed the next morning, & ouertaking the Carthaginians with his horse, caused them so often to make stand, that they were at length attached by the Roman Legions. Here began a cruell slaughter: for there was no resistance made, but all fell to rout, saue onely seuen thousand that with *Asdrubal* himselfe recouered a very strong piece of ground, which they fortified in hast. The place he made shift a while to defend: but wanting there necessaries to sustain himself long, he was forsaken by some of those few, that continued hitherto partakers of his fortune. Wherfore he resolued to make shift for one; and stealing from his Company by night away to the Sea-side, that was not farre thence; he tooke shipping, and set saile for Gades. When *Scipio* vnderstood that *Asdrubal* was thus gone, he left *Syllanus* with ten thousand foot, & a thousand horse, to besiege their Campe (which was not taken in haste, for *Mago* and *Masanissa* staied in it) whilest he with the rest of the Armie did what was needfull in the Countrie abroad. It was not long, ere *Mago* and *Masanissa* followed *Asdrubal* to Gades: and their Army dispersed it selfe; some flying ouer to the Romans; others taking what way they liked. So vpon all the Continent of Spaine, there were onely three Towns left, Illiturgi, Castulo, and Astapa, that made continuance of warre against the Romans: of which onely Castulo had a Carthaginian garrison; consisting of such as had saued themselues by flight in the late ouerthrows. Hereby it seems, that the report of those Historians was ill grounded, who said, that Castulo yeelded long since vnto the Romans; though *Hannibal* took a wife in that citie. For this was one of the last three towns that held out on the Carthaginian side. Illiturgi had sometimes been inclinable to the Romans; if not altogether at their deuotion. Yet after the death of the two elder *Scipio's*, following too earnestly the Carthaginian fortune; it not onely rebelled, but with great cruelty betraied and slue, the poor men that escaped thither from the ouerthrows. Astapa was a town that still adhered to the Carthaginians; and, which was worse, had thriuen by the spoyle of the Romans and their Confederates. Wherefore (though not vntill the next yeer) *Scipio* went against these, and took himselfe Illiturgi and Castulo: Illiturgi by assault, and with a generall slaughter of the Inhabitants; Castulo, by treason of one *Cerdubellus*. Astapa was taken by *Lucius Marcius*; or rather destroyed by the Inhabitants. For a great pile of wood was raised in the Market-place: wherinto was throwne all the gold, and siluer, with whatsoeuer else was precious; the women and children standing by it vnder a sure guard, that should kill and burne them if the Romans got into the Towne. This prouision being made, all the Inhabitants that could beare Armes, rushed forth desperately, and fell vpon the Roman camp; where striuing beyond their power, they were euery one slaine. Then was the Towne forth-with set on fire, by those that had taken charge to doe it: & many of the Romans consumed with the flame; whilest they rushed ouer-hastily to catch the gold and siluer, which they saw lying on the pile ready to melt.

Asdrubal, being beaten into the Iland of Gades, found no cause of long stay there: but returned home to Carthage, with seuen Gallies; leaving *Mago* behind him, to wait vpon occasion,

occasion, if any should be offered. He visited in his way home, *Syphax*, king of the Masæsili, a people of the Numidians; hoping to win him to the friendship of the Carthaginians. But he met with *Scipio*, as it were with his euill Angel, in the kings Port: who landing at the same time, caried *Syphax* quite another way. For *Scipio*, hauing driuen the Carthaginians out of Spain, did forthwith bethinke himselfe, how to finish the war, by putting them to the like distresse in Africke. Hereunto it seemed that the help of *Syphax* would be much auaileable: a King that had many times fallen out with the Carthaginians, and sustained much hurt by their procurement; of which in all likelihood he might easily be moued to seeke reuenge. He had also bin beholding to *P.* and *Cn. Scipio*, that sent him ouer a Captaine into Africk; vvho instructed him so well in marshalling his forces, as he thereby often became victorious. Vpon these reasons the Numidian King sent Embassadors to Rome, and made league with the citie in time of great extremitie. So that hereby *P. Scipio* conceiued hope of laying a good foundation to the vvar, which he intended in Africk; vpon the friendship of this ill Neighbour to the Carthaginians. For which cause he sent ouer *C. Lælius* his Embassador, to deale with *Syphax*: who declaring that the Carthaginians did very ill in Italy, and had nothing now at all to doe in Spaine, easily perswaded the king to take part with those that had the better, and vvere without question his better friends. Onely *Syphax* requested that the Roman Generall should visite him in person, to conclude the League; by which he was to enter into conditions of more importance, than in any former Treatie. Hereto *Scipio* condescended; thinking the friendship of so great a King, that was neighbour to Carthage, and not farre distant from Spaine, well worthy of the aduenture. So with two *Quinquereme* Gallies he tooke Sea: and arriued in the kings Port, at the same time, with *Asdrubal*. This would haue been very dangerous to him, had he been descried by his enemies further at Sea: but in the Hauen they forbare to make offer one vpon the other. *Syphax* might well be proud; seeing at one time, two such Captaines of two most powerfull cities, came to desire his friendship. He would haue brought them to treat of peace: but the Roman excused himselfe, by vvant of such Commission from the Senate. He feasted them together: and shortly dismissed *Scipio*, with whom he readily entred into Couenant; which in time of performance, he as readily brake.

†. II.

Funerall games held by Scipio. *A Duell betweene two Spanish Princes. Adigression, concerning Duels.*

Scipio returning into Spaine, and resting that winter, tooke vengeance the next yeere, vpon those of Illiturgi, Castulo, and Astapa, as hath been said before. The Conquest of the Country being then in a manner at an end, he performed at new Carthage, with great solomnity, some Vowes that he had made, and honoured the memory of his Father and Vncle, with funerall games, especially of those that fought at sharp, according to the maner of the times. Neither was it needfull, that he should trouble himselfe with preparing slaues for that spectacle, to hazard their liues, as was vsed in the citie of Rome: for there were enow, that either offred themselues as voluntaries, or were sent from their Princes, to giue proofe in single combat, of the valour that was in their seuerall Countries. Some also there were, that being in contention, which they could not, or would not other wise end, agreed to refer the decision of their Controuersies, to triall of the sword, in single fight. Among these, the most eminent, were *Corbis* and *Orsua*, Cosen-germans: that contended for the principalitie of a Town called Ibes. *Corbis* was the elder, and the elder brothers sonne: wherfore he claimed the Lordship, as eldest of the house, after the maner of our Irish *Tanistry*. But the father of *Orsua* stood lately seized of the Principality: which though himself receiued by the death of his elder brother; yet this his sonne would not let it goe backe, but claimed to hold it as heire vnto his father, & old enough to rule. Faine would *Scipio* haue compounded the matter. But they answered peremptorily, That all their friends, and kindred, had already laboured in vaine, to take vp that quarrell; and that neither God, nor Man, but onely *Mars*, their God of battaile, should be Vmpire between them. So they had their wills: and the elder, who was also the stronger, and more skilfull at his weapon, easily vanquished the foole-hardinesse of the yonger.

Such combats haue beene very ancient; and perhaps more ancient, than any other kinde of fight. We reade of many performed before the Warre of Troy; by *Theseus*, *Hercules*, *Pollux*, and others: as also of two more at the Warre of Troy, the one betweene *Paris* and *Menelaus*; the other, between *Hector* and *Aiax*. Neither want there examples of them among the Hebrewes: whereof that between *Dauid* and *Goliah*; and others performed by some of *Dauids* Worthies, against those that challenged them, are greatly celebrated. Vnto the same kinde appertaines the fight, betweene twelue of the Tribe of *Iuda*, and as many of the Beniamites. The Romans had many of them: whereof that was principal, in which they ventured their Dominion vpon the heads of three brethren the *Horatii*, against the three brethren *Curatii* that were Albans. The combat of 10 *Manlius Torquatus*; and shortly after, of *Valerius Coruinus* with two Champions of the Gauls, which challenged any Roman; were of lesse importance, as hauing only reference to brauery. In England there was a great Combat fought between *Edmond Ironside*, and *Canutus* the Dane, for no lesse matter than the Kingdome. The vse of them was very frequent in the Saxon-times; almost vpon euery occasion, great or small. In the reigne of *Edward* the third, who sustained the party of *Mountfort* against the Earle of Bloys contending for the Duchie of Britain; there was a fight, for honor of the Nations, between thirty of the Britons, & thirty English: two of which English, were *Caluerlie* a braue Captaine; and that Sir *Robert Knolles*, who afterwards became a renowned Commander in the French wars, and did highly honour his bloud, wherof the Lord *Knolles* is 20 descended. It were infinite to reckon the examples of the like, found in English, French, and Italian Histories. Most of them haue been combats of brauery, and of *gayeté de cœur*, as the French terme it; for honour of seuerall Nations; for loue of Mistresses; or whatsoeuer else gaue occasion vnto men, desirous to set out themselues. But besides those of this sort, there are two other natures of combats; which are, either vpon accusation for life, or vpon triall of Title and Inheritance, as in *Writ of right*. And of this latter kinde, was that, of which we spake euen now, betweene *Corbis* and *Orsua*. Vnto these (me thinks) may be added, as of different condition from the rest, the combat vpon Wager; such as were that between *Dauid* and *Goliah*, or that between the *Horatii* and *Curatii*: in which, without regard of Title, the Dominion of Nations, one ouer the other, is aduentured vpon the head of Champions. Vpon an accusation for life, there was a com- 30 bat appointed between the Lord *Henrie* of Boulinbrook Duke of Hereford, & *Moubray* Duke of Norfolke. There was a combat performed by Sir *Iohn Ansley* and one *Cattrington*: whom *Ansley* charged with treason: and proued it vpon him by being victorious. The like was fought between *Robert* of Mountfort, and *Henrie* of Essex. The like also, between a Nauarrois, & one *Welch* of Grimsby, whom the Nauarrois accused of treason: but, being beaten in fight, confessed that he had belied him, and was therefore drawne and hanged. Whether our triall by battell doe determine, that the false accuser, if hee bee vanquished, shall suffer the punishment which had beene due to the offender, if the accusation had beene proued; I cannot affirme. But wee euery where finde, That 40 if he which is accused of treason, or, according to the customs of Normandy, of Murder, Rape, or burning of places (offences punished by death) be ouercome, Hee shall suffer the paines appointed for those crimes. In combats for triall of right, it is not so: neither is the Apellant or Defendant bound to fight in person, but he may try it by his Champion, as did *Paramour* and *Low*, or offred to doe, in the reigne of Queen *Elizabeth*. And in this case, hee that is beaten, or yeeldeth, loseth onely his cause, not his life. Neither are the combats, vpon accusation, or triall of right, fought in open field, as are those of brauerie; but in *Campe close*, that is, within railes. Now this triall by combat was so ordinary in France, before the time of S. *Lewis* and *Philip the faire* his grand-child, as euery 50 Lord of Fee, Ecclesiasticall or Temporall, had power to grant it within his owne Iurisdiction. And it seemeth, that the French kings, and other Lords, made their profit thereby. For in the * *Memorialls of the Chamber of Accounts*, is found an Article to this effect: That if a Combat were once accepted, and after, by consent of the Lord, were taken vp, each of the parties should pay two shillings sixe pence; but if it were performed, then should the party vanquished forfeit an hundred and twelue shillings. And vpon this custome grew the French Prouerbe, which they vse when as any man hath had an hard and vniust iudgement; saying, That *he was tryed by the Law of Loray, or Berne; ou le batu paye l'amende*, where he that is beaten giues the recompence. Of these frequent trials

An.21.Ric.2.

An.3.Ric.2.

An.9.Henr.2.

* Si homines de Loraico vadia Duelli temerè dederint, &c.

trials by battaile, that great learned man *Yuo*, Bishop of Chartres, did often complain, & specially against the French Church-men: as appeares by * his letters to the Bishop of Orleans, to the Arch-deacon of Paris, to *Rembert* Archbishop of Sens, and to others; wherein he rebukes the iudgement of their Churches, that had ratified such challenges of combat. But this liberty and kinde of triall, was retrencht by S. *Lewes*, and *Philip* the *faire*; so that no man could decree, or grant it, saue the king himselfe. It hath since been granted, though more sparingly, by the French kings, as to the Lord of Carouges against *Iaques le Gris*; and to *Iulian Romero* the Spaniard, against *Moro*, his countriman: wherein 10 Sir *Henry Kneuet*, Father of the Lord *Kneuet* now liuing, was Patron to *Romero* that had the victory; and lastly to the Lord of Chast. Now in those challenges, vpon accusation of Treason, Murder, or other offence deseruing death (and in those onely) the rule held, That *le defendeur estoit tenu de proposer ces deffences per vne dementir; The defendant was bound to plead not guilty, by giuing the accuser the Lie*: otherwise it vvas concluded, that the Defendant did *taisiblement confesser le crime; silently confesse the crime*. But after such time as *Francis* the French king, vpon some dispute about breach of Faith, had sent the *Lie* vnto the Emperour *Charles* the fift, thereby to draw him to a personall combat: euery petty Companion in France, in imitation of their Master, made giuing of the *Lie* mortalitie it selfe; holding it a matter of no small glory, to haue it said, That the meanest Gentleman in France, would not put vp, what the great Emperor *Charles* the fift had patiently indured. 20

From this beginning is deriued a challenge of combat, grounded vpon none of those occasions that were knowne to the Ancient. For, the Honour of Nations, the Triall of Right, the Wager vpon Champions, or the Obiection and Refutation of capitall offences, are none of them, nor all of them together, the argument of halfe so many Duels, as are founded vpon meere priuate Anger, yea or vpon matter *seeming* worthy of anger in the opinion of the Duellists. So that in these daies, wherein euery man takes vnto himselfe a Kingly liberty, to offer, accept, and appoint personall combats, the giuing of the *Lie*, which ought to bee the Negation onely in accusations for life, is become the most fruitfull root of deadly quarrels. This is held a word so terrible, and a wrong so vnpar- 30 donable, as will admit no other recompence, than the bloud of him that giues it. Thus the fashion, taken vp in haste by the French Gentlemen, after the pattern of their king, is growne to be a custome: whence we haue deriued a kind of Art and Philosophie of quarrell; with certaine grounds and rules, from whence the points of honour, and the dependencies thereof, are deduced. Yea there are (among many no lesse ridiculous) some so mysticall curiosities herein, as that it is held a farre greater dishonour, to receiue from an enemy a slight touch with a Cane, than a sound blow with a Sword: the one, hauing relation to a slaue, the other, to a Souldier. I confesse that the difference is pretty: though for my owne part, if I had had any such Italianated enemy in former times, I should willingly haue made with him such an exchange; and haue giuen him the point of honour 40 to boot.

But let vs examine indifferently the offence of this terrible word, the *Lie*; with their conditions who are commonly of all other the most tender in receiuing it. I say, that the most of these, who present death on the points of their swords to all that giue it them; vse nothing so much in their conuersation and course of life, as to speake and sweare falsly. Yea it is thereby, that they shift and shuffle in the World, and abuse it. For how few are there among them, which, hauing assumed & sworne to pay the monies & other things they borrow, doe not breake their word and promise, as often as they ingage it? Nay, how few are there among them that are not *Lyers by Record*, by being sued in some Court or other of Iustice, vpon breach of word, or bond? For he which hath promised 50 that he will pay money by a day, or promised any thing else, wherein he faileth; hath directly lyed to him, to whom the promise hath been made. Nay, what is the profession of loue that men make now-a-daies? What is the vowing of their seruice, and of all they haue, vsed in their ordinary complements, and (in effect) to euery man whom they bid but good morrow, or salute, other than a courteous and court-like kinde of lying? It is (saith a wise French-man, deriding therein the Apish custome of his Country) *vne marché & complot soit ensemble se mocquer, mentir, & piper les vns les autres; A kinde of merchandise, and complot made among them, to mocke, belye, and deride each other*: and so farre now-a-daies in fashion, and in vse; as he that vseth it not, is accounted either dull

* clerici vestri nuper ad nos reuerentes, qui causa comitis Theobaldi Aurelianis ipsi fuerunt, retulerunt nobis, quod quidam miles Domini Rodulphi quendam militem Comitis ad Monomachiam prouocauerit, & hanc prouocationem Ecclesiæ vestræ iudicio confirmauerit, &c.

dull, or Cynicall. True it is notwithstanding (omitting the old distinction) that there is great difference betweene these mannerly and complementall lies, with those which are sometime perswaded by necessity vpon breach of promise; and those which men vse out of cowardise & feare: the latter confessing themselues to be in greater awe of men, than of God; a vice of all other stiled the most villanous. But now for the *Lie* it selfe, as it is made the subiect of all our deadly quarrels in effect: to it I say, That whosoeuer giueth another man the *Lie*, when it is manifest that he hath lied, doth him no wrong at all; neither ought it to be more hainously taken, than to tell him, hee hath broken any promise which he hath otherwise made. For he that promiseth any thing; tels him, to whom he hath promised, that he will performe it; and, in not performing it, hee hath made himselfe a Lier. On the other side, He that giues any man the *Lie*, when he himselfe knowes that he, to whom it is giuen, hath not lied; doth therein giue the *Lie* directly to himselfe. And what cause haue I, if I say that the Sunne shines when it doth shine, and that another fellow tells me I lie, for it's midnight; to prosecute such an one to death, for making himselfe a foolish Ruffian, and a Lier in his owne knowledge? For he that giues the *Lie* in any other dispute, than in defence of his Loyaltie, or Life; giues it impertinently, and Ruffian-like. I will not deny but it is an extreame rudenesse to taxe any man in publike with an vntruth: (if it be not pernicious, and to his preiudice against whom the vntruth is vttered:) but all that is rude, ought not to bee ciuillized with death. That were, more to admire and imitate a French custome, and a wicked one, than to admire and to follow the counsaile of God. But you will say, that these discourses sauour of cowardize. It is true; if you call it cowardize to feare God or hell: whereas he that is truely wise, and truely valiant, knowes that there is nothing else to be feared. For against an Enemies sword, we shall finde ten thousand seuen-penie-men (waged at that price in the wars) that feare it as little, or perchance lesse, than any profest Sword-man in the world. *Diligentissima in tutela sui Fortitudo; Fortitude is a diligent preseruer of it selfe.* It is (saith *Aristotle*) a mediocritie betweene doubting and daring. *Sicut non Martyrem pœna: sic nec fortem pugna; sed causa; As it is not the punishment that makes the Martyr: so it is not fighting that declares a valiant man; but fighting in a good cause.* In which, whosoeuer shall resoluedly end his life, resoluedly in respect of the cause, to wit, in defence of his Prince, Religion, or Countrie: as hee may iustly bee numbred among the Martyrs of God; so may those that die with malicious hearts, in priuate combats, be called the Martyrs of the Deuill. Neither doe wee indeed take our owne reuenge, or punish the iniuries offered vs, by the death of the iniurious. For the true conquest of reuenge is, to giue him, of whom we would be reuenged, cause to repent him: and not to lay the repentance of another mans death vpon our owne consciences; *Animasq; in vulnere ponere; And to drowne our soules in the wounds and bloud of our enemies.* Hereupon you will againe aske me, if I condemne, in generous and noble spirits, the defence of their honors, being prest with iniuries? I say that I doe not, if the iniuries be violent. For the Law of Nature, which is a branch of the eternall Law: and the Lawes of all Christian Kings and States; doe fauour him that is assailed, in the slaughter of the assailant. You will secondly aske me, Whether a Noble man, or a Gentleman, being challenged by *Cartel* by one of like quality, be not bound in point of honor to satisfie the challenger in priuate combat? I answer, that he is not: because (omitting the greatest, which is the point of Religion) the point of the Law is directly contrary and opposite to that, which they call the point of honour; the Law which hath dominion ouer it, which can iudge it, which can destroy it; except you will stile those Acts honourable, where the Hang-man giues the Garland. For, seeing the Lawes of this Land haue appointed the Hang-man to second the Conqueror, and the Lawes of God appointed the Deuill to second the conquered dying in malice: I say that he is both base, & a foole, that accepts of any *Cartel* so accompanied. To this perchance it will be answered, That the kings of England & other Christian kings, haue seldome taken any such aduantage ouer men of quality, who vpon euen termes haue slaine their priuate enemies. It is true, that as in times of trouble and combustion they haue not often done it; so did our Noble-men & Gentlemen in former ages, in all important iniuries, sue vnto the king, to approue themselues by battaile and publique combat. For as they dared not to braue the Law; so did they disdaine to submit themselues vnto the shamefull reuenge thereof; the same reuenge (because it detesteth murder) that it hath declared against a common Cut-purse or other Theeues:

Nay

Nay let it be granted that a pardon be procured for such offenders: Yet is not the Man-slaier freed by his pardon. For these two remedies hath the partie grieued notwithstanding; that is, to require iustice by Grand Assize, or by battaile, vpon his appeale, which (saith Sir *Thomas Smith*) is not denyed; and he further saith (for I vse his owne words) That if the Defendant (to wit, the Man-slaier) be conuinced either by great Assize or by Battaile, vpon that appeale; the Man-slaier shall die, notwithstanding the Princes pardon. So fauourable (saith the same learned Gentleman) are our Princes, and the law of our Realme, to iustice, and to the punishment of bloud violently shed. It may further be demanded, how our Noble-men and Gentle-men shall be repaired in honour, where an enemy taking the start either in words or blowes, shall lay on them an infamy vnsufferable? I say that a Marshalls Court will easily giue satisfaction in both. And if wee hold it no disgrace to submit our selues for the recouery of our Debts, Goods, & Lands, and for all things else, by which the liues of our selues, our wiues, & children, are sustained, to the Iudges of the Law; because it may be fellony, to take by violence euen that which is our owne: why should we not submit our selues vnto the Iudges of honour in cases of honour; because to recouer our reputation by strong hand, may bee murder? But yet againe it may be obiected, That the losse of honour ought to bee much more fearefull vnto vs, than either the losse of our goods, of our lands, or of our liues; and I say so too. But what is this honour, I meane honour indeed, and that which ought to be so deare vnto vs, other than a kinde of history, or fame following actions of vertue, actions accompanied with difficultie or danger, and vnder-taken for the publike good? In these he that is imployed and trusted, if hee faile in the performance, either through cowardize, or any other base affection; it is true that he loseth his honour. But the acting of a priuate combate, for a priuate respect, and most commonly a friuolous one, is not an action of vertue, because it is contrary to the law of God, and of all Christian kings: neither is it difficult, because euen & equall in persons and armes: Neither for a publike good, but tending to the contrary; because the losse or mutilation of an able man, is also a losse to the Common-weale.

Sir *Thomas Smith* in his Com-wealth of England.

Now that a Marshall of England hath power to saue euery mans fame & reputation, as farre as reputation may sustaine iniury by words, I thinke no man doubteth. For to repent vs of any euill words that wee haue giuen, and to confesse that we haue done him wrong vnto whom we haue giuen them, is a sufficient satisfaction; and as it may fall out, more than sufficient. For he that giues ill words in choler, and suddenly denies them, or repents himselfe of them vpon aduisement, hath the disaduantage in point of reputation. Concerning blowes, which are indeed not to be giuen but to those that are seruile, whether sufficient recompence will be made for them, it shall appeare by a notable example of a most worthy Gentleman *Monsier de Plessis*, that was stricken in France not long since by a Baron of the same Nation. The satisfaction which was giuen him by a iudgement of the Constable and Marshalls of France, was this. In the open Court, wherein the Constable gaue iudgement, *M. de Plessis* was set in a chaire vnder the degrees where the Constable and Marshalls sate: the Baron, who had giuen him the blow, did kneele before him on both his knees, holding in his right hand a sword with the point towards himselfe, and in his left hand the like cudgel or bastinado, wherwith he had stricken *M. de Plessis*; both which weapons he deliuered into *Plessis* hands, submitting himselfe to such reuenge, as it should please him to take with either of those weapons; the Constable and Marshalls hauing formerly left it to the will of *Plessis*, to vse his owne discretion in the reuenge of his own wrongs. Now whether the Baron had reason to please himselfe, as one beforehand in point of honor, (who struck *M. de Plessis* like a Ruffian comming behind him, and hauing the aduantage of company and his horses ready, shifted himselfe away on the sudden, but being afterwards taken, was taught to repent himselfe in this shamefull manner:) or whether *Monsier de Plessis* (of whose valour no man doubted) had not farre iuster cause to rest satisfied, since he might at his pleasure haue beaten or wounded his enemy, but forgaue him: let any wise man iudge. To this if it bee said, That the Baron was constrained to make his submission, that his repentance was enforced, and not voluntary; and therefore no disgrace vnto him: I answer, that one may say as well, that it is no disgrace to a Theefe, when hee is brought to the Gallowes, to repent him of the Robberies by him committed, because his repentance also is constrained. And it is true, that enforced repentance is no

no disgrace in respect of a force, but in respect of the fact: which (but for our sinnes to God) makes all repentance shamefull; because all forced repentance is inflicted vpon vs for somewhat vnworthy of a Gentleman and of an honest man. Nay, voluntary repentance it selfe, as it hath relation to men, ariseth either out of the feare of the ill that may befall vs, or out of the acknowledgement of our owne weakenesse. Certainely, as wise men, and valiant men, doe rather deride petty iniuries or sudden iniuries, that are not offered from malice fore-thought, than reuenge them: so men, apt to quarrell, doe commonly suspect their own valor; and rather desire, that thereby the world should beleeue them to be of great daring, than know any such resolution in themselues. For he that knowes himselfe indeed to be an honest man, scornes to hunt after opinion.

Now the same power which the Constable and Marshalls of France haue, hath also a Marshall of England, or his Deputies; by whose iudgement, in all disputes of honour, euery mans reputation may be preserued; we may therefore as well submit our selues to the Iudge of honour in all disputes of honour, as we doe submit our selues in all controuersies of liuelihood and life, to the Iudges of the Law. And, out of doubt, the institution of this Court of Cheualrie in England, in France, and elsewhere; was no lesse charitable than politike. For the bloud of man, violently spilt, doth not bring forth *honiebees*, as that of Bulls doth, which sting but the fingers or the face: but it produceth that monstrous beast, *Reuenge*, which hath stung to death, and eaten vp of seuerall Nations, so many noble personages; as there is nothing more lamentable, nor more threatning the wrath of God vpon supreme Gouernours, than the permission.

His Maiesty therefore (which *Henrie* the fourth of France also endeuored) hath done a most Kingly and Christian-like deed in Scotland, which the most renowned of all his Predecessors could neuer doe: in beating down, and extinguishing, that hereditary prosecution of malice, called *the deadly feud*; a conquest, which shall giue him the honour of Prudence and kingly power, for euermore, And wee haue cause to hope, that his royall care shall bee no lesse happy in preuenting the like mischiefe, which threatens England, by the audacious, common, and braue, yet outragious vanity of Duellists.

Vnto this that I haue spoken of lying, and of man-slaughter, it must bee added, That each of these are of great Latitude, and worthy of reproofe & vengeance proportionably, more or lesse, in their seuerall degrees. There is much difference betweene Lies of necessitie vpon breach of promise, or complementall lyes; and such pernicious lyes, as proceed from feare and cowardize, or are vttered by false witnesses: the former sort, being excuseable by weakenesse or leuitie; the latter, being altogether detestable. No lesse, if not more, difference there is, betweene killing of a man in open field, with euen weapons; and that killing, which the Scriptures cal *killing by guile, dolo* or *per insidias*; though our Lawes doe not much distinguish them in punishment. For in the latter, God, forsaking his owne priuiledge, commandeth, that the *guilefull* murderer be drawn by force, from the protection of his Altar. Neither is euery guilefull murder performed by the sword, nor by *ouert* violence: but there is a guilefull murder also, by poysoning; and by the pen, or by practice. For such distinction is found, betweene comming presumptuously vpon a man, *to slay him with guile*; and *lying in wait for bloud, priuily, for the innocent, without a cause*, vpon hope of spoile, after such manner as *the net is spred before the eyes of the birds*. *Francis* the first, *Queene Marie* of England, and the kings Maiesty now reigning, haue giuen notable testimony of their iustice, vpon three Noble men, who committed *guilefull murder*. Of the first kinde, King *Francis* vpon the Lord of Talard: who being (saith the French Historian) *de haute & ancienne lignee, & supporté de plusieurs grandes alliances*; *who being of high and ancient linage, and supported by diuers great alliances*, of which the Cardinall of Bellay (in especiall fauor with the King) was one, was notwithstanding deliuered ouer into the hands of the Hangman. *Queen Marie*, vpon a noble man of her own Religion, and in many other respects very deare vnto her. *His Maiesty*, vpon a Baron of Scotland; whose house was no lesse ancient and faithfull, than himselfe valiant, and greatly friended both at home and abroad. Of killing guilefully by poyson, and of punishment following such wicked Artisans, euery age hath had too many examples. Of killing guilefully by the pen (that I may not speake of any English Iudge) the Author of the French Recherches giues vnto vs two notable instances: the one of *des Esbars*, who (saith *Pasquire*) *fit mourir Montaigu grand Maistre de France, pour contenter l'opinion de celuy dont il estoit lors idolastre; & Dieu permit que depuis il fut*

Exod.21. Exod.21.14. Pro.1.v.11. Lib.4.cap.18. & cap.11.

il fut pendu & estranglé; who caused Montaigu great Master of France to die, to content his minde (to wit, the Duke of Burgoyne) *whom at that time Esbars worshipped as his Idol: but God permitted, that he himselfe was soone after hanged and strangled.* The other was of the Great *Francis* the first, vpon his Chancellor *Poyet*: who, to satisfie the Kings passion, practised the destruction of the Admirall *Chabot*, a man most nobly descended, and of great seruice. For as in other men, so in Kings, the passion of loue growes old, and weares out by time. So the Kings affection being changed towards the Admirall, hee charged him with some offences which he had formerly committed. The Admirall, presuming vpon the great good seruice which he had done the King in Piemont, and in the defence of *Marseilles*, against the Emperour; gaue the King other language than became him; and desired nothing so much, as a publike trial. Hereupon the King (it being easie to prouoke an ill disposition) gaue commission to the Chancellor, as President, and other Iudges, vpon an information of the Kings Aduocate, to question the Admirals life. The Chancellor, an ambitious man, & of a large conscience, (which is not rare in men towards the Law) hoping highly to content the King; wrought with some of the Iudges with so great cunning; with others, with so sharpe threats; and with the rest, with so faire promises; as albeit nothing could be proued against the Admiral, worthy of the kings displeasure; yet the Chancellor subscribed, and got others to subscribe, to the forfeiture of his Estate, Offices, and Liberty; though not able to preuaile against his life. But what was the Chancellors reward (the King hating falshood in so great a Magistrate) other than his owne degradation, arraignement, and condemnation? *Belle lecon certes* (saith *Pasquire*) *à tout Iuge pour demourer tousioures en soy, & ne laisser fluctuer sa conscience dedans les vagues d'vne imaginarie faueur, qui pour fin de ieu le submerge; A faire lesson to all Iudges, to dwell alwaies in themselues, and not to suffer their consciences to float vpon the waues of imaginarie fauour, which in the end ouerwhelmes them.* And as for the Admirall; though it might haue beene answered vnto his friends, if any bewailed his calamitie as vndeserued, That he was tryed, according to his owne desire, by the Lawes of his Countrey, and by the Iudges of Parliament; yet the Kings iustice, surmounting all other his passions, gaue backe vnto him his Honour, his Offices, his Libertie, and his Estate.

†.III.

The last Acts of Scipio *in Spaine. His returne to Rome where he is chosen Consul.*

THE last businesse that troubled *Scipio* in Spain, grew by the rebellion of the People, and mutinie of his Souldiers. He fell dangerously sicke, in such sort, that the rumor of his death ran currant throughout Spaine. This encouraged *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*; petie kings, that had forsaken the Carthaginians, and followed *Scipio* a while before, to take arms against the Romans. They were vainely perswaded, that after the Carthaginians were driuen out, they themselues should become the mightiest in all Spaine. But seeing now, that things were no way answerable to the greatnesse of their hopes; they thought it best, to take the present aduantage, and hammer out their owne fortunes. So they rashly fell vpon the Suessetani and Sedetani, Confederates of the Romans; and wasted their Countrie. Part of the Roman Army lying at Sucro, in stead of making head against these Rebels, grew to be affected with the like distemper. They had not reaped such profit of their Roman conquests, as might satisfie their desires; or as they thought easie to be gotten, if they might be their owne Caruers. Wherefore, when the death of *Scipio* was reported, they thought, that the time serued very well, to enrich themselues with the spoile of the Countrie. Many outrages they committed: and, which was greatest of all, driuing away their Colonels, that should haue bridled their furie; they chose out of their owne number two base fellowes, *Albius Calenus*, and *Atrius Vmber*, to their Commanders. These tooke vpon them all the Ensignes of Proconsuls, or Propretors; as if this their election had beene like to that, wherein *Lucius Martius* was chosen by the Souldiers, after the death of the two *Scipio's*. But whilest they were deuising, what exploits they might doe, for the enriching of themselues, in a time of such combustion as was expected; there arriued more certaine newes, that *Scipio* was both aliue, and in good health. There came also new Colonels, sent vnto them from their Generall: who mildely rebuking their want of consideration, and seeming to be glad that they had no further

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ouer-shot themselues; led them to Carthagena, there to receiue their pay. Before their comming, *Scipio* had resolued to doe exemplarie iustice on the principall offenders; and to put the whole multitude of them in feare, of what they had deserued. Therefore hee caused *Syllanus* to make ready the Companies which lay before in the Towne, as it were to make an Expedition against *Mandonius*, and *Indibilis*; Hee caused *Albius* and *Atrius* with some thirty other of their Complices, to be secretly apprehended in their lodgings; He called the Mutiners to assembly; and hauing them vnarmed as they were, encircled round by *Syllanus* and his Companies, prepared for the purpose; he bitterly inueighed against them all, as Traitors. This done; *Albius*, and *Atrius*, with the other prisoners, were haled to the stake; where they were whipt, and beheaded, as was the Roman custome toward such offenders. The rest of the Souldiers, to the number of eight thousand, were caused to take their oath of obedience anew; and receiued euery man his pay when hee was sworne.

Mandonius and *Indibilis* continued in armes; notwithstanding that they had certaine word of *Scipio* his life and health. Well they could haue beene contented to bee quiet: but by the seueritie vsed to the Roman Souldiers, they stood in feare, as being Spaniards, and greater offenders, of harder measure. *Scipio* went against them; and found them in a Valley, that was scarce large enough to hold all their Armie. In the entrance thereof he fought with them: and sending *Lælius* with all his horse to fetch a compasse about the Hils, & charge them in reare; he ouerthrew them. *Indibilis* and *Mandonius* had after this, no hope remaining to preserue themselues and their estates, otherwise than by making submission. *Mandonius* therefore came to *Scipio*: and humbly crauing pardon, both for himselfe, and for his brother *Indibilis*, obtained his request; yet so, that they were taught to acknowledge themselues lesse free Princes than formerly they had beene.

Afterward *Scipio* went toward Gades: and was met on the way by *Masanissa*; who secretly promised to doe him all seruice, if the people of Rome would send him to make war in Africk. Vnto *Mago* that lay in Gades, came directions from Carthage; that letting all care of Spaine alone, he should thence depart with his fleet into Italy; and there wage an Army of Gaules, and Ligurians, to ioyne with *Hannibal*. For this purpose, was money sent vnto him from Carthage; & he himselfe laid hold vpon all that he could finde in the Town of Gades; without sparing either priuate men, the common treasury, or the Temples. In his voyage thence, he landed at Carthagena; hoping to haue taken it by surprise. But he failed in the attempt; and was so beaten to his ships, that he returned backe to repose himselfe awhile at Gades. The Gaditanes, offended with the robberies and spoyle that hee had made at his taking leaue of them, would not suffer him againe to enter into their City. By this hee foresaw, that it would not bee long ere they became Roman. Wherefore sending Messengers into the Towne, to complaine of this vncourteous dealing, he allured their Magistrates forth vnto him; whom, notwithstanding all the excuse that they could make, he whipt, and crucified. This done, hee followed his former intended voyage; bidding Spaine farewell for euer.

The Isle and City of Gades, was yeelded to the Romans, presently after the departure of *Mago*. Then did *Scipio* deliuer vp the Prouince, to those that were sent from Rome to succeed him therein: and himselfe with ten ships returned home. At his comming to Rome, he made suite for the honour of a triumph. But it was denyed him: for that it had as yet bin granted vnto no Proconsul, excepting to such, as receiued that dignitie after a Consulship, as it were by prorogation. But to make amends for this repulse: the election of new Consuls being then in hand, by generall voyce of the Citie *P. Cornelius Scipio* was chosen Consul; and *P. Licinius Crassus*, ioyned with him. This *Crassus*, being high Priest, or Bishop of the Romans; might not, by the custome of those times, goe farre from the Citie; as being to intend the matters of their superstition: though *Cæsar*, and others, who in ages following held the same Office; were stayed by no such religious impediment, from being farre, and long absent. Hereby it came to passe, that *Scipio* desiring to haue the warre transferred into Africk, was in no danger to lose that honourable charge, by any mischance of lot, in the diuision of Prouinces; for that his Colleague was not capable of employment so farre off.

§.XVIII.

§. XVIII.

Scipio *obtaines leaue to make warre in Africk. His preparations. Of* Masanissa *who was ioyned with* Scipio. *The victories against* Asdrubal *and* Syphax.

PV*b. Cornelius Scipio*, and *P. Licinius Crassus*, entring into their Consulship, held a meeting of the Senate in the Capitol: wherein it was decreed, that *Scipio* should bee allowed, to bestow part of the money which hee had brought out of Spaine into the treasurie; vpon the setting forth of solemne plaies, that he had vowed to make, whilest hee was busied in his Spanish warres. This helped well to reuiue the memory of his victories already gotten; and to giue hope vnto the People of greater victories in the warre, which he intended to make in Africk. To the same purpose, did the Spanish Embassages auaile much in the Senate; especially that of the Saguntines: who magnified his actions, highly and deseruedly; saying, That they were the most happy of all their countrie men, since they being present, had seene him chosen Consul, and should carry home such ioyfull newes. The Saguntine Embassadours were louingly entertained by the Senate; as their faith to Rome (though costly it were both to them, and to the Romans) had well deserued. Neuertheless, when *Scipio* proposed, that Africk might be decreed vnto him for his Prouince: there wanted not many; euen of the principal men, that vehemently gain-said him. Of these was Q. *Fabius Maximus* the chiefe: who seemes to haue beene troubled with that disease; which too often causeth men renowned for long approued vertue, to looke asquint vpon the actions of those, that follow them in the same kinde. Hee alleaged many reasons against the purpose of the Consul: whereof the chiefe were, That the treasurie was vnable to sustaine the charges of a warre in Africk; and that it was extremely perillous to hazard so great forces, where they could not at pleasure be recalled vnto the defence of Rome it selfe, if need required. Hereunto he added many words concerning the danger wherein Italy stood, not only of *Hannibal*, but of *Mago* his brother, that was arming the Ligurians: as also concerning the honour of the Consul; which would (he said) be greater in setting Italy free from enemies, than it could be in doing any harme to Africk. Neither did he forget, both to eleuate the Spanish warres, as of lesse moment than the intended voyage against Carthage; nor withall to lay great blame vpon *Scipio*, for hauing suffered *Asdrubal* to passe into Italy: shewing, that it was greatly to be feared, lest the like might happen againe; and that a new Armie, notwithstanding the good successe of *Scipio* (if it hapned to be good) might be sent from Carthage, to the vtter endangering of Rome, whilst the Roman forces were employed abroad. But the maine point which he vrged, was, That neither the Senate had ordained, nor the People commanded, Africk to be that yeer a Prouince: which the Consul neuertheless propounded in such wise, as if it were a matter already concluded, and no longer to be argued. *Scipio* on the other side, insisted vpon this one point; That it was better to make an offensiue, than a defensiue warre: especially against such as the Carthaginians, who being ill prouided of able men at home, did furnish themselues by helpe of money, with leuies made abroad. As for the care of Italy, he doubted not, but *P. Licinius* his Colleague would be as well able to discharge it now, as others had done in times of greater danger. So promising to draw *Hannibal* into Africk, for defence of his own home: and taxing as ciuilly as he could, the enuy of *Fabius*, which withstood such a gallant enterprise; he proposed the matter againe vnto the Senate. Much altercation there was about the manner of his proceeding: forasmuch as it was noysed abroad, that if he could not bring the Senate to his minde, he would carry it by the People. This offended many of the Ancients: who resented in this honourable man a little spice of that arrogancie, which in following ages, grew to be much hotter in those that had commanded long abroad. But in conclusion, *Scipio* referred himselfe wholly vnto the Senates good will and pleasure; wherby he obtained thus much, That the Isle of Sicil might be appointed vnto him for his Prouince; with leaue to passe ouer into Africk, if he found it expedient.

Want of money, and no great liking to his voyage, made the Roman Senate haue little care to furnish out *Scipio* to the warre, by him intended vpon Africk. Herewithall it fell out, that *Mago*, comming on the suddaine from the Baleares to Genua, and winning the Town, bred a feare of no lesse terrible inuasion vpon Italy, than that which *Asdrubal* had lately made. Hee could not indeed raise any great Armie of the Ligurians; for that he found them distracted with ciuill warres. Therefore he was driuen to make choyce of his

his partie; and to helpe those whom he thought fittest for his turne, against the others. This troublesome businesse, though it occupied more of his time than he could willingly haue spared; yet it got him reputation by his victories; & made the vnsteady Gaule, ready to enter into his pay. Hereupon the dispersed Legions of the Romans, that vnder Proconsuls, and Pretors, lay ready to bee employed where need should require; were directed vnto the borders of Lombardie and Liguria, there to make head against *Mago*. But all his menaces passed away in vapour. For a fleet either comming to his ayde from Carthage, or by him sent thither (the report is vncertaine) loaden with the booty that he had taken, fell into the hands of the Roman Pretor, that gouerned in Sardinia. This did much disable him: and though after a while, there came letters from Carthage, together with store of money, heartening him in his proceedings: yet some impediments which hee found, and that fatall voyage of *Scipio* into Africke, disturbed all; and made him be recalled home.

Against *Hannibal*, was nothing done this yeere. Neither was any thing done by him, of which the Roman Historians haue bin pleased to take notice. Onely it is said, that he spent the Summer by the Temple of *Iuno Lacinia*, where he raised an Altar, with a huge Title of all that he had performed, grauen in Punike, and Greek letters. Such accompt of winnings past, is commonly in Gamesters that are at the height of their fortune, a cause of remission, and carelesnesse; in those that are vpon the losing hand, a cause both of the same for the present, and shortly after of deiection, when they finde a notable change. A great pestilence, infesting both the Carthaginian and the Roman Campe, is said to haue beene the occasion of this yeeres idlenesse; which fell out not much amisse for the Citie of Rome, that was maruailously empouerished by this warre; and had already tried the vtmost way to defray the charges, which grew insupportable. To relieue the present necessitie, it was well thought vpon, that a great part of Campania (not many yeeres since confiscated) should be sold, or let out: in which bargaine, that the Citie might receiue no losse; the tenth part of the fine was ordained as a reward, vnto the detectors of lands concealed.

Of this, or other money, none was giuen to *Scipio*. Neither was he allowed to make presse of Souldiers for his African voyage; neither did he ouer-much labour to obtain it. That which the Senate refused, the People did for him: or rather they did it for themselues; that were therein wiser than the Senate. It is vsually found in Councels of estate, that the busie, or obstinate heads of a few, doe carry all the rest. And many times men make a surrender of their owne iudgements, to the wisedome that hath gotten it selfe a name, by giuing happie direction in troubles forepast. Therefore, he that reposeth himselfe vpon the aduice of many, shall often finde himselfe deceiued: the counsaile of those many being wholly directed by the empire of a few, that ouer-sway the rest. *Q. Fabius* was accounted the Oracle of his time: for his warie nature sorted well with the busines, that fell out in the chiefe of his employment. Vnto him therefore *Q. Fabius* adhered, with other of the Senators, that were growne old in following one course; from which they could not shift, as the change of times required. But the People (who though they could not well aduise, and deliberate, yet could well apprehend) embraced the needfull resolution of *Scipio*: in such sort, that besides his Roman forces, hee had from diuers parts of Italy about seuen thousand Voluntaries. He had also prouision from the seuerall Townes; Corne, Iron, Canuas for sailes, Axes, Beede-hookes, Hand-mills, and the like implements, Firre for building of ships, many thousands of Targets, Helmets, and Speares of all kindes: euery place furnishing him with that commoditie, which it best could affoord.

Vnto this willingnesse of the People, the diligence of *Scipio* was correspondent. In the compasse of fiue and fortie dayes, he had both feld his Timber, built, and lanched twentie *Trireme*, and ten *Quinquereme* Gallies; wherewith he transported his Armie into Sicil. In Sicil he found, besides other forces, two Legions, that had serued at Cannæ: which were old Souldiers, and (as he himselfe well knew) not guilty of the ouerthrow; for which they had long vnder-gone a heauy censure. They had serued vnder *Marcellus* and *Leuinus*, at the taking of many Cities, and strong pieces: in which regard, they were like to be of good vse to him in Africk, where would be store of such employment. For increasing the number of his horse, he pressed three hundred Sicilians, all wealthy yong men, and such as loued well their ease. These he afterward discharged from the Warre, highly

highly to their contentment: but with condition that they should deliuer their Horse and Arms, to as many Roman Gentlemen, which he brought ouer with him for the purpose. Whilst he was prouiding, to haue things in a readinesse for Africk, the banished Locrians that followed the Roman side, made him acquainted with an intelligence, wherby they hoped to recouer their City. Some handicrafts-men, that wrought for the Carthaginians in one of the Citadels of Locri (for there were two in the Towne) being taken prisoners by the Romans, promised to betray the place, if they might be ransomed, and rewarded. *Scipio* being aduertised of this, gaue order to haue the attempt made by night: which happily succeeded; and that Citadel was surprised. The other Citadel was strongly defended by the Carthaginian Garrison, which sent to *Hannibal* for aide. The Romans in like sort, fearing lest their owne paucitie should make them too weake for *Hannibal*, craued helpe of the Consul *Scipio*. The Towns-men were doubtfully affected: but the best, and most of them inclining to the Romans, kept *Hannibal* out; whom the comming of *Scipio* caused thence to depart; and caused likewise the Carthaginian Garrison to abandon the other Cittadell. Many outrages were committed by the Roman Souldiers, that were left by *Scipio* in custodie of the Towne. Wherefore a vehement complaint was made by the Locrians vnto the Roman Senate; not onely against those of the Garrison: but much more against *Pleminius* the Captaine, who gaue bad example, and was worse than all the rest. Besides many Murders, Robberies, Rapes, and other villanies: the Temple of *Proserpina*, that had a great fame of sanctitie, was spoyled by these barbarous Theeues. The Locrians therefore aduised the Senate to make present amends to the goddesse for this sacriledge: saying, that the like had neuer beene committed, without notorious reuenge by her taken vpon the Authors. The Senate gaue good eare to this complaint, comforted the Locrians, and redressed the iniuries done vnto them; sent for *Pleminius*, with other principall the offenders, whom they cast into prison, and vsed according to their deserts: as also they restored vnto *Proserpina* her money twice told. But old *Q. Fabius* was not herewithall contented. He laid much of the blame vpon *Scipio*, that had placed such a man in Locri; and had not carefully hearkened to the complaints made against him, but suffered him to runne on in these his wicked courses. By the sharpe inuectiue that *Fabius* made, others tooke courage to speake what they pleased, as well against the demeanour of *Scipio*, as against the dissolutenesse of his Armie; which lay, as they said, idle in Sicil, neither mindefull of any seruice toward, nor fit for it if need should require. Finally, things were so farre vrged, that tenne Legates were sent ouer into *Sicil*, together with the Pretor appointed for that Iland; two of the Tribunes, and one of the Ædiles; who should examine these matters; and either cause the Generall to returne into Italy, or continue him in his charge, as they thought fit. The end of all, was: they found him so well prepared against Carthage, as that they hastned him on his iourney, and gaue him high commendations at their returne.

Scipio had already employed *Lælius* in Africk; rather to make discouery, than to worke any other great effect of warre. Hee tooke a great bootie: and strucke no little terrour into the Carthaginians; who saw their affaires to be vpon termes of change. But the greatest fruit of his iourney was, That speaking with *Masanissa*, hee well informed himselfe of the state of Africk; and knew what was to be expected of those two Kings, that had promised to ioyne with the Romans at their landing.

Concerning *Masanissa* his reuolt from the Carthaginians, and his compact made vnder-hand with the Romans: *Liuie* doth professe, That there was no such euident cause thereof at the present; but that the long continuance of his faith and constancie, in following times, must helpe to proue, that this his change, was not without some good cause. But *Appianus* (an Historian farre inferiour to *Liuie*, both in Worth and Time) giues one reason so probable of this, and many accidents thereto belonging, as that it carries with it a great appearance of necessary truth. Onely the doubt is, How it could any way come to passe, that the knowledge of such a matter should haue escaped the diligence of *Liuie*, if it had been true: vnlesse we should beleeue, that he wilfully forbare to rehearse a Tragedie; the sorrow whereof would cause men to thinke amisse of *Scipio*. Howsoeuer it was, thus * *Appian* tels it: and many circumstances of things done, confirme it. *Asdrubal*, the sonne of *Gesco*, had a faire daughter, whom both King *Syphax* and *Masanissa* loued. *Masanissa*, being brought vp at Carthage, and being withall a goodly Gentleman of person, and excellent in qualities, was chosen by *Asdrubal* to bee his sonne-in-law. When

Liu. l. 28.

* Appian. Alexan. de Bell. Punic.

When the virgin was betrothed vnto him, he went into Spaine, and there did great seruice. But afterwards, the Carthaginian Senate thought the marriage of *Asdrubal*; daughter to be a matter of State: and bestowed her vpon *Syphax*; without standing to acquaint her father or *Masanissa* therewithall. This they did, for that *Syphax* was the more mighty Prince; and for that the indignity of the repulse, had made him become their enemy. Hereof *Masanissa* was aduertised: and forthwith entred into intelligence with *Scipio*, secretly as he thought; yet not so secretly, but some notice was taken of it: which would haue cost him his life, had he not with great circumspection conueighed himselfe home into his fathers Kingdome. Thus farre forth we may beleeue *Appianus*: all the narration well cohering with things past, and following. Onely it seemes, that howsoeuer *Sophonisba* the daughter of *Asdrubal*, was promised by the Carthaginians vnto *Syphax*: yet since this their courtesie proceeded from feare, Hee thought it wisedome to continue and increase the same their feare, by making faire promises to the Romans; vntill *Asdrubal had sent for his daughter from Carthage*, and the marriage was consummated. In other matters concerning the warre it selfe, wherein *Appian* differs much from *Liuie*, and from *Polybius*, whom (as appeares by the broken pieces of his workes remaining) *Liuie* did follow; it will be no offence, to take little heed vnto his reports.

Liu. Lib. 29.

Masanissa was the sonne of *Gala*, a King of the Numidians: whose father dying, the Crowne descended by order of the Countrie, vnto *Desalces* the brother, not vnto *Masanissa* the sonne. But this Vncle of *Masanissa* shortly dyed: and his elder sonne, who took possession of the kingdome, was vanquished, and slaine in battaile by a Rebel, that made himselfe Protector ouer the younger which was a childe. The Traitor fortified himselfe against *Masanissa*, whose returne he feared, by Alliances with the Carthaginians and *Syphax*. But all would not serue: Hee, and his Pupill, were dispossessed of their Estates by *Masanissa*; that was a skilfull Warriour, and well beloued for the memorie of his father *Gala*. The Carthaginians in reason would haue beene glad, that *Masanissa*, who had done them notable seruice, was thus confirmed in his Estate: had they not been guiltie of the iniurie by them done vnto him; whilst his Vncle or Cousin reigned, and he seemed vnlikely to stand them in any stead. But *Syphax*, by their procurement, and perhaps by his own malice towards his Corriual, warred vpon him; and ouer-charging him with numbers, draue him out of his Kingdome. Neuertheless *Masanissa* still retained the hearts of his people: and thereby remained strong enough, to infest both *Syphax* and the Carthaginians; though hee was often put in distresse, by great forces that were sent against him. He therefore keeping much about the lesser Syrtis, between the borders of the Carthaginians and the Nation of the Garamants, expected the comming of the Romans: yet so, as he made long roades ouer all the Countrey, euen as far as to Hippo; and when *Lælius* arriued thereabouts, exhorted and encouraged him to hasten on *Scipio* to the inuasion of Africk.

But *Syphax*, in whose great aide and succour was reposed more hope of good successe, than could be expected from the good will of poore *Masanissa*; sent an Embassage into Sicil about the same time, which was little pleasing vnto *Scipio*. He excused himselfe of his promise lately made: and signified his alliance with the Carthaginians; adding, That he could not choose but fight for the defence of Africk, wherein he was borne and reigned; and for the defence of his beloued wiues Countrie, if it were inuaded. Neuertheless he promised to remaine a Neuter; so long as the Romans & Carthaginians held war abroad, farre enough from Africk, as hitherto they had done. This message hastened *Scipio* in his expedition, much more than any perswasion could haue done. For the promised assistance of *Syphax* had not a little aduanced his enterprise; in procuring both the assent of the Senate, and the forwardnesse of many Aduenturers. Lest therefore the fayling of this hope, should worke too great a change in common opinion; He thought it the best way to preuent all discourse, and set the warre vndertaken immediately on foot. The Embassadours he dismissed in all haste, with letters to their King: wherein he willed him to consider, that what hee had promised, hee had also sworne; and therefore should doe well to make it good. Hauing sent them away, Hee called his Souldiers together, and bade them make readie for the voyage; which hee intended no longer to deferre. For, said he, *Masanissa* hath beene with *Lælius*: and *Syphax* hath newly sent to mee; greatly wondring vpon what I should thus stay; and saying, That they will prouide for themselues, if I faile their expectation by tarrying any longer. This fine tale

tale preuented all further inquisition, that might else haue beene made, concerning the message of these Embassadors; whose followers had beene seene walking vp and downe Syracuse. And lest any thing should afterwards breake out, that might hinder the business, *Scipio* immediately sent about his fleet vnto Lilybæum: and requesting by letters *M. Pomponius*, that was Pretor in Sicil, to meet him there; hasted thither with his Armie. At Lilybæum he agreed with the Pretor, about the diuision of the Legions between them; which to leaue behinde for defence of the Iland; and which to carry with him into Africk. What numbers he transported, it is not certaine: some Historians reckoning onely ten thousand foot, and two and twenty hundred horse; others increasing them to fiue and thirty thousand, horse and foot. Concerning his directions from embarking, and other matters belonging to their course, I hold it needlesse to set them downe: since they were points of ordinarie care, and which it is like that neither hee, when hee tooke his voyage into Spaine, nor others vpon like occasions, haue omitted; they being also word for word set downe by an Historian, who borrowed them from *Liuie*, and fitted them to a Prince of later age.

This Roman Army landed in Africk, neere to a fore-land then called the *faire Promontorie*: which how farre it was from Carthage, or toward what point of the Compasse, I cannot precisely affirme; because it is vncertaine, whether it were that Cape or Head-land which bore the name of *Mercurie*, and lay to the North-east of Carthage; or whether that of *Apollo*, which lay Northerly from Carthage, and by West. The comming of *Masanissa* vnto *Scipio* at his first arriuall, helpes to confirme the opinion of *Xylander*, who thinkes the *faire Promontorie* to haue been the same; that was also called *Mercuries Cape*, since with little difficultie *Masanissa* might come thither from the lesser Syrtis, whereabout was his common abiding. But forasmuch as without any memorable impediment soon after his arriuall, *Scipio* encamped before Vtica, that stood Westward from Carthage beyond the Riuer Bagradas: it may rather seeme, that hee landed within the Promontorie of *Apollo*, whence the way to Vtica was not long. This is also strongly proued; for that out of Carthage were sent, the next day, fiue hundred horse to trouble him in his dis-embarking. Neither was it so hard for *Masanissa*, that roued about the Countrie with a troupe of horse, to finde out the Romans, though they landed farre from the place to the which he vsually resorted, like as before hee had met with *Lælius* at Hippo that was farther off; as it would haue beene for *Scipio*, with his Armie and Carriages, to ouer-come the trouble of a long iourney, and fetch a great compasse to Vtica, by Land; when he might haue dis-embarqued neerer vnto it. Neuertheless it may passe as a coniecture, That *Scipio* came first of all to Emporia, a plentifull Region about the lesser Syrtis; since he gaue charge to the Masters of his ships, at the setting forth from Lilybæum, to shape their course for that coast. The Countrey thereabout was very rich, and fit for sustenance of an Armie: neither were the Inhabitants warlike, or well prouided to make resistance. Thus much perhaps *Masanissa* had signified vnto *Lælius*, when he spake with him at Hippo: thinking that the Romans, howsoeuer they made braue promises, would not come strong enough to fight *at head*. But when hee saw their fleet and Armie to bee such, as not onely serued to inuade the lands of Carthage, but threatned a conquest of the Citie, and whole Estate: then might he better aduise them to set sayle for Vtica, and make warre vpon the Enemies at their owne doores.

The Carthaginians had at that time neither any Captaine of great worth at home, nor better Armie than of raw Souldiers; that were leuied, or to be leuied in haste. *Asdrubal* the son of *Gesco*, the same that had lately beene chased out of Spaine by *Scipio* was their best man of war. And good enough perhaps he was thought by *Hanno* and his fellowes, of whose faction he was: or if ought were wanting in him, yet his Riches and Nobilitie, together with the affinitie of King *Syphax*, made him passeable. Hee was then with the King his son-in-law, working him (no doubt) against the Romans; when letters were brought from Carthage, both to Syphax and to him, informing them of the Inuasion: entreating the one of them to giue assistance, and commanding the other to make his repaire vnto the Citie, where he was chosen Generall. But ere these could be ready, *Scipio* had beaten the troupe of Carthaginian horse, that were sent out of the Citie to disturbe his landing; and slaine *Hanno* a yong Gentleman, that was their Leader. He had also taken and sacked a Towne of the Carthaginians: wherein, besides other bootie, hee tooke eight thousand prisoners; all which he conueighed aboord his Hulks or Ships of burden

burden, and sent them backe loaden into Sicil. He tooke likewise a Towne called Salera, which he held and fortified. In Salera lay another *Hanno*, with foure thousand Numidian horse: whose seruice being fitter for the field, than for defence of walled places, made *Scipio* to perceiue the vnskilfulnesse of their Leader, that had thus housed them. Wherefore he sent *Masanissa* before him: who to de vp to the gates; and, by making a brauado, trained out the improuident *Hanno* so farre, that hee drew him vnto a place, where the Romans lay in wait for him. The victorie was easily gotten, and *Hanno* either taken, or slaine. With those that fled, the Romans entred *pell-mell* into the towne, which presently they made their owne. Thence went *Scipio* to Vtica, a Citie of great importance, * of which mention hath beene formerly made, and sate downe before it. Forty dayes he spent about it, assaying it both by Land and Sea, and vsing all his engines of battery whereof he had plenty, yet was in no likelihood of preuayling. And now the Summer was quite spent: so that it was time for him to choose a place, and fortifie his Winter-Campe, which must be well stored against the yeere following. Whilest thus necessitie vrged him to leaue Vtica: and shame of taking the repulse in his first great enterprise, rather than any hope of better successe, caused him to stay there: *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* gaue him the honour of a faire pretence to leaue the siege. *Asdrubal* had made a Leuie of thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse: yet aduentured not with this ill-trained Army to draw neere vnto the Romans, before the coming of *Syphax*. *Syphax* brought with him vnto Carthage fifty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse: which ioyning vnto the forces of *Asdrubal*, they marched brauely toward *Scipio*; who thereby tooke occasion to dis-lodge. He chose for his Winter-campe the banks of an Inlet, that had good harbour for his Nauie. His foot-men hee lodged on a Promontorie, ioyning to the Continent by an arme of Land: his horse-men he bestowed vpon lower ground, on the other shoare: in the bottome of the Creek he moted his ships; and there he quartered the Mariners, with all that belonged vnto the Fleet. The whole campe he strongly fortified, and so attended the season of the yeere, when it should serue him againe to fight. Of cattell and other bootie *Masanissa* had brought in great store, by driuing the Countrey, before the comming of *Asdrubal* and *Syphax*. Corne also hee had gotten some: and great store was sent him from Sicil and Sardinia. Likewise apparrell for his Souldiers, was sent from home, or from Sardinia: though scarce enough to serue turne, for that it was a matter of more cost. The ships that brought these things, he frighted homewards with such part of his bootie, as he could best spare; especially with captiues to be sold for slaues. *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* encamped neere vnto *Scipio*: not so strongly fortifying themselues, as did the Romans, either for that they wanted the seuere institution, which the Romans vsed in the discipline of warre; or for that they presumed vpon their multitude, against which they found in *Scipio* no disposition to issue foorth of his strength, and fight. So the Winter passed without action.

*Lib. c. 2. sect. 3.

When Spring drew neere, *Scipio* thought it good to assay his old friend the Numidian King, if perhaps hee might be wonne by perswasions to forsake the Carthaginians. It was considered, that those Barbarians were naturally vnconstant; and particularly, that *Syphax* had giuen proofe before this of his much leuitie. It might therefore bee hoped, That hauing wearied himselfe, by lodging a whole Winter in the Campe: and being peraduenture no lesse weary with satiety of his wife, who had caused him to enter into this warre: he might be moued with a little entreatie to withdraw himselfe home into his Kingdome, and rest a *Neuter*. But it is not vnlikely, that such a friend as this King, had beene highly entertained and honoured in the City of Carthage, which was neere at hand, as often as during this Winter it had pleased him, or as he had beene inuited, to make a step thither and repose himselfe awhile: his wife Queene *Sophonisba* lying also there at the same time, to cherish him in his resolution. Howsoeuer it were, *Syphax* did onely make an ouerture of peace: propounding it as reasonable, That *Hannibal* should be recalled out of Italy by the Carthaginians: & that the Romans in like sort should quietly depart out of Africke, and so make an end of the warre: wherewith now both Africke and Europe were disquieted. Vnto this would not *Scipio* at the first giue eare: yet being pressed earnestly by many messages from *Syphax*, and desiring to continue the inter-course of Embassadors; he began to make shew, as if he would consider of the motion. He was giuen to vnderstand by those whom he had sent vnto the king, That the Enemies had their campes without any great defence of earth, ful of woodden Cabbins,

bins, and couered with boughs: and that the Numidians, such of them as came first with *Syphax*, vsed couerings of Mattes and Reeds; others, that came later, had thatched their lodgings with drie boughes and leaues: vnder which they lay carelesly without their Trenches. Vpon this aduertisement he bethought himselfe, That it would not be hard for him to set their campes on fire, and thereby giue them a notable ouerthrow. Without helpe of some such stratageme, hee fore-saw that it would be a worke of great difficulty for him, to proceed in his warres when time should serue. It was a plaine open Countrey wherein he lay: and the Enemies had great aduantage of him in number, especially in horse; which, vpon such ground, could not be resisted by the Roman Legions. The longer therefore that he thought vpon the matter, the more needfull he found it for himselfe, to make some sudden attempt vpon their Campe. To this end hee sent many Embassadours, vnder pretence of treating about the Peace; but indeed of purpose to discouer all that might concerne the intended surprise. With these Embassadors he sent, as Attendants, many old Souldiers disguised like slaues; that wandering (as it were) idle vp and downe the Campe, might obserue the wayes and entrances, with whatsoeuer else was needfull. When he had learned as much as hee desired: vpon the sudden he sent word to *Syphax*, that it was vaine to hold any longer Treatie, forasmuch as he could not get the consent of his Councell of warre, without whose approbation, all that himselfe could doe, was no more, than the good will of one man. This he did, to the end that, without any breach of faith, hee might put his designe in execution. The Truce being thus cut off, *Asdrubal* and *Syphax* were very pensiue; as having lately perswaded themselues, that their trouble was almost at an end. But since it could be no better, they began to deuise, by what art they might draw *Scipio* out of his Campe, and prouoke him to battaile in those Plaines. This if they could doe, they hoped to make his Councell of warre repent as greatly the refusall of peace, as did *Marcus Atilius* after the like presumption. But if he should refuse to come forth of his Trenches, what else remained than to besiege him: which they themselues were well able to do by land, and the Carthaginian fleet should doe by Sea, that was making ready for the purpose. By such discourses these two comforted themselues; recompencing (in conceipt) the losse of their hopes past, with that of victorie to come. But herein they were extreamly and worthily disappointed: for that consulting about the future, they prouided not against present danger, but continued in the same negligence, which was growne vpon them by the long discourse of peace. As for *Scipio*, he was not idle; but made preparation out of hand, as it were to doe somewhat against Vtica. Two thousand Souldiers he had made ready, and appointed to take the same peece of ground, whereon he lay against Vtica before. This he did, partly to keep secret that which he had in hand, lest being suspected by his owne Souldiers, the Enemy might happen to haue notice of it; partly to hinder those of Vtica from setting vpon the few, that he purposed to leaue behinde him in his Campe. Hee caused his men that night to sup well, and betimes; that they might bee ready for the iourney. After supper, he appointed such Companies as hee thought fit, to the defence of his Campe; all the rest of the army he led forth, about nine of the clocke at night. The Carthaginians lay from him seauen miles and an halfe: whom he purposed to vndertake himselfe with the one halfe of his army; the other halfe he committed to *Lælius* and *Masanissa*, whom he sent before him to set vpon the campe of *Syphax*, that was farther off. It was his meaning, that the campe of *Syphax* should bee on a light fire, ere he would meddle with the Carthaginians. For the fire might seeme to haue taken hold by casualty vpon the Numidians, that lay farther off: whereas if it first appeared in the campe of *Asdrubal*, it would be suspected as the doing of enemies, and giue *Syphax* warning to look to himselfe. To this end therefore *Scipio* marched faire and softly; that *Lælius* and *Masanissa*, who had a longer iourney, and were to fetch a compasse about for feare of being discouered, might haue time to get before him, & do their feat. It was about two or three of the clocke in the morning, when the campe of *Syphax* began to blaze: which not onely the Numidians, but their king himselfe, imputed vnto casualty; as thinking themselues safe enough from enemies, for that the Carthaginians lay interposed betweene them and the danger. Wherefore as if there were no more to doe, some, starting halfe asleepe; and others, that had sitten vp late at drinking, ranne out of their Cabbins to quench the fire. But so great was the tumult, that they neither could tightly vnderstand in what case they were, nor giue any remedie to the mischance, as it was

was ſuppoſed. Many were ſmothered and burnt in the flame, which grew greater and greater: many, leaping into the Trenches for feare of the ſudden miſchiefe, were trampled to death by the multitude that followed them. They that eſcaped the fire, fell vpon the enemies ſword, which was ready to receiue them. Eſpecially *Maſaniſſa*, that beſt knew the Countrie, did great execution vpon them; hauing laid all the waies, by which hee foreſaw that they would ſeeke to eſcape. The Carthaginians perceiuing this fire, thought none other than that it was a pittifull miſchance: ſo that ſome ranne out to helpe the poore Numidians; carrying onely what would ſerue to quench the fire. Others ranne vp to the Rampart: where, feareleſſe of any danger towards themſelues, they ſtood beholding the greatneſſe of the flame, and lamenting the misfortune. This fell out right as *Scipio* would haue it. He therefore loſt no time: but ſetting vpon thoſe that were running towards the Numidians, he killed ſome, and purſued the reſt back into their campe, which in a little while he made to burne as bright, as did that of *Syphax*. *Aſdrubal* ſeeing this, and knowing that the Romans were there, did not ſtand to make reſiſtance, but ſhifted onely for himſelfe, and eſcaped with a few of his horſe about him. If *Hannibal*, or any of the *Barchine* faction, had beene taken in ſuch a manner: it is more than probable, that old *Hanno* would haue iudged him worthy to be crucified. It would then haue beene ſaid, that with leſſe than one halfe of thirty thouſand men, hee might at leaſt haue giuen ſome bad recompence, to them that were taking pains in kindling theſe fires, had he not beene only carefull how to ſaue his owne fearefull head. Neuertheleſſe *Polybius* acknowledgeth, and it is moſt likely to haue beene true, That if *Aſdrubal*, or any of thoſe about him, would haue ſtriuen to ſhew valour, when the Campe was once on fire: He ſhould not thereby haue done any manner of good, becauſe of the tumult and conſternation. I ſhall not need to tell what a fearefull thing it was, to heare the cries of ſo many thouſands that periſhed by fire and ſword, or to behold the cruell flame that conſumed them; which (as *Polybius* affirmes) none *that hath beeing* is able to deſcribe. It is enough to ſay, That of thoſe many thouſands very few did eſcape; which accompanied *Aſdrubal* and *Syphax* in their ſeuerall wayes of flight. Beſides theſe alſo there were ſome ſcatterers, eſpecially of the Numidians, that ſaued themſelues in the darke: but they were not many, as after ſhall appeare. Surely it muſt needes haue beene very hard to tell, how many were burnt or otherwiſe made away, and what numbers eſcaped in the darke of night. Wherefore *Liuie*, who in the reſt of this Relation, as often elſewhere, doth follow *Polybius*, may ſeeme to haue followed ſome leſſe worthy Author, and him no good Arithmetician, in caſting vp the ſumme. For hee reckons onely two thouſand foot, and fiue hundred horſe, to haue eſcaped; forty thouſand to haue periſhed by ſword or fire; and aboue ſixe thouſand to haue bin taken priſoners: the whole number of all which together, is farre ſhort of fourteſcore and thirteene thouſand, which were in theſe two Campes.

Excerpt. è Pol. libr. 14.

Aſdrubal, putting himſelfe into the next town that was very ſtrongly fortified, thought there to finde the Romans worke, vntill the Carthaginians at good leiſure might repaire their Army. He had with him no more than two thouſand foot, and fiue hundred horſe: which hee thought ſufficient to defend the Towne; if the Townes-men would not be wanting to themſelues. But he found the Inhabitants of the place very earneſt in contention, whether it were better to fight, or to yeeld. Vnto this diſputation, hee well foreſaw, that the arriuall of *Scipio* would ſoone giue an end. Wherfore, leſt they ſhould lay hold vpon him, and ſeeke the Victors fauour by deliuering him vp; he ſhrunke away betimes, and made all haſte to Carthage. As for the towne, which he left; it opened the gates to *Scipio*, at his firſt comming: and thereby preſerued it ſelfe from all manner of loſſe. The two next Townes adioyning would needs be valiant, and make countenance of warre: but their ſtrength not being anſwerable, they were ſoone taken by *Scipio*, who abandoned them to the pleaſure of his Souldiers. This being done, hee returned to the ſiege of Vtica.

The Carthaginians were ſore troubled, as they had good reaſon; when, in ſtead of either Peace or Victorie, which they lately hoped for, they heard newes of ſuch a lamentable ouerthrow. Neceſſitie enforced them to make haſtie prouiſion for the future: but how to doe it, few of them ſaw any meanes. Some gaue aduice to craue peace of *Scipio*: others, to ſend for *Hannibal* out of Italy; but the moſt, and they which finally preuailed, were of opinion, That notwithſtanding the loſſe of this Armie, they might well defend

themſelues againſt the Romans, by raiſing new forces: eſpecially, if *Syphax* would not leaue them. It was therefore concluded, That they ſhould bend all their care this way, leuying in all haſte another Armie; and ſending Embaſſadours to deale with *Syphax*, who lay then at a Towne called Abba, not paſſing eight miles from Carthage. Immediately the ſame their vnfortunate Commander, *Aſdrubal* the ſonne of *Geſco*, was employed to make new leuies of men: and Queene *Sophonisba* went forth with Embaſſadours to her husband *Syphax*; who hauing gathered together as many as hee could of his ſubiects that had eſcaped from the late ſlaughter, was thinking to returne into his owne kingdome. *Sophonisba* laboured ſo with her husband, that at length ſhee wonne him to her owne deſire. And it fell out at the ſame time, that foure thouſand Spaniards, waged by the Carthaginians, were brought ouer to ſerue in Africk. Of theſe were made ſuch braue reports, as if their courage, and the armes which they vſed, were not to be reſiſted. Euen the multitude within Carthage beleeued theſe tales, and were more glad than they had cauſe to be; which is great wonder, ſince in one Age, the whole country of Spaine had beene twice conquered; firſt, by the Carthaginians themſelues, and after by the Romans. But with *Syphax* theſe tales preuailed much: which the Carthaginian Embaſſadours helped with a lie; ſaying, That there were come ten thouſand of theſe terrible Spaniards. Vpon this confidence, the people of Carthage and their friends gathered ſuch ſpirit, that in thirty dayes they made vp an Army, conſiſting wel-neere of thirty thouſand men, reckoning the Spaniards, and *Syphax* with his Numidians in the number. So they incamped in a Region called, *The Great Fields*, about fiue dayes iourney from Vtica. *Scipio* hearing of this, came from Vtica thither, to viſit them: leauing behinde him his impediments, with ſome part of his Army, to make a ſhew of continuing the ſiege. Two or three dayes, after the meeting of both armies, paſſed away in skirmiſh, without any great thing done. It had now beene time for *Aſdrubal* to follow the example of the Roman, *Fabius*, and ſeeke to weary out the Enemy by delayes. But either (which is likely) he was a farre worſe Commander, or elſe, it was not in his power to giue ſuch directions as beſt pleaſed himſelfe. The fourth day the Armies met in battaile: wherin the Romans were marſhalled by *Scipio* after their wonted manner, hauing their Italian horſe in the right wing; and *Maſaniſſa* with his Numidians in the left. On the contrary ſide, *Aſdrubal* and his Carthaginians had the right wing; *Syphax*, the left; and the Spaniards, the battaile. The victorie was gotten without many blowes: for the vntrained followers of *Syphax* and *Aſdrubal*, could not ſuſtaine the firſt charge of the Italians, or of *Maſaniſſa*. Onely the Spaniards fought a long time, euen vntill they were all in a manner ſlaine: rather as men deſperate, and not hoping for mercy, ſince they were thus come ouer to fight againſt *Scipio*, who had otherwiſe deſerued of them, than vpon any likelihood or conceit of victory. This their obſtinacie was beneficiall to thoſe that fled; for that it hindred the Romans from making any great purſuit. Hereby *Aſdrubal*, and *Syphax* eſcaped: *Aſdrubal*, to Carthage; and *Syphax* home to his owne kingdome: whither his wife was either gone before, or immediately followed him.

Scipio, hauing thus gotten the maſtery of the field, tooke counſaile about the proſecution of the warre. It was reſolued vpon as the beſt courſe, That he himſelfe, with part of the Army, ſhould attempt the Cities round about him: and that *Maſaniſſa*, with his Numidians, and *Lelius*, with ſome of the Roman Legions, ſhould follow after *Syphax*; not permitting him to take reſt within his owne Kingdome, where eaſily elſe he might repaire his forces, and put them to new trouble. This aduice, it ſeemes that *Maſaniſſa* gaue: who knew beſt the quality of the Numidians; and what good might be done among them, by the reputation of a victory. The leaſt that could be expected, was his reſtitution into his owne kingdome, vſurped by *Syphax*: which to accompliſh, it no leſſe concerned the Romans at the preſent, than it did himſelfe. According to this order concluded, *Lelius* was ſent away with *Maſaniſſa*: and *Scipio* ſtayed behinde, carrying the warre from towne to towne. Many places yeelded for feare; many were taken by force; and all the ſubiects of Carthage wauered in their fidelity, as if the time were now come, wherein they might take notice of thoſe vnreaſonable burdens, which their proud Maſters had laid vpon them for maintenance of the warre in Spaine and Italy. What to do in this caſe, the Carthaginians could hardly reſolue. Fortune was their Enemy; they had loſt their Armies, and many of their Townes: neither durſt they make bold to trouble their owne ſubiects with any violent exaction of men or money; who neuertheleſſe of their

their own free-wil were likely to giue little help. Very much it grieued them to ſend for *Hannibal* out of Italy: yet ſince there was no other hope remaining, than in him and his good Army; it was decreed, That Embaſſadours ſhould be forthwith ſent to call him home. Some there were that gaue aduice, to ſet out a fleete againſt that of *Scipio*, that rode before Vtica, weakly manned, and eaſie to be taken, whilſt *Scipio* himſelfe was buſied in the In-land Countries. Some were of opinion, That it ſhould be their principall care, to fortifie by all meanes the City of Carthage: vpon the ſafety whereof they ſaid all depended: adding, that whileſt they were true, and at vnity among themſelues, they might well enough ſubſiſt, and expect thoſe opportunities, with which Fortune (doubtleſſe) would preſent them. Theſe counſels were not reiected; but order was forthwith taken, both for all things concerning the defence of the City, and for the attempt vpon the Roman fleet at Vtica. Neuertheleſſe, it was conſidered, that hereby they ſhould onely protract the warre; without any aduancing their owne affaires towards likelihood of victory, no, though it ſhould fall out, that all the ſhippes at Vtica might be taken or deſtroyed. Wherefore the determination held concerning *Hannibal*, That hee ſhould immediatly come ouer into Africke, as the laſt refuge of Carthage. The Councell was no ſooner broken vp, than all the Senators betooke themſelues to the execution of that which was decreed: ſome, to the fortification of the Towne: ſome, to make ready the Fleet; and ſome, appointed thereunto, forthwith to embarque themſelues for Italy.

In this their trepidation *Scipio* comes to Tunes, a City in thoſe dayes very ſtrong, and ſtanding in proſpect almoſt of euery part of Carthage. This place, or rather ſome defencible piece adioyning, he eaſily tooke; the garriſon forſaking it, and running away as ſoone as he drew neere. But whileſt he was about there to incampe, and fortifie himſelfe againſt the City, he might perceiue the Carthaginian Fleet ſetting forth, and making towards Vtica: What this meant, he readily conceiued; & ſtood in great feare, leſt his own ſhips, that were very ill prepared for Sea-fight (as being heauily loden with engines of battery, & wholly diſpoſed in ſuch order, as was moſt conuenient for aſſaulting the towne) ſhould make bad reſiſtance, againſt a fleet appointed for that ſpeciall ſeruice. Wherefore he haſted away towards Vtica, to aſſiſt with his preſence in this needfull caſe. It fell out well, that he had ſent his carriages, and all the great booty which he drew along with him, thither before, at his going to Tunes. For had not he now made great expedition, hee ſhould haue come too late. Neither could he indeed haue beene there in due time, if the Carthaginians had vſed ſuch diligence as was conuenient. But they reſted one night in harbour by the way: and at their comming to Vtica, they tarried awhile to make a brauado; preſenting themſelues in order of battell, as if the Romans would haue put forth to Sea againſt them. But *Scipio* had no ſuch intent: hee thought it would be ſufficient, if he could preſerue his Gallies. As for the pleaſure of their brauerie at Sea, it ſhould little auaile the Carthaginians, if they got nothing by it, and loſt their whole eſtate by Land. Wherefore he tooke his ſhips of burden, and faſtning them together with cables, in foure ranks, one behinde another, made a foure-fold bridge ouer the Channel of the Hauen; whereon he placed a thouſand of his choice men, with ſtore of Darts, and other caſting weapons, to make defence. Some open ſpaces he left, whereat his Frigots, and other ſmall Veſſels, might run out and backe againe vpon any aduantage or need: but theſe he couered with planckes, vſing the maſts and yards of his ſhips in ſtead of rafters, to ioyne all together, that his men might helpe one another, and the bridge it ſelfe not be torne aſunder. Scarce was this worke finiſhed, when the Carthaginians, ſeeing none iſſue forth againſt them, came into the Hauen. The fight betweene them and the Romans that were in the Hulks, was rather like to the aſſaulting of a wall, than to any Sea-fight. For they that ſtood vpon the bridge, had ſure footing, and threw their weapons downwards, with their whole ſtrength and violence; which the Carthaginians out of their Gallies, that were lower and vnſteady, could not do. But the Roman Frigots & long boats, aduenturing forth from behind the bridge, were greatly ouer-born by the force of the Gallies; and were one occaſion of that ſmall loſſe which followed. They that ſtood vpon the Bridge were neither able to relieue them, nor yet could freely beſtow their weapons among the Carthaginians, as before; for feare of hurting theſe their friends, that were intangled and mixed among the enemies. The Carthaginians had brought with them grapling hooks, hanging at Iron chaines. Theſe they threw vpon the maſts and yards which ſerued as arches to ioyne the bridge together: then rowing backwards, they tore all aſunder; in ſuch ſort, that one ſhip followed another, and all the firſt ranke was broken, or defaced. The Defendants had no other way, than to ſaue themſelues as haſtily as they could, by ſhifting into the next ranke of ſhips, that lay behinde them vntouched. Neither did the Carthaginians trouble themſelues any further in this laborious worke: but hauing haled away ſixe ſhips of burden, and towed them out of the Hauen, returned home to Carthage. Their wel-come was greater than their victory: becauſe among ſo many grieuous loſſes, onely this exploit had ſucceeded well, though it were of ſmall importance.

Whileſt things thus paſſed about Carthage, *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa*, in their iourney againſt *Syphax*, found as good ſucceſſe as could be deſired. The fame of the victories already gotten, reſtored *Maſaniſſa* to his kingdome, without farther contention: the Maſæſyli, his ſubiects, ioyfully receiuing him, & forſaking the vſurpers. But here they ſtayed not: neither indeed would *Syphax* permit them to be quiet. He had ſuch abundance of men and horſes, that he felt not greatly the loſſes paſt: and therfore being ſollicited by *Aſdrubal* and *Sophonisba*, hee prepared againe for warre. But beſide the inſtigation of his beloued wife; the loſſe of the Maſæſili would let him take no reſt: neither was it the purpoſe of *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa*, to giue him any breathing time. It is common in men, to depart no leſſe vnwillingly from that which they haue gotten by extortion, than from their proper inheritance; but to thinke all alike their owne; whereof they are in poſſeſſion, bee the title vnto ſome part neuer ſo vniuſt. Hereunto alludes the fable of the young Kite; which thought that ſhe had vomited vp her owne guts; when it was onely the garbage of ſome other fowle, that ſhee had haſtily ſwallowed, and was not able to digeſt. But whether or no, *Syphax*, like the young Kite, beleeued the kingdome of the Maſæſili to be part of his entrailes: *Lælius* and *Maſaniſſa* will ſhortly giue him ſomewhat that ſhall make him caſt his gorge. For to this purpoſe chiefly are they come ſo farre. It concerned the Romans to diſpoſſeſſe (if it might be) that king, whoſe falſe and hollow friendſhip towards them, had beene conuerted into ſtrong enmity; as alſo to ſet in his place another, who might do them ſuch good offices, as *Syphax* had lately done vnto the Carthaginians. How eaſily this might be effected, *Maſaniſſa* knew beſt; as being well acquainted with the nature of thoſe Countries; wherein, euen to this day, though there be many ſtrong Towns, yet the fortune of a battaile is enough, to tranſlate the kingdome from one Competitor to another. So they met with *Syphax*, who came againſt them with no leſſe an Armie, than his former, and marſhalled in the Roman order, according to the skill, which he had learned of the Roman Centurion, long agoe ſent vnto him out of Spaine from *Cn. Scipio*. But though he could teach his men how to march in order; yet could he not teach them to fight couragiouſly. They were a rabble of all ſorts, gathered vp in haſte: and few of them had ſeene warre before. Encamping neere vnto the Romans, it fell out, as commonly, that ſome ſmall troupes of horſe on both ſides, encountred one another in the mid-way: and they that had the worſt, were ſeconded by other of their fellowes. By continuance of the skirmiſh, more and more were drawne out from either Campe: ſo that at length *Syphax*, vnwilling to diſ-hearten his men by taking any foyle at their firſt meeting with the Enemy, came vp with all his horſe, which were the beſt part of his forces, and therewith ouer-charged *Maſaniſſa*, whoſe numbers were farre leſſe. But whileſt he was proſecuting his hope of victory: ſome Roman ſquadrons of Foot came againſt him through their own Troupes of horſe; which fell to the ſides, and made a lane for them. So their battaile ſtanding now more firme, than a little before, *Syphax* was vnable, though hee laboured much in vaine, to make them giue ground. *Maſaniſſa* likewiſe, and his Troupes grew confident vpon this aſſiſtance: and charging afreſh the Enemy, that could not make way forward, cauſed him to giue backe. Herewithall the Legions came in ſight: which terrified ſo the Numidian horſe, that they beganne preſently to diſ-band. Faine would *Syphax* haue ſtayed them from flight: and to that end made head in perſon againſt the Romans; with hope, that his men would be aſhamed to leaue him. But it fell out vnhappily, that hee was caſt from his horſe, which receiued a wound, and ſo taken priſoner. Of others that were ſlaine or taken, the multitude was not great. It ſufficed, that they forſook the place, and fled, and that their king, vpon whom all depended, was in the Romans hand. *Maſaniſſa* told *Lelius*, that this victory ſhould make an end of the Numidian war, if preſently they haſted away to Cirta the chiefe City of the kingdome, whither he himſelfe deſired to

to be sent before with the Horse, carrying *Syphax* along with him. Hereunto *Lælius* agreed. *Masanissa* comming to Cirta, before any newes of the Kings mischance was there arriued, called out the chiefe of the City to parlee: wherein by many faire promises and threats, but especially by shewing vnto them *Syphax* bound, he preuayled so farre, that the gates were forthwith opened vnto him; and euery one stroue to get his fauour, that was like to be their King hereafter. Among the rest, Queen *Sophonisba* yeelded her selfe into his hands, and vehemently besought him, that she might not be deliuered vp vnto the Romans. Her youth, and excellent beauty, so commended her suite, that *Masanissa* forthwith granted it; and to make good his promise, married her himselfe that very day: thereby to preuent *Lælius* and *Scipio* from determining otherwise of her, since she was his wife. But *Lælius*, when he came thither, tooke the matter hainously, so that at first he would haue haled her away, together with *Syphax* and other prisoners, and haue sent her vnto *Scipio*. But being ouer-intreated by *Masanissa*, hee suffered the matter to rest a while as he found it, and referred all to *Scipio's* discretion: to whom he sent away *Syphax* and other captiues immediately; following shortly after himselfe with *Masanissa*, when they had done what was needfull in the kingdome.

At the comming of *Syphax*, there was great ioy in the Roman Campe: the mighty Armies which he had lately brought into the field; and his entertainment of *Scipio* and *Asdrubal*, both at one time, when Rome and Carthage together sought his friendship: with such other commemoration of his past and present fortune, ministring to euery one a large argument of discourse. *Scipio* demanded of him, what had moued him, not onely to forsake the Roman friendship, but to make warre vpon them, vnprouoked. He briefly answered, That his wife had moued him so to doe; calling her a Fury, and a pestilent creature: and saying, that *Masanissa* was no wiser than himselfe, since hee had now taken the same woman to his wife, who would shortly draw him to the same curses. Hereat *Scipio* was greatly troubled: and stood in great doubt, lest this perillous woman should deprue him of *Masanissa*, as she had done of *Syphax*. It was not long, ere *Masanissa* and *Lælius* came vnto him: both of whom together he louingly welcomed, and highly commended in publique, for their notable seruice in this Expedition. Then taking *Masanissa* apart, he brake with him, as touching *Sophonisba*: letting him vnderstand, that the Romans had title to her head, and that she was a mischieuous enemy of theirs. Wherefore he intreated him to moderate his affections: and not to deface the memory of his great seruices already done; (for which he should bee highly rewarded to his owne contentment) by committing a great offence vpon little reason. *Masanissa* blusht, and wept: and finally promised to be gouerned by *Scipio*, whom hee neuertheless intreated, to thinke vpon his faith giuen to *Sophonisba*, that she should not bee deliuered into the Romans power. So he departed to his owne Tent, where, after some time spent in agony, he called vnto him a seruant of his that had the custody of his poyson (which Princes vsed then to haue in a readinesse, against all mischances that might make them vnwilling to liue:) and tempering a potion for *Sophonisba*, sent it vnto her with this message; That gladly he would haue had her to liue with him as his wife: but since they who had power to hinder him of his desire, would not yeeld thereto, he sent her a cup, that should preserue her from falling aliue into the hands of the Romans; willing her to remember her birth and estate, and accordingly to take order for her selfe.

At the receit of this Message and Present, shee onely said; That if her husband had no better token to send vnto his new wife, she must accept of this; adding, That she might haue died more honourably, if she had not wedded so lately before her funerall. And herewithall she boldly dranke off the poyson. Thus *Liuie* reporteth. But *Appian* varies from this; and sets it downe agreeably to that which hath beene spoken before, concerning the pre-contract betweene *Masanissa* and *Sophonisba*. He saith, That after the taking of *Syphax*, limbassadours from Cirta met with *Lælius* and *Masanissa* vpon their way thither, yeelding vp their City, and the Kings Palace: and that *Sophonisba*, for her bonds priliare, sent messengers to excuse her marriage with *Syphax*, as made against her will, by compulsion of those in whose power she was. *Masanissa* readily admitted this excuse; and accepted her to wife. But when *Scipio* had receiued information from *Syphax*, how cunning in perswasion *Sophonisba* was; and that all her thoughts laboured for the good of Carthage; hee fell out about her with *Masanissa* at his returne, and challenged her, as a part of the booty belonging to the Romans. *Masanissa* said, she, was

was his owne wife, and vnto him betrothed many yeeres before. But *Scipio* would not heare of this: or if it were true, yet he said it was no reason, that *Masanissa* should keepe her in possession, as long as it was disputable, vnto whom she might appertaine. Wherefore he willed him first of all to produce her, and then afterwards to make his claim vnto her, wherein he should haue no wrong. Herewithall he sent to fetch her away: and *Masanissa* accompanied the messengers, as it were to deliuer her: but making her acquainted with the necessity, gaue vnto her a cup of poyson, wherwith she ended her life, before they came that should haue apprehended her. So hee shewed vnto the Romans her dead body, which he royally interred. The sudden violence of *Masanissa* his loue, and the ready consent of *Sophonisba* to marry with him: adde not so much credit vnto this relation of *Appian*, as doth the want of all other euident cause (which *Liuie* notes) of the sudden falling out between him and the Carthaginians, vnder whom he had bin trained vp, and done them great seruice. Howsoeuer it were; *Scipio*, hearing of this tragicall accident, sent for *Masanissa*, and comforted him as well as he could, lest his melancholy should leade him to some inconuenience. Hauing therefore gently rebuked him for his rashnesse, he brought him forth in presence of the Army: where extolling his noble acts, and shewing how highly he had deserued of the City of Rome, he proclaimed him King, and gaue vnto him a Crowne of gold, with other royall ornaments. This was indeed the ready way to diuert his thoughts from the sad remembrance of that which was past; vnto the more cheerefull contemplation of good fortune, that began to smile vpon him. *Liu. lib. 29.*

This was the first time that the Romans took vpon them to create or proclaim a king. Which honour though *Masanissa* well deserued: yet would not the Title haue redounded vnto his great benefit; neither should he haue beene much beholding to them for it, if he had not by their meanes recouered possession of his Country, together with the greatest part of *Syphax* his Dominions. It seemeth not vnlikely, that had he remained a *Neuter* in these warres, and sustained himselfe with his troupe of horse, in such sort as he did before the comming of the Romans; he might neuertheless haue recouered his proper inheritance, by the loue of his owne subiects, without other helpe, when *Syphax* had once or twice beene vanquished. As for the inlargement of his kingdome, it was not more than he deserued: neither were the Romans then in case, to make a conquest of Numidia for themselues; neither could they haue wished a fitter opportunity, than of such a man, vpon whom to bestow it, that was their assured friend, and passable withall among the Numidians, as being (for the Masæsyli were a Numidian Tribe) a great Prince of the same Nation. Yet this liberality of the Romans, was noysed abroad as very glorious: and the Romans themselues, in a politicke sort of grauity, tooke highly vpon them; as if euen their saluting him by the name of *King*, had beene a matter of great consequence. He thriued indeed well after it: and by their maintenance waxed mighty in times following, incroaching vpon his neighbours on all sides; but most of all vpon the State of Carthage, whereat they were little displeased. Hence it grew that *Vermina* the sonne of *Syphax* (of whom we shall shortly speake more) which held some piece of his fathers kingdome, desiring friendship of the Romans, and promising by all meanes to deserue their loue, requested therewithall, that they would call him *King*. But though it were so, that neuer any before him had made this a matter of suit: yet the Roman Senate was *puntilious* herein, and answered very grauely, That it was not their custome to giue the honour of that appellation, saue onely vnto such kings, as had greatly deserued of their City. Thus they made it a matter of State; & in processe of time grew so proud of this their imaginary prerogatiue, that they imputed as a singular benefit vnto Kings, that no way depended vpon them, the salutation by * *that name*, though it were not accompanied with any other fauour or profit thence redounding. *Liu. lib. 31.* * *Cæsars Comm. libr. 1.*

§. XIX.

The Carthaginians desire Truce, and breake it.

THe Carthaginians were extreamely dismayed, when they heard of the great calamity, that was befalne their good friend *Syphax*; and vnderstood that *Masanissa* their immortall enemy, had got possession of his kingdome. To increase their feare, *Scipio* returned againe to Tunes in view of their City: where hee made an end of that Fortification, which hee had begun at his last being there. The Carthagi-

nians

nians had neither forces, nor courage, to withstand him: but their hearts so failed them, that they sent forth vnto them thirty Embassadors, Princes of the city, which were their Priuy Councell, to make suite for peace. These being admitted into the presence of *Scipio*, did not onely prostrate themselues on the ground; but kissed the * feet of him, and of those that sate in Councell with him.

* Excerpt. è Polib. lib. 15. Lin. lib. 30.

Answerable to this base adoration was their speech that followed. They confessed themselues to haue vniustly broken the Peace between them and Rome; and to haue deserued what soeuer punishment it should please the Romans to inflict vpon them. Yet they humbly besought *Scipio* and the rest, that in common regard of those misfortunes, whereto all men are subiect, they would shew mercy vnto the city of Carthage, and let it remaine, as a monument of their clemency; which, by the folly of her Citizens, had now twice deserued to be ouerthrown. Herewithal they did not forget, to lay the blame vpon *Hannibal*: who without their appoyntment had begunne the warre; and was maintained in his doings by a Faction, without the good liking of the whole Citie. By this it appeares, that these Embassadours were no Barchines: but rather, that they were *Hanno*, and the choice of his company; who had now their long desired work in hand, of suing vnto the Romans for peace. Whatsoeuer they were, it must needs be that they were most insolent men ouer those that were subiect vnto their power: for they would not haue made such adoration to the Romans in their owne necessity, vnlesse they themselues had expected the like, where they had the aduantage.

It was not vnknowne to *Scipio*, or to his assistants, in what poor case the city of Rome then was; and how vnable to deffray the charges of continuing the war. Neither were the Carthaginians, notwithstanding the losse of so many Armies, in such ill case, as the Romans themselues had very lately beene. For they had money enough, wherewith to wage more men: they had a Citie farre stronger than Rome; and they had the Sea free. But they wanted the Roman resolution: and therefore distrusted the wals of Carthage, though Vtica, a weaker Citie, had all this while held out against *Scipio*, and could not yet be forced by him and his Army, though so often victorious in the field. *Scipio* therefore accepted their submission, and told them, That though hee came into Africke, to make a conquest, and not a Peace: yet hauing the Conquest as it were in his hand, he would not deny to grant them the Peace which they desired; for thereby should all Nations vnderstand, that the people of Rome did follow the rule of Iustice, both in making warre, and in concluding it. The Conditions which he imposed vpon them, were these; That they should render vp vnto him all the prisoners that they had taken, together with all Renegadoes and fugitiue slaues: That they should withdraw their Armies out of Italie and Gaule: That they should not meddle in Spaine, nor yet in any Iland betweene Italy and Africke: That they should deliuer vp all their shippes of warre, saue twenty; and that they should pay a great summe of money, with certaine hundred thousand bushels of wheat and barley. To consider of these Articles, he gaue them three dayes: and when they had approued them, he granted a Truce; that they might send Embassadours vnto the Roman Senate.

This done, *Masanissa* was dismissed, and went home into his kingdome, as if the war had beene already at an end. *Syphax* was a little before sent with *Lælius* vnto Rome: where the fame of these victories filled men with ioy, and gaue hope, that the long endured miseries would be shortly at an end. Wherefore all the Temples were set open; and an holy day appointed for thankesgiuing and supplication to their gods. *Lælius* was accompanied with Embassadors from King *Masanissa*: who gratulating the happy successe of the Romans in their African war, and giuing thankes vnto the Senate for the benefits done by *Scipio* vnto their Master, made request for the Numidians, such as were now his subiects and prisoners in Rome, that they might be bestowed vpon him, who by rendring them to liberty, should doe an act very plausible, that would make him gracious among his people in the beginning of his reigne. The Roman Senate were not behind with *Masanissa* in complement: but shewing themselues to be highly pleased with all that *Scipio* had done, and should do for him, they called him King againe; released his Numidians that were captiues; and sent him two purple Cassocks, that had each of them one gold button, with such other presents, as in time of their pouerty might serue to testifie their good will. Scarcely were these and *Lælius* gone from Rome, when the newes came, that Embassadors from Carthage were arriued to desire peace. These Embassadors were

were not admitted into the Citie, but were lodged without: vntill *Lælius* being sent for, came backe from Ostia, to be present when their demands were to be heard. Then was audience giuen them in the Temple of *Bellona*; that stood in the Suburbs. The errand of these Embassadours, was peace, but the meaning of them and of their City, was onely to winne time, and get respite for warre; vntill *Hannibal* and *Mago* should come out of Italy, either to chase the Romans out of Africk, or to obtain peace for Carthage, by terrour of their great names and Armies, vpon more easie conditions. Wherefore they made an idle discourse of the League, that was concluded between them and *Luctatius Catulus*, at the end of the former warre. This League they said, all things well considered, did still remaine in force: neither had there since beene any warre at all, betweene the people of Rome & the Carthaginians. For it was onely *Hannibal*, that, without any leaue from Carthage, had of his owne head besieged and razed the Towne of Saguntum: and after that aduentured in like sort, without Commission, to passe the Alpes, and trouble (as he had done) the quiet of Italy. This being so, their Message was none other, than to desire, that the League before spoken of, made in the time of *Catulus*, might hereafter stand in force; as indeed it hitherto did, and ought to doe. The Senators had cause to wonder at this tale; hearing these Embassadors make (as it were) a iest of a warre, that had beene so terrible. Wherefore they asked them a great many questions, concerning that Peace made by *Luctatius*, and other passages following betweene the two Cities. But they excused themselues, by their age: (for they were all yong men) and said, That those things were beyond their knowledge and remembrance. Forthwith it appeared, That all was but collusion, and that they sought no other than to gaine time, vntill they might repaire the warre. Wherefore they were sent home in company of *Lælius*, without any conclusion at all of peace; and, in effect, without answer. This notwithstanding, wee finde in *Polybius*, That the Senate receiuing aduertisement from *Scipio*, of that which had passed between him and the Carthaginians in this Treatie of peace, approued the Conditions by him propounded, and gaue him licence thereupon, to proceed vnto conclusion. This may with good reason bee beleeued, since it was not vnknowne, that if the warre continued, all these goodly hopes must rest vpon the most vncertaine issue of one battell between *Hannibal* and *Scipio*: wherein if fortune should be auerse to them, their forces in Africke were no better than quite lost.

Excerpt. è Polyb. lib. 15.

Matters thus hanging in suspence, before the Carthaginian Embassadors came backe from Rome, a Fleete out of Sicil, wherein were two hundred shippes of burden, and thirty Gallies, being bound for Africke, to victuall the Roman Campe, was ouer-taken by foule-weather at Sea, and hardly escaping wreck, was dispersed, and driuen aground in diuers parts of the Bay of Carthage, euen in view, and vnder command of the Citie. There was at that time, as wee finde in *Appian*, and may gather out of *Polybius*, a great dearth of victuals in Carthage, which caused the people to cry out vpon their Magistrates, that the should not let such a booty escape them, saying, that the danger of famine was greater and worse, than of breaking Truce. Whether it were so that hunger vrged them, or that they yeelded to their owne greedy desires: the multitude in Carthage vnderstood (as it seems) that all this discourse of Peace in hand, was no better than meere mockery, and therefore cared not for obseruation of particular points, when they meant deceit in the whole. It was the manner in Carthage, as likewise in Alexandria, for all the rascality, together with women & boyes, to be medling in vproares; the clamors of the boyes being in such tumults no lesse violent than of the men. Wherefore it is no maruaile, if little regard were had of reason, or of honour, in any such commotion. A Fleete was sent out vnder *Asdrubal*, to gather vp the dispersed Roman shippes of burden (for the Gallies, by force of Oares, recouered the station whereto their camp adioyned) and bring them into Carthage; which was done. *Scipio* was hereat much offended: not onely for the losse, and for that the Towne was thereby relieued; but for that by this breach of Truce, he fore-saw the intention of the Carthaginians to renew the war, and put him to more trouble. Wherefore he sent Embassadours vnto them, both to require satisfaction for the iniury done; and to deterre them from entertaining any other hope, than in the peace which they had so much desired. These gaue the Carthaginians to vnderstand, That Letters were come from Rome vnto *Scipio*, with allowance to conclude the Peace; vpon those conditions which he had propounded. But (said they) *we hold it strange, That ye, who so lately haue cast your selues to the ground before vs, and kissed our feete, afect*

App. de bello Punico.

Excerpt. è Polyb. lib. 15.

we call it in Ireland) vpon white meate, without tilling of the ground, are called by the Greekes, *Nomades*, and by the Latines *Pastores vagi*; as the Northren Tartarians, the Getulians, and Numidians in Africa, the ancient Brittans, and the Northren Irish: yea, such were the Inhabitants of Italy it selfe, till such time as *Italus* (who gaue them that name) taught them the Husbandry of tillage, vsed at this day. But the Region Eastward from Eden is that part of Assyria, called by *Ptolomy* Calena, which also might bee deriued of Carena, the country of *Cain*. And that *Cain* inhabited in those parts, it may be gathered by the first possession of his Father *Adam*; for thus it is written, *Genes.3. Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of Eden to till the Earth whence he was taken*: and in the Verse following: *Thus hee cast out man, &c. and at the East side of the Garden of Eden hee set the Cherubins*: which sheweth, that the entrie into Paradise was from the East, by which entrance *Adam* was cast out, and therefore inhabiting on that side of Paradise which was Eastward, according to the Text. *Cain* also in the same Region sought his dwelling place. Now, if the word *Nod* or *Naid* doe signifie *profugus*, that is, a fugitiue, we can giue no longer time to this vncertaine habitation of *Cain*, than till he built the City of Enoch, the first of the World, which hee inclosed either, for his owne defence, or (as *Iosephus* writeth) to oppresse others therby. So as for mine own opinion, I am resolued with the *Septuagint*, that Nod was the proper name of a Region; and for the word (Vagabond) which *Cain* vseth of himselfe, it seemeth by the perclose of the same Verse, that (Vagabond) is therein vnderstood for such an one as trauaileth in feare of reuengement: *for whosoeuer findeth me* (saith CAIN) *shall slay me*; or else (Vagabond) is taken for a man without protection, and cast out from the fauour of God.

Vers.23. 24.

And because these Henochians, so called of the City of Henoch, were the first society & ciuill assembly of all other, it is likely that the fame of these people (either for cruelty, strength, or other actions) liued in the memory of *Noah* and his Sonnes; so that after the Floud (as there were of all sorts of natures, some vertuously, some impiously disposed, and euery actiue minde setting before it whom to follow or imitate) those people, which delighted in cruelty and oppression, tooke on them their names whose natures they most liked and allowed; of whom these Henochians were not the least. Perchance the place it selfe where Henoch stood before the Floud, and whereof the Monuments might remain (as the Pillars or the foundation of Ioppe did) gaue occasion to the Planters of that place to call themselues by the same name: for of those Henochians there were many Nations in the borders of Pontus, & Colchis in Iberia, Segdiana, & Bactria; of the same name many Mountains, as those which are otherwise called Coraxici. And seeing that it is hard to find out the truth of these things, which the most aged Time hath couered ouer or defaced, we may (according to the counsell of *Plato*) exceedingly reioyce, and therwith satisfie our selues, if of so great and almost worn-out Antiquity, if of the eldest peoples names & nations, there remain any print or foot-steps to Posterity.

Quotidiè aliquid in hoc magno orbe mutatur, noua vrbium fundamenta iaciuntur, noua Gentium nomina (extinctis nominibus prioribus) oriuntur. Senec. ad Albinum.

In * *Pliny*, *P. Mela*, *Strabo*, *Valerius Flaccus*, *Lucan*, *Stephanus*, wee finde those *Henochei* described, though diuersly written; as in *Pliny*, sometimes *Heniochi*, in *Mela Enniochi*, in *Flaccus Heniochi*, in *Lucan Enochij*, all which inhabit vpon the Sea Euxinus, but yet none of these are on the East-side of Eden, or (according to *Moses* words) Eastward from Eden. For *Moses*, in all places where he describeth any Region, was so exceeding precise, as sometime he vseth the word East or South without borrowing or addition, at other times with a borrowing, as Eastward or Southward, or towards the East or South. In the place of *Genesis* the eleuenth, hee writeth the word (East) simply and directly: *And as they went from the East, they found a Plaine in the Land of Shinar*; but in this of *Cain* he addeth the word (towards) as, *in the Land of Nod towards the East side of Eden*; which may be taken, as inclining some one point or two either to the North or to the South of the East.

* *Plin. l. 6. c. 9. 11. & 16. Mel. l. 1. c. vlt. Strabo lib. 11. Val. Flacc. l. 6. Lucan. l. 3. v. 37 v. 2.*

But as we may coniecture that these Nations took name of Henoch the City of *Cain*, or of the Region wherein it stood, when the same was repeopled after the Floud: so it is probable that these *Henochij* of Colchis, & other parts adioining, were not the first of that name, after the Sons of *Noah* began to fill the World againe: because, had this Henoch the City of *Cain* stood in any of these parts, it had then bin seated North, & not East or Eastward from Eden. But as *Pliny* findeth their habitation towards Pontus, so afterwards hee goeth on Eastward, till hee tracke them or trace them out to their originall. For he calleth these of Colchis (now Mengrelia) *Sanni Heniochi*; *Ptolomy*, *Zani*; beyond which an

Plin. l. 6. c. 4. 5. Plot. tab. Asiæ.

an hundred and fifty mile Eastward hee findeth another Nation of them about Iberia and Albania; and beyond these hee againe discouereth a third Nation, from whence all the rest tooke beginning, which inhabited on the West side of the Mountains of Paro-panisus, betweene them and the great Riuer of Oxus, which bordereth Bactria on the North side; and these Henochii are due East from the Region of Eden, and Eastward from the very Garden it selfe.

And although wee cannot bee assured that those Henochii tooke name from the memory of the City of Enoch directly; yet because they inhabited due East from Paradise, and afterwards spred themselues Westward (as all *Noahs* Sons did that came into Shinar) the coniecture is farre more probable, than that of *Annius* the Frier, who sets Henoch in Phœnicia, quite contrary to *Moses* word: Phœnicia from all parts of Eden being directly West.

And besides these seuerall Nations of the Henochii, *Stephanus* findeth a Region called Henochia, & the same also in the East, with diuers Mountaines about Bactria and Sogdiana, of the same name. Only the Grecians (according to their fabulous inuentions of all things else) out of the word *(Heniochi)* which signifieth Carts or Coach-men; make these Nations to haue sprung from the Waggoners of *Castor* and *Pollux* (to wit) *Amphites* and *Telchius*, who attended them in the enterprise of *Iason* into Colchis. And though I doe not deny, but that *Iason* with other Greeks ranged the Coasts of Asia the lesse in an open Boat or kind of small Galley, * of whom I shall speake in his owne time: yet no man doubteth but that the Tale of the Golden Fleece was for the most part Poeticall; and withall that in such an open Boat, which could hardly carry their owne Rowers, being 54. there was no place, and lesse vse of Coach-horses or Waggoners.

Steph. de Vrb.

Nat. comes calleth them Rhecas. Nat. Com. l. 8. c. 9 Strab. l. 11.

* In the second Booke of this first Part, Cap. 13. §. 5.

§. III.

Of MOSES *his omitting sundry things concerning* CAINS *Generation.*

BVt of the remembrance and testimonies of the name of the City of Henoch in prophane Story, thus much may suffice; Now it followeth to answer some few Obiections against certaine particulars in the fourth and fifth Chapter of *Genesis*: against which for the first it is demanded, how it was possible for *Cain* (hauing no other assistance than his Sonne *Hanoch*) to performe such a Work as the building of a City, seeing there is thereto required so many hands, and so great a masse of all sorts of Materials? To which it is answered, that we are first to consider, That of *Cain* (because he was the Parent of an impious Race) *Moses* vseth no ample declaration; and so it best agreeth with his diuine Reason, seeing that he containeth the whole Story of the first Race, which wasted by the least account, 1656. yeares, in fiue short Chapters. Yet thus much may euery man borrow of his owne weakest reason, That seeing it pleased God to bestow on the first generations of mens liues so long a measure, as 800. & 900. yeares, that in such a space *Cain* had not want of leisure and means to build many such Cities as Henoch, be the capacity answering to what other of the World soeuer: for in what Age of *Cains* life he built it, the Scriptures are silent: as of whose times, and the times of his Issues *Moses* had the least care. And, as it was said of *Cain*, that he built a City: so it was said of *Noah*, that his three Sons peopled all the World, but in both, the processe of time required to be vnderstood: which aduice seeing *Moses* vseth where the space lesse requireth it, as knowing that hee writ the Scriptures to reasonable men, wee may easily vnderstand, that such was his meaning also in all reports of like nature. For in making but a difference betweene the Birth of *Abel*, and Oblation of *Cain*, he spake it in this sort, *Fuit autem post dies multos* or *à fine dierum* (that is) in processe of time, *it came to passe that* CAIN *brought an Oblation*. And therefore it is in like sort to bee vnderstood of *Cain*, that many yeares fore-gone, and when his people were increased, he built the City of Enoch or Henoch. *1. Kin. 16.*

And where it is written, as of *Cain*, that he built Enoch, so of *Salomon*, that hee built the Temple of Ierusalem; yet it is well knowne of *Salomon*, that hee employed in that Worke, 150000. Labourers: for this phrase or speech is common with our selues to say, The King inuaded, when he caused an inuasion to be made: & he built, when he cõmanded such a building. And therfore seeing we find that *Moses* had no regard to the ages, to the birth, or to the death of any of *Cains* Issues, it is not to be marualled at, why he also passeth

after an vnusuall manner of humilitie, confessing your selues to haue perfidiously broken the League that was betweene vs, and thereby to haue deserued such punishment as is due vnto Rebels; should so soone forget what ye then vttered, and runne headlong againe into the same crimes, for which ye acknowledged your selues worthy to be destroyed, hauing onely recourse vnto our mercy. We are not ignorant, that it is the confidence which ye repose in Hannibal, *that thus emboldens you. Yet were it not amisse, that yee should consider, how long hee hath bin pent vp in a corner of Italy, among the Brutians; where he is in a manner besieged, and vnable to stirre: so that ye are like to find his helpe wanting in your greatest need. Or let it be supposed, that he were now in Africke, and ready to giue vs battaile: yet should it well agree with your wisedome, to doubt what might befall; remembring that he is a man, and not inuincible. Now if it should happen that he were ouercome, what refuge haue ye left vnto your selues against hereafter? what gods will yee either sweare by, to be beleeued, or call vpon in your misery? what words, and lamentable gesture will ye henceforth vse, to moue compassion? Surely yee haue already wasted all your force of perswasion, and shall not againe deceiue vs, if ye refuse the grace, whereof at this present ye are capable.* It is no maruell though the Carthaginians were angry, when they heard themselues vpbraided with the base demeanor of their Embassadours. For it was not the generall opinion of the Citie, that the Truce was broken by themselues: though it had pleased *Hanno*, or such as were of his faction, to gratifie the Romans with all manner of submission; and to renounce not onely their hope of the future, but all iustification of matters past. And indeed it seemes, that the Roman Embassadours were very much delighted, in the rehearsall of that point which was yeelded vnto them; as knowing that thereon depended the iustice of the quarrell. But the Carthaginians took this in so ill part, that hardly they could refraine from doing violence vnto the men, who had vsed vnto them such insolent speeches. Yet the fury of the multitude was in some sort appeased; either by *Hanno*, whom *Appian*, (I know not why) calles *Hanno the Great*: or by the very reuerence, due vnto the place of those that had vttered such liberall words. So they were dismissed in friendly sort, although it were without answer to their Proposition. There were also two gallies appointed for their safe conuoy home; though with little intent of good vnto their persons. *Asdrubal* was then in the mid-way, as men sailed from Carthage towards Vtica. He, whether onely desirous to please the multitude, of whose disposition he was informed, or whether directed by publike order to cut off these Embassadours in their way homeward, lay waiting for them behinde a Cape, that was a little beyond the mouth of the riuer Bagradas. Their Conuoy hauing brought them on the way, as farre as to the mouth of Bagradas, wished them a good voyage; and so tooke leaue of them, as if they had beene then in safety, since the Roman Camp was euen in sight. The Embassadours tooke this in ill part, not as fearing any danger toward; but thinking themselues too much neglected, forasmuch as their attendants did so abruptly leaue them. But no sooner had they doubled the Cape, than *Asdrubal* fell vpon them, in such manner, as they might well discerne his purpose; which was to haue stemmed them. They rowed hard therefore: and being in a *Quinquereme*, that had more bankes of Oares, than had any Gallie of *Asdrubal*, they slipt away, and made him ouer-shoot himselfe. Yet hee gaue them chase, and had well-neere surprised them. But they discouered some Roman Companies on the shoare ouer against them, and therefore aduentured to runne their vessell aground: whereby they saued their owne liues, though a great part of their company were slaine, or hurt. This practice of the Carthaginians was inexcusable: and for the same cause perhaps were the Citizens heartned in such a dishonorable attempt, by those that were desirous to continue the warre; that thereby they might bee driuen to studie nothing else, than how to get the victory, as hauing none other hope remayning. Yet likely it is, that the same feare, which had caused them to make such earnest suite for peace, would also haue caused them to be better aduised, than thus to abandon all hope of Treatie? had they not been giuen to vnderstand, that *Hannibal* was already landed in Africk, in whom they reposed no small confidence; but verily perswaded themselues, that he would change their fortune, & teach the Romans to hold themselues contented with more easie conditions, than were those that *Scipio*, in the pride of his fortune, had of late propounded.*

§. XX.

§. XX.

In what sort Hannibal *spent the time after the battaile of Metaurus. The doings of Mago in Italy.* Hannibal *and* Mago *called out of Italy. How the Romans were diuersly affected by* Hannibals *departure.*

EVer since the losse of that battaile at Metaurus, *Hannibal* remained in the Country of the Brutians; waiting for another supply from Carthage. The Roman Consuls that succeeded vnto *Claudius* and *Liuius*, by whom *Asdrubal* was ouercome and slaine, were contented to be quiet all their yeere. Neither did *Licinius* the Colleague of *Scipio* ought worthy of remembrance against *Hannibal*: being hindred by the pestilence that was in his Armie. *Sempronius* the Consul, who followed *Licinius*; and *Cn. Seruilius Cæpio*, who followed *Sempronius*, were earnestly bent to haue done somewhat: but their diligence was in a manner fruitlesse. In some skirmishes with *Hannibal*, they had the better; in some the worse: and a few poore Townes they got from him, as it were by stealth; his care being more to preserue his Armie, than to keepe those places that were weake.

The Romans had at this time so many great pieces of work in hand, that their chiefe enemy was become, not the chiefe part of their care. Their thoughts were mainly bent vpon Africk, wherein they were at no small charges to maintaine the Armie, which (as was hoped) should bring the warre to a short and happy conclusion. They stood neuertheless in much feare of *Mago*, the brother of *Hannibal*: who tooke exceeding paines among the Ligurians and Gaules to raise an Armie, wherewith to kindle anew the war in Italy, that beganne to waxe cold. *Mago* solicited also the Hetrurians, and found them so readie to stirre in his behalfe, that if he could haue entred their Country strong, it might haue proued no lesse needfull for *Scipio* to returne home out of Africk, than shortly it was for *Hannibal*, to make speed vnto the defence of Carthage. These dangers caused the Romans to imploy one of their Consuls or Proconsuls, with an Armie, among the Hetrurians; another among the Gaules; and a third among the Ligurians: forasmuch as it was vncertaine, vpon which side *Mago* would breake out. Being thus busied, it is no wonder though they forbore to ouercharge *Hannibal* with any great power.

As for *Mago*, when things were in some readines for his setting forwards, he met in the country of the Insubrians, which is about Milan, with *M. Cornelius* the Roman Proconsul, and *P. Quintilius Varrus* one of the Prætors. With these he fought a battaile, wherein though his vertue shewed it selfe worthy of his father and brethren; yet his fortune was Carthaginian. The fight continued a long while doubtfull; in such sort that the Roman Commanders began to distrust the issue. Wherefore *Quintilius* the Prætor, taking vnto him all the Roman Horse, thought to haue shaken the Enemies to pieces. The Legions at the same time gaue a loud shout: and strained themselues hard, as if at that brunt the victory should haue beene carried before them. But *Mago* opposed his Elephants to the Horse: the seruice of those beasts being fitter for such vse, than against the Squadrons of Foot. The figure, sent, and braying of these Elephants, did so affright the Horse, that they started aside, and were scattered ouer the field; their Riders being vnable to manage them. Hereby the Numidians got aduantage vpon them: whose manner of fight was more auaileable against those that were loose, than against the Troupes that were close and thicke. Then fell the Elephants vpon the Legions: which entertained them after the accustomed manner, with a showre of darts, and killed foure of them; causing all the rest to giue backe. This notwithstanding, the same Legions were so vehemently pressed by the Enemie; that more for shame of running away, than by any great force to make resistance, they held their ground. The Proconsul therefore brought vp those forces, which he had kept vnto the last, to succour where need should most require. Against these *Mago* imployed some of his Gaules, whom he had in readinesse for the like occasion. But these Gaules discharged their parts very ill. They were soone beaten off; and rescoiled so hastily, that they brought feare vpon all the rest. When *Mago* saw that his men began to shrinke, Hee put himselfe in the head of his Armie; and held them so well to it, that keeping their order, they made a faire Retrait, with their faces toward the Enemie. But at length hee receiued a grieuous wound in his thigh; whereof shortly after hee dyed. Hee was taken vp, and carried out of danger by some of his owne men:

men: the rest of them, after little further resistance, prouided euery one for himselfe: So the Romans obtained victory, not without great cost; as purchasing the death of about fiue thousand enemies, with the losse of two thousand and three hundred of the Prætors Armie, besides those that dyed of the Proconsuls Legions; also besides diuers Colonels, Captaines, and Gentlemen of marke, that fell in this hot piece of seruice. Neither were there any prisoners taken; whereby it may seeme that the Enemies did not fall to rout, before they had recouered some ground that might assure them from pursuit. How-euer it were, this victory would haue much imported for the assurance of Italy, if the State of Carthage could longer haue permitted these valiant sonnes of *Amilcar* to abide therein. But *Mago* with-drawing himselfe (by easie iournies, because of his wound) into Liguria, found there Embassadors from Carthage attending him: who gaue him to vnderstand the pleasure of their Citie, which was, That both hee and *Hannibal* should presently repaire home with all their forces; not staying any longer to thinke vpon the conquest of Italy, since Carthage it selfe was ready to be lost. He obeyed this Commandement, and imbarqued shortly his Armie; but dyed of his wound about Sardinia, in the way homewards.

About the same time *Hannibal* receiued the like command from Carthage to returne into Africk. He heard it with great impatience; gnashing his teeth, and groaning, and hardly keeping in the teares, that were ready to burst out, whilest the Embassadors were deliuering their errand. When their message was done; He told them, That *this was yet plaine dealing. For*, said He, *They that now directly bid mee come home, haue long agoe done their best to hale me out of Italy; though more closely and crookedly they went to worke, by stopping the supply, that should haue enabled me to mannage the Warre here.* Scipio *therefore shall not need to bragge, that he hath drawne me home by the heeles: it is* Hanno, *that hath wrought this noble feat; and ouerwhelmed the house of the Barchines, for lacke of other meanes to doe it, with the ruine of Carthage.* He had before prepared a Fleet in readinesse, doubting that, which after came to passe: wherein he imbarqued, besides his owne men, as many of the Italians, as were content to be partakers of his fortune. Many there were, that shrunke backe from him, and refused to doe seruice in this Expedition: of whom such as he could take he slew; not sparing those that fled into the Temple of *Iuno Lacinia*, which had been held an inuiolable Sanctuary vnto that day. He was indeed then wholly transported with rage; and departed out of Italy no lesse passionate, than men are wont to be, when they leaue their owne Countries to goe into exile. Hee looked backe vnto the shore: accusing both gods and men; and cursing his owne dulnesse, in that hee had not ledde his Armie from Cannæ, hot and bloudied as it was, directly vnto the wals of Rome. With such vexation of spirit He quitted the possession of Italy; wherein he had liued almost halfe his time.

If it could haue been foretold vnto the Romans, in the first beginning of this Warre, with what exceeding ioy in times following they should entertaine the newes of *Hannibal* his departure out of Italy: they would (I thinke) lesse earnestly haue pressed the Carthaginians to send him ouer thither. When sure aduertisement was brought vnto the Citie, that *Hannibal* was gone with all his Armie: an Holy-day was appointed for thanksgiuing vnto their gods; & extraordinary great sacrifices publiquely made, for ioy of such happy tidings. Yet old *Q. Fabius* was of opinion, That the danger did still remaine the same, though the place were changed: for that *Hannibal* at his comming into Africk, would finde *P. Scipio* other manner of worke, than he had been troubled with at any time before; and would doe greater matters in his owne Country, than euer he was able to performe abroad in a land of strangers. The remoue of the war from their owne doores, and the conceit of that victory for which they hoped, was enough to make them presume further, than at other times they would haue done. When therefore the Saguntine Embassadors brought vnto them a great masse of Gold and Siluer, together with some Agents of the Carthaginians taken by them in Spain: only the Carthaginian prisoners were accepted; the treasure was rendred back vnto the Saguntines that had surprised it. Vpon like confidence of the future, a little before this, order was taken for the repayment of those monies, that had bin borrowed in time of more necessity from priuate men. Hence also proceeded the seuere chastisement, laid vpon those 12. Colonies, that for want either of meanes, or of good will, had refused to giue aid to the Romans. They were commanded, and inforced, to giue double the number of Foot to that which they had

had beene wont to set out for the Warres, with a proportion of Horse answerable to the very most of their ability. So confident were the Romans growne (though their wealth were not as yet sutable to the greatnesse of their spirit) vpon the good successe of the battaile at Metaurus, and the hopes which they reposed in *Scipio*. All this notwithstanding, when they considered more neerely of that which might happen; and were informed, that the terrible Armie, whereof Italy had beene few daies since discharged, was landed safe in Africk: they began to reuolue a thousand fearefull matters in their heads, and to stand in doubt, lest *Q. Fabius* (who died about the same time) would bee found a true Prophet. For, bethinking themselues of that which might comfort them in their hopes: they found in the victories against *Syphax* & *Asdrubal* no specialty of such great worth, as might promise the like successe against another manner of Generall, followed by other manner of men, than were eyther of those two. The Numidian King had beene wont to bring into the field a rascall multitude of halfe-scullions, that were good for nothing; being himselfe a fit Captaine for such Souldiers. Likewise *Asdrubal* the sonne of *Gisco*, was a Commander well thought of by the Carthaginian Senate; but otherwise one, that in the field was only good at sauing himselfe by a swift retrait. But now there came an Armie of men, hardened from their childhood with incredible patience, fleshed many hundred times in Roman bloud, and wearing the spoyles, not onely of good souldiers, but of braue Captaines, by them slaine. Such talke vsed the people of Rome; saying, That *Scipio* was like to meet in battell, with many that had slaine Roman Prætors, yea and Consuls, with their owne hands; with many, that had been first in getting ouer the Trenches of seuerall Roman Camps, or in winning the tops of wals at the siege of Townes; briefly, that he should now be opposed by an Armie, as good as euer had serued in warre, and following the dreadfull name of *Hannibal*.

§. XXI.

Hannibal *in Africk prepares to fight with* Scipio; *treates with him about peace in vaine; loseth a battaile at Naragara, and perswades the Carthaginians to sue for peace. Of the peace granted from Rome to Carthage.*

Hannibal disembarqued his Army at Leptis, almost an hundred miles from Carthage, Eastward from the Headland of *Mercurie*, and somewhat more then one degree to the South. He was ill prouided of Horse; which it was not easie for him to transport out of Italie. Therefore it behoued him to land, as he did, somewhat farre from the Enemy; that hee might furnish himselfe of these and the like needfull helpes, against the day of battell. From Leptis he passed on to Adrumetum, and so along through the In-land Country, gathering friends vnto him by the way. *Tychæus* a Numidian Prince, and familiar friend of *Syphax*, was said to haue in those dayes the best Horses of seruice, that were to be found in Africk. Him therefore did *Hannibal* allure vnto his partie: making him vnderstand, that if the Romans got the victory, it should be easie for *Masanissa*, by their countenance and helpe to oppresse both him, and as many other of the neighbour Princes as hindered his prospect. This argument, and the fame of him that vsed it, preuailed with *Tychæus*; who shortly after brought vnto the Carthaginian two thousand Horse. *Appian* further addes, That *Mezetullus*, (the same who had made himselfe Protector ouer *Masanissa* his Cousins; and was Head of a Family, and aduerse to the Numidian kings of that race) brought to *Hannibal* another thousand Horse: as likewise that *Vermina* the son of *Syphax*, holding a great part of his Fathers kingdom, began at the same time to assaile the places that yeelded obedience to *Masanissa*. This *Vermina*, as we finde in *Liuie*, came with more than 16. thousand men (for he lost more than so many) to succour *Hannibal* when it was too late.

The Carthaginians were at this time in such hard estate, or (at least) so impatient of the state wherein they were; that they could not attend the leisure of those preparations, which would haue made the victory assured. When they considered the worth of *Hannibal*, and the greatnesse of his Acts: It offended them to thinke, that they had beene so base as to make humble suit vnto the Romans for peace; whilest they had such a braue Champion aliue, to maintaine their cause by Warre. But when as they bethought themselues of their owne sufferings, which, for want of Roman magnanimity to indure them,

them, appeared greater than indeed they were: then cried they out earnestly, that it was no time to linger, but presently to fight; that so they might see an end of these troubles, either good or bad: and to this purpose they sent their Mandates to *Hannibal*: requiring him, without any further protraction, to doe what he could doe out of hand. *Hannibal* made answer, That they were his good Lords, and had power to dispose of him and his Armie: but since he was Generall of their forces, Hee thought it reasonable that they should suffer him to doe as a Generall ought to doe; and to choose his owne times. Neuertheless, to giue them satisfaction, Hee made great marches to Zama; and there encamped.

The breach of Truce, made by the Carthaginians: The violence, done to his Embassadours: and the news of *Hannibal* his being landed in Africk; made *Scipio* to vnderstand the resolution of the Carthaginians, which was, not to yeeld vnto any conditions vnprofitable for themselues, as long as they were able to make resistance. Wherefore hee sent vnto *Masanissa*: and informed him of all that was fallen out; praying him to come away with speed, and lay all other businesse a-part. Tenne Roman Companies, of Horse and Foot together, *Masanissa* had with him; that were lent vnto him by *Scipio*, to doe him seruice in the establishing and inlarging of his kingdome. But he well vnderstood, that those and many more besides all his own forces would but little auaile him; if *Hannibal* should driue the Romans out of Africke. Wherefore taking such order as he could vpon the sudden, for the safety of his owne kingdome; with foure thousand Horse, and sixe thousand Foot he made all haste vnto *Scipio*.

Soone after the beginning of these new troubles, the Carthaginian Embassadors that had been at Rome, returned backe vnder the conduct of *Lælius* and *Fuluius*: who brought them safe into the Roman Campe. There when they arriued, and vnderstood what had lately passed, especially how their Citizens had behaued themselues towards the Roman Embassadours: they made little doubt, how their owne heads should answer for such notorious outrage. To confirme them in this opinion:

M. Babius one of the late Embassadors that had bin in Carthage, being left by *Scipio* to take charge of the Camp, laid hands vpon them and detained them; sending word vnto his Generall, who was gone abroad to make warre in the Country, that hee had them in his power, & that now the Carthaginians might be repaid in their owne Coyne, for the iniurie by them lately done. *Scipio* was very glad to heare of this; & commanded *Babius* to vse them with all possible courtesie, & send them safe home. By thus doing, He brake the hearts of his enemies; & caused them to acknowledge themselues (which was a great victory) far lesse honourable than the Romans. This notwithstanding, Hee made more cruell warre vpon them than before: taking their Townes by force; and putting them to sacke, without hearkning to any Composition. It was the manner of the Romans, as often as they tooke a Town by assault, to put all that came in their way to the sword, whatsoeuer they were, without regard. This they did, to make themselues terrible: and the better to worke such impression in the minds of those, with whom they had to do, they vsed oftentimes to kill the very Dogges and other Beasts, that ranne athwart them in the streets; hewing their bodies asunder, as men delighted in shedding of bloud. This being their practise at other times: it is likely, that now they omitted no piece of cruelty; when they meant to giue proofe of their vehement indignation, and reuengeful minds, for the iniuries receiued. Hence it partly grew, that the Carthaginians were so earnest in pressing *Hannibal* to fight.

Excerpt. è Polyb. lib. 10.

Hannibal being incamped at Zama, sent forth his Scowts and Spies, to discouer where the Romans lay; what they were doing, and as much as might be of their demeanour. Some of these were taken, & brought vnto *Scipio*: who in stead of trussing them vp, gaue them free leaue to view his Campe at pleasure, appointing one to conduct them vp and downe, and shew them whatsoeuer they desired. This done, Hee gaue them leaue to depart; and sent them away safe vnto their Generall. *Hannibal* vnderstanding this, admired the brauery and courage of his Enemy: with whom on the sudden hee grew desirous to haue an Enter-view, and personal conference; and signified so much vnto him, by a messenger sent of purpose. Of this motion the Roman liked well: and returned answer, that Hee would meet him shortly in a place conuenient. The next day *Masanissa* came with his Armie: whom *Scipio* taking with him, remooued vnto a Towne called Nadagara; neere vnto which he sat downe, in a place otherwise commodious, & close by

by a water that might opportunely serue his Campe. Thence hee sent word vnto the Carthaginian, That the time & place did fitly serue, if He had ought to say to him. *Hannibal* thereupon remoued from Zama, & came within foure miles of the Enemy: where he incamped well to his owne good liking in all things else, excepting that his men were driuen to take much paines, in fetching their water somewhat farre off. Then was order taken for their meeting: and the two Generals, each of them with a troupe of Horse, rode foorth of their Campes, till they came vnto a piece of ground; which was before well searched for feare of ambush. There they will their followers to stand off: and themselues, with each of them one Interpreter, encountred each other in the mid-way betweene their Companies. They remained a while silent, viewing one the other with mutuall admiration. Then begunne the Carthaginian, saluting the Roman, to deliuer his minde to this effect: That it had beene better both for Carthage and Rome, if they could haue limited and contained their ambition within the shores of Africk & of Italy; for that the Countries of Sicil and of Spaine, about which their fathers and themselues had striuen, were no sufficient recompence for so many Fleets as had been lost; and of so much bloud as had beene shedde, in making those costly purchases. But since things past could not be recalled: He said, That it was meet for them to consider, vnto what extreame dangers their owne Cities had beene exposed, by the greedy desire of extending their Empires abroad; and that it was euen time for them now at length, to make an end of their obstinate contention, and pray the gods to endue them with greater wisedome hereafter. And to such peaceable disposition Hee affirmed that his owne yeares, and long triall of Fortune, both good and euill, had made him inclinable: But much he feared; that *Scipio*, by want of the like experience, might rather fixe his minde vpon vncertaine hopes, than vpon the contemplation of that mutability, whereto all humane affaires are subject. *Yet (said he) mine owne example may perauenture suffice to teach thee moderation. For I am that same* Hannibal, *who after my victory at Canna, wonne the greatest part of Italie: and deuised with my selfe, what I should doe with your Citie of Rome; which I hoped verily to haue taken. Once I brought mine Armie to your walles, but thou hast since brought thine to ours of Carthage: but now, see the change! I stand here entreating thee to grant vs peace. This may serue as a document of Fortunes instabilitie. I haue fought with thy father,* Scipio: *He was the first of the Roman Generalls, that euer met mee in the field. I did then little thinke, that the time would come, that I should haue such busiuesse, as now at the present, with his sonne. But this is euen one of Fortunes Pageants, whereof shee hath many. And thou maist haue experience of the like in thy selfe, who knowest how soone? Thinke vpon* M. Atilius. *If he would haue harkened vnto such perswasions, as I now vse to thee; he might haue returned home to Rome an happy man. And so maist thou doe now, if any reasonable offer will giue thee satisfaction. How saist thou? Canst thou be contented, that all Spaine, Sicil, Sardinia, and what soeuer Ilands else are situate betweene Italie and Africke; bee abandoned by the Carthaginians for euer; and left vnto the Romans, to beare Dominion there in? Thou shalt haue glory enough by effecting thus much: and the Romans may well bee glad of such a bargaine. As for vs: our owne quiet shall henceforth giue vs contentment. And the same contentment of ours, shall make vs faithfully obserue the Peace with you. But if thou thinkest all too little, I must desire thee to ponder well how great an hazzard thou must vndergoe for obtaining a very little more, than that which thou maist haue without contention. It is now in thine owne power, to lay hold vpon good Fortune, if it please thee; stay but vntill to-morrow-night; and thou maist take such fortune, as it pleases the gods. The issue of battaile is vncertaine, and many times beguileth expectation: Men and steele wee shall each of vs bring into the field: but of the victory, neither of vs hath assurance. Let vs therefore without more adoe, make peace. And doe not tell me, that some false-hearted Citizens of ours dealt fraudulently of late in the like Treatie: It is I* Hannibal *that now desire peace with thee; which I would neuer doe, if I thought it not expedient for my Country. And thinking it expedient, I will alwaies maintaine it: like as I haue maintained, vnto my power, as long as the gods did not enuie me, the Warre by me begun.*

Hereunto *Scipio* made answer, That it was no ambitious desire of ruling in Sicil and in Spaine which had moued the Romans to enter into this or the former War: but that the defence of the Mamertines, and afterwards of the Saguntines, their confederates, had caused them to put on those armes; which the gods by the finall issue of the Warres had approued, and would approue to bee most iust. As for the mutability of Fortune hee

hee said, that he was not thereof ignorant; and that without any note of insolence, or ouer-weening, he might well refuse the conditions offered. *For was it not plaine, that all these Countries, with which the Carthaginians now so willingly departed, were already wonne from the Romans? If,* said He, *these Conditions had beene propounded whilest as yet yee detained some part of Italy, they might peradventure not haue beene reiected. But as the case now stands, I see no reason, why I should remit vnto you any one piece of these my former demands; to which the Carthaginians haue yeelded already, and thought mee to be gracious in dealing so moderately. Rather I say, that the iniuries which they haue done me since, haue made them vnworthy of obtaining peace vpon so friendly termes. But I cannot blame thee,* Hannibal, *though thou would'st be glad to make thy Citizens vnderstand, from how much of their burden they are by thy meanes eased. Onely thou must thinke, that in like sort it concernes me in honour, not to let them be gainers or sauers by the wrongs which they haue done of late. Thou knowest well, that besides those offers which thou here hast made, they were well contented to restore vnto vs ransome-free, all prisoners that they haue of ours; to pay vs fiue thousand Talents; to deliuer vp their Gallies, and to deliuer hostages for assurance of faire dealing. And must they now be discharged of all this, by their breach of Truce, their spoyling of our Fleet, and their violating our Embassadors? Not so. But if they can be contented, besides all this, to make such amends as I shall require, for these iniuries newly done: then will I take aduice with my Councell what answer to giue you; otherwise, you may euen prepare for warre, and blame your owne selues, for that I haue denied you peace.*

Hereupon they brake off: and returned each to his owne Campe, with no other newes than warre; bidding their Souldiers prepare for a battaile, wherein should be decided the quarrell between Rome & Carthage. The next morning at breake of day they issued into the field: a notable march, and such as hath very seldome been found; whether we regard the Generals, their Armies, the two cities that contended; or the great importance of the battaile at hand. *Scipio* ordered his men after the Roman manner: placing first the *Hastati*, diuided into their Maniples, or small Battalions, with a reasonable distance betweene them: Not farre behinde these followed the *Principes*, likewise diuided; and so after them the *Triarii*, But herein *Scipio* altered a little the ordinary custome of the Romans: He placed not the Maniples of his *Principes* opposite vnto the void spaces betweene the *Hastati*, that so the *Hastati*, as was vsuall, might fall backe betweene the *Principes*; but he placed them directly one behinde another, as it were, in File. This he did, because of the Elephants, whereof *Hannibal* had many. For of those beasts the danger was lesse, whilest there was open way to let them through. Therefore hee took such order, that when they had passed through the spaces betweene the first Battalions, they should not come vpon the *Principes* in Front. Vnto his Velites, or those of the light armature, that were to beginne the fight, he gaue direction, that when they found themselues to be ouer-charged, either by the Enemies, or (which was most to be feared) by the Elephants, they should runne backe through those lanes that were betweene the Maniples; and that those which were swiftest, or otherwise best able, should continue on their flight, vntill they were got behinde all their owne Armie; therby leauing roome enough vnto those that were wounded, or cast behind, to saue themselues on the voyde ground, that was betwixt the first and second, or the second and third battailes, without cloying vp the way betweene the Maniples, which hee desired to keepe open. His Italian horse he placed in the left wing vnder *C. Lælius*. In the right wing was *Masanissa* with his Numidians. He himselfe riding vp and downe, exhorted his men to doe valiantly; vsing words, not many, but forcible. Hee bade them remember what they had atchieued, since their comming into Africk. He told them, that if this day were theirs, the warre was at an end: and that their victory in this war, should make them Lords of all the world, for that afterwards, none would be found able to resist them. On the contrary, if they were beaten, he asked them whither they would flie. They were farre from home, yea and farre from their owne standing Campe: neither was there any place in Africke, that would giue them shelter: if they fell into the Carthaginians hands, they knew what to expect. And therfore there was none other way, but death or victory: vnlesse they would liue like wretched slaues vnder most merciless Enemies. In such necessity, he said, that they which consider themselues to be, & take resolution answerable thereunto, haue neuer beene khowne to faile of getting victory.

Hannibal on the other side placed his Elephants, that were more than fourescore, in

Front

Front of his Battaile. Next behinde these, he made his Vantguard all of Mercenaries, Ligurians, Gaules, Baleares and Moores. Then followed his Battaile: which was of Carthaginians & Africans, more interessed in the quarrell than were those Mercenaries; though not so good souldiers: but to helpe (if it might be) their want of courage, they had with them foure thousand Macedonians, lately sent from King *Philip*. More than the space of a furlong behinde these came his Rereward, consisting of those braue Souldiers which had serued him in his Italian warres; and were the onely men, in whom he reposed any confidence. Opposite to *Lælius*, in his owne right wing hee bestowed the Carthaginian Horse. *Tychæus* and the Numidians he placed in his left wing against *Masanissa*. Hee was indeed farre too weake for the Enemie in Horse, both in number and in goodnesse. For *Tychæus* and *Mezetullus* had no more than three thousand; and those not so well exercised, as were the foure thousand of *Masanissa*. The Carthaginians also were no more, nor none other than such as could be leuied in the haste of a few dayes; and the remainder of those, that had of late beene often vanquished, and accustomed to flye. But it was no time for *Hannibal*, neither had he perhaps authoritie, to make these his companions alight and serue on foot, setting better men in their saddles. All that he could haue done, was to stay a little longer, and expect more helpe. Had *Vermina* the son of *Syphax* come thither, as he did in few dayes after, with sixteene thousand and vpwards, the most of them Horse, the aduantage of number might haue serued well to supply all other defect. Yet since the Lords of Carthage would brooke no delay: *Hannibal* must be faine to comfort himselfe, with the hope that he reposed in his old Italian souldiers; whose vertue had wrought greater wonders, when it was more strongly opposed. He encouraged therefore his men, with words agreeable to their seuerall conditions: promising vnto the Mercenaries bountifull rewards: threatning the Carthaginians with ineuitable seruitude, if they lost that day; but especially animating his old fellow-souldiers, by the many victories which they had obtained against farre greater numbers. Hee bade them to looke vpon the Enemies; and make an estimate, whether they were any thing like so many, as that huge Armie which they had slaughtered at Cannæ. Hee willed them to remember, That it was one *P. Scipio*, euen the father of this man, whom they had first of all compelled to runne away. Hee told them, that these Legions which they yonder beheld, were, for the most part of them, the very worst of the Roman Souldiers; euen such, as for their dastardly flight out of sundry battailes, could no longer be trusted to beare Armes in their owne Countrie. As for the rest: they were young men, the sons of Cowards, and bred vp in the continuall feare of those weapons, by which their fathers were daily slain or chased. Wherefore he entreated these his old companions, vpon whose vertue hee meant wholly to repose himselfe, that they would this day striue to make good their honour; and to purchase the fame of *men inuincible*.

Such exhortations vsed the two Generals before the fight. When they drew neere together, the Numidian Horsemen on both sides began to skirmish. The Trumpets, and other instruments of warre, sounded to battaile: and *Hannibal* commanded his Elephants to breake vpon the Romans. Of these Elephants (as they were alwaies an vncertaine kind of help) those that stood neere vnto the point of the left wing, turned back for feare: and ran vpon their own Numidian Horse; which they affrighted and disordered. *Masanissa* espying this, gaue charge vpon the same Numidians; and not suffering them to re-ally themselues, draue them quite out of the field. The rest of those beasts made a great spoile of the Roman Velites, whom they followed into the spaces between the Maniples: but without any harm to the Battalions themselues; which gaue them open way, according ly as *Scipio* had well prouided. Diuers of them receiuing many wounds, and growing therewith furious, could no longer be gouerned: but ran backe vpon the right point of their owne battaile, and beyond that into the open field. Herewithall they disordered the Carthaginian Horse which were in that wing: against whom they gaue to *Lælius* the same aduantage, that *Masanissa* had against the Numidians; which he vsed in like sort. In the meane while, the battailes of foot aduanced, and drew neere together with a slow and wately pace, til they were almost within a weapons cast: at what time they gaue a shout, and ran one at the other. The Mercenaries for a time seemed both in audacitie, and in quicknesse, to haue the better of the Romans; wounding many, and doing more harme, than they tooke. But the Roman discipline after a while, preuailed against the boisterous violence of these vntrained Barbarians. Whereunto it helped not a little, that the battell

of

of the *Principes*, following somewhat neere after the *Hastati*, encouraged their fellowes; and shewed themselues ready, if need were, to relieue them. Contrariwise, the Mercenaries receiued no manner of helpe or comfort, from those that should haue seconded them. For the new-leuied Carthaginians & Africans, when they saw their hired souldiers giue back, did also themselues retire. This caused the Ligurians, Gaules, and the rest, to thinke themselues betrayed: whereupon they enclined vnto flight. The Carthaginian Battaile was herewith more terrified than before, so as it refused to giue way vnto the Mercenaries for their safe retrait; and yet withall forbore to make head against the Enemies, that pursued them. It was no time to aske them what they meant by this: Feare and Indignation caused those that were at once chased by the Romans, and betrayed, as they thought, by their owne fellowes, to turne their Armes with an heedlesse furie against both the one and the other. Thus were many of the Carthaginians beaten downe and slaine, through their owne indiscretion, by their owne Mercenaries. The Roman *Hastati* in like sort, fighting with desperate men in a throng; had their hands so full of worke; that the *Principes* were faine to come vp vnto them, and helpe to ouer-beare this great medley of enemies, that were together by the eares among themselues. In this place was made a great slaughter, both of the Mercenaries and of the Carthaginians: which hindering one another, could neither fight, nor easily flye. Such of them as escaped, ranne towards *Hannibal*: who kept his ground, and would not stirre one foote, to helpe or saue these Run-awaies. Hee caused his men to bend their Pikes at those of his owne side, that would haue rushed vpon him: whom he thereby compelled to turne aside beyond his Battaile, and saue themselues in the open field. The ground, ouer which the Romans were now to march, ere they could meet with *Hannibal*, was couered with heapes of dead bodies and weapons, and so slipperie with blood: that *Scipio* began to stand in great doubt, lest the orders of his Battalions should bee dissolued in passing that way. In such case, if he should fight with that warlike Armie, which hee saw before him, remaining yet entire, and without feare expecting him; He might be well assured to receiue a notable ouerthrow. Hee caused therefore the *Hastati* to make a stand there where they were, opposite to the maine battaile of the Hannibalians. Then drawing vp his *Principes* and *Triarij*: He placed them, when they had ouercome the bad way, all in one Front with the *Hastati*, and made of them his two Cornets. This done, hee aduanced towards *Hannibal*: who entertained him after another manner, than euer hee had beene receiued in his life before. All the dayes worke till now, seemed to haue beene a matter of pastime; in regard of the sharpe Conflict, that was maintained betweene these notable Souldiers. The Romans were encouraged by their hauing preuailed all the day before: They were also farre the more in number. But these old Souldiers of *Hannibal* were fresh; (and perhaps) the better men. They fought with such obstinate resolution, that no man gaue backe one foot; but rather chose to die on the ground, whereon hee stood. So that, after a long time, it was vncertaine which part had the worse: vnlesse it may seeme, that the Romans were beginning to shrinke; for as much as the returne of *Masanissa* and *Lælius* from pursuit of the Enemies Horse, is said to haue beene *most happie* and in a *needfull time*. These vpon a sudden charged the Hannibalians in Rere; and ouer-bearing them by meere violence, compelled them to fall to Rout.

Excerpt. è Pol. libr. 15.

In this Battaile there died of the Romans fifteene hundred and vpwards: on the Carthaginian side, aboue twenty thousand, besides as many that were taken, of whom, *Sopater* Captaine of the Macedonians was one. The singular skill that *Hannibal* shewed in this his last fight, is highly commended by *Polybius*; and was acknowledged, as *Liuie* reports, by *Scipio* himselfe. But the Enemies were too strong for him in Horse: and being enioyned, as he was, by the State of Carthage to take battaile with such disaduantage, he could worke no maruels. Hee saued himselfe with a few Horse; and stayed not in his iourney, till he came to Adrumetum. Thence was he sent for to Carthage; from which he had beene absent sixe and thirtie yeeres. At his comming into the Senate Hee said plainly, That there was none other way left, than to take such peace as could be gotten. Wherefore the Carthaginians not knowing what other course to take, resolued to send Embassadours againe; and trie the fauour of *Scipio*, whose Armes they could not now resist.

Scipio hauing spoyled the Enemies Campe, returned backe to Vtica: where he found *P. Lentulus* newly arriued, with fiftie Gallies and an hundred Shippes of burden. With this

this Fleet, and that which he had before, Hee thought it best to make towards Carthage: rather of purpose to terrifie the Citie, than with any hope to take it. His Legions hee commited vnto *Cn. Octauius*; whom he willed to meet him there by land. Then sending *Lelius* away to Rome with newes of the victory, he set saile from Vtica towards Carthage. He was encountred on the way by ten Embassadors from the City: who bearing vp with the Admirall Gallie, began to vse the pittifull gesture of suppliants. But they receiued none other answer, than that they should meet him at Tunes, where he would giue them audience. So rowing along before the City: and viewing it more in brauery, than with meaning to attempt it; He returned back to Vtica, and called back *Octauius* thither, with whom in person He set forwards to Tunes. As they were in their iourney thither, they heard the newes, that *Vermina* the son of *Syphax*, was comming with an Armie of more Horse than Foot, to the succour of those that were already vanquished. This *Vermina* seemes to haue bin both carelesse of getting intelligence how things passed, and very defectiue in all other duties requisite in the Commander of an Armie. Part of the Roman foot, with all their power of Horse, was sent against him: which did not onely beate him, but so compasse him in, that he hardly escaped himselfe with a few; leauing fifteene thousand of his followers dead behinde him, and twelue hundred taken prisoners. If this good company had bin with *Hannibal* at Nadagara, they should haue beene far better conducted, and might well haue changed the Fortune of the day; which the Carthaginian lost, by default of Horse. But God had otherwise determined. It is not to be doubted, that this victory, though it were no great accesse vnto the former; yet serued well to daunt the Carthaginians, and imprint in them the greater feare of *Scipio*. When he came to Tunes, there met him thirty Embassadours from Carthage: whose behaiour though it was more pittifull than it had bin before; yet procured it lesse commiseration; by reason of their late false dealing, after they had in like sort humbled themselues. Nevertheless it was considered, what a long and laborious work it would proue, to besiege the mightie Citie of Carthage. And particularly *Scipio* stood in great doubt, lest the honour of this warre, if it were protracted, should be taken out of his hands; and giuen to one of the Consuls. *Cn. Seruilius Cæpio*, that Consul who had charge of the warre against *Hannibal*, at such time as he departed out of Italy: was bold to passe ouer into the Ile of Sicil (as it were in chase of *Hannibal* by him terrified and driuen away) with a purpose thence to haue proceeded into Africk, and taken from *Scipio* the command of the Armie there. But a Dictator was chosen of purpose, to restraine the ambition of this Consull *Seruilius*. After him followed *Tiberius Claudius*, who made suite for the same Prouince of Africk: and was therein so earnest, that though neither the Senate, nor People, would grant him his desire; yet he needs would be going, procuring onely leaue of the Senate, that he being Consul might ioyne with *Scipio*, were it with no more than equall authoritie. But ere He could haue his Fleet and all things in a readinesse for the iourney, where in no man cared to further him: Winter came on, and hee was onely tost at Sea with foule weather, first vpon the Coast of Hetruria, and afterwards by Sardinia; where his Consulship expired, and so hee returned home a priuate man. Then came the ioyfull newes to Rome, of the victory obtained against *Hannibal*, and that the warre was now euen at an end. Yet was *Lentulus* the new Consul so passionate, in desiring Africk for his Prouince, That he said he would suffer nothing to passe in the Senate, vntill hee had first his will. Much adoe there was about this: and after many contentions, both in the Senate, and before the people, at last it was ordered, That if Peace were granted, it should bee granted by *Scipio*; if the warre continued, *Scipio* should haue command therein by Land, and the Consul at Sea. The ambition of these men, caused *Scipio* to giue the more fauourable answer vnto the Carthaginian Embassadours. Hee willed them to consider what they had deserued: and in regard thereof to thinke themselues well dealt withall in that he was contented to leaue vnto them their libertie and their owne Lawes, without appointing any Gouernour ouer them, or Garrison to hold them in subiection; leauing also vnto them their possessions in Africk, such as they were at the beginning of this war. As touching the rest he was at a point, That, before he either granted them Peace or truce, they should make satisfaction for wrongs which they had done, whilest the late Treatie was in dependance. Hereunto if they would yeeld; then required Hee, *That immediatly they should deliuer vp vnto the Romans all Prisoners, Fugitiues, and Renegados, that they had of theirs: likewise all their Gallies, excepting ten: and all their Elephants: That they should make no*

no warre at all thence-forth out of Africke, neither yet within Africke, without licence of the Romans : That the Countries, Townes, goods whatsoeuer, belonging any wise vnto Masanissa, *or to any of his Ancestors, which were in their possession, should bee all by them restored vnto him : That they should finde corne for the Roman Armie, and wages for their Auxiliaries, during the time of Truce, vntill the Peace were fully concluded : That they should pay tenne thousand Talents of Siluer, in the terme of fiftie yeeres, by two hundred Talents a yeere; and that for obseruance of Conditions, they should giue an hundred hostages, such as* Scipio *would choose, being none of them vnder foureteene yeeres of age, nor aboue thirtie.*

With these conditions the Embassadours returned home, and reported them vnto the Citie. They were very vnpleasing; and therefore one *Gesco* stood vp to speake a- 10 gainst them : and exhorted the people, who gaue good attention, that they should not condescend vnto such intolerable demands. But *Hannibal* perceiuing this, and noting withall what fauourable audience was giuen to this vaine Oratour, by the vnquiet yet vnwarlike Multitude, was bold to pull him downe from his standing, by plaine force. Hereat all the People murmured, as if their common liberty were too much wronged, by such insolence of this presumptuous Captaine. Which *Hannibal* perceiuing, rose vp and spake vnto them, saying; That they ought to pardon him, if he had done otherwise than the customes of the Citie would allow; forasmuch as he had beene thence absent euer since he was a Boy of nine yeeres old, vntill he was now a man of fiue and fortie. Hauing thus excused himselfe of the disorder, hee discoursed vnto them concerning the Peace : and perswaded them to accept it, as wanting abilitie to defend themselues; had 20 the Demands of the Enemie beene yet more rigorous. Finally, vpon good aduice, they resolued to yeeld vnto the Conditions propounded by *Scipio* : to whom they paid out of hand fiue and twenty thousand pounds weight of siluer, in recompence of damages, and iniuries by them done to his Fleet and Embassadours. *Scipio* granted them Truce for three moneths; in which time they might negotiate with the State of Rome, about confirmation of the League. But herewithall he gaue iniunction, that they should neither in the meane while send Embassadours any whither else, nor yet dismisse any Embassadours to them sent, without first making him acquainted what they were, and what their errand was.

At this time *Hanno*, and they of his Faction, were become wise and honourable men, 30 by the miseries whereinto Carthage was fallen through their malicious counsailes. *Asdrubal*, surnamed *the Kid*, a venerable man, and a great friend of *Hanno*, was chiefe of the Embassages which they sent to Rome for obtainiug peace. They went thither in company of *Scipio* his Embassadours, who related vnto the Senate and People these ioyfull newes. About the same time arriued at Rome Embassadours from *Philip* King of *Macedon* : who, together with the Carthaginians, were faine to waite awhile for audience, till the election of new Consuls then in hand was finished; and order taken, for the Prouinces of them, and the new Pretors. Then were the Macedonian Embassadors called into the Senate : who first answering vnto some points, wherein the Romans had lately signified vnto their King, that they found themselues grieued; returned the blame 40 vpon those Greekes themselues, that had made their complaint at Rome. Then accused they *Marcus Aurelius* : who being one of the three Embassadours, that had lately beene sent from Rome vnto King *Philip*, tarried in Greece behinde his fellows; and there leuying men, made warre vpon the King, without any regard at all of the League, that was betweene him and the Romans. Further they desired of the Senate, That one *Sopater*, a Macedonian Gentleman, with other of their Countri-men, that had lately serued *Hannibal* for Pay; and being taken prisoners in Africke, were kept in bonds by *Scipio*, might be released and deliuered vnto them. Vnto all this *M. Furius*, whom *Aurelius* had sent to Rome for that purpose, made a sharp answer. He said, that the Greeks which were con- 50 federate with Rome, endured so many iniuries at the hands of *Philip*, that *M. Aurelius* was faine to stay behinde, to help them as he might; which else were like to be brought vnder the Kings subiection. As for *Sopater* : hee affirmed him to bee one of the Kings Counsaile, and very inward with him; one that serued not for money, but carried money with him, and foure thousand men, sent from the King to the ayde of *Hannibal*. About these points when the Macedonian Embassadors could make vnto the Senate no good answer : they were willed to returne, and tell their Master, That warre he sought, and

and warre he should finde, if he proceeded as hee had begun. For in two maine points Hee had broken the League, that was betweene him and the Romans : first, in that hee had wronged their Confederates; and secondly, in that he had ayded their Enemies against them with men and money.

These quarrels with *Philip*, that promised to open a way into Greece and the Easterne Countries, helped well the Carthaginian Embassadours in their sollicitation of Peace. They appeared a very reuerend company, when they entred into the Senate: and *Asdrubal* aboue the rest was much respected, as one, whose good offices had kept the Romans from necessitie of sending Embassadours to Carthage, vpon the like errand. Hee liberally granted, that the iustice of the quarrell had beene wholly on the Romans side; 10 saying, that it was the fault of some violent men, through which the Peace was broken. Yet could he not altogether excuse the Citie; that had been too vehement in the prosecution of bad counsaile. But if *Hanno* and himselfe might haue had their wills : the Carthaginians, euen at the best of their Fortune, should haue granted the peace which they now desired. Herewithall hee commended the moderation of the Romans, as no small argument of their valour; by which alwayes they had beene victorious. To the same effect spake the rest of the Embassadours: all of them entreating to haue the Peace ratified, though some with more lamentable words than others, according to the diuersitie of their stile. They had patience enough to endure such reproofe of Periurie, as they themselues might haue laid vpon the Romans; if their diligence and fortune had been such as 20 the Romans was. Among the rest, when one of the Senators demanded, by what gods they would sweare to keepe the peace hereafter : *Asdrubal* made answer; *Euen by the same gods, that are so seuere vnto those that violate their Leagues.*

Lentulus the Consul interposing the authoritie of his Office, would haue hindred the Senate from proceeding vnto conclusion of peace; for that hereby Hee was like to lose the honour, which hee purposed to get by making warre in Africk. But the matter was propounded vnto the people, in whom rested the Soueraigne Command of Rome; and by them referred wholly vnto the pleasure of the Senate. So it was decreed, That *Scipio*, with tenne Delegates sent vnto him from Rome of purpose, should make a League with the Carthaginians, vpon such Conditions as seemed best : which were none other, than 30 the same which he had already propounded. For this fauour, the Carthaginian Embassadours humbly thanked the Senate; and craued licence, that they might visite their Countrimen, which were prisoners in Rome : afterwards, that they might ransome and carry home with them some, that were their especiall friends; of whom they gaue in writing almost two hundred names. Whereupon the Senate ordained, that two hundren of those Prisoners, which the Embassadours would choose, should be sent ouer into Africk, and be freely restored to libertie by *Scipio*, when the peace was fully concluded. So they tooke leaue, and returned home, in company of the ten Delegates, that were appointed by the Senate to ioyne with *Scipio* in Commission.

At their comming into Africk, the Peace was giuen, and accepted, without any controuersie or disputation. The Prisoners, Fugitiues and Renegado's, were deliuered vp to 40 *Scipio* : likewise the Gallies, and the Elephants. *Scipio* tooke more vengeance vpon the Renegado's, than vpon the Fugitiues; and vpon those of the Romans than vpon the Latines or other Italians. The Latines he beheaded: the Romans he crucified. About the first payment of their money, the Carthaginians were somewhat troubled. For though perhaps their common Treasurie could haue spared two hundred Talents for the present : yet since the pension was annuall, and to continue fiftie yeeres; it was thought meet to lay the burden vpon the Citizens. At the collection of the summe there was piteous lamentation, as if now the Roman yoke had begun to pinch them; so as many, euen of the Senatours, could not forbeare weeping. Contrariwise *Hannibal* could not refraine 50 from laughter. For which when he was checked by *Asdrubal Hædus*, and told, That it worst of all beseemed him to laugh, since he had bin the cause why all others did weep; He answered, *That laughter did not alwayes proceed from ioy; but sometime from extremitie of indignation; Yet*, said He, *My laughter is more seasonable, and lesse absurd, than your teares. For yee should haue wept, when yee gaue vp your Shippes and Elephants, and when yee bound your owne hands from the vse of Armes; without the good leaue of the Romans first obtained. This miserable condition keepes vs vnder; and holds vs in assured seruitude. But of these matters yee had no feeling. Now, when a little money is wrung out of your priuate purses, yee haue thereof*

thereof some sense. Codgrant that the time come not hereafter, wherein ye shall acknowledge, That it was the very least part of your miserie, for which yee haue shed these teares. Thus discoursed *Hannibal* vnto those, who tasting the bitter fruits of their owne malicious counsaile, repented when it was too late; and in stead of cursing their owne disorders, which had bred this grieuous disease, accused the Physician, whose noble endeauours had bin employed in procuring the remedie.

Scipio being to take leaue of Africk, produced *Masanissa*, and magnified him in presence of the Armie, with high commendations not vndeseruedly. To him also he consigned ouer those towns of King *Syphax*, which the Romans at that present held: wherein, to say truth, he gaue him but his due; & that which otherwise he knew not well how to bestow. But the loue of the Romans, & friendship of *Scipio*, was fully answerable, now and hereafter, to all the deseruings of this Numidian King. About Carthage there rested no more to be done. Wherefore the Romans embarqued themselues for Sicil: where when they arriued at Lilybæum, *Scipio* with some part of his Army tooke his way home to Rome by land; and sent the rest before him thither by Sea. His iourney through Italy was no lesse glorious than any triumph: all the people thronging out of the Towns and Villages, to doe him honour as he passed along. Hee entred the Citie in Triumph: neither was there euer before, or after, any Triumph celebrated with so great ioy of the people, as was this of *Scipio*; though, in brauery of the pompe, there were others in time shortly following, that exceeded this. Whether *Syphax* were carried through the Citie in this Triumph; and died soone after in prison: or whether hee were dead awhile before; it cannot be affirmed. Thus much may be auowed, That it was a barbarous custome of the Romans, to insult ouer the calamities of mighty Princes, by leading them contumeliously in Triumph; yea though they were such, as had alwaies made faire and courteous warre. But hereof we shall haue better example, ere the same Age passe. It was neither the person of *Syphax*, nor any other glory of the spectacle, that so much beautified the Triumph of *Scipio*; as did the contemplation of that grieuous warre past, whereof the Romans had bin in a manner *without hope that euer they should set Italy free.* This made them looke cheerefully vpon the Author of so great a conuersion; and filled them with more ioy, than they well could moderate. Wherefore they gaue to *Scipio* the Title of the African: stiling him by the name of that Prouince which he had subdued. This honourable kinde of surname, taken from a conquered Prouince, grew afterwards more common, and was vsurped by men of lesse desert: especially by many of the *Cæsars*, who sometimes arrogated vnto themselues the title of Countries, wherein they had performed little or nothing; as if such glorious Attributes could haue made them like in vertue vnto *Scipio* the African.

Exerpt. è Pol. libr. 16.

CHAP. IIII.

Of PHILIP *the father of* PERSEVS, *King of Macedon: His first Acts and Warre with the Romans; by whom hee was subdued.*

§. I.

How the Romans grew acquainted in the East Countries, and desirous of Warre there. The beginning of many Princes, with great Warres, at one time. The Ætolians ouer-run Peloponnesus. Philip *and his Associates make Warre against the Ætolians. Alteration of the State in Sparta. The Ætolians inuade Greece and Macedon, and are inuaded at home by* Philip.

Plut. in vita Sertorij.

OF the great similitude found in worldly euents, the limitation of *matter* hath beene assigned as a probable cause. For since Nature is confined vnto a subiect that is not vnbounded; the workes of Nature must needes bee finite, and many of them resemble one the other. Now in those actions, that seeme to haue their whole dependance vpon the will of man, wee are lesse to wonder, if wee finde lesse varietie: since it is no great portion of things which is obnoxious

obnoxious vnto humane power; and since they are the same affections, by which the wills of sundrie men are ouer-ruled, in mannaging the affaires of our daily life. It may be obserued in the change of Empires, before those times whereof wee now write, how the Assyrians or Chaldeans inuaded the Kingdome of Medes, with two hundred thousand Foot, and threescore thousand Horse: but failing in their intended conquest, they became subiect within a while themselues vnto the Medes and Persians. In like manner *Darius*, and after him *Xerxes*, fell vpon the Greekes with such number of men, as might haue seemed resistlesse. But after that the Persians were beaten home againe, their Empire was neuer secure of the Greekes: who at all times of leisure from intestine Warre, deuised vpon that conquest thereof, which finally they made vnder the great *Alexander*. If *Nabuchadonosor* with his rough old souldiers, had vndertaken the Medes: or *Cyrus* with his well-trayned Armie, had made attempt vpon Greece; the issue might, in humane reason, haue beene farre different. Yet would it then haue beene expedient for them, to employ the trauell and vertue of their men, rather than the greatnesse of their names, against those people; that were no lesse valiant, though lesse renowned, than their owne. For the menacing words vsed by *Cyrus*, and some small displeasures done to the Greekes (in which kinde it may bee, that *Nabuchodonosor* likewise offended the Medes and Persians) were not so auaileable to victory, as to draw on reuenge in the future. Great Kingdomes, when they decay in strength, suffer as did the old Lyon, for the oppression done in his youth; being pinched by the Wolfe, gored by the Bull, yea and kickt by the Asse. But Princes are often carried away from reason, by misse-vnderstanding the language of Fame: and despising the vertue that makes little noyse, aduenture to prouoke it against themselues; as if it were not possible that their owne glorie should bee foyled by any of lesse-noted excellence. Against the same stone, whereat *Xerxes*, and before him as (I take it) *Enilmerodach*, had stumbled; *Pyrrhus* the Epirot hath dasht his foot. He was not indeed the King of all Greece; though most of marke, and a better souldier than any other Greekish King, when he entred into warre against the Romans. This warre hee vndertooke as it were for his minds sake: hauing receiued no iniurie; but hoping by the glory of his name, and of the Greekes that serued vnder him, to preuaile so easily against the barbarous Romans, that they should onely serue as a step to his further intended conquests, of Sicil and Africk. But when the Romans, by their victory against *Pyrrhus*, had found their own vertue to be of richer mettall, than was the more shining valour of the Greekes: then did all the brauery of the *Epyrot* (his Elephants and whatsoeuer else had serued to make him terrible) serue only to make the Romans, in time following, to thinke more highly of themselues.* For since they had ouercome the best Warriour in Greece, euen Him, that, being thus beaten by them, could in a yeere after make himselfe Lord of Greece and Macedon: what should hinder them from the conquest of all those vnwarlike Prouinces, which in compasse of 12. yeeres a Macedonian King of late memory had wonne? Certainely there was hereunto requisite no more, than to bring to their owne deuotion by some good meanes, the whole Countrey of Greece: all the rest, this done, would follow of it selfe. How to deale with the Greekes; *Philip* and *Alexander* had shewed a way: which, or perhaps a better, they might learne, by getting more acquaintance with the Nation.

* The King of Spaines pretended inuincible Nauie, being beaten out of the British seas, inuited vs to those of Spaine: and hauing broken the greatest Fleet that euer the Spaniards gathered together; we neuer made account of any of his preparations after that time.

When therefore the first Punicke warre was ended, which followed soone after the wars of *Pyrrhus* and of the Tarentines: then were the Romans at good leisure to hearken after newes in Greece; and to entertaine any good occasion, that should be on that side presented. They had also then a strong Fleet: and were become, though not otherwise very skilfull Mariners, yet good fighters at Sea. So it fell out as happily as could be wished, that the Illyrian Queene *Teuta* made at the same time cruell war vpon the Greekes: wasting their Countrey, and sacking their Townes, onely because they were vnable to resist, though they had done her none offence. Into this quarrell if the Romans were desirous, to enter; the Queene was not slow to giue them cause. And their happy accomplishing of that war which they made with Her, was, in their own opinion; a matter not vnworthy to make their Patronage to bee desired by the Greekes. But no such thing happened: though they sent Embassadours, as it were to offer themselues; by signifying, that for loue of Greece they had vndertaken this Illyrian warre. Thus beganne the first acquaintance betwixt the Greekes and Romans: which afterwards encreased verie hastily, through the indiscretion of King *Philip* the Macedonian; whose busnesse

Lib. 5. c. 2. §. 8.

with them, being now the subiect of our storie, it is meet that wee should relate (though somewhat briefly) the beginning of his reigne, and his first Actions. It was like to proue a busie time in the world, when, within the space of 4. yeeres, new Kings began to reigne in the most of all Countries knowne; and 3. of them young boyes, in 3. of the greatest Kingdomes. This hapned from the third yeere of the hundred thirty ninth Olympiad, vnto the third of the Olympiad following. For in this time died *Seleucus Ceraunus* King of Asia and Syria, in whose roome succeeded his brother *Antiochus*, afterwards called *the great*. *Ptolomie Philopater* succeeded in the Kingdome of Ægypt vnto his father *Euergetes*. And *Philip* the sonne of *Demetrius*, being 16. or 17. yeeres old, receiued the Kingdom of Macedon, together with the Patronage of the Achæans and most of the Greekes; by the decease of his Vncle *Antigonus Doson*, that was called the Tutor or Protector. About the same time also was the like change in Cappadocia, Lacedæmon, & the Countries about Mount Taurus. For *Ariarathes* then began his reigne in Cappadocia. Lycurgus found means to make himselfe King ouer the Lacedæmonians, whose Common-weale, since the flight of *Cleomenes*, had continued in a manner headlesse; and *Achæus*, a kinsman of *Antiochus*, but a Rebell vnto him, occupied the Regions neere vnto Mount Taurus, & kept a while the State of a mighty King. Lastly, in the second and third yeers of the hundred & fortieth Olympiad it was, that open war brake out between Rome & Carthage; & that *Hannibal* began his great Inuasion vpon Italie. Those troubles of the Westerne world, which were indeed the greatest, we haue already followed vnto an end: Of *Antiochus*, *Ptolomie*, & the rest, we shall speake hereafter, when the Romans find them out.

Philip, soone after the beginning of his reigne, came into Peloponnesus; greatly desired of the Achæans, and many others his dependants. That Country, hauing fred it selfe by the helpe of *Antigonus* from the danger (accounted great) of an easie subiection vnto *Cleomenes*: was now become no lesse obnoxious to the Macedonian, than it should haue beene to the *Spartans*; & therewithall it lay open vnto the violence of the Ætolians; who despised euen the Macedonian Kings, that were Patrons thereof. The Ætolians were no men to be idle; nor were much addicted vnto any other Art than war. Therefore wanting employment, they fell vpon the Mesenians that were their owne Clients, and (excepting the Eleans, that were anciently of their consanguinitie) the onely good friends which they had at the present in Peloponnesus. Their inuasion was no lesse vnexpected, than it was vniust: whereby with greater ease they made spoyle of the Countrey; finding none prepared to make resistance. The Achæans, were called by the Messenians to help: which they did the more willingly; because the Ætolians passing without leaue through their Territorie, had (as was their manner) done what harme they listed. Olde *Aratus* could hardly abide these Ætolians; as both knowing well their nature, and remembring the iniuries, wherewith most ingratefully they had requited no small benefits done to them by the Achæans. Hee was therefore so hastie to fall vpon this their Army, that hee could hardly endure to stay few daies vntill the time of his owne Office came; being chosen Prætor of the Achæans for the yeere following. But his anger was greater than his courage: and he shewed himselfe a man fitter (as hath beene alreadу noted of him) for any other seruice, than leading of an Armie. He suffered them to passe quietly along with their bootie, through a part of the Countrey, wherein he might very easily haue distressed them; and afterwards pressed them so neere, when they had recouered ground of aduantage, that they easily defeated all his Armie. So they departed home rich, and well animated to returne againe. As for the Achæans, they got hereby onely the friendship of the Messenians: with whom, by licence of King *Philip*, they made confederacy. Shortly after, the Ætolians inuaded Peloponnesus againe; hauing no more to doe, than to passe ouer the narrow Streights of the Corinthian Bay, called now the Gulph of Lepanto, where they might land in the Countrey of the Eleans. There ioyned with them, in this their second inuasion, a great number of the Illyrians: who neglecting that Condition imposed vpon them by the Romans, of setting out no ships of war vnto the coast of Greece, made bold to seek aduentures againe, & did great mischiefe. *Demetrius Pharius*, a creature of the Romans, commanded a part of these Illyrians: who shorly repented him of this his voyage; which caused him to lose his Kingdom, as is shewed before. But this *Demetrius* went another way, & fell vpon the Ilands of the Cyclades in the Ægean sea: whence returning, he did some good offices for King *Philip*, or his friends. The rest of the Illyrians vnder *Scerdilaidas*, or *Scerdiletus*, hauing

Lib. 5. c. 1. §. 6.

Ilid.

Chap. 3. §. 1.

gotten

gotten what they could else-where by rouing at Sea, accompanied the Ætolians into Peloponnesus: who made greater hauocke in the Countrey now, than in their former Expedition, and returned home, without finding any resistance.

Of these things great complaint was made vnto *Philip*, when hee came to Corinth. And because men were desirous to satisfie themselues with some speedy reuenge: there were that vrged to haue some grieuous punishment layd vpon the Lacedæmonians: who were thought vnder-hand to haue fauoured the Ætolians, in meere despight of the Achæans and Macedonians, by whom themselues had lately beene subdued. It is true, that the Lacedæmonians had beene so affected: and (which was worse) at the arriuall of *Philip*, they slew such friends of his, as hauing checked their inclination, seemed likely to appeach them of the intended rebellion. Neither durst they well commit themselues to iudgement; but entreated the King, that he would abstaine from comming to them with an Army: since their Towne was lately much disquieted with ciuill discord, which they hoped soone to appease, and meant alwayes to remaine at his deuotion. *Philip* was easily satisfied with this: not for that he (or rather old *Aratus*, who then wholly gouerned him) did mis-understand the Lacedæmonians: but for that a greater worke was in hand, which ought not to be interrupted. There met at Corinth, in presence of the King, the Embassadours of the Achæans, Bœotians, Epirots, and Acarnanians: all complayning vpon the Ætolians: and desiring to haue war decreed against them, by common assent. *Philip* sent his letters vnto the Ætolians, requiring them to make ready their answer in some conuenient time: if they could alledge any thing in excuse of that which they had done. They returned word, that a Diet should be holden at Rhium for that purpose: whither if it pleased him to come, or send, he should be well informed of them and their whole meaning. The King prepared to haue beene there at the day. But when the Ætolians vnderstood this for certaine, they adiourned the Councell vnto a further time: saying, That such weighty matters ought not to be handled, saue in the great Parliament of all Aetolia. This tricke of Law notwithstanding, open war was proclaimed against them. And they, as it were to shew how well they had deserued it, made election of *Scopas* to be their Prætor, that was Author of these Inuasions made on Peloponnesus; and the onely man, in a sort, vpon whom they must haue laid the blame of these actions, if they would haue shifted it from the publike.

After this, *Philip* went into Macedon, where hee prepared busily for the warre against the yeere following. He also assayed the Illyrian, *Scerdilaidas*, with faire words and promises; whom he easily won from the Aetolian side, forasmuch as the Aetolians had couzened him of his share, when he was partner with them in their late robberies. In like sort the Achæans, who had first of all others proclaimed the warre in their owne Countrey, sent vnto the Acarnanians, Epirots, Messenians, and Lacedæmonians: requesting them forthwith to declare themselues, and to denounce war vnto the Aetolians; without staying (as it were) to await the euent. Hereunto they receiued diuers answers, according to the qualities of those with whom they dealt. The Acarnanians, a free-hearted and valiant, though a small Nation, and bordering vpon the Aetolians, of whom they stood in continuall danger; said, that they could not honestly refuse to shew their faithfull meaning in that warre, which was concluded by generall assent. The Epirots that were more mighty, were neuertheless more cunning and reserued: so that they stood vpon a needlesse point, and desired to be held excused, vntill *Philip* (of whose meaning they needed not to haue made any doubt) should first proclaime the war. The Messenians, for whose cause the warre was vndertaken, excused themselues, by reason of a Towne which the Aetolians held vpon their borders; and said, that they durst not be ouer-bold, vntill that bridle were taken out of their mouths. As for the Lacedæmonians, the chiefe of them studied onely, how to mannage the treason, for which there City had beene so lately pardoned: and therefore dismissed the Embassadours of the Confederates, without any answer at all. They had three yeeres together continued subiect against their wills to the Macedonians, expecting still when *Cleomenes* should returne out of Egypt to reigne ouer them againe, and maintaine, as hee was wont, the honour of their City. In this regard they chose not any Kings, but were contented with the rule of *Ephori*. Of these there were some, that thought the publike safety to consist, in holding their faith with the Macedonian that had preserued them: And hereto they referred all their counsailes: being perhaps a little moued with respect of the benefit, which might redound vnto

vnto themselues, by adhering firmely to those which at the present bore rule ouer them. Others, and those the greater part, were still deuising, how to make all ready for *Cleomenes* against his returne; & sought to ioyne with the Ætolians, which were the most likely to giue him strong assistance. The Macedonian faction had the more authority and durst more freely speake their mindes: but the contrary side was the more passionate, and spared not by murders or any other violent courses, to set forward their desire. Neyther did it suffice, that about these times there came certaine report of *Cleomenes* his death. For it was the liberty and honour of Sparta, which these intended: fancying vnto themselues the glory of their Ancestors in such Ages past, as were not like to come againe. *Cleomenes* was, they knew, the most able man to restore them vnto their greatnesse and lustre; which once hee had in a manner performed: But since hee was dead, and that, without iniury to his well-deseruing vertue, they might proceed to the election of new Kings: Kings they would haue, and those of the race of *Hercules*, as in former times; for that without such helpes, they must continue little better than subiects vnto the Macedonian, and farre lesse by him respected, than were the Achæans. Thus were they transported by contemplation of their old Nobility and fame. Some of the most working spirits among them, pocured the Ætolians to send an Embassie to Sparta: which propounded the matter openly vnto the people, whereof no one of the Citizens durst haue made himselfe the Author. Much disputation, and hot, there was, betweene those of the Macedonian partie, and these their oppofites: in such wise that nothing could be concluded; vntill by massacre or banishment of all, or the chiefe, that spake against the Ætolians, the diuersitie of opinion was taken quite away. Then forthwith a League was concluded betweene the Lacedæmonians and Ætolians: without all regard of the Macedonians or Achæans, who had spared the Citie, when they might haue destroyed it. Then also they went in hand with the election of new Kings: wherein their diligence was so nice, and so regardfull of their ancient Lawes, as touching the choosing of the one King, that we may iustly wonder, how they grew so carelesse in making choyce of the other. In the one of their royall Families they found *Agesipolis*, the sonne of *Agesipolis* the sonne of King *Cleombrotus*: and him they admitted to reigne ouer them, as heire apparant to his grandfather. This *Agesipolis* was a yong Boy, standing in neede of a Guardian: and had an vncle, his fathers brother, that was fit for the Gouernement. Yet because the Law required, that the sonne, how young soeuer, should haue his fathers whole right and title: the Lacedæmonians, though standing in neede of a man, were so punctuall in obseruation of the Law, that they made this childe their King, and appointed his Vncle *Cleomenes* to bee his Protector. But in the other branch of the royall Family, though there was no want of heires: yet would not the people trouble themselues about any of them, to examine the goodnesse of his Claime, but made election of on *Lycurgus*, who hauing no manner of title to the kingdome, bestowed vpon each of the *Ephori*, a Talent, and thereby made himselfe bee saluted King of Sparta, and a Gentleman of the race of *Hercules*. This *Lycurgus*, to gratifie his Partisans, and to approue his worth by action, inuaded the Countrey of the Argiues: which lay open and vnguarded, as in a time of peace. There hee did great spoile, and won diuers Townes; whereof two hee retained, and annexed vnto the State of Lacedæmon. After such open hostility, the Lacedæmonians declared themselues on the Aetolian side; and proclaimed warre against the Achæans.

Thus the beginnings of the warre fell out much otherwise, than the Achæans and their Confederates had expected, when they first made preparation. *Philip* was not ready: the Epirots gaue vncertaine answer: the Messenians would not stirre: all the burden must lie vpon themselues and the poore Acarnanians, whom the Aetolians, by fauour of the Eleans, could inuade at pleasure, as they were like to doe, and by helpe of the Lacedæmonians, could assaile on all parts at once. It was not long ere the Aetolians, passing ouer the Bay of Corinth, surprised the Towne of Aegira: which if they could haue held, they should thereby grieuously haue molested the Achæans, for that it stood in the mid-way betweene Aegium and Sycion, two of their principall Cities, and gaue open way into the heart of all their Countrey. But as Aegira was taken by surprise: so was it presently lost againe, through greedinesse of spoyle; whilst they that should haue made it their first care, to assure the place vnto themselues, by occupying the citadell and other peeces of strength, fell heedlesly to ransacke priuate houses, and thereby gaue the

the Citizens leaue to make head; by whom they were driuen with great slaughter backe vnto their Fleet. About the same time, another Aetolian Armie landing among the Eleans, fell vpon the Westerne Coast of Achaia; wasting all the Territorie of the Dymæans and other people, that were first beginners of the Achæan Confederacie. The Dymæans and their neighbours made head against these Inuaders; but were so well beaten, that the enemie grew bolder with them than before. They sent for helpe vnto their Prætor, and to all the Townes of their Societie. In vaine. For the Achæans hauing lately been much weakened by *Cleomenes*, were now able to do little of themselues: neither could they get any strength of Mercenaries; forasmuch as at the end of *Cleomenes* his warre, they had couetously with-held part of their due from those that serued them therein. So through this disability of the Achæans, and insufficiency of their Prætor; the Dymæans, with others, were driuen to with-hold their contribution heretofore made for the publike seruice, & to conuert the money to their own defence. *Lycurgus* also with his Lacedæmonians, began to win vpon the Arcadians; that were confederate with *Philip* & the Achæans. *Philip* came to the borders of the Aetolians, whilst their Armie was thus employed a farre off in Peloponnesus. The Epirots ioyned all their forces with him: & by such their willing readines, drew him to the siege of a Frontier peece, which they desired to get into their owne hands; for that, by commodity thereof, they hoped shortly to make themselues Masters of Ambracia. There he spent forty dayes, ere he could end the busines; which tended onely to the benefit of the Epirots. Had he entred into the heart of Aetolia at his first comming in; it was thought that he might haue had an end of the war. But it happens oft, that the violence of great Armies is broken vpon small Townes or Forts: and not seldome, that the importunity of Associates, to haue their own desires fulfilled, conuerts the preparations of great kings to those vses for which they neuer were intended; thereby hindering the prosecution of their maine designes. Thus was our king *Henrie* the eight led aside, and quite out of his way, by *Maximilian* the Emperor to the siege of Tournay: at such time as the French king *Lewes* the twelfth, hearing that the strong City of Terwin was lost, and that his Cauallerie, wherein rested his chiefe confidence, two thousand were beaten by the Earle of Essex with seuen hundred English; was thinking to withdraw himselfe into Brittaine, in feare that *Henrie* would haue come to Paris.

The stay that *Philip* made at Ambracus, did wondrously embolden the Ætolians: in such sort, as their Prætor *Scopas* aduentured to leade all their forces out of the Countrey; and therewith not onely to ouer-runne Thessalie, but to make impression into Macedon. He ranne as farre as to Dium, a Citie of Macedon vpon the Ægean Sea: which, being forsaken by the Inhabitants at his comming, He tooke, and razed to the ground. He spared neither Temple, nor any other of the goodly buildings therein, but ouerturned all: and among the rest, hee threw down the Statua's that were there erected, of the Macedonian Kings. For this he was highly honoured by his Countrey-men at his returne; forasmuch as hereby they thought their Nation to bee growne terrible, not onely (as before) vnto Peloponnesus, but euen to Macedon it selfe. But this their pride was soone abated; and they rewarded shortly at home in their owne Countrey, for their paines taken at Dium. *Philip* hauing dispatched his worke at Ambracus, made a strong inuasion vpon Ætolia. He tooke Phoetiæ, Metropolis, Oeniade, Pæanium, Elæus, and diuers other Townes and Castles of theirs: of which he burnt some, and fortified others. He also beat the Ætolians in sundry skirmishes; and wasted all the Countrie ouer, without receiuing any harme. This done, while he was about to make a cut ouer the Streights into Peloponnesus, and to do the like spoile in the Countrey of the Eleans, whereto he was vehemently sollicited by the Achæan Embassadours; newes came out of Macedon, that the Dardanians were ready with a great Armie to fall vpon the Countrey. These Dardanians were a barbarous people, diuided by Mount Hæmus from the Northerne part of Macedon, & were accustomed to seeke booty in that wealthy Kingdome, when they found their own times. Hauing therefore intelligence, that *Philip* was about to make a iourney into Peloponnesus; they purposed in his absence, which they thought would be long, to get what they could, for themselues in his Countrey; as had beene their manner vpon the like aduantages. This made the King to dismisse the Achæan Embassadours, (whom he should haue accompanied home with his Armie) and to bid them haue patience vntill another yeere. So Hee tooke his way homewards: and as hee was passing out of Acarnania into Epirus, there repaired vnto him *Demetrius Pharius*, with no more than one

ouio Ship; that was newly chased out of his Kingdome by the Romans. This *Demetrius* had lately shewed himselfe a friend to *Antigonus Doson* in the warres of *Cleomenes*: and returning in his last Voyage from the Cyclades, was readie, at their first request, to take part with *Philips* Captaines. These, or the like considerations, made him welcome vnto the Macedonian King: whose Counsailour he was euer after. The Dardanians hearing of the Kings returne, brake vp their Armie; and gaue ouer for the present their inuasion of Macedon, towards which they were already on their way.

All that Summer following the King rested at Larissa in Thessalie, whilst his people gathered in their Harvest. But the Ætolians rested not. They auenged themselues vpon the Epirots: whom for the harmes by them and *Philip* done in Ætolia, they requited with all extremities of warre, among which, the most notable was the ruine of the most famous Temple of *Dodona*. When Winter grew on, and all thought of warre, vntill another yeere, was laid aside: *Philip* stole a iourney into Peloponnesus, with fiue thousand Foot, and about foure hundred Horse. As soone as he was within Corinth; He commanded the Gates to be shut, that no word should be carried foorth of his arriuall. He sent priuily for old *Aratus* to come thither vnto him: with whom he tooke order, when, and in what places, he would haue the Achæan Souldiers ready to meete him. The Enemies were then abroad in the Countrie, with somewhat more than two thousand Foot and an hundred Horse; little thinking to meete with such opposition. Indeede they had little cause to feare: since the Achæans themselues were not aware that the King was in their Land with his Macedonians; vntill they heard, that these two thousand Eleans, Ætolians, and their fellowes, were by him surprised, and all made prisoners, or slaine. By this exploit which he did at his first comming, *Philip* got very much reputation, and likewise he purchased both reputation and loue, by diuers actions immediately following. He won Psophis, an exceeding strong Town, in the borders of Arcadia, which the Elæans and Ætolians then held. He won it by assault at his first comming: wherein it much auailed him, that the Enemie, not beleeuing that he would vndertake such a peece of worke at such an vnseasonabe time of the yeere, was carelesse of prouiding euen such store of weapons, as might haue serued to defend it. The Towne was preserued by the King from sacke; & giuen to the Achæans, of his own meere motion, before they requested it. Thence went he to Lasion, which yeelded for very feare; hearing how easily he had taken Psophis. This Towne also he gaue to the Achæans. The like liberality he vsed towards others, that had ancient title vnto places by him recouered. Then fell he vpon the Countrey of Elis, where was much wealth to bee gotten: for that the people were addicted to husbandrie, and liued abroad in Villages; euen such as were of the wealthier sort among them. So he came to the Citie of Olympia: where hauing done sacrifice to *Iupiter*, feasted his Captaines, and refreshed his Armie three daies; Hee proceeded on to the spoile of those, that had taken pleasure to share with the Ætolians, in the spoiles of their other-wise-deseruing neighbours. Great abundance of Cattell hee tooke, with great numbers of slaues, and much wealth of all sorts; such as could bee found in rich villages. Then fell he in hand with the Townes, whereinto a great multitude of the Countrie-people were fled. Some of these were taken at the first assault. Some yeelded for feare. Some preuented the labour of his iourney, by sending Embassadours to yeeld before he came. And some that were held with Garrisons against their wils, tooke courage to set themselues at libertie, by seeing the King so neere; to whose Patronage thenceforth they betooke themselues. And many places were spoyled by the Ætolian Captaines, because they distrusted their ability to hold them. So the King wonne more Townes in the Countrey, than the sharpenesse of Winter would suffer him to stay three dayes. Faine he would haue fought with the Ætolians: but they made such haste from him, that he could not ouertake them, till they had couered themselues within the Towne of Samicum; where they thought to haue beene safe. But *Philip* assaulted them therein so forcibly, that he made them glad to yeeld the place; obtaining licence to depart, with their liues and armes. Hauing performed so much in this expedition, the King reposed himselfe awhile in Megalopolis; and then remoued to Argos, where hee spent all the rest of the Winter.

Before the Kings arriuall in Peloponnesus, the Lacedæmonians, with *Lycurgus* their new King, had gotten somewhat in Arcadia; & threatned to do great matters. But when they were admonished, by the calamitie that fell vpon the Eleans, of the danger hanging ouer,

ouer their owne heads; they quitted their winnings, and withdrew themselues home. This *Lycurgus*, as hee had no other right to the Kingdome of Sparta, than that which he could buy with money: so was he neither free from danger of conspiracies made against him; nor from those ielousies, with which Vsurpers are commonly perplexed. There was one *Chilon*, of the Royall blood, that thinking himselfe to haue best right vnto the Kingdome, purposed to make way thereunto, by massacre of his opposites; and afterwards to confirme himselfe, by propounding vnto the Multitude such reformation of the State as was most popular: namely, by making an equall distribution of all the Lands among the whole number of the Citizens, according to the ancient institution of that Common wealth. Hee wonne to his partie some two hundred men; with whom hee fell vpon the Ephori as they were together at supper, and slew them all. Then went he to *Lycurgus* his house: who perceiuing the danger, stole away and fled. It remained that he should giue account of these doings to the people, and procure them to take part with him. But their minds being not hereto prædisposed; they so little regarded his goodly offers, as euen whilst he was vsing his best perswasions, they were consulting how to apprehend him. *Chilon* perceiued whereabout they went, and shifted presently away. So he liued afterwards among the Achæans a banished man, and hated of his owne people. As for *Lycurgus*, hee returned home: and suspecting thenceforth all those of *Hercules* his race, found meanes to drive out his fellow-King young *Agesipolis*; whereby he made himselfe Lord alone. His doings grew to bee suspected, in such sort, as once hee should haue beene apprehended by the Ephori. But though his actions hitherto might haue beene defended; yet rather than to aduenture himselfe into iudgement, he chose to flie for a time, and soiourne among his friends the Ætolians. His wel-knowne vehemencie in opposition to the Macedonians, had procured vnto him such good liking among the people, that in his absence they beganne to consider the weakenesse of their owne surmises against him; and pronouncing him innocent, recalled him home to his Estate. But in time following, He tooke better heede vnto himselfe: not by amending his condition (for he grew a Tyrant, and was so acknowledged) but by taking order, that it should not be in the power of the Citizens to expell him when they listed. By what actions he got the name of a Tyrant: or at what time it was, that he chased *Agesipolis* out of the Citie, I doe not certainely finde. Like enough it is, That his being the first of three vsurpers, which followed in order one after another, made him to be placed in the ranke of Tyrants; which the last of the three very iustly deserued. Whatsoeuer he was toward some priuate Citizens: in the warre against *Philip*, He behaued himselfe as a prouident man, and carefull of his Countries good.

§. II.

How Philip *was misaduised by ill Counsailors: who afterwards wrought treason against him; and were iustly punished. He inuadeth the Ætolians a second time: and forceth them to sue for peace: which is granted vnto them.*

WHilst the King lay at Argos deuising vpon his businesse for the yeer following, some ambitious men that were about him, studied so diligently for their own greatnesse, as they were like to haue spoiled all that hee tooke in hand. *Antigonus Doson* had left vnto *Philip* such Counsailors, as to him did seeme the fittest men for gouerning of his youth. The chiefe of these was *Apelles*, that had the charge of his person, and also the ordering of his Treasures. This man, seeming to himselfe a great Politician, thought that hee should doe a notable peece of seruice to his Prince; if hee could reduce the Achæans vnto the same degree of subiection, wherein the Macedonians liued. To bring this to passe; during the late Expedition he had caused some of the Macedonians to thrust the Achæans out of their lodgings, and to strip them of the booty that they had gotten. Proceeding further, as occasion fell out, Hee was bold to chastise some of that Nation, causing his Ministers to take and whippe them. If any of them offered (as there were some of them that could not refraine) to help their fellowes; hee laid by the heeles, and punished as Mutiners. Hereby he thought to bring it to passe by little and little, that they should bee qualified with an habite of blind obedience; and thinke nothing vniust that pleased the King. But these Achæans were tenderly sensible in matters of liberty: whereof if they could haue beene contented to suffer any little

little diminution, they needed not haue troubled the Macedonians to helpe them in the war against *Cleomenes*. They bemoaned themselues vnto olde *Aratus*; and besought him to thinke vpon some good order, that they might not bee oppressed by degrees. *Aratus* foorthwith dealt earnestly with the King; as in a matter more weighty than at first it might seeme. The King bestowed gracious words vpon those that had beene wronged; and forbade *Apelles* to follow the course begunne. Hereat *Apelles* was inwardly vexed, though he dissembled his choler for a time. Hee thought so well of his owne Proiect, that he could not endure to lay it aside; being perhaps vnable to doe the King any valuable seruice, in businesse of other nature. Hee purposed therefore hereafter to beginne at the head; since, in biting at the taile, the fish had shot away from his mouth. It could not otherwise bee than that among the Achæans there were some, who bore no hearty affection to *Aratus*. These he enquired out, and sending for them, entertained them with words of Court; promising to become their especiall friend, and commend them vnto the King. Then brake he his purpose with the King himselfe: letting him know, that as long as hee continued to make much of *Aratus*, hee must be faine to deale precisely with the Achæans, and as it were by Indenture, according to the letter of the Contract: whereas if he would be pleased, to giue countenance vnto those others whom he himselfe commended, then should the Achæans, and all other Peloponnesians, be quickely brought to conforme themselues vnto the duty of obedient Subiects. By such perswasions, he drew the King to bee present at Ægium, where the Achæans were to hold election of a new Prætor. There with much more labour, than would haue bin needefull in a businesse of more importance, the King by faire words and threatnings together, obtained so much, That *Eperatus*, a very insufficient man, but one of *Apelles* his new fauourites, was chosen Prætor, in stead of one more worthy, for whom *Aratus* had laboured. This was thought a good introduction vnto greater matters that should follow. The King from thence passed along by Patras and Dyma, to a very strong Castle held by the Eleans, which was called Tichos. The garrison yeelded it vp for feare, at his first comming: whereof he was glad, for that he had an earnest desire to bestow it vpon the Dymæans, as he presently did.

The King thought it strange, that all this while he heard of no messengers from the Eleans, to sue for peace. For at his departure out of their Countrey the last Winter, he had let loose one *Amphidamus* a Captaine of theirs, that was his prisoner, because hee found him an intelligent man, and one that vndertooke to make them forsake their alliance with the Ætolians, and ioyne with him vpon reasonable termes. This if they could be contented to doe, he willed *Amphidamus* to let them vnderstand, That hee would render vnto them freely all prisoners which he had of theirs; That he would defend them from all forreign inuasion; and that they should hold their liberty entire, liuing after their owne Lawes, without paying any manner of Tribute, or being kept vnder by any garrison. These conditions were not to be despised, if they had found credit as they might haue done. But when *Philip* came to the Castle of Tichos, and made a new inuasion vpon their Countrey: then beganne the Eleans, (that were not before ouer-hastie to beleeue such faire promises) to suspect *Amphidamus* as a Traitour, and one that was set on worke for no other end, than to breede a mutuall diffidence betweene them and the Ætolians. Wherefore they purposed to lay hands vpon him, and send him prisoner into Ætolia. But he perceiued their intent, and got away to Dyma: in good time for himselfe; in better for *Aratus*. For the king (as was said) maruailing what should be the cause, that hee heard no newes from the Eleans, concerning the offers which hee had made vnto them by *Amphidamus*: *Apelles*, his Counsailor, thereby tooke occasion to supplant *Aratus*. He said that old *Aratus*, and his sonne together, had such deuices in their heads, as tended little to the kings good: And long of them he said it was, that the Eleans did thus hold out: For, when *Amphidamus* was dismissed home, the two *Arati*, (the father and the sonne) had taken him aside & giuen him to vnderstand, that it would be very preiudicial to all Peloponnesus, if the Eleans once became at the deuotion of the Macedonian: And this was the true cause, why neither *Amphidamus* was very carefull in doing this message, nor the Eleans in hearkning to the kings offers. All this was a false lye; deuised by *Apelles* himselfe, vpon no other ground than his owne malice. *Philip* had no sooner heard this tale but in a great rage he sent for the two *Arati*, and bade *Apelles* rehearse it ouer againe to their faces. *Apelles* did so, and with a bold countenance,

taking

talking to them as to men already conuicted. And when he had said all he rested, ere either *Philip* or they spake any word; He added this clause as it were in the Kings name: Since the King hath found you such vngratefull wretches; it is his meaning to hold a Parliament of the Achæans; and therein hauing made it knowne what ye are, to depart into Macedon, and leaue you to your selues. Old *Aratus* grauely admonished the King; That whensoeuer he heard any accusation, especially against a friend of his owne or a man of worth, He should forbeare a while to giue credit, vntill hee had diligently examined the businesse. For such deliberation was Kingly, and he should neuer thereof repent him. At the present hee said there needed no more, than to call in those that had heard his talk with *Amphidamus*, and especially him that had brought this goodly tale to *Apelles*. For it would be a very absurd thing, That the king should make himselfe the Author of a report in the open Parliament of Achaia, whereof there was none other euidence, than one mans *yea*, and anothers *no*. Hereof the king liked well; and said that hee would make sufficient inquirie. So passed a few dayes: wherein whilst *Apelles* delaied to bring in the proofe, which indeed he wanted, *Amphidamus* came from Elis, and told what had befalne him there. The king was not forgetful, to examine him about the conspiracie of the *Arati*: which when he found no better than a meere deuice against his honourable friends; Hee entertained them in louing manner as before. As for his loue to *Apelles*, though it was hereby somewhat cooled; yet by meanes of long acquaintance and daily employment, no remission therein could be discerned.

The vnrestfull temper of *Apelles*, hauing with much vehemencie brought nothing to passe, beganne (as commonly Ambition vseth) to swell and grow venemous for want of his free motion. He betakes himselfe to his cunning againe: and as before, being checkt in his doings with those of the vulgar, he had prepared a snare for the *Arati*: so fayling of them; he thinkes it wisedome to lay for the King himselfe, and for all at once which were about him. In such manner sometime, the Spider thought to haue taken the Swallow which draue away Flies out of the chiemnie; but was carried (net and all) into the Ayre by the bird, that was too strong to be caught and held by the subtile workemanship of a Cob-web. Of the foure that next vnto *Apelles* were left by *Antigonus* in chiefe place about *Philip*; *Taurion*, his Lieutenant in Peloponnesus, and *Alexander* Captaine of the Guard, were faithfull men, aud such as would not be corrupted. The other two, *Leontius* Captaine of the Targuettiers, & *Magaleas* chiefe of the Secretaries, were easily won to be at *Apelles* his disposition. This politician therefore studied how to remooue the other two from their places, and put some Creatures of his owne into their roomes. Against *Alexander* He went to worke the ordinary way, by calumniation and priuie detraction. But for the supplanting of *Taurion* he vsed more fineneſse; loading him with daily commendations; as a notable man of warre, & one, whom for his many vertues the King might ill spare from being alwaies in his presence. By such Art hee thought to haue remoued him, as we say, *Out of Gods blessing into a warme Sunne*. In the mean season *Aratus* retired himselfe; and sought to auoide the dangerous frendship of the King, by forbearing to meddle in affaires of State. As for the new Prætor of Achaia, lately chosen by such vehement instance of the King; Hee was a man of no dispatch, and one that had no grace with the People. Wherefore a great deale of time was lost, whilst *Philip* wanted both the money and the Corne, wherewith hee should haue beene furnished by the Achæans. This made the King vnderstand his owne errour; which hee wisely sought to reforme betimes. He perswaded the Achæans to reiourne their Parliament from Aegium, to Sycion, the Towne of *Aratus*. There he dealt with the old man and his son, perswading them to forget what was past; and laying all the blame vpon *Apelles*, on whom thenceforth he intended to keepe a more diligent eye. So by the trauell of these worthy men, He easily obtained what he would of the Achæans. Fifty talents they gaue him out of hand; with great store of Corne: and further decreed, That so long as he himselfe in person followed the warres in Peloponnesus, hee should receiue ten talents a moneth. Being thus enabled, he began to prouide shipping, that so he might inuade the Ætolians, Eleans, and Lacedæmonians, that were maritime people, at his pleasure, and hinder their excursions by Sea.

It vexed *Apelles* beyond measure, to see things goe forward so well without his helpe; euen by the ministery of those whom he most hated. Wherefore he entred into conspiracie with *Leontius* and *Megaleas*: binding himselfe and them by Oath, to crosse and

bring

bring to nought, as well as they were able, all that the King should take in hand. By so doing, they thought to bring it to passe, that very want of ability to doe any thing without them, should make him speake them faire, and be glad to submit himselfe to their directions. The King it is like had stood in some awe of them whilst he was a child; and therefore these wisemen perswaded themselues, that, by looking bigge vpon him, and imputing vnto him all that fell out ill through their own misgouernement of his affaires; they might rule him as a childe still. *Apelles* would needs goe to Chalcis, there to take order for the prouisions, which were to come that way out of Macedon: The other two staid behind with the King, to play their parts; all more mindfull of their wicked oath, than of their dutie. 10

His Fleet and Armie being in a readinesse: *Philip* made countenance, as if hee would haue bent all his forces against the Eleans, to whose aid therfore the Aetolians sent men, little fearing that the mischiefe would haue fallen, as soone after it did, vpon themselues. But against the Eleans and those that came to helpe them, *Philip* thought it enough to leaue the Achæans, with some part of his & their Mercenaries. He himselfe with the body of his Armie putting to Sea, landed in the Ile of Cephallenia: whence the Aetolians dwelling ouer against it, vsed to furnish themselues of shipping, when they went to roue abroad. There he besieged the Towne of Palæa, that had beene very seruiceable to the Enemie against him and his Confederates; and might bee very vsefull to him, if hee could get it. Whilst hee lay before this Towne, there came vnto him fifteene shippes of warre from *Scerdilaidas*; and many good souldiers, from the Epirots, Acarnanians, and Messenians. But the Town was obstinate, and would not bee terrified with numbers. It was naturally fenced on all parts saue one, on which side *Philip* carried a Mine to the wall, wherewith he ouerthrew two hundred foote thereof. *Leontius* Captaine of the Targettiers, was appointed by the King to make the assault. But he, remembring his couenant with *Apelles*, did both wilfully forbeare to doe his best; and caused others to doe the like. So the Macedonians were put to foyle, and many slaine, not of the worst souldiers, but such as had gotten ouer the breach, and would haue carried the Towne, if the Treason of their Captaine, and some by him corrupted, had not hindred the victory. The King was angry with this, but there was no remedie; and therefore he thought vpon breaking vp the siege. For it was easier vnto the Townes-men to make vp the gap in their wall, than for him to make it wider. Whilst hee stood thus perplexed and vncertaine what course to take: the Messenians and Acarnanians lay hard vpon him, each of them desirous to draw him into their owne Countrey. The Messenians alledged, that *Lycurgus* was busie in wasting their Countrey: vpon whom the King might come vnawares in one day; the Etesian windes which then blew, seruing fitly for his Nauigation. Heereto also *Leontius* perswaded; who considered that those windes, as they would easily carry him thither, so would they detaine him there perforce (blowing all the Dogge-dayes) and make him spend the Summer to small or no purpose. But *Aratus* gaue better counsaile, and preuailed. He shewed how vnfitting it were, to let the Aetolians ouer-runne all Thessalie againe, and some part of Macedon, whilst the King withdrew his Armie farre off to seeke small aduentures. Rather, hee said that the time now serued well to carry the warre into Aetolia, since the Prætor was gone thence abroad on rouing, with the one halfe of their strength. As for *Lycurgus*, he was not strong enough to doe much harme in Peloponnesus: and it might suffice, if the Achæans were appointed to make head against him. According to this aduice, the King sets sayle for Atolia, and enters the Bay of Ambracia, which diuided the Aetolians from Acarnania. The Acarnanians were glad to see him on their borders; and ioyned with him as many of them as could beare armes, to helpe in taking vengeance vpon their bad neighbours. He marched vp into the in-land Countrey: and taking some places by the way, which he filled with Garrisons to assure his Retraite; He passed on to Thermum, which was the Receptacle of the Aetolians, and surest place of defence in all extremities. The Countrey round about was a great Fastnesse, enuironed with rockie Mountaines of very narrow, steepe, & difficult ascent. There did the Aetolians vse to hold all their chiefe meetings, their Faires, their election of Magistrates, and their solemne Games. There also they vsed to bestow the most precious of their goods, as in a place of greatest security. This opinion of the naturall strength, had made them carelesse in looking vnto it. When *Philip* therefore had ouercome the bad way, there was nothing else to do than to take spoile: whereof

where of he found such plenty that he thought the paines of his iourney well recompenced. So he loaded his Armie: and consuming all that could not be carryed away, forgot not to raze a goodly Temple, the chiefe of all belonging vnto the Ætolians; in remembrance of their like courtesie, shewed vpon the Temples of *Dium* and *Dodona*. This burning of the Temple, might (questionlesse) more for the Kings honour haue beene forborne. But perhaps he thought, as *Mounsieur du Gourgues* the French Captaine told the Spaniards in Florida, That they which had no faith, needed no Church. At his returne from Thermum, the Ætolians laid for him: which that they would doe, he beleeued before; and therefore was not taken vnawares: Three thousand of them there were that lying in ambush fell vpon his skirts: but he laid a Counter-ambush for them, of his Illyrians; who staying behind the rest, did set vpon the backes of the Ætolians, whilst they were busily charging in Rere the Armie that went before. So with slaughter of the enemie, hee returned the same way that he came: and burning downe those places that hee had taken before, as also wasting the Countrey round about him. Hee safely carryed all that hee had gotten aboard his Fleet. Once the Ætolians made countenance of fight, issuing out of Stratus in great brauery. But they were beaten home faster than they came, and followed to their very gates.

The ioy of this victorious Expedition being euery way complete, and not deformed (as commonly happens) by any sinister accident; it pleased the King to make a great feast vnto all his friends and Captaines. Thither were inuited among the rest *Leontius*, with his fellow *Megaleas*. They came, because they could not choose: but their heauy lookes argued, what little pleasure they tooke in the Kings prosperitie. It grieued them to think, that they should be able to giue no better account vnto *Apelles*, of their hindering the Kings businesse; since *Apelles* himselfe, as will be shewed anon, had played his own part with a most mischieuous dexteritie. Finding *Aratus* on the way home to his Tent: they fell to reuiling him, throwing stones at him, so that they caused a great vprore; many running in (as happens in such cases) to take part with the one or the other. The King sending to inquire of the matter, was truly informed of all that had passed. Which made him send for *Leontius* and his fellowes. But *Leontius* was gotten out of the way: *Megaleas*, and another with him, came. The King began to rate them for their disorder: and they, to giue him froward answers: insomuch, as they said at length, That they would neuer giue ouer, till they had rewarded *Aratus* with a mischiefe as he deserued. Hereupon the King committed them to ward. *Leontius* hearing of this, comes boldly to the King, with his Targettiers at his heeles: and with a proud grace demanded, who it was that had dared to lay hands vpon *Megaleas*, yea and to cast him into prisone? Why, said the King, it was euen I. This resolute answer, which *Leontius* had not expected, made him depart both sad and angrie, seeing himselfe out-frowned, and not knowing how to remedy the matter. Shortly after *Megaleas* was called foorth to his answer, and was charged by *Aratus* with many great crimes. Among which were, The hinderance of the Kings victory at Palea, and the Compact made with *Apelles*: matters no lesse touching *Leontius*, that stood by as a looker on, than *Megaleas* that was accused. In conclusion, the presumptions against him were so strong, and his answers thereto so weake, that he, and *Crinon* one of his fellowes, were condemned in twenty Talents: *Crinon* being remanded back to prison; and *Leontius* becomming Bayle for *Megaleas*. This was done vpon the way home-ward, as the King was returning to Corinth.

Philip dispatched well a great deale of businesse this yeere. For as soone as hee was at Corinth, hee tooke in hand an Expedition against the Lacedæmonians. These and the Eleans had done what harme they could in Peloponnesus, whilst the King was absent. The Achæans had opposed them as well as they could, with ill successe, yet so, as they hindred them from doing such harme as else they would haue done. But when *Philip* came, he ouer-ran the Country about Lacedæmon: & was in a maner at the gates of Sparta, ere men could well beleeue that he was returned out of Ætolia. He tooke not in this Exedition any Cities, but made great waste in the fields: and hauing beaten the enemie in some skirmishes, carryed backe with him to Corinth a rich booty of cattell, slaues, and other Countrie-spoyle. At Corinth he found attending him, Embassadors from the Rhodians & Chians: that requested him to set Greece at quiet, by granting peace vnto the Ætolians: They had gracious audience: and he willed them to deale first with the Ætolians; who if they would make the same request, should not finde him vnreasonable. The Ætolians

Ætolians had sped ill that yeer: neither saw they any likely hopes for the yeeres following. The Army that they had sent foorth to waste Thessaly and Macedon, found such opposition on the way; that not daring to proceed, it returned home without bringing any thing to effect. In the meane season they had beene grieuously afflicted, as before is shewed, by *Philip* in the centre of their owne Countrey. All Greece and Macedon was vp in armes against them, and their weake Allies the Eleans & Lacedæmonians. Neither was it certaine, how long the one or other of these their Peloponnesian friends should be able to hold out, since they were not strong enough to keepe the field, but had already suffered those misteries of war, which by a little continuance would make them glad, each to seeke their owne peace, without regard of their Confederates. Wherefore the Ætolians readily entertained this negotiation of Peace: and taking truce for thirty daies with the King, dealt with him by intercession of the same Embassadors, to intreat his presence at a Diet of their nation, that should be held at Rhium; whither if he would vouchsafe to come, they promised that he should find them conformable to any good reason.

Whilest these things were in hand, *Leontius* and *Megaleas* thought to haue terrified the King, by raising sedition against him in the Army. But this deuice sorted to no good effect. The souldiers were easily and quickly incensed against many of the Kings friends, who were said to be the cause, why they were not rewarded with so much of the booty, as they thought to belong of right vnto them. But their anger spent it selfe in a noyse, and breaking open of doores, without further harme done. This was enough to informe the King (who easily pacified his men with gentle words) that some about him were very false. Yea the souldiers themselues, repenting of their insolence, desired to haue the Authors of the tumult sought out, and punished according to their deserts. The King made shew as if hee had not cared to make such inquisition. But *Leontius* and *Megaleas* were afraid, lest the matter would soone come out of it selfe to their extreme danger. Wherefore they sent vnto *Apelles*, the Head and Architect of their treason; requesting him speedily to repaire vnto Corinth, where hee might stand betweene them and the Kings displeasure. *Apelles* had not all this while beene wanting to the busnesse, vndertaken by him and his treacherous companions. Hee had taken vpon him, as a man that had the Kings heart in his owne hand: and thereby was hee growne into such credit, that all the Kings Officers in Macedon and Thessalie addressed themselues vnto him, and receiued from him their dispatch in euery businesse. Likewise the Greekes in all their flattering Decrees, tooke occasion to magnifie the vertue of *Apelles*, making slight mention (onely for fashions sake) of the King: who seemed no better than the Minister and Executioner of *Appelles* his will and pleasure. Such was the arrogancie of this great man, in setting himselfe out vnto the people: but in mannaging the Kings affaires, hee made it his speciall care, that mony, and all things needefull for the publike seruice, should bee wanting. Yea hee enforced the King, for very neede, to sell his owne Plate and houshold vessels: thinking to resolue these and all other difficulties, by only saying, *Sir, be ruled wholly by me, and all shall be as you would wish.* Hereto if the King would giue assent, then had this Politician obtained his hearts desire. Now taking his iourney from Chalcis in the Isle of Eubœa, to the city of Corinth where *Philip* then lay: he was fetcht in with great pompe and royaltie, by a great number of the Captaines and Souldiers, which *Leontius* and *Megaleas* drew forth to meete him on the way. So entring the city with a goodly traine, he went directly to the Court, and towards the Kings chamber. But *Philip* was well aware of his pride, and had vehement suspicion of his falsehood. Wherefore one was sent to tell him, that he should wait a while, or come another time, for the King was not now at leisure to be spoken with. It was a pretty thing, that such a check as this made all his attendants forsake him, as a man in disgrace; in such sort, that going thence to his lodging, he had none to follow him saue his owne Pages. After this, the King vouchsafed him now and then some slender graces: but in consultations, or other matters of priuacie, he vsed him not at all. This taught *Megaleas* to looke to himselfe, and run away betimes. Hereupon the King sent foorth *Taurion* his Lieutenant of Peloponnensus, with all the Targettiers, as it were to do some piece of seruice, but indeede of purpose to apprehend *Leontius* in the absence of his followers. *Leontius* being taken, dispatched away a messenger presently to his Targettiers, to signifie what was befallen him: and they foorthwith sent vnto the King in his behalfe. They made request, That if any other thing were obiected against him, hee might not bee called

called forth to triall before their returne: as for the debt of *Megaleas*, if that were all the matter, they said they were ready to make a purse for his discharge. This affection of the souldiers made *Philip* more hastie than else he would haue beene, to take away the Traitors life. Neither was it long, ere letters of *Megaleas* were intercepted, which hee wrote vnto the Ætolians; vilifying the King with opprobrious words; and bidding them not to hearken after peace, but to hold out a while, for that *Philip* was euen ready to sinke vnder the burden of his owne pouertie. By this the King vnderstood more perfectly the falshood, not onely of *Megaleas*, but of *Apelles*; whose cunning head had laboured all this while to keepe him so poore. Wherefore he sent one to pursue *Megaleas* that was fled to Thebes. As for *Apelles*, he committed both him, his sonne, and another that was inward with him, to prison; wherein all of them shortly ended their liues. *Megaleas* also, neither daring to stand to triall, nor knowing whither to flie, was weary of his owne life; and slew himselfe about the same time.

The Ætolians, as they had begun this warre vpon hope of accomplishing what they listed in the Nonage of *Philip*: so finding that the vigour of this yong Prince, tempered with the cold aduice of *Aratus*, wrought very effectually toward their ouerthrow; they grew very desirous to make an end of it. Neuertheless being a turbulent Nation, and ready to lay hold vpon all aduantages: when they heard what was happened in the Court, the death of *Apelles*, *Leontius*, and *Megaleas*, together with some indignation thereupon conceiued by some of the Kings Targettiers, they began to hope anew, that these troubles would be long lasting, and thereupon brake the day appointed for the meeting at Rhium, of this was *Philip* nothing sorie. For being in good hope throughly to tame this vnquiet Nation; He thought it much to concerne his owne honour, that all the blame of the beginning & continuing the warre should rest vpon themselues. Wherefore he willed his Confederates, to lay aside all thought of peace, and to prepare for war against the yeere following; wherein he hoped to bring it to an end. Then gratified he his Macedonian souldiers, by yeelding to let them winter in their owne Countrie. In his returne homeward, he called into iudgement one *Ptolomie*, a companion with *Apelles* and *Leontius* in their Treasons: who was therefore condemned by the Macedonians, and suffered death. These were the same Macedonians, that lately could not endure to heare of *Leontius* his imprisonment: yet now they thinke the man worthy to die that was but his adherent. So vaine is the confidence, on which Rebels vse to build, in their fauour with the Multitude.

During his abode in Macedon, *Philip* won some bordering Townes; from which the Dardanians, Ætolians, and other his ill neighbours, were accustomed to make rodes into his kingdome: when he had thus prouided for safetie of his owne; the Ætolians might well know what they were to expect. But there came againe Embassadors from the Rhodians and Chians, with others from *Ptolomy* King of Egypt, and from the City of Byzantium, recontinuing the former sollicitation about the Peace. This fashion had beene taken vp in matters of Greece, euer since the Kings that reigned after *Alexander*, had taken vpon them to set the whole Country at liberty: No sooner was any Prouince or Citie in danger to be oppressed and subdued by force of warre, but presently there were found intercessors, who pittying the effusion of Greekish blood, would importune the stronger to relinquish his aduantage. By doing such friendly offices in time of need, the Princes and States abroad sought to binde vnto them those people, that were howsoeuer weake in numbers, yet very good souldiers. But hereby it came to passe, that the more froward sort, especially the Ætolians, whose whole Nation was addicted to falsehood and robberie; durst enter boldly into quarrels with all their Neighbours: being well assured, that if they had the worst, *The loue of Greece* would bee sufficient for to redeeme their quiet. They had, since the late Treatie of peace, done what harme they could in Peloponnesus: but being beaten by the Achæans, and standing in feare to bee more soundly beaten at home, they desired now, more earnestly than before, to make an end of the Warre as soone as they might. *Philip* made such answer vnto the Embassadours, as he had done the former yeere; That he gaue not occasion to the beginning of this warre, nor was at the present affraid to continue it, or vnwilling to end it: but that the Ætolians, if they had a desire to liue in rest, must first bee dealt withall, to signifie plainly their determination, whereto himselfe would returne such answer as hee should thinke fit.

Philip had at this time no great liking vnto the Peace, being a yong Prince, and in hope to increase the honour which he daily got by the warre. But it happened in the middest of this Negotiation, that he was aduertised by letters out of Macedon, what a notable victorie *Hannibal* had obtained against the Romans in the Battaile at Thrasymene. These letters he communicated vnto *Demetrius Pharius*: who greatly encouraged him to take part with *Hannibal*: and not to sit still, as an idle beholder of the Italian Warre. Hereby hee grew more inclinable than before vnto Peace with the Ætolians: which was concluded shortly in a meeting at Naupactus. There did *Agelaus* an Ætolian make a great Oration: telling, how happie it was for the Greekes, that they might at their owne pleasure dispute about finishing Warre betweene themselues, without being molested by the Barbarians. For when once either the Romans or Carthaginians, had subdued one the other, it was not to be doubted, that they would forthwith look Eastward, and seeke by all meanes to set footing in Greece. For this cause he said it were good, that their Countrie should be at peace within it selfe: and that *Philip*, if he were desirous of warre, should lay hold on the opportunitie, now fitly seruing, to enlarge his Dominion, by winning somewhat in Italy.

Such aduice could the Ætolians then giue, when they stood in feare of danger threatning them at hand: but being soone after wearie of rest, as being accustomed to enrich themselues by pillage, they were so farre from obseruing and following their own good counsell, that they inuited the Romans into Greece, whereby they brought themselues and the whole Countrie, (but themselues before any other part of the Countrie) vnder seruitude of strangers. The Condition of this Peace was simple, That euery one should keepe what they held at the present, without making restitution, or any amends for damages past.

§. III.

Philip, *at the persuasion of* Demetrius Pharius, *enters into League with* Hannibal, *against the Romans. The Tenour of the League betweene* Hannibal *and* Philip.

THis being agreed vpon: the Greekes betooke themselues to quiet courses of life; and *Philip* to prepare for the businesse of Italy, about which hee consulted with *Demetrius Pharius*. And thus passed the time away, till the great battaile of Cannæ: after which hee ioyned in league with *Hannibal*, as hath beene shewed before. *Demetrius Pharius* bore great malice vnto the Romans; and knew no other way to be auenged vpon them, or to recouer his owne lost Kingdome, than by procuring the Macedonian, that was in a manner wholly guided by his counsaile, to take part with their enemies. It had otherwise beene farre more expedient for *Philip*, to haue supported the weaker of those two great Cities against the more mighty. For by so doing, hee should perhaps haue brought them to peace vpon some equall tearmes; and therby, as did *Hiero* a farre weaker Prince, haue both secured his owne Estate, and caused each of them to be desirous of chiefe place in his friendship. The issue of the counsaile which hee followed, will appeare soone after this. His first quarrell with the Romans; the trouble which they and the Ætolians did put him to in Greece; and the Peace which they made with him for a time, vpon such Conditions that might easily be broken: haue beene related in another place, as belonging vnto the second Punicke Warre. Wherefore I will onely here set downe the tenour of the League betweene Him and Carthage: which may seeme not vnworthy to be read; if onely in regard of the forme it selfe then vsed; though it had beene ouer-long to haue beene inserted into a more busie peece.

THE

The Oath and Couenants betweene Hannibal, Generall of the Carthaginians, and *Xenophanes*, Embassador of *Philip* King of Macedon.

THIS is the League ratified by oath, which Hannibal *the Generall, and with him* Mago, Myrcal, *and* Barmocal, *as also the Senators of Carthage that are present, and all the Carthaginians that are in his Armie, haue made with* Xenophanes *the sonne of* Cleomachus *Athenian, whom King* Philip *the sonne of* Demetrius *hath sent vnto vs, for himselfe and the Macedonians, and his Associates: Before* Iupiter, *and* Iuno, *and* Apollo: *before* † The God of the Carthaginians, Hercules *and* Tolaus, *before* Mars, Triton, Neptune: *before* The Gods *accompanying Armes, the* Sun, *the* Moone, *and the* Earth; *before* Riuers *and* Meddowes, *and* Waters; *before all the* Gods, *that haue power ouer Carthage; before all the* Gods *that rule ouer Macedon, and the rest of Greece; before all the* Gods *that are Presidents of Warre, and present at the making of this League.* Hannibal *the Generall hath said, and all the Senators that are with him, and all the Carthaginians in his Armie:* Be *it agreed betweene You and Vs, that this oath stand for friendship and louing affection, that Wee become friends, familiar, and brethren, Vpon Couenant,* that *the safetie of the Lords the Carthaginians, and of* Hannibal *the Generall and those that are with him, and of the Rulers of Prouinces of the Carthaginians vsing the same Lawes; and of the Vticans, & as many Cities & Nations as obey the Carthaginians, and of the Souldiers and Associates, and of all Townes and Nations with which We hold friendship in Italy, Gaule, and Liguria, and with whom we shall hold friendship or make alliance hereafter in this Region; be preserued by King* Philip *and the Macedonians, and such of the Greekes as are their Associates.* In like manner *shall King* Philip *and the Macedonians, and other the Greekes his Associates, bee saued and preserued by the Carthaginian Armies, and by the Vticans, and by all Cities and Nations that obey the Carthaginians, and by their Associates and Souldiers, and by all Nations and Cities in Italy, Gaule and Liguria, that are of our Alliance, or shall hereafter ioyne with Vs in Italy.* Wee *shall not take counsaile one against the other, nor deale fraudulently one with the other. With all readinesse and good will, without deceit or subtletie, We shall be enemies vnto the enemies of the Carthaginians, excepting those Kings, Townes, and Hauens, with which We haue already league and friendship. Wee also shall be enemies to the enemies of King* Philip, *excepting those Kings, Cities, and Nations, with which Wee haue already league and friendship. The warre that We haue with the Romans, haue Ye also with them, vntill the Gods shall giue vs a new and happie end. Yee shall aide Vs with those things whereof wee haue need, and shall doe according to the Couenants betweene Vs. But if the Gods shall not giue vnto You and Vs their helpe in this warre against the Romans and their Associates; then if the Romans offer friendship,* Wee *shall make friendship in such wise that Yee shall be partakers of the same friendship, with Condition,* That *they shall not haue power to make warre vpon you: Neither shall the Romans be Lords ouer the Corcyræans, nor ouer those of Apollonia, nor Dyrrachium, nor ouer Pharus, nor Dimalle, nor the Parthini, nor Atintania. They shall also render vnto* Demetrius Pharius *all those that belong vnto him, as many as are within the Romans Dominions. But if the Romans (after such peace made) shall make warre vpon Yee or Vs; Wee will succour one another in that warre, as either shall haue need. The same shall be obserued in warre made by any other, excepting those Kings, Cities, and States, with whom wee hold already league and friendship.* To this league *if We or Ye shall thinke fit to adde or detract, such addition or detraction shall be made by our common consent.*

† Damon.

§. IIII.

How Philip *yeelded to his naturall vices, being therein soothed by* Demetrius Pharius. *His desire to tyrannize vpon the free States his Associates: with the troubles, into which hee thereby fell, whilest he bore a part in the second Punick warre. Hee poysoneth* Aratus: *and growes hatefull to the Acheans.*

HItherto *Philip* had cartied himselfe as a vertuous Prince. And though with more commendation of his wisedome, hee might haue offered his friendship to the Romans, that were like to be oppressed, than to the Carthaginians, who had the better hand: yet this his meddling in the Punick warre, proceeded from a royall greatnesse of minde, with a desire to secure and increase his owne estate, adding therewithall reputation to his Countrie. But in this businesse he was guided (as hath beene said) by *Demetrius Pharius*: who, looking throughly into his nature, did accommodate himselfe to his desires: and thereby shortly gouerned him as he listed. For the vertues of *Philip* were not indeed such as they seemed. He was lustfull, bloudy, and tyrannicall: desirous of power to doe what he listed, and not otherwise listing to doe what he ought, than so farre forth, as by making a faire shew he might breed in men such good opinion of him, as should helpe to serue his turne in all that hee tooke in hand. Before hee should busie himselfe in Italy, he thought it requisite in good policie, to bring the Greekes that were his Associates vnder a more absolute forme of subiection. Hereunto *Apelles* had aduised him before: and he had liked reasonably well of the course. But *Apelles* was a boysterous Counsellor, and one that referring all to his owne glory, thought himselfe deepely wronged if he might not wholly haue his owne way, but were driuen to await the Kings opportunity at better times. *Demetrius Pharius* could well be contented to obserue the Kings humours: and guided, like a Coach-man with the reines in his hand, those affections which himselfe did onely seeme to follow. Therefore he grew daily more and more in credit: so as, without any manner of contention, he supplanted *Aratus*: which the violence of *Apelles* could neuer doe.

There arose about these times a very hote Faction among the Messenians, betweene the Nobilitie and Commons: their vehement thoughts being rather diuerted (as happens often after a forreign warre) vnto domesticall obiects, than allayed and reduced vnto a more quiet temper. In processe of no long time, the contention among them grew so violent, that *Philip* was entreated to compound the differences. He was glad of this: resoluing so to end the matter, that they should not henceforth striue any more about their Gouernment: for that hee would assume it wholly to himselfe. At his comming thither, hee found *Aratus* busie among them to make all friends, after a better manner than agreed with his owne secret purpose. Wherefore he consulted not with this reuerend old man: but talked in priuate with such of the Messenians as repaired vnto him. He asked the Gouernours, what they meant to stand thus disputing: and whether they had not Lawes, to bridle the insolence of the vnrulie Rabble: Contrariwise, in talking with the heads of the popular Faction, He said it was strange, that they being so many, would suffer themselues to be opposed by a few; as if they had not hands to defend themselues from Tyrants. Thus whilest each of them presumed on the Kings assistance; they thought it best to goe roundly to worke, ere that hee were gone that should countenance their doings. The Gouernours therefore would haue apprehended some seditious Oratours, that were, they said, the stirrers vp of the multitude vnto sedition. Vpon this occasion the people tooke Armes: and running vpon the Nobilitie and Magistrates, killed of them in a rage almost two hundred. *Philip* thought, it seemes, that it would be easie to worrie the sheepe, when the Dogs their guardians were slaine. But his falshood and double dealing was immediately found out. Neither did the younger *Aratus* forbeare, to tel him of it in publike, with very bitter and disgracefull words. The King was angry at this. But hauing already done more than was commendable, or excusable: and yet further intending to take other things in hand wherein hee should need the helpe and countenance of his best friends; Hee was content to smother his displeasure, and make as faire weather as hee could. Hee ledde olde *Aratus* aside by the hand; and went vp into the Castle of Ithome, that was ouer Messene. There hee pretended to doe sacrifice: and sacrifice he did. But it was his purpose to keepe the place to

to his owne vse; for that it was of notable strength, and would serue to command the further parts of Peloponnesus, as the Citadel of Corinth, which he had already commanded the entrance into that Countrie. Whilest he was therefore sacrificing, and had the entrailes of the beast deliuered into his hands, as was the manner, hee shewed them to *Aratus*, and gently asked him, whether the tokens that he saw therein did signifie, That being now in possession of this place, he should quietly goe out of it, or rather keepe it to himselfe. He thought perhaps, that the old man would haue soothed him a little, were it onely for desire to make amends, for the angry words hee wily spoken by his sonne. But as *Aratus* stood doubtfull what to answer, *Demetrius Pharius* gaue this verdict: *If thou be a soothsayer, thou maist goe thy waies, and let slip this good aduantage. If thou bee a King, thou must not neglect the opportunitie, but holde the Oxe by both his hornes.* Thus hee spake; resembling Ithome and Acrocorinthus vnto the two horns of Peloponnesus. Yet would *Philip* needes heare the opinion of *Aratus*: who told him plainely, That it were well done to keepe the place, if it might be kept without breach of his faith vnto the Messenians: But if, by seizing vpon Ithome, He must lose all the other Castles that he hold, and especially the strongest Castle of all that was left vnto him by *Antigonus*, which was his credit; then were it farre better to depart with his souldiers, and keepe them in duetie, as he had done hitherto, by their owne good wills, than by fortifying any strong places against them, to make them of his friends become his Enemies.

To this good aduice *Philip* yeelded at the present: but not without some dislike, thenceforth growing betweene Him and the *Arati*; whom he thought more froward than beseemed them in contradicting his will. Neither was the old man desirous at all, to deale any longer in the Kings affaires, or be inward with him. For as he plainely discouered his Tyrannous purposes; so likewise he perceiued, that in resorting to his house, He had beene dishonest with his sonnes wife. He therefore staid at home: where at good leisure he might repent, that in despight of *Cleomenes*, his owne Countriman, and a temperate Prince, he had brought the Macedonians into Peloponnesus.

Philip made a Voyage out of Peloponnesus into Epirus, wherein *Aratus* refused to beare him company. In this iourney he found by experience what *Aratus* had lately told him, That vnhonest counsailes are not so profitable in deed, as in appearance. The Epirots were his followers & dependants, and so they purposed to continue. But He would needes haue them so to remaine, whether they purposed it or not. Wherefore to make them the more obnoxious vnto his Will, He seized vpon their Towne of Orienn, and laid siege to Apollonia; hauing no good colour of these doings: but thinking himselfe strong enough to doe what he listed, and not seeing whence they should procure friends to help them. Thus in stead of setling the country, as his intended Voyage into Italy required: He kindled a fire in it which he could neuer quench, vntill it had laid hold on his owne Palace. Whilest hee was thus labouring to binde the hands that should haue fought for him in Italy: *M. Valerius* the Roman came into those parts; who not onely maintained the Epirots against him, but procured the Ætolians to breake the Peace, which they had lately made with him.

Thus began that warre, the occurrents whereof wee haue related before, in the place whereto it belonged. In mannaging whereof though *Philip* did the offices of a good Captaine; yet when leisure serued, He made it apparant that he was a vicious King. He had not quite left his former desire, of oppressing the libertie of the Messenians; but made another iourney into their Countrie, with hope to deceiue them, as before. They vndestood him better now than before; and therefore were not hasty to trust him too farre. When he saw that his cunning would not serue, He went to worke by force; and calling them his Enemies; inuaded them with open Warre. But in that warre he could doe little good; perhaps, because none of his Confederates were desirous to helpe him in such an enterprise. In this attempt vpon Messene he lost *Demetrius Pharius*; that was his Counsailor and Flatterer, not his peruerter; as appeares by his growing daily more naught in following times. The worse that hee spedy, the more angry hee waxed against those that seemed not to fauour his iniurious doings. Wherefore by the ministery of *Taurion*, his Lieutenant, hee poysoned old *Aratus*; and shortly after that he poysoned also the yonger *Aratus*: hoping that these things would neuer haue beene knowne, because they were done secretly, and the poysons themselues were more sure than manifest in operation. The Sicyonians, and all the people of Achaia, deceiued vnto

Aratus more than humane honours, as Sacrifices, Hymnes, and Processions, to be celebrated euery yeere twice, with a Priest ordained vnto him for that purpose; as was accustomed vnto the *Heroes*, or men, whom they thought to be translated into the number of the gods. Hereunto they are said to haue beene encouraged by an Oracle of *Apollo*: which is like enough to haue beene true, since the helpe of the Deuill is neuer failing to the increase of Idolatrie.

The louing memorie of *Aratus* their Patron, and singular Benefactor, could not but worke in the Achæans a maruellous dislike, of that wicked King which had made him thus away. He shall therfore heare of this hereafter, when they better dare to take counsaile for themselues. At the present, the murder was not generally known or beleeued: neither were they in case to subsist, without his helpe that had committed it. The Ætolians were a most outragious people, great darers, and shamelesse robbers. With these the Romans made a league: wherof the Conditions were soone divulged, especially that maine point, concerning the diuision of the purchase which they should make, namely, That the Ætolians should haue the country and Townes; but the Romans the spoyle, and carry away the people to sell for slaues. The Achæans, who in times of greater quiet, could not endure to make streight alliance with the Ætolians, as knowing their vnciuill disposition; were much the more auerse from them, when they perceiued how they had called in the Barbarians (for such did the Greeks account all other Nations except their owne) to make hauock of the Countrie. The same consideration mooued also the Lacedæmonians, to stand off a while, before they would declare themselues for the Ætolians; whose friendship they had embraced in the late warre. The industry therefore of *Philip*, and the great care which he seemed to take of the Achæans his Confederates, sufficed to retaine them: especially at such time, as their owne necessitie was thereto concurrent. More particularly he obliged vnto himselfe the Dymæans, by an inestimable benefit: recouering their Towne, after it had beene taken by the Romans and Ætolians; and redeeming their people wheresoeuer they might be found, that had been carried away Captiue, and sold abroad for slaues. Thus might he haue blotted out the memorie of offences past; if the malignitie of his naturall condition had not otherwhiles broken out, and giuen men to vnderstand; that it was the Time, and not his Vertue, which caused him to make such a shew of goodnesse. Among other foule acts, whereof hee was not ashamed; He tooke *Polycratia* the wife of the yonger *Aratus*, and carried her into Macedon: little regarding how this might serue to confirm in the people their opinion, that he was guiltie of the old mans death. But of such faults he shall be told, when the Romans make warre vpon him the second time: for, of that which hapned in this their first Inuasion, I hold it superfluous to make repetition.

§. V.

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expence of brauery, in apparel, housholdstuffe, and curious fare, and to bestow that cost vpon their Armes: wherein by how much they were the more gallant, by so much were they like to proue the better Souldiers, and sutable in behauiour, vnto the pride of their furniture. They had serued hitherto with little light Bucklers, and slender Darts, to cast a farre off; that were vsefull in skirmishing at some distance, or for Surprises, or sudden and hastie Expeditions, whereto *Aratus* had beene most accustomed. But when they came to handie strokes, they were good for nothing, so long as they were wholly driuen to relie vpon the courage of their Mercenaries. *Philopœmen* altered this: causing them to arme themselues more weightily, to vse a larger kind of shield, with good swords, and strong pikes, fit for seruice at hand. He taught them also to fight in close order, and altered the forme of their embattailing: not making the Files so deep as had been accustomed, but extending the Front, that he might vse the seruice of many hands.

Eight moneths were spent of that yeer, in which he first was Prætor of the Achæans; when *Machanidas* the tyrant of Lacedæmon caused him to make triall, how his souldiers had profited by his discipline. This *Machanidas* was the successor vnto *Lycurgus*, a man more violent than his fore-goer. He kept in pay a strong Army of Mercenaries: and he kept them not onely to fight for Sparta, but to hold the Citie in obedience to himselfe perforce. Wherefore it behooued him not to take part with the Achæans, that were fauourers of liberty; but to strengthen himselfe by friendship of the Ætolians: who, in making Alliances, tooke no further notice of Vice or Vertue, than as it had reference to their own profit. The people also of Lacedæmon, through their inueterate hatred vnto the Argiues, Achæans, & Macedonians; were in like sort (all or most of them) inclinable to the Ætolian Faction. Very vnwisely. For in seeking to take reuenge vpon those, that had lately hindred them from getting the Lordship of Peloponnesus; they hindered themselues thereby from recouering the Mastrie of their owne Cirie. This affection of the Spartans, together with the regard of his own security, and no small hope of good that would follow, suffered not *Machanidas* to be idle; but alwaies made him readie to fall vpon his neighbours backes, and take of theirs what he could, whilest they were enforced, by greater necessity, to turne face another way. Thus had he often done, especially in the absence of *Philip*: whose sudden comming into those parts, or some other opposition made against him, had vsually made him faile of his attempts. At the present he was stronger in men, than were the Achæans; and thought his owne men better Souldiers than were theirs.

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and therefore such good fellowes will not take much paines to bring the war to an end. But the victory of a Tyrant, makes him stand in need of more such helpers: because that after it he doth wrong to more, as hauing more subiects; and therefore stands in feare of more, that should seeke to take reuenge vpon him. The stipendaries therefore of the Achæans, being forced to giue ground, were vrged so violently in their retrait by those of *Machanidas*, that shortly they betooke themselues to flight; and could not be staid by any perswasions of *Philopœmen*, but ran away quite beyond the battaile of the Achæans. This disaster had beene sufficient to take from *Philopœmen* the honour of the day; had he not wisely obserued the demeanour of *Machanidas*, and found in him that errour which might restore the victory. The Tyrant with his Mercenaries gaue chase vnto those that fled; leauing behind him in good order of battail his Lacedæmonians; whom he thought sufficient to deale with the Achæans, that were already disheartened by the flight of their companions. But when this his rashnesse had carried him out of sight; *Philopœmen* aduanced towards the Lacedæmonians that stood before him. There lay between them athwart the Countrie a long ditch, without water at that time; and therefore passable (as it seemed) without much difficultie, especially for Foot. The Lacedæmonians aduentured ouer it, as thinking themselues better souldiers than the Achæans; who had in a manner already lost the day. But hereby they greatly disordered their owne Battaile; and had no sooner the foremost of them recouered the further banke, than they were stoutly charged by the Achæans, who draue them headlong into the ditch againe. Their first rankes being broken, all the rest beganne to shrinke: so as *Philopœmen* getting ouer the ditch, easily chased them out of the Field. *Philopœmen* knew better how to vse his aduantage, than *Machanidas* had done! He suffered not all his Armie to disband and follow the chase: but retained with him a sufficient strength, for the custodie of a bridge that was ouer the ditch, by which he knew that the tyrant must come backe. The tyrant with his Mercenaries returning from the chase, looked very heauily when he saw what was fallen out. Yet with a lusty troupe of Horse about him, he made towards the bridge: hoping to finde the Achæans in disorder; and to set vpon their backes, as they were carelessly pursuing their victory. But when hee and his company saw *Philopœmen* ready to make good the bridge against them; then began euery one to look, which way he might shift for himselfe. The tyrant, with no more than two in his company, rode along the ditch side, and searched for an easie passage ouer. He was easily discouered by his purple Cassock, & the costly trappings of his Horse. *Philopœmen* therfore leauing the charge of the bridge to another, coasted him all the way as he rode; and falling vpon him at length in the ditch itselfe, as he was getting ouer it, slew him there with his own hand. There dyed in this Battaile of the Lacedæmonians side about foure thousand: and more than foure thousand were taken Prisoners. Of the Achæan Mercenaries, probable it is that the losse was not greatly cared for; since that Warre was at an end, and for their money they might hire more when they should haue need.

§. VI.

Philip hauing peace with Rome, and with all Greece, prepares against Asia. Of the Kings of Pergamus, Cappadocia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bythinia, and their Linages. Of the Galatians.

BY this victory the Achæans learned to thinke well of themselues. Neither needed they indeed after a while (such was their discipline, and continuall exercise) to account themselues in matter of warre inferiour to any, that should haue brought against them no great ods of number. As for the Macedonian, He made no great vse of them: but when he had once concluded peace with the Romans and Ætolians, he studied how to enlarge his Dominion Eastward; since the fortune of his friends the Carthaginians declined in the West. He tooke in hand many matters together, or very neerely together, and some of them not honest: wherein if the Achæans would haue done him seruice, they must, by helping him to oppresse others that neuer had wronged him, haue taught him the way how to deale with themselues. He greatly hated *Attalus* King of Pergamus, who had ioyned with the Romans and Ætolians in warre against him.

This

This *Attalus*, though a king, was scarce yet a Noble-man, otherwise than as hee was ennobled by his owne, and by his Fathers vertue. His fortune beganne in *Philetærus* his Vncle: who being guelded, by reason of a mishap which he had when he was a childe; grew afterwards thereby to be the more esteemed: as great men in those times reposed much confidence in Eunuches, whose affections could not be obliged vnto wiues or children. He was entertained into the family of *Docimus*, a Captaine following *Antigonus the first*; and after the death of *Antigonus*, he accompanied his Master, that betooke him selfe to *Lysimachus* King of Thrace. *Lysimachus* had a good opinion of him; and put him in trust with his money and accompts. But when at length he stood in feare of this King, that grew a bloudy Tyrant: He fled into Asia, where he seized vpon the Towne of Pergamus, and nine thousand talents belonging to *Lysimachus*. The Towne and money, together with his owne seruice, Hee offered vnto *Seleuchus the first*, that then was ready to giue *Lysimachus* battell. His offer was kindly accepted, but neuer performed; for that *Seleuchus* hauing slaine *Lysimachus*, dyed shortly after himselfe, before he made vse of *Philetærus* or his money. So this Eunuch still retained Pergamus with the Country round about it; and reigned therein twenty yeeres as an absolute King. He had two brethren: of which the elder is said to haue beene a poore Carter; and the yonger perhaps not much better; before such time they were raised by the fortune of this Eunuch. *Philetærus* left his Kingdome to the elder of these, or to the sonne of the elder called *Eumenes*. This *Eumenes* enlarged his kingdome; making his aduantage of the dissention, betweene *Seleuchus Calinicus* and *Antiochus Hierax*, the sonnes of the *second Antiochus*. He fought a battell with *Hierax* neere vnto Sardes, and won the victory. At which time, to animate his men against the Gaules that serued vnder his Enemy, he vsed a pretty deuice. He wrote the word *Victory vpon the hand of his Soothsayer, in such colours as would easily come off: and when the hot liuer of the beast that was sacrifized, had cleanly taken the print of the letters, He published this vnto his Armie as a Miracle; plainely foreshewing that the gods would be assistant in that Battaile.

*Iul. Front. Strat. L. 1. C. 12.

After this victory, he grew a dreadfull enemy to *Seleucus*: who neuer durst attempt to recouer from him, by Warre, the Territory that he had gotten and held. Finally, when he had reigned two and twenty yeeres, he died by a surfeit of ouer-much drinke, and left his kingdome to *Attalus*, of whom we now entreat, that was sonne vnto *Attalus* the yongest brother of *Philetærus*. *Attalus* was an vndertaking Prince, very bountifull, and no lesse valiant. By his owne proper forces He restored his friend *Ariarathes* the Cappadocian into his kingdome, whence he had been expelled. He was grieuously molested by *Acheus*: who setting vp himselfe as king against *Antiochus the great*, reigned in the lesser Asia. He was besieged in his owne City of Pergamus: but by the helpe of the Tectosagæ, a nation of the Gaules, whom he called ouer out of Thrace, He recouered all that he had lost. When these Gaules had once gotten footing in Asia, they neuer wanted employment: but were either entertained by some of the Princes reigning in those quarters, or interposed themselues, without inuitation, and found themselues worke in quarrels of their owne making. They caused *Prusias* King of Bithynia to cease from his war against Byzantium. Whereunto when he had condescended; they neuertheless within a while after inuaded his Kingdome. Hee obtained against them a great victory; and vsed it with great crueltie, sparing neither age nor sexe. But the swarme of them increasing; they occupied the Region about Hellespont: where in seating themselues, they were much beholding vnto *Attalus*. Neuertheless, presuming afterwards vpon their strength; they forced their Neighbour Princes and Cities to pay them tribute: In the sharpe exaction whereof, they had no more respect vnto *Attalus*, than to any that had worse deserued of them. By this they compelled him to fight against them: and Hee being victorious, compelled them to containe themselues within the bounds of that Prouince, which tooke name from them in time following, and was called Galatia. Yet continued they still to oppresse the weakest of their neighbours; and to fill vp the Armies of those, that could best hyre them.

The Kings reigning in those parts, were the posterity of such, as had saued themselues and their Prouinces, in the slothfull reigne of the Persians; or in the busie times of *Alexander*, and his Macedonian followers. The Cappadocians were very ancient. For the first of their line had married with *Atossa*, sister vnto the great king Cyrus. Their Country was taken from them by *Perdiccas*, as is shewed before. But the son of that king, whom

Perdiccas

Predicces crucified, espying his time while the Macedonians were at ciuil warres among themselues; recouered his dominion, and passed it ouer to his off-spring. The Kings of Pontus had also their beginning from the Persian Empire; & are said to haue issued from the royall house of *Achamenes*. The Paphlagonians deriued themselues from *Pylemenes*, a king that assisted *Priamus* at the warre of Troy. These, applying themselues vnto the times, were alwaies conformable vnto the strongest. The Ancestors of *Prusias* had begun to reigne in Bythinia, some few generations before that of *the great Alexander*. They lay somewhat out of the Macedonians way: by whom therefore, hauing other employment, they were the lesse molested. *Calantus*, one of *Alexanders* Captaines, made an Expedition into their Country; where hee was vanquished. They had afterwards to doe with a Lieutenant of *Antigonus*, that made them somewhat more humble. And thus they shuffled, as did the rest, vntill the reigne of *Prusias*, whom we haue already sometimes mentioned.

§. VII.

The Towne of Cios taken by Philip, *at the instance of* Prusias, *King of Bithynia, and cruelly destroyed. By this and like actions,* Philip *growes hatefull to many of the Greekes: and is warred vpon by* Attalus *King of Pergamus, and by the Rhodians.*

PRusias as a neighbour King, had many quarrels with *Attalus*; whose greatnesse he suspected, He therefore strengthened himselfe, by taking to wife the daughter of *Philip*; as *Attalus*, on the contrary side, entred into a strict Confederacie with the Ætolians, Rhodians, and other of the Greekes. But when *Philip* had ended his Ætolian warre, and was deuising with *Antiochus* about sharing betweene them two the Kingdome of Egypt, wherein *Ptolomie Philopater* a friend vnto them both was newly dead, and had left his sonne *Ptol. Epiphanes* a yong childe his heire; the Bithynian entreated this his Father-in-law to come ouer into Asia, there to winne the Towne of the Ciani, and bestow it vpon him. *Prusias* had no right vnto the Towne, nor iust matter of quarrell against it: but it was fitly seated for him; and therewithall rich. *Philip* came, as one that could not well deny to helpe his Sonne-in-law. But hereby he mightily offended no small part of Greece. Embassadors came to him whilest he lay at the siege, from the Rhodians, and diuers other States: intreating him to forsake the enterprise. He gaue dilatorie, but otherwise gentle answers: making shew as if he would condescend to their request, when he intended nothing lesse. At length he got the Towne: where, euen in presence of the Embassadors, of whose sollicitation he had seemed so regardfull, Hee omitted no part of cruelty. Hereby hee rendred himselfe odious to his neighbours, as a perfidious and cruell Prince. Especially his fact was detested of the Rhodians, who had made vehement intercession for the poore Ciani: and were aduertised by Embassadors of purpose sent vnto them from *Philip*, That, howsoeuer it were in his power to winne the Towne as soone as he listed: yet in regard of his loue to the Rhodians, He was contented to giue it ouer. And by this his clemency, the Embassadours said, that he would manifest vnto the world, what slanderous tongues they were, which noysed abroad such reports, as went of his falshood and oppression. Whilest the Embassadours were declaming at Rhodes in the Theater to this effect; there came some that made a true relation of what had hapned: shewing that *Philip* had sacked & destroyed the Town of Cios, and, after a cruell slaughter of the Inhabitants, had made slaues of all that escaped the sword. If the Rhodians tooke this in great despite, no lesse were the Ætolians inflamed against him: since they had sent a Captaine to take charge of the Towne; being warned before by his doings at Lysimachia & Chalcedon (which he had withdrawn from their Confederacie to his owne) what little trust was to be reposed in the faith of this king. But most of all others was *Attalus* moued with consideration of the Macedonians violent ambition, & of his own estate. He had much to lose; and was not without hope of getting much if he could make a strong Partie in Greece. He had already, as a new king, followed the example of *Alexanders* Captaines, in purchasing with much liberality the loue of the Athenians; which were notable Trumpeters of other mens vertue, hauing lost their owne. On the friendship of the Ætolians hee had cause to presume; hauing bound them vnto him by good offices, many and great, in their late warre with *Philip*. The Rhodians that were

were mighty at Sea, and held very good intelligence with the Egyptians, Syrians, and many other Princes and States he easily drew into a streight alliance with him; by their hatred newly conceiued against *Philip*.

Vpon confidence in these his friends, but most of all, in the ready assistance of the Rhodians, *Attalus* prepared to deale with the Macedonian by open warre. It had beene vnseasonable to procrastinate, and expect whereto the doings of the Enemy tended; since his desire to fasten vpon Asia was manifest, and his falshood no lesse manifest, than was such his desire. They met with him shortly not farre from Chios, and fought with him a battaile at Sea: wherein though *Attalus* was driuen to runne his owne shippe on ground, hardly escaping to land: though the Admirall of the Rhodians took his death wound: and though *Philip* after the battaile tooke harbour vnder a Promontorie, by which they had fought, so that he had the gathering of the wracks vpon the shoare: Yet forasmuch as he had suffered far greater losse of ships and men, than had the Enemy: and since he durst not in few dayes after put foorth to Sea, when *Attalus* and the Rhodians came to braue him in his Port; the honour of the victory was adiudged to his Enemies. This notwithstanding, *Philip* afterwards besieged and wonne some Townes in Caria; whether only in a brauery, and to despight his opposites; or whether vpon any hopefull desire of conquest, it is vncertain. The stratageme, by which he wonne Prinassus, is worthy of noting. He attempted it by a Myne: and finding the earth so stony, that it resisted his worke; he neuertheless commanded the Pioners to make a noise vnder ground; and secretly in the night-time he raised great Mounts about the entrance of the Myne, to breed an opinion in the besieged, that the work went maruellously forward. At length he sent word to the Towns-men, that by his vnder-mining, two acres of their wall stood onely vpon woodden proppes, to which if he gaue fire, and entred by a breach, they should expect no mercy. The Prinassians little thought, that he had fetcht all his earth and rubbish by night a great way off, to raise vp those heapes which they saw; but rather that all had beene extracted out of the Myne. Wherefore they suffered themselues to be out-faced, and gaue vp the Towne as lost, which the Enemy had no hope to winne by force. But *Philip* could not stay to settle himselfe in those parts. *Attalus* and the Rhodians were too strong for him at Sea, and compelled him to make haste back into Macedon, whither they followed him all the way in manner of pursuit.

§. VIII.

The Romans, after their Carthaginian warre, seeke matter of quarrell against Philip. *The Athenians vpon slight cause, proclaime warre against* Philip; *mooued thereto by* Attalus; *whom they flatter.* Philip *winnes diuers Townes: and makes peremptory answer to the Roman Ambassadour. The furious resolution of the Abydeni.*

THese Asiatique matters, which no way concerned the Romans, yet serued well to make a noyse in Rome; and fill the peoples heads, if not with a desire of making warre in Macedon, at least with a conceit that it were expedient so to doe. The Roman Senate was perfectly informed of the state of those Eastern Countries; and knew, that there was none other Nation than the Greeks, which lay between them and the Lordship of Asia. These Greeks were factious, and seldome or neuer at peace. As for the Macedonian, though length of time, and continuall dealings in Greece euer since the reignes of *Philip* and *Alexander*, had left no difference betweene him and the Naturalls: yet most of them abhorred his Dominion, because he was originally forsooth a Barbarian: many of them hated him vpon ancient quarrels: and they that had beene most beholding vnto him, were neuertheless weary of him, by reason of his personall faults. All this gaue hope, that the affaires of Greece would not long detaine the Roman Armies: especially since the diuisions of the Country were such, that euery petty Estate was apt to take counsaile apart for it selfe; without much regarding the generality. But the poore Commonalty of Rome had no great affection to such a chargeable enterprise. They were already quite exhausted, by that grieuous war with *Hannibal*: wherein they had giuen by Loane to the Republike, all their money: neither had they as yet receiued, neither did they receiue vntill fifteene or sixteene yeers after this, their whole summe backe againe. That part of payment also which was already made, being not in present mony, but much of it in Land: it behoued them to rest a while; and bestow the more

more diligence in tilling their grounds, by how much they were the lesse able to bestow cost. Wherefore they took no pleasure to heare, that *Attalus* and the Rhodians had sent Embassadours to solicite them against *Philip*, with report of his bold attempts in Asia: or that *M. Aurelius*, their Agent in Greece, had sent letters of the same tenour to the Senate, and magnified his intelligence, by setting out the preparations of this dangerous enemy, that sollicited not onely the Townes vpon the Continent, but all the Ilands in those Seas, visiting them in person, or sending Embassadours, as one that meant shortly to hold warre with the Romans vpon their owne ground. *Philip* had indeed no such intent: neither was he much too strong either of himself, or by his alliance in Greece, to be resisted by *Attalus* and the Rhodians, especially with the helpe of the Ætolians their good friends, (and in a manner) his owne professed enemies. But such things must bee published abroad, if onely to predispose men vnto the warre, and giue it the more honest colour.

Philip was a man of ill condition; and therefore could not thriue by intermedling in the affaires of those that were more mighty than himselfe. He was too vnskilfull, or otherwise too vnapt, to retaine his old friends: yet would he needs be seeking new enemies. And hee found them such, as hee deserued to haue them: for he offered his helpe to their destruction, when they were in misery, and had done him no harme. It behoued him therfore, either to haue strained his forces to the vtmost in making warre vpon them; or in desisting from that iniurious course, to haue made amends for the wrongs past, by doing friendly offices of his owne accord. But He, hauing broken that League of peace which is of all other the most naturall, binding all men to offer no violence willingly, vnlesse they thinke themselues iustly prouoked; was afterwards too fondly perswaded, that he might well be secure of the Romans, because of the *written* Couenants of peace betweene him and them. There is not any forme of oath, whereby such articles of peace can be held inuiolable, saue onely * *by the water of Styx*, that is, by *Necessitie*: which whilest it binds one partie, or both vnto performance, making it apparant, that he shall be a loser who starts from the Conditions; it may so long (and so long onely) bee presumed, that there shall be no breach. Till *Hannibal* was vanquished, the Romans neuer hearkened after *Philip*: for necessity made them let him alone. But when once they had peace with Carthage, then was the Riuer of *Styx* dryed vp: and then could they sweare as * *Mercurie* did in the Comedie, by their owne selues, euen by their good swords, that they had good reason to make warre vpon him. The Voyage of *Sopater* into Africke, and the present warre against *Attalus*, were matter of quarrell as much as needed: or if this were not enough, the Athenians helped to furnish them with more.

* *Sir Fr. Bacon de Sap. Veterum.*

* *Plaut. Amphitr.*

The Athenians, being at this time Lords of no more than their owne barren Territory, tooke state vpon them neuertheless, as in their ancient fortune. Two yong Gentlemen of Acarnania entring into the Temple of *Ceres*, in the dayes of Initiation, (wherein were deliuered the mysteries of Religion, or rather of idolatrous superstition, vainely said to bee auaileable vnto felicitie after this life) discouered themselues by some impertinent questions, to be none of those that were initiated. Hereupon they were brought before the Officers: and though it was apparant, that they came into the place by meere error, not thinking to haue therein done amisse; yet, as it had beene for some haynous crime, they were put to death. All their Country-men at home took this in ill part; and sought to reuenge it as a publike iniurie, by warre vpon the Athenians. Procuring therfore of *Philip* some Macedonians to help them, they entred into Attica: who wasted it with fire and sword; and carried thence a great booty. This indignitie stirred vp the high-minded Athenians; and made them thinke vpon doing more, than they had ability to performe. All which at the present they could doe, was to send Embassadours to king *Attalus*; gratulating his happy successe against *Philip*, aud intreating him to visit their Citie. *Attalus* was hereto the more willing; because he vnderstood that the Roman Embassadors, houering about Greece for matter of intelligence, had a purpose to be there at the same time. So he went thither, accompanied, besides his own followers, with some of the Rhodians. Landing in the Piræus, he found the Romans there, with whom hee had much friendly conference: they reioycing that he continued enemy to *Philip*; & He being no lesse glad, when he heard of their purpose to renew the war. The Athenians came out of their Citie, all the Magistrates, Priests, and Citizens, with their wiues and children, in as solemne a pompe as they could deuise, to meet and honour the King. They entertained the

the Romans that were with him, in very louing manner: but towards *Attalus* himselfe they omitted no point of obseruance, which their flattery could suggest. At his first comming into the Citie they called the people to Assembly: where they desired him to honour them with his presence; and let them heare him speake. But he excused himselfe; saying, That with an euill grace he should recount vnto them those many benefits, by which hee studied to make them know what loue he bore them. Wherefore it was thought fit, that hee should deliuer in writing, what he would haue to be propounded. He did so. The points of his Declaration were; first, what he had willingly done for their sake: then, what had lately passed betweene him and *Philip*: lastly, an exhortation vnto them, to declare themselues against the Macedonian, whilest he with the Rhodians, and the Romans, were willing & ready to take their part: which if they now refused to doe, he protested, that afterwards it would be vaine to craue his helpe. There needed little intreatie: for they were as willing to proclaime the warre, as he to desire it. As for other matters, they loaded him with immoderate honours: and obtained, That vnto the ten Tribes, whereof the body of their Citizens consisted, should be added another, and called after his name; as if he were in part one of their Founders. To the Rhodians they also decreed a Crowne of Gold, in reward of their vertue; and made all the Rhodians free Citizens of Athens.

This began a great noyse of warre, wherein little was left vnto the Romans for their part; *Attalus* and the Rhodians taking all vpon them. But while these were vainely misspending the time, in seeking to draw the Ætolians to their partie: that contrary to their old manner were glad to be at quiet: *Philip* wonne the Townes of Maronea and Ænus, with many other strong places about the Hellespont. Likewise passing ouer the Hellespont, he laid siege vnto Abydus; and wonne it, though he was faine to stay there long. The towne held out, rather vpon an obstinate resolution, and hope of succour from *Attalus* and the Rhodians, than any great ability to defend it selfe against so mighty an Enemy. But the Rhodians sent thither onely one *Quadrireme* Gallie: and *Attalus* no more than three hundred men; farre too weake an aide to make good the place. The Roman Embassadours wondred much at this great negligence, of them that had taken so much vpon them.

These Embassadours *C. Claudius*, *M. Æmylius*, and *P. Sempronius*, were sent vnto *Ptolomie Eoiphanes* king of Egypt, to acquaint him with their victory against *Hannibal* and the Carthaginians; as also to thank him for his fauour vnto them shewed in that war; and to desire the continuance thereof, if they should need it against *Philip*. This Egyptian king was now in the third or fourth yeere of his Reigne, which (as his Father *Philopater* had done before him) he beganne a very yong boy. The courtesie for which the Romans were to thanke him, was, that out of Egypt they had lately beene supplied with Corne, in a time of Extreame Dearth, when the miseries of War had made all their own Prouinces vnable to relieue them. This message could not but bee welcome to the Egyptian; since it was well knowne, how *Philip* and *Antiochus* had combined themselues against him, conspiring to take away his Kingdome. And therefore it might in reason be hoped, that he, or his Councell for him, should offer to supply the Romans with Corne; since this their Macedonian Expedition concerned his Estate no lesse than theirs.

But as the errand was for the most part complementall; so had the Embassadours both leisure and direction from the Senate, to looke vnto the things of Greece by the side, & visite *Philip*, to try if he could make him leaue the siege of Abydus; which else he was like to carry. *Æmylius*, comming to *Philip*, tels him, that his doings are contrary to the League that he had made with the Romans. For *Attalus* and the Rhodians, vpon whom he made warre, were Confederate with Rome: and the towne of Abydus, which he was now besieging, had a kind of dependancie vpon *Attalus*. Hereto *Philip* answered, That *Attalus* and the Rhodians had made warre vpon him, and that he did only requite them with the like. *Doe you also* (said *Æmylius*) *requite these poore Abydeni with such terrible Warre, for any the like Inuasion by them first made vpon you?* The King was angry to heare himselfe thus taken short, and therefore hee roundly made answer to *Æmylius*; *It is your youth, Sir, and your beautie, and (aboue all,) your being a Roman, that maketh you thus presumptuous. But I would wish yee to*

to remember the League that ye haue made with me, and to keepe it: If ye doe otherwise, I will make ye vnderstand, that the Kingdome, and Name of Macedon is in matter of Warre, no lesse noble than the Roman. So he dismissed the Embassador; and had the Towne immediately yeelded to his discretion. The people had entertained a resolution, to haue died euery one of them, and set their Towne on fire; binding themselues hereto by a fearefull oath, when *Philip* denied to accept them vpon reasonable Conditions. But hauing in desperate fight, once repelling him from the Breach, lost the greatest number of their Youth: it was thought meet by the Gouernours and Ancients of the Citie to change this resolution, and take such peace as could be gotten. So they carried out their Gold and Siluer to *Philip*: about which whilest they were busie, the memory of their oath wrought so effectually in the yonger sort; that, by exhortation of their Priests, they fell to murdering their women, children, and themselues. Hereof the King had so little compassion, that He said, he would grant the *Abydeni* three dayes leisure to die: and to that end forbad his men to enter the towne; or hazard themselues in interrupting the violence of those mad fooles.

§. IX.

The Romans decree warre against Philip, *and send one of their Consuls into Greece, as it were in defence of the Athenians their Confederates. How poore the Athenians were at this time both in quality and estate.*

THis calamity of the *Abydeni*, was likened by the Romans vnto that of the Saguntines: which indeed it neerely resembled; though Rome was not alike interessed in the quarrell. But to helpe themselues with pretence for the warre, they had found out another Saguntum, euen the Citie of Athens: which if the Macedonian should winne, then rested there no more to doe, than that hee should presently embarke himselfe for Italie; whither he would come, not as *Hannibal* from Saguntum in fiue moneths, but in the short space of fiue dayes sayling. Thus *P. Sulpitius* the Consul told the multitude, when he exhorted them to make warre vpon *Philip*; which at his first propounding they had denied. The example of *Pyrrhus* was by him alleged; to shew, what *Philip*, with the power of a greater kingdome, might dare to vndertake: as also the fortunate Voyage of *Scipio* into Africk; to shew the difference of making warre abroad, and admitting it into the bowels of their owne Country. By such arguments was the Commonalty of Rome induced to beleeue, that this war with the Macedonian was both iust and necessary. So it was decreed: and immediatly the same Consul hasted away towards Macedon, hauing that Prouince allotted vnto him before, & all things in a readinesse, by order from the Senate; who followed other Motiues, than the people must bee acquainted with. Great thankes were giuen to the Athenian Embassadours, of their constancie (as was said) in not changing their faith at such time as they stood in danger of being besieged. And indeed great thankes were due to them, though not vpon the same occasion. For the people of Rome had no cause to thinke it a benefit vnto themselues, that any Greeke Town, refusing to sue vnto the Macedonian for peace, requested their helpe against him. But the Senate intending to take in hand the Conquest of the Easterne parts, had reason to giue thankes vnto those, that ministred the occasion. Since therefore it was an vntrue suggestion, That *Philip* was making readie for Italy: and since neither *Attalus*, the Rhodians, nor any other State in those quarters, desired the Romans to giue them protection: these busie-headed Athenians, who falling out with the Acarnanians, and consequently with *Philip*, a matter of *May-game*, (as was shewed before) sent Embassadors into all parts of the World, euen to *Ptolomy* of Egypt, and to the Romans, as well as to *Attalus* and others their neighbors; must be accepted as cause of the warre, and Authors of the benefit thence redounding.

Neuertheless as it loues to fall out where the meaning differs from the pretence: the doings of *P. Sulpitius* the Consul were such, as might haue argued Athens to be the least part of his care. He sailed not about Peloponnesus, but tooke the ready way to Macedon, and landing about the Riuer of Apsus, betweene Dyrrachium & Apollonia, there beganne the Warre. Soone vpon his comming, the Athenian Embassadors were with him, and craued his helpe: whereof they could make no benefit whilest hee was farre from them. They bemoaned themselues as men besieged, and intreated him to deliuer them.

them. For which cause he sent vnto them *C. Claudius* with twenty gallies, and a competent number of men: but the maine of his forces hee retained with him, for the prosequution of a greater designe. The Athenians were not indeed besieged: onely some Rouers from Chalcis, in the Ile of Eubœa, and some bands of aduenturers out of Corinth, vsed to take their shippes and spoyle their fields, because they had declared themselues against King *Philip*, that was Lord of these two townes. The robberies done by these Pyrats and Free-booters, were by the more eloquent than war-like Athenians, *in this declining Age of their* Fortune and Vertue, called a Siege. From such detriment the arriuall of *Claudius*, and shortly after of three Rhodian Gallies, easily preserued them. As for the Athenians themselues, they that had been wont, in ancient times, to vndertake the conquests of Egypt, Cyprus, and Cicil; to make war vpon the great Persian King, and to hold so much of Greece in subiection, as made them redoubtable vnto all the rest; had now no more than three ships, and those open ones, not much better than long boates. Yet thought they not themselues a whit the worse men, but stood as highly vpon the glory and vertue of their Ancestors, as if it had been still their owne.

§. X.

The Towne of Chalcis in Eubœa, taken and sackt by the Romans and their Associates, that lay in Garrison at Athens. Philip *attempteth to take Athens by surprize: wasteth the Country about, and makes a iourney into Peloponnesus. Of* Nabis *the Tyrant of Lacedæmon, and his wife.* Philip *offers to make warre against* Nabis *for the Achæans. He returneth home through Attica, which he spoyleth againe: and prouides against the Enemies. Some exploits of the Romans. Diuers Princes ioyne with them. Great labouring to draw the Ætolians into the warre.*

PHilip returning home from Abydus, heard newes of the Roman Consul his being about Apollonia. But ere he stirred foorth to giue him entertainement, or perhaps before hee had well resolued, whether it were best a while to sit still, and trie what might be done for obtaining of peace, or whether to make opposition, and resist these Inuaders with all his forces: he receiued aduertisement from Chalcis of a grieuous mishap there befallen him, by procurement of the Athenians. For *C. Claudius* with his Romans, finding no such worke at Athens as they had expected, or was answerable to the fame that went abroad, purposed to doe somewhat that might quicken the warre, and make his owne imployment better. Hee grew soone weary of sitting as a Scarre-crow, to saue the Athenians grounds from spoyle; and therefore gladly tooke in hand a businesse of more importance. The towne of Chalcis was very negligently guarded by the Macedonian Souldiers therein, for that there was no Enemy at hand: and more negligently by the Towne-men, who reposed themselues vpon their Garrison. Hereof *Claudius* hauing aduertisement, sailed thither by night, for feare of being descryed: and arriuing there a little before breake of day, tooke it by Scalado. Hee vsed no mercy, but slew all that came in his way; and wanting men to keepe it, (vnlesse he should haue left the heartlesse Athenians to their owne defence) Hee set it on fire; consuming the Kings Magazines of Corne, and all prouisions for Warre, which were plenteously filled. Neither were He and his Associates contented with the great abundance of spoyle which they carried about their ships, & with inlarging all those, whom *Philip*, as in a place of most securitie, kept there imprisoned: but, to shew their despight and hatred vnto the King, they ouerthrew and brake in pieces the Statuaes to him there erected. This done, they hasted away towards Athens: where the newes of their exploit was like to be ioyfully welcomed. The king lay then at Demetrias about some twenty miles thence; whither when these tidings, or part of them, were brought him, though he saw that it was too late to remedie the matter; yet he made all haste to take reuenge. He thought to haue taken the Athenians, with their trusty friends, busie at worke in ransacking the towne, and loading themselues with spoyle: but they were gone before his comming. Fiue thousand light-armed foot hee had with him, and three hundred horse: whereof leauing at Chalcis onely a few to bury the dead, Hee marched from thence away speedily toward Athens: thinking it not vnpossible to take his enemies, in the ioy of their Victory, as full of negligence, as they had taken Chalcis. Neither had he much failed of his expectation, if a Foot-post that stood Scout for the Citie vpon the borders, had not descried him a farre off, and swiftly carried word of his approach to

to Athens. It was mid-night when this Post came thither: who found all the Towne asleepe, as fearelesse of any danger. But the Magistrates, hearing his report, caused a trumpet out of their Cittadell to sound the Alarme, and with all speede made ready for defence. Within a few houres *Philip* was there: who seeing the many lights, and other signes of busie preparation vsuall in such a case, vnderstood that they had newes of his comming; and therefore willed his men, to repose themselues till it were day. It is like, that the paucitie of his followers did helpe well to animate the Citizens, which beheld them from the walls. Wherefore though *Claudius* were not yet returned (who was to fetch a compasse about by sea, and had no cause of haste) yet hauing in the towne some mercenarie Souldiers, which they kept, of their owne, besides the great multitude of citizens; they aduentured to issue forth at a gate, whereto they saw *Philip* make approach. The king was glad of this; reckoning all those his owne, that were thus hardie. Hee therefore onely willed his men to follow his example; and presently gaue charge vpon them. In that fight hee gaue singular proofe of his valour: and beating downe many of the Enemies with his owne hands, draue them with great slaughter backe into the citie. The heat of his courage transported him further, than discretion would haue allowed, euen to the very gate. But he retired without harme taking; for that they which were vpon the Towers ouer the gate, could not vse their casting weapons against him, without much indangering their owne people that were thronging before him into the city. There was a Temple of *Hercules*, a place of exercise, with a Groue, and many goodly Monuments besides, neere adioyning vnto Athens: of which he spared none; but suffered the rage of his anger to extend, euen vnto the sepulchres of the dead. The next day came the Romans, and some Companies of *Attalus* his men from Ægina; too late in regard of what was already past: but in good time to preuent him of satisfying his anger to the full, which as yet he had not done. So he departed from thence to Corinth, and hearing that the Achæans held a Parliament at Argos, Hee came thither to them vnexpected.

The Achæans were demising vpon warre: which they intended to make against *Nabis* the Tyrant of Lacedæmon: who being started vp in the room of *Machanidas*, did greater mischiefe than any that went before him. This Tyrant relyed wholly vpon his mercenaries: and of his subiects had no regard. He was a cruell oppressor; a greedy extortioner vpon those that liued vnder him; and one that in his naturall condition smelt rankly of the Hangman. In these qualities, his wife *Apega* was very fitly matched with him, since his dexteritie was no greater in spoyling the men, than hers in fleecing their wiues; whom she would neuer suffer to bee at quiet; till they had presented her with all their *iewels* and *apparell*. Her husband was so delighted with her propertie, that hee caused an Image to be made, liuely representing her; & apparelled it with such costly garments as she vsed to weare. But it was indeed an Engine, seruing to torment men. Heereof hee made vse, when he meant to trie the vertue of his Rhetorick. For calling vnto him some rich man, of whose money he was desirous; hee would bring him into the roome where this Counterfait *Apega* stood, and there vse all his art of perswasion; to get what he desired, as it were by good will. If he could not so speed, but was answered with excuses; then tooke he the refractory denier by the hand, and told him, that perhaps his Wife *Apega* (who sate by in a Chaire) could perswade more effectually. So he ledde him to the Image, that rose vp and opened the armes, as it were for imbracement. Those armes were full of sharpe yron nayles, the like whereof was also sticking in the breasts, though hidden with her clothes: and herewith she griped the poore wretch, to the pleasure of the Tyrant, that laughed at his cruell death. Such, and worse (for it were long to tell all here that is spoken of him) was *Nabis* in his Gouernement. In his dealings abroad hee combined with the Ætolians, as *Machanidas* and *Lycurgus* had done before him. By these he grew into acquaintance with the Romans; and was comprehended in the League which they made with *Philip*, at the end of their former warre. Of *Philopæmens* vertue he stood in feare; and therefore durst not prouoke the Achæans, as long as they had such an able Commander. But when *Cycliades*, a farre worse Captaine, was their Prætor; and all, or the greatest part of their Mercenaries were discharged; *Philopæmen* being also gone into Crete, to follow his beloued occupation of Warre: then did *Nabis* fall vpon their Territory; and wasting all the fields, made them distrust their owne safety in the Townes.

Liu. lib. 32.

Excerpt. è Polyb. l. 13.

Against

Against this Tyrant the Achæans were preparing for warre, when *Philip* came among them; and had set downe, what proportion of Souldiers euery Citie of their Corporation should furnish out. But *Philip* willed them, not to trouble themselues with the care of this businesse; forasmuch as he alone would ease them of this warre, and take the burden vpon himselfe. With exceeding ioy and thankes they accepted of this kinde offer. But then he told them, That, whilest he made warre vpon Lacedæmon, He ought not to leaue his owne Townes vnguarded. In which respect he thought they would be pleased, to send a few men to Corinth, & some Companies into the Ile of Eubœa; that so he might securely pursue the warre against *Nabis*. Immediately they found out his deuice; which was none other, than to engage their Nation in his warre against the Romans: Wherefore their Prætor *Cycliades* made him answer, That their Lawes forbade them to conclude any other matters in their Parliament, than those for which it was assembled. So passing the Decree, vpon which they had agreed before, for preparing warre against *Nabis*; he brake vp the Assembly, with euery mans good liking; whereas in former times, he had beene thought no better than one of the Kings Parasites.

It grieued the King to haue thus failed in his purpose with the Achæans. Neuertheless he gathered vp among them a few Voluntaries; and so returned by Corinth backe into Attica. There he met with *Philocles* one of his Captaines, that with two thousand men had beene doing what harme he might vnto the Countrie. With this addition of strength, he attempted the Castle of Eleusine, the Hauen of Pyreus, and euen the citie of Athens. But the Romans made such haste after him by Sea, thrusting themselues into euery of these places; that he could no more than wreake his anger vpon those goodly Temples, with which the Land of Attica was at that time singularly beautified. So hee destroyed all the works of their notable Artificers, wrought in excellent Marble; which they had in plenty, of their owne; or, hauing long agoe beene masters of the Sea, had brought from other places, where best choyce was found. Neither did he onely pull all downe: but caused his men to breake the very stones, that they might be vnseruiceable to their reparation. His losse at Chalcis being thus reuenged vpon Athens, Hee went home into Macedon: & there made prouision, both against the Roman Consul that lay about Apollonia; and against the Dardanians, with other his bad neighbors, which were likely to infest him. Among his other cares he forgot not the Ætolians: to whose Parliament, shortly to be held at Naupactus, he sent an Embassage, requesting them to continue in his friendship. Thus was *Philip* occupied.

Sulpicius the Roman Consul encamped vpon the Riuer of Apsus. Thence hee sent forth *Apustius*, his Lieutenant, with part of the Army, to waste the borders of Macedon. *Apustius* tooke sundry Castles and Townes; vsing such extremity of sword and fire at Antipatria, the first good Towne which he wonne by force, that none durst afterwards make resistance, vnlesse they knew themselues able to hold out. Returning towards the Consul with his spoyle, he was charged in Rere, vpon the passage of a brooke, by *Athenagoras* a Macedonian captaine: but the Romans had the better, & killing many of these enemies, tooke prisoners many more, to the increase of their booty, with which they arriued in safety at their camp. The successe of this Expedition, though it were not great, yet serued to draw into the Roman friendship, those that had formerly no good inclination to the Macedonian. These were *Pleuratus*, the son of *Scerdilaidas* the Illyrian: *Aminander* King of the Athamanians, and *Bato* the sonne of *Longarus*, a Prince of the Dardanians. They offered their assistance vnto the Consul, who thanked them: and said, That he would shortly make vse of *Pleuratus* and *Bato*, when hee entred into Macedon: but that the friendship of *Aminander*, whose Country lay betweene the Ætolians and Thessalie, might be perhaps auaileable with the Ætolians, to stirre them vp against *Philip*.

So the present care was wholly set vpon the Ætolian Parliament at hand. Thither came Embassadours from the Macedonian, Romans, & Athenians. Of which, the Macedonian spake first, and said: That as there was nothing fallen out, which should occasion the breach of peace betweene his master and the Ætolians: so was it to bee hoped, that they would not suffer themselues, without good cause, to be caried away after other mens fancies. He prayed them to consider, how the Romans heretofore had made shew, as if their warre in Greece tended only to the defence of the Ætolians, and yet notwithstanding had been angry, that the Ætolians, by making peace with *Philip*, had no longer need

need of such their Patronage. What might it be that made them so busie, in obtruding their protection vpon those that needed it not? Surely it was euen the generall hatred, which these Barbarians bore vnto the Greeks. For euen after the same sort had they lent their help to the Mamertines: and afterwards deliuered Syracuse, when it was oppressed by Carthaginian tyrants, but now both Syracuse & Messana, were subiect vnto the Rods and Axes of the Romans. To the same effect he alleaged many examples; adding, That in like sort it would happen to the Ætolians: who if they drew such masters into Greece, must not looke hereafter to hold, as now, free Parliaments of their owne, wherein to consult about Warre and Peace: the Romans would ease them of this care, & send them such a Moderator, as went euery yeere from Rome to Syracuse. Wherefore he concluded, that it was best for them, whilest as yet they might, and whilst one of them as yet could helpe the other, to continue in their League with *Philip*: with whom if at any time, vpon light occasion, they happened to fall out, they might as lightly be reconciled: and with whom they had three yeers agoe made the peace which still continued; although that the very same Romans were then against it, who sought to breake it now. It would haue troubled the Romans, to frame a good answer to these obiections. For the Macedonian had spoken the very truth, in shewing whereunto this their Patronage, which they offered with such importunitie, did tend. Wherfore the Athenians were set on by them to speake next: who had store of eloquence, and matter of recrimination enough, to make *Philip* odious. These affirmed, that it was a great impudence in the Macedonian Embassadour, to cal the Romans by the name of Barbarians: knowing in what barbarous manner his owne king had, in few daies past, made Warre vpon the gods themselues, by destroying all their Temples in Attica. Herewithall they made a pittifull rehearsall of their owne calamities: and said, that if *Philip* might haue his will, Ætolia, and all the rest of Greece, should feele the same that Attica had felt; yea that Athens it selfe, together with *Minerua*, *Iupiter*, *Ceres*, and other of the gods, were like to haue felt, if the walles and the Roman armes had not defended them.

Then spake the Romans: who excusing, as well as they could, their owne oppression of all those, in whose defence they had heretofore taken Armes, went roundly to the point, in hand. They said, that they had of late made Warre in the Ætolians behalfe, and that the Ætolians had without their consent made peace: whereof since the Ætolians must excuse themselues, by alledging that the Romans, being busied with Carthage, wanted leisure to giue them aide conuenient: so this excuse being now taken away, and the Romans wholly bent against their common Enemy, it concerned the Aetolians to take part with them in their war and victory, vnlesse they had rather perish with *Philip*.

It might easily be perceiued, that they which were so vehement, in offring their help ere it was desired, were themselues carried vnto the warre by more earnest motiues, than a simple desire to helpe those friends, with whom they had no great acquaintance. This may haue been the cause, why *Dorymachus* the Aetolian Prætor shifted them off a while with a dilatorie answer: though he told his Country-men, That by reserving themselues, till the matter were inclined one way or other, they might afterwards take part with those that had the better fortune. His answer was, first, in generall termes; That ouermuch haste was an enemy to good counsaile: for which cause they must further deliberate, ere they concluded. But comming neerer to the matter in hand, Hee passed a Decree; *That the Prætor might at any time call an Assembly of the States, and therein conclude vpon this businesse; any Law to the contrary notwithstanding*: whereas otherwise it was vnlawfull to treat of such affaires, excepting two of their great Parliaments, that were held at set times.

§. XI.

The meeting of Philip *with the Romans, and skirmishing with them on his borders. The Ætolians inuade his dominions, and are beaten home. Some deings of* Attalus *and the Roman Fleet.*

PHilip was glad to heare, that the Romans had sped no better in their sollicitation of the Ætolians. Hee thought them heereby disappointed in the very beginning, of one great helpe; and meant himselfe to disappoint them of another. His sonne *Perseus*, a ward boy, was sent to keepe the Streights of Pelagonia against the Dardanians;

Dardanians, hauing with him some of the Kings Councell, to gouerne both him and his Army. It was iudged, as may seeme, that the presence of the Kings sonne, how yong soeuer, would both encourage his followers, and terrifie the enemies, by making them at least beleeue, that hee was not weakely attended. And this may haue beene the reason, why the same *Perseus*, a few yeeres before this, was in like manner left vpon the borders of Ætolia by his father; whom earnest businesse called thence another way. No danger of enemies being left on either hand: it was thought, that the Macedonian Fleet vnder *Heraclides*, would serue to keepe *Attalus*, with the Rhodians and Romans, from doing harme by Sea, when the Kings backe was turned; who tooke his iourney Westward against *Sulpicius* the Consul.

The Armies met in the Countrey of the *Dessaretij*, a people in the vtmost borders of Macedon towards Illyria, about the mountaines of Candauia; that running along from Hæmus in the North vntill they ioyne in the South with Pindus, inclose the Westerne parts of Macedon. Two or three dayes they lay in sight the one of the other, without making offer of battaile. The Consul was the first that issued foorth of his Campe into the open field. But *Philip* was not confident in the strength which hee had then about him; and therfore thought it better to send foorth some of his light-armed Mercenaries, and some part of his horse, to entertaine them with skirmish. These were easily vanquished by the Romans, and driuen backe into their Campe. Now although it was so, that the king was vnwilling to hazzard all at first vpon a Cast, and therefore sent for *Perseus* with his Companies, to increase his owne forces: yet being no lesse vnwilling to lose too much in reputation; He made shew a day after, as if he would haue fought. Hee had found the aduantage of a place fit for ambush, wherein hee bestowed as many as hee thought meet of his Targettiers: and so gaue charge to *Athenagoras*, one of his Captains to prouoke out the Romans to fight; instructing both him and the Targettiers, how to behaue themselues respectiuely, as opportunitie should fall out. The Romans had no mistrust of any ambush, hauing fought vpon the same ground a day before. Wherefore perhaps they might haue sustained some notable detriment, if the kings directions had beene well followed. For when *Athenagoras* began to fall backe, they charged him so hotly, that they draue him to an hasty flight, and pursued him as hard as they were able. But the Captaines of the Targettiers, not staying to let them runne into the danger, discouered themselues before it was time, and thereby made frustrate the worke, to which they were appointed. The Consul hereby gathered, that the king had some desire to trie the fortune of a battaile: which he therfore presented the second time; leading forth his Army, and setting it in order, with Elephants in the front: a kinde of help which the Romans had neuer vsed before, but had taken these of late from the Carthaginians. Such are the alterations wrought by Time. It was scarce aboue fourescore yeeres ere this, that *Pyrrhus* carried Elephants out of Greece into Italy, to affright the Romans, who had neuer seene any of those beasts before. But now the same Romans (whilest possibly some were yet aliue, which had known that Expedition of *Pyrrhus*) come into Macedon, bringing Elephants with them: whereof the Macedonians and Greeks haue none. *Philip* had patience to let the Consul braue him at his Trenches: wherein he did wisely: for the Roman had greater need to fight, than Hee. *Sulpicius* was vnwilling to lose time: neither could he, without great danger, lying so neere the Enemy, that was strong in Horse, send his men to fetch in corne out of the fields. Wherefore he remoued eight miles off: presuming that *Philip* would not aduenture to meet him on euen ground; and so the more boldly hee suffered his Forragers to ouer-runne the Countrey. The king was nothing sorry of this; but permitted the Romans to take their good pleasure: euen till their presumption, and his owne supposed feare, should make them carelesse. When this was come to passe, hee tooke all his horse, and light-armed foot, with which hee occupied a place in the mid-way, betweene the Forragers and their Campe. There hee stayed in Couert with part of his forces; to keepe the passages that none should escape. The rest he sent abroad the Countrey, to fall vpon the straglers: willing them to put all to the sword and let none run home with newes to the Campe. The slaughter was great: and those which escaped the hands of them that were sent abroad to scowre the fields, lighted all or most of them vpon the king and his companies in their flight: so as they were cut off by the way. Long it was ere the Campe had newes of this. But in the end there escaped some: who though they could not make any perfect relation how the matter went:

went: yet by telling what had happened to themselues, raised a great tumult. *Sulpicius* hereupon sends foorth all his horse, and bids them helpe their fellowes where they saw it needfull: He himselfe with the Legions followed. The companies of Horse diuided themselues, accordingly as they met with aduertisements vpon the way, into many parts: not knowing where was most of the danger. Such of them as lighted vpon *Philips* Troupes, that were canuassing the field, tooke their taske where they found it: But the maine bulke of them fell vpon the King himselfe. They had the disaduantage; as comming fewer, and vnprepared, to one that was ready for them. So they were beaten away: as their fellowes also might haue beene, if the King had well bethought himselfe, and giuen ouer in time. But while, not contented with such an haruest, he was too greedy about a poore gleaning: the Roman Legions appeared in sight: which emboldened their horse to make a re-charge. Then the danger apparant, enforced the Macedonians to looke to their owne safetie. They ran which way they could: and (as men that lie in waite for others, are seldome heedfull of that which may befall themselues) to escape the Enemie, they declined the fairest way; so as they were plunged in Marishes and Bogges, wherein many of them were lost. The Kings horse was slaine vnder him: and there had hee beene cast away, if a louing subiect of his had not alighted; mounted him vpon his owne horse; and deliuered him out of perill, at the expence of his owne life, that running on foot was ouertaken and killed.

In the common opinion *Philip* was charged with improuident rashnes; and the Consul, with as much dulnesse, for his dayes seruice. A little longer stay would haue deliuered the king from these enemies without any blow: since when all the fields about them were wasted, they must needes haue retired backe to the Sea. On the other side, it was not thought vnlikely, That if the Romans following the king, had set vpon his Campe, at such time as hee fled thither, halfe amazed with feare of being either slaine or taken, they might haue wonne it. But that Noble Historian, *Liuie*, (as is commonly his manner) hath iudiciously obserued, That neither the one, nor the other, were much too blame in this dayes worke. For the maine body of the Kings Armie lay safe in his Campe; and could not be so astonished with the losse of two or three hundred Horse, that it should therefore haue abandoned the defence of the Trenches. And as for the King himselfe, he was aduertised, that *Pleuratus* the Illyrian, and the Dardanians, were fallen vpon his Countrey; when they found the passage thereinto open, after *Perseus* was called away from custody of the Streights. This was it which made him aduenture to doe somewhat betimes; that he might set the Romans going the sooner, and afterwards looke vnto his troublesome neighbours. In consideration of this, *Philip* was desirous to cleere himselfe of the Romans, as soone as he might. And to that purpose hee sent vnto the Consul; requesting a day of truce for buriall of the dead. But in stead of so doing, he marched away by night, and left fires in his Camp to beguile the enemy, as if he had not stirred out of the place. *Sulpicius*, when he heard of the Kings departure, was not slow to follow him. He ouertook the Macedonians in a place of strength, which they had fenced (for it was a wooddy ground) by cutting downe trees, and laying them athwart the way where it was most open. In making of such places good, the Macedonian *Phalanx* was of little vse; being a square battell of pikes, not fit for euery ground. The Archers of Crete were iudged, and were indeed, more seruiceable in that case. But they were few, and their arrows were of small force against the Roman shields. The Macedonians therfore helped them by flinging of stones. But to no purpose. For the Romans got within them; and forced them to quit the place. This victory (such as it was) layd open vnto the Consull some poore Townes thereabout; which partly were taken by strong hand, partly yeelded for feare. But the spoyle of these, and of the fields adioyning, was not sufficient to maintaine his Army; and therefore he returned backe to Apollonia.

The Dardanians, hearing that *Philip* was come backe, withdrew themselues apace out of the Countrey. The King sent *Athenagoras* to waite vpon them home; whilest he himselfe went against the Ætolians. For *Damocritus* the Prætor of the Ætolians, who had reserued himselfe and his Nation vnto the euent of things, hearing report, that *Philip* was beaten once & again: as also that *Pleuratus* & the Dardanians were fallen vpon Macedon; grew no lesse busie on the sudden, than before he had beene wise. He perswaded his Nation to take their time: and so, not staying to proclaime warre, ioyned his forces with *Aminander* the Athamanian; and made inuasion vpon Thessaly. They tooke and cruelly

cruelly sacked a few Townes: whereby they grew confident; as if, without any danger, they might doe what they listed. But *Philip* came vpon them ere they looked for him: and killing them as they lay dispersed, was like to haue taken their Camp; if *Aminander*, more warie than the Ætolians, had not helped at need, and made the Retrait through his owne mountainous Countrey.

About the same time; the Roman Fleet, assisted by *Attalus* and the Rhodians, had taken some small Ilands in the Ægean Sea. They tooke likewise the Towne of Oreum in the Isle of Euboea; and some other places thereabout. The Townes were giuen vnto *Attalus*, after the same Compact that had formerly beene made with the Ætolians: the goods therein found were giuen vnto the Romans; and the people, for slaues. Other attempts on that side were hindred; either by foule weather at Sea; or by want of daring, and of meanes.

§. XII.

Villius *the Roman Consul wastes a yeere to no effect. Warre of the Gaules in Italy. An Embassie of the Romans to Carthage,* Masanissa, *and* Vermina. *The Macedonian prepares for defence of his Kingdome: and* T. Quintius Flaminius *is sent against him.*

THus the time ranne away: and *P. Vilius* a new Consul, tooke charge of the warre in Macedon. He was troubled with a Mutinie of his oldest Souldiers: whereof two thousand, hauing serued long in Sicil and Africk, thought themselues much wronged, in that they could not bee suffered to looke vnto their owne estates at home. They were (belike) of the Legions that had serued at Cannæ: as may seeme by their complaint, of hauing beene long absent from Italy, whither faine they would haue returned, when by their Colonels they were shipped for Macedon. How *Villius* dealt with them, it is vncertaine. For the History of his yeere is lost: whereof the misse is not great, since he did nothing memorable. *Valerius Antias*, as we finde in *Liuie*, hath adorned this *Villius* with a great exploit against *Philip*. Yet since *Liuie* himselfe, an Historian to whom few of the best are matchable, could finde no such thing recorded in any good Author; we may reasonably beleeue, that *Villius* his yeere was idle. *Liu. l. 32.*

In the beginning of this Macedonian War, the Romans found more trouble than could haue beene expected with the Gaules. Their Colonie of Placentia, a goodly and strong Towne, which neither *Hannibal*, nor after him *Asdrubal*, had beene able to force; was taken by these Barbarians, and burnt in a manner to the ground. In like sort Cremona was attempted; but saued her selfe, taking warning by her neighbours calamitie. *Amilcar* a Carthaginian, that staied behinde *Asdrubal*, or *Mago*, in those parts; was now become Captaine of the Gaules, in these their enterprises. This when the Romans heard, they sent Embassadours to the Carthaginians: giuing them to vnderstand, That, if they were not wearie of the peace, it behooued them to call home, and deliuer vp, this their Citizen *Amilcar*, who made war in Italy. Hereunto it was added (perhaps lest the message might seeme otherwise to haue sauoured a little of some feare) That of the Fugitiue slaues belonging to the Romans, there were some reported to walke vp and downe in Carthage: which if it were so, then ought they to be restored back to their Masters; as was conditioned in the late Peace. The Embassadours that were sent on this errand, had further charge to treat with *Masanissa*, as also with *Vermina* the sonne of *Syphax*. Vnto *Masanissa*, besides matter of complement, they were to signifie what pleasure Hee might doe them, by lending them some of his Numidian Horse, to serue in their Warre against the Macedonian. *Vermina* had entreated the Senate, to vouchsafe vnto him the name of *King*: and promised thereafter to deserue it, by his readinesse in doing them all good offices. But they were somewhat scrupulous in the matter: and said, That hauing beene, and being still (as they tooke it) their Enemie, He ought first of all to desire peace; for that the name of *King*, was an honour which they vsed not to conferre vpon any, saue onely vpon such as had royally deserued it at their hands. The authoritie to make peace with him, was wholly committed vnto these Embassadours, vpon such termes as they should thinke fit; without further relation to the Senate and People. For they were then busied with greater cares. The Carthaginians made a gentle answer, That they wholly disclaimed *Amilcar*: banishing him, and confiscating his goods. As for the Fugitiues: they had restored as many as they could finde; and would in that point, as farre as was requisite,

requisite, giue satisfaction to the Senate. Herewithall they sent a great proportion of Corn to Rome; and the like vnto the Armie that was in Macedon. King *Masanissa* would haue lent vnto the Romans two thousand of his Numidian Horse: but they were contented with halfe the number; and would accept no more. *Vermina* met with the Embassadours, to giue them entertainement, on the borders of his Kingdome; and without any disputation, agreed with them vpon termes of peace.

Thus were the Romans busied in taking order for their Macedonian Warre, that they might pursue it strongly, and without interruption. As for *Amilcar* and his Gaules: they laide siege vnto Cremona; where *L. Furius* a Roman Prætor came vpon them, fought a battaile with them, and ouercame them. *Amilcar* the Carthaginian died in this battaile: and the fruit of the victorie was such, as both made amends for losses past, and left the worke easie to those, that afterwards should haue the managing of warre among those Gaules. So was there good leisure to thinke vpon the businesse of Macedon: where *Philip* was carefully prouiding to giue contentment vnto his Subiects, by punishing a bad Counsailour whom they hated; as also to assure vnto himselfe the Achæans, by rendring vnto them some Townes that he held of theirs; and finally to strengthen his Kingdome, not onely by exercising and trayning his people, but by fortifying the passages that led thereinto out of Epirus. This was in doing, when *Villius*, hauing vnprofitably laboured to finde way into Macedon, taking a iourney (as *Sulpicius* had done before him) wherein he could not be supplied with victuals, determined at length to trie a new course. But then came aduertisement, that *T. Quintius Flaminius* was chosen Consul, and had Macedon allotted him for his Prouince; whose comming was expected; and he very shortly arriued at the Armie.

§. XIII.

The Romans begin to make warre by negotiation. T. Quintius *winnes a passage against* Philip. *Thessaly wasted by* Philip, *the Romans, and Aetolians. The Acheans forsaking the Macedonian, take part with the Romans. A treatie of peace, that was vaine.* Philip *deliuers Argos to* Nabis *the Tyrant, who presently enters into League with the Romans.*

THe Romans had not beene wont in former times, to make Warre after such a trifling manner. It was their vse, to giue battaile to the Enemie, as soone as they met with him. If he refused it, they besieged his Townes: and so forced him to trie the fortune of a day, with his disaduantage in reputation, when he had long forborne it (as it would be interpreted) vpon knowledge of his owne weakneſse. But in this their Warre with *Philip*, they began to learne of the subtle Greekes, the art of Negotiation: wherein hitherto they were not growne so fine, as within a little while they proued. Their Treasury was poore, and stood indebted,* many yeers after this, vnto priuat men, for part of those moneys that had beene borrowed in the second Punicke Warre. This had made the Commonaltie auerse from the Macedonian warre; and had thereby driuen the Senators, greedy of the enterprize, to make vse of their cunning. Yet being weary of the slow pace wherwith their businesse went forward, they determined to increase their Armie, that they might haue the lesse need to relie vpon their Confederates. So they leuied eight thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse (the greater part of them of the Latines) which they sent with *T. Quintius Flaminius*, the new Consul into Macedon. Their Nauie, and other meanes could well haue serued, for the setting foorth and transportation of a greater Armie: but by straining themselues to the most of their ability, they should (besides other difficulties incident vnto the sustenance of those that are too many and too farre from home) haue bred some iealousie in their friends of Greece, and thereby haue lost some friends, yea, perhaps haue increased the number of their enemies more than of their owne Souldiers. This present augmentation of the forces was very requisite; for that *Attalus*, about the same time, excused himselfe vnto them, by his Embassadours; requesting that either they would vndertake the defence of his Kingdome against *Antiochus*, who inuaded it; or else that they would not take it vncourteously, that hee quitted the Warre with *Philip*, and returned home, to looke vnto that which more concerned him. Their answer was remarquable. They said, That it was not their manner to vse the ayde of their friends, longer than their friends had good opportunitie, and could also bee well contented to afoord it;

* Liu. l. 34.

That

That they could not honestly take part with *Attalus*, their good friend though he were, against *Antiochus*, whom they held in the like account; but, That they would deale with *Antiochus* by Embassadours, and (as common friends vnto both of the Kings) doe their best to perswade an attonement betweene them. In such louing fashion did they now carry themselues, towards their good friend the King *Antiochus*; who reciprocally at their intreaty, withdrew his Army from the kingdome of *Attalus*. But how little they regarded these termes of friendship, after that once they had made an end with *Philip*, it will very soone appeare.

T. Quintius hasting away from Rome, came betimes into his Prouince, with the supply decreed vnto him; which consisted, for the most part, of old Souldiers, that had serued in Spaine and Africk. He found *Villius* the old Consul, (whom at his comming hee presently discharged) & king *Philip* of Macedon, encamped one against the other, in the Streights of Epirus; by the riuer of Apsus or Aous. It was manifest, that either the Romans must fetch a compasse about, and seek their way into Macedon, through the poore Countrey of the Dassaretians; or else winne, by force, that passage which the King defended. In taking the former way, they had already two yeeres together mis-spent their time, and beene forced to returne backe without profit, for want of victualls: whereof they could neither carry with them store sufficient, nor finde it on the way. But if they could once get ouer these Mountains, which diuided the South of Epirus from Thessaly, then should they enter into a plentifull Country; and, which by long dependance on the Macedonian, was become (in a maner) part of his kingdome, whereof it made the South border. Neuertheleſse, the desire of winning this passage, was greater than the likelihood. For the Riuer of Apsus, running along through that valley which alone was open betweene the Mountaines, made it all a deep Marish and vnpassable Bogge: a very narrow way excepted, and a path cut out of the maine rocke by mans hand. Wherefore *Quintius* assayled to climbe in the Mountaines: but finding himselfe disappointed of this hope, through the diligence of his enemie, who neglected not the guard of them that was very easie; he was compelled to sit stil, without doing any thing for the space of forty daies.

This long time of rest gaue hope vnto *Philip*, that the war might bee ended by composition, vpon some reasonable termes. He therefore so dealt with some of the Epirots, (among whom hee had many friends) that Hee and the Consull had a meeting together. But nothing was effected. The Consull would haue him to set all Townes of Greece at libertie; and to make amends for the iniuries, which he had done to many people in his late warres. *Philip* was contented to giue libertie to those whom hee had subdued of late; but vnto such, as had beene long subiect vnto him and his Ancestors, Hee thought it against all reason, that hee should relinquish his clayme and dominion ouer them. He also said, That as farre foorth as it should appeare that hee had done wrong vnto any Towne or people whatsoeuer, He could well be pleased to make such amends, as might seeme conuenient in the iudgement of some free State, that had not beene interessed in those quarrells. But herewithall *Quintius* was not satisfied. There needed (he said) no iudgement or compromise; forasmuch as it was apparant, that *Philip* had alwaies been the Inuader; and had not made warre, as one prouoked, in his owne defence. After this altercation, when they should come to particulars: and when the Consul was required to name those Towns, that he would haue to be set at libertie; the first that he named were the Thessalians: These had beene subiects (though conditionall) vnto the Macedonian Kings, euer since the daies of *Alexander* the Great, and of *Philip* his Father. Wherefore, as soone as *Flaminius* had named the Thessalians, the king in a rage demanded what sharper condition Hee would haue laid vpon him, had hee beene but vanquished. And herewithall abruptly he flang away, refusing to heare any more of such discourse.

After this the Consull stroue in vaine two or three dayes together, to haue preuailed against the difficulties of that passage which *Philip* kept. When he had well wearied himselfe, and could not resolue what course to take: there came to him an Heards-man sent from *Charopus* a Prince of the Epirots that fauoured the Romans, who hauing long kept beasts in those Mountaines, was throughly acquainted with all by-paths, and therefore vndertooke to guide the Romans, without any danger, to a place where they should haue aduantage of the Enemy. This guide, for feare of treacherous dealing, was fast bound:

bound: and being promised a great reward, in case hee made good his word, had such Companies as was thought fit, appointed to follow his directions. They trauailed by night (it being then about the full of the Moone) and rested in the day-time, for feare of being discouered. When they had recouered the hill-tops, and were aboue the Macedonians, (though vndiscouered by them, because at their backs) they raised a great smoke, whereby they gaue notice of their successe vnto the Consul. Some skirmishes, whilest these were on their iourny, *T. Quintius* had held with the Macedonian; thereby to auert him from thought of that which was intended. But when on the third morning he saw the smoke arise more and more plainly, and thereby knew that his men had attained vnto the place whither they were sent, hee pressed as neere as he could vnto the Enemies Campe, and assailed them in their strength. He preuailed as little as in former times, vntill the shoutings of those that ran downe the hill, and charged *Philip* on the backe, astonished so the Macedonians, that they betooke themselues to flight. The King, vpon first apprehension of the danger, made all speed away to saue himselfe. Yet anon considering, that the difficulty of the passage must needes hinder the Romans from pursuing him: hee made a stand at the end of fiue miles, and gathered there together his broken troups, of whom he found wanting no more than two thousand men. The greatest losse was of his Campe and prouisions: if not rather perhaps of his reputation; for that now the Macedonians began to stand in feare, lest being driuen from a place of such aduantage, they should hardly make good their party against the Enemy, vpon equall ground. Neither was *Philip* himselfe much better perswaded. Wherefore he caused the Thessalians, as many of them as in his hastie retrait hee could visit, to forsake their Townes and Countrie, carying away with them as much as they were able, and spoyling all the rest. But all of them could not be perswaded, thus to abandon (for the pleasure of their king) their ancient habitations, and all the substance which they had gotten. Some there were that forcibly resisted him; which they might the better doe, for that he could not stay to vse any great compulsion. He also himselfe tooke it very grieuously, that he was driuen to make such waste of a most pleasant and fruitfull Countrey, which had euer been well affected vnto him: so that a little hinderance did serue, to make him breake off his purpose, and withdraw himselfe home into his kingdome of Macedon.

The Ætolians and Athamanians, when this fell out, were euen in a readinesse to inuade Thessaly; whereinto the wayes lay more open, out of their seuerall Countries. When therefore they heard for certainty, that *Philip* was beaten by the Romans: they foreslowed not the occasion, but made all speed, each of them to lay hold vpon what they might. *T. Quintius* followed them within a little while: but they had gotten so much before his coming, that he, in gleaning after their haruest, could not finde enough to maintaine his Army. Thus were the poore Thessalians, of whose liberty the Romans a few dayes since had made shew to be very desirous, wasted by the same Romans and their Confederates; not knowing which way to turne themselues, or whom to auoyde. *T. Quintius* wonne Phaleria by assault: Metropolis and Piera yeelded vnto him. Rhage he besieged: and hauing made a faire breach, yet was vnable to force it; so stoutly it was defended both by the Inhabitants, and by a Macedonian garrison therein. *Philip* also at the same time, hauing somewhat recollected his spirits, houered about Tempe with his Army, thrusting men into all places, that were like to be distressed. So the Consul, hauing well-neere spent his victuals, and seeing no hope to preuaile at Rhage; brake vp his siege, and departed out of Thessaly. He had appointed his ships of burden to meete him at Anticyra, an Hauen Towne of Phocis, on the Gulph of Corinth: which Country being friend to the Macedonian, he presently inuaded; not so much for hatred vnto the people, as because it lay conueniently seated between Thessaly and other regions, wherein he had businesse, or was shortly like to haue. Many Townes in Phocis he wonne by assault: many were yeelded vp vnto him for feare; and within short space hee had (in effect) mastered it all.

In the meane time *L. Quintius* the Consuls brother, being then Admirall for the Romans in this warre, ioyned with King *Attalus* and the Rhodian Fleete. They wonne two Cities in Euboea; and afterward laid siege vnto Cenchree, an Hauen and Arcenall of the Corinthians on their Easterne Sea. This enterprise did somewhat helpe forward the Achæans, in their desire to leaue the part of *Philip*: since it might come to passe, that Corinth it selfe, ere long time were spent; & that Cenchree, with other places appertaining to

to Corinth, now very shortly should be rendred vnto their Nation, by fauour of the Romans.

But there were other Motiues, inducing the Achæans to preferre the friendship of the Romans, before the patronage of *Philip*; whereto they had beene long accustomed. For this King had so many wayes offended them in time of peace, that they thought it the best course to rid their hands of him; whilest being intangled in a dangerous warre, hee wanted meanes to hinder the execution of such counsaile, as they should hold the safest. His tyrannious practises to make himselfe their absolute Lord: His poysoning of *Aratus* their old Gouernour: His false dealing with the Messenians, Epirots, and other people their Confederates, and his owne dependants: together with many particular outrages by him committed; had caused them long since to hold him as a *necessarie euill*, euen whilest they were vnable to be without his assistance. But since by the vertue of *Philopæmen*, they were growne somewhat confident in their owne strength, so as without the Macedonians helpe they could as well subsist, as hauing him to friend: then did they only thinke how *euill* he was; and thereupon reioyce the more, in that hee was become no longer *necessary*. It angred him to perceiue how they stood affected: and therefore hee sent murderers, to take away the life of * *Philopæmen*. But failing in this enterprise; and being detected, he did thereby onely set fire to the Wood, which was throughly drie before, and prepared to burne. *Philopæmen* wrought so with the Achæans, that no discourse was more familiar with them, than what great cause they had to withdraw themselues from the Macedonian. *Cycliadas*, a principall man among them, and lately their Prætor, was expelled by them, for shewing himselfe passionate in the cause of *Philip*; and *Aristenus* chosen Prætor, who laboured to ioyne them in societie with the Romans.

* *Plut. in vita Philopæm. Iust. l. 29.*

These newes were very welcome to *T. Quintius*. Embassadours were sent from the Romans, and their Confederates, King *Attalus*, the Rhodians, and Athenians, to treat with the Achæans, making promise, that they should haue Corinth restored vnto them, if they would forsake the Macedonian. A Parliament of the Achæans was held at Sycion, to deliberate and resolue in this weightie case. Therein the Romans and their adherents desired the Achæans, to ioyne with them in making warre vpon *Philip*. Contrariwise, the Embassadors of *Philip*, whom he had also sent for this busines, admonishing the Achæans of their Alliance with the king, & of their faith due vnto him; requested them, that they would be contented to remaine as Neuters. This moderate request of *Philips* Embassadour, did no way aduance his Masters cause. Rather it gaue the Achæans to vnderstand, That hee, who could bee satisfied with so little at their hands, knew himselfe vnable to gratifie them in any reciprocall demand. Yet were there many in that great Councell; who remembring the benefites of *Philip* and *Antigonus*, laboured earnestly for the preseruation of the ancient League. But in fine, the sense of late iniuries, and expectation of like or worse from him in the future; preuailed against the memorie of those old good turnes, which hee, (and *Antigonus* before him) had partly sold vnto them, and partly had vsed as baites, whereby to allure them into absolute subiection. Neither was it perhaps of the least importance; That the Romans were strong, and likely to preuaile in the end. So after much altercation, the Decree passed, That they should thenceforward renounce the Macedonian, and take part with his enemies in this warre. With *Attalus* and the Rhodians, they forthwith entred into societie: with the Romans (because no League would bee of force, vntill the Senate and people had approued it) they forbore to decree any societie at the present, vntill the returne of those Embassadours from Rome, which they determined to send thither of purpose. The Megalopolitans, Dymeans, and Argiues, hauing done their best for the Macedonian, as by many respects they were bound; rose vp out of the Councell, and departed before the passing of the Decree; which they could not resist, nor yet with honesty thereto giue assent. For this their good will, and greater, which they shortly manifested, the Argiues had so little thanke; that all the rest of the Achæans may be the better held excused, for escaping how they might, out of the hands of so fell a Prince.

Soone after this, vpon a solemne day at Argos, the affection of the Citizens discouered it selfe so plainely, in the behalfe of *Philip*, that they which were his Partisans within the Towne, made no doubt of putting the Citie into his hands, if they might haue any small assistance. *Philocles*, a Lieutenant of the Kings, lay then in Corinth, which he had manfully defended against the Romans and *Attalus*. Him the Conspirators drew to

Argos; whither comming on a sudden, and finding the Multitude readie to ioyne with him, He easily compelled the Achæan Garrison to quit the place.

This getting of Argos, together with the good defence of Corinth and some other Townes, as it helped *Philip* a little in his reputation, so they gaue him hope to obtaine some good end by Treatie, whilest as yet with his honour he might seeke it: and when (the Winter being now come on) a new Consul would shortly be chosen, who should take the worke out of *Titus* his hands, if it were not concluded the sooner. *Titus* had the like respect vnto himselfe; and therefore thought it best, since more could not bee done, to præ dispose things vnto a Conclusion, for his owne reputation. The meeting was appointed to be held on the Sea-shore, in the Bay then called the Malian, or Lamian Bay, now (as is supposed) the *Gulfe of Ziton*, in the Ægæan Sea, or *Archipelago*. Thither came *Titus*, with *Aminander* the Athamanian; an Embassador of *Attalus*, the Admirall of Rhodes; and some Agents for the Ætolians and Achæans. *Philip* had with him some few of his own Captaines, and *Cycliadas*, lately banished for his sake out of Achaia. He refused to come on shore: though fearing (as he said) none but *the immortall Gods*: yet misdoubting some treacherie in the Ætolians. The demands of *Titus* in behalfe of the Romans, were, That he should set all Cities of Greece at libertie; deliuer vp to the Romans and their Confederates, all prisoners which he had of theirs, and Renegadoes; likewise whatsoeuer he held of theirs in Illyria: and whatsoeuer about Greece or Asia he had gotten from *Ptolomie* then King of Egypt, after his fathers death. *Attalus* demanded restitution to be made, entire of Ships, Townes, and Temples, by him taken and spoyled in the late warre between them. The Rhodians would haue againe the Countrie of Peræa, lying ouer against their Iland; as also that he should withdraw his Garrisons, out of diuers Townes about the Hellespont, and other Hauens of their friends. The Achæans desired restitution of Argos and Corinth: about the one of which they might, not vniustly, quarrell with him; the other had beene long his owne by their consent. The Ætolians took vpon them angerly, as Patrons of Greece: willing him to depart out of it, euen out of the whole Countrie, leauing it free; and withall to deliuer vp vnto them, whatsoeuer he held that had at any time beene theirs. Neither were they herewithall content: but insolently declaimed against him, for that which he had lately done in Thessaly; corrupting (as they said) the rewards of the Victors, by destroying, when hee was vanquished, those Townes which else they might haue gotten. To answer these malapert Ætolians, *Philip* commanded his Gallie to be rowed neerer the shore. But they began to plie him afresh: telling him, that hee must obey his betters, vnlesse hee were able to defend himselfe by force of Armes. He answered them, (as he was much giuen to gybing) with sundry scoffes; and especially with one, which made the Roman Consul vnderstand, what manner of companions these Ætolians were. For hee said, That he had often dealt with them; as likwise the best of the Greeks; desiring them to abrogate a wicked Law, which permitted them *to take spoyle from spoyle*: yet could he get no better an answer, than *that they would sooner take Ætolia out of Ætolia*. *Titus* wondred what might be the meaning of this strange Law. So the King told him, That they held it a laudable custome, as often as warre happened betweene their friends, to hold vp the quarrell by sending voluntaries to serue on both sides, that should spoyle both the one and the other. As for the libertie of Greece, He said it was strange that the Ætolians should bee so carefull thereof, since diuers Tribes of their owne, which hee there named, were indeed no Grecians: wherefore hee would faine know, whether the Romans would giue him leaue to make slaues of those Ætolians, which were no Greeks. *Titus* hereat smiled, and was no whit offended, to heare the Aetolians well ratled vp; touching whom hee began to vnderstand, how odious they were in all the Countrie. As for that generall demand of setting all Greece at libertie, *Philip* acknowledged, that it might well beseeme the greatnesse of the Romans; though hee would also consider, what might beseeme his owne dignitie. But that the Aetolians, Rhodians, and other pettie Estates, should thus presume, vnder countenance of the Romans, to take vpon them, as if by their great might hee should bee thereunto compelled: it was, hee said, a strange and ridiculous insolence. The Achæans hee charged with much ingratitude; reciting against them some Decrees of their owne; wherein they had loaden both *Antigonus* and him, with more than humane honours. Neuertheless he said, that he would render Argos vnto them: but, as touching Corinth, that he would further deliberate with *Titus* himselfe.

Excerpt. è Pol. lib. 17.

Thus

Thus he addressed himselfe wholly to the Roman Generall, vnto whom if he could giue satisfaction, he cared little for all the rest. With *Attalus* and the Rhodians, his late war, (hee said) was onely defensiue; they hauing beene the offerers: or if he gaue them any occasion, it was onely in helping *Prusias*, his sonne-in-law; neither did he see why they should rather seeke amends at his hands, than he at theirs. For whereas they complayned, that, spoyling a Temple of *Venus*, he had cut downe the Groue, and pleasant walkes thereabouts: what could he doe more, than send Gardners thither with young plants; if one King of another would stand to aske such recompence? Thus he iested the matter out: but offered neuertheless, in honour of the Romans, to giue back the Region of Peræa to the Rhodians; as likewise to *Attalus*, the Ships and Prisoners of his, whereof he had then possession. Thus ended that dayes conference, because it was late: *Philip* requiting a nights leisure to thinke vpon the Articles, which were many, and hee ill prouided of Counsaile, wherewith to aduise about them. *For your being so ill prouided of Counsaile*, said Titus, *you may euen thanke your selfe; as hauing murdered all your friends, that were wont to aduise you faithfully*. The next day *Philip* came not, vntill it was late at night, excusing his long stay by the weightinesse of the things propounded, whereon he could not suddenly tell how to resolue. But it was beleeued, that hee thereby sought to abridge the Ætolians of leisure to raile at him. And this was the more likely, for that he desired conference in priuate with the Roman Generall. The summe of his discourse, as *Titus* afterward related it, was, That he would giue the Achæans both Argos and Corinth; as also that he would render vnto *Attalus* and the Rhodians, what he had promised the day before; likewise to the Ætolians, that hee would grant some part of their demands; and to the Romans, whatsoeuer they did challenge. This when *Titus* his associates heard, they exclaimed against it, saying, That if the king were suffered to retaine any thing in Greece, he would shortly get possession of all which he now rendred vp. The noise that they made came to *Philips* eare: who thereupon desired a third day of meeting; and protested, that if he could not perswade them, he would suffer himselfe to bee perswaded by them. So the third day they met early in the morning: at what time the king intreated them all, that they would with syncere affection hearken vnto good offers of peace; and immediately conclude it, if they could like well of those Conditions, which he had already tendred; or otherwise, that they would make truce with him for the present, and let him send Embassadours to Rome, where he would referre himselfe to the courtesie of the Senate.

This was euen as *Quintius* would haue it: who stood in doubt, lest a new Consull might happen to defraud him of the honour, which he expected by ending of the warre. So he easily preuailed with the rest, to assent hereunto: forasmuch as it was Winter, a time vnfit for seruice in the warre; and since, without authoritie of the Senate, he should be vnable to proceed resoluedly either in warre or peace. Further hee willed them to send their seuerall Embassadours to Rome, which intimating vnto the Senate what each of them required, should easily hinder *Philip*, from obtaining any thing to their preiudice. Among the rest he perswaded King *Aminander*, to make a iourney to Rome in person: knowing well, that the name of a King, together with the confluence of so many Embassadours, would serue to make his owne actions more glorious in the Citie. All this tended to procure, that his own Command of the Armie in Greece might be prorogued. And to the same end had he dealt with some of the Tribunes of the people at Rome: who had already (though as yet he knew not so much) obtained it for him, partly by their authoritie, partly by good reasons which they alleaged vnto the Senate.

The Embassadour of the Greekes, when they had audience at Rome, spake bitterly against the King, with good liking of the Senate; which was more desirous of victorie, than of satisfaction. They magnified the honourable purpose of the Romans, in vnder taking to set Greece at libertie. But this (they said) could neuer bee effected; vnlesse especiall care were taken, that the King should be dispossessed of Corinth, Chalcis, & Demetrias. In this point they were so vehement, producing a Map of the Country, and making demonstration how those places held all the rest in seruilitie; that the Senate agreed to haue it euen so as they desired. When therfore the Embassadors of *Philip* were brought in, and began to haue made a long Oration; they were briefly cut of in the middest of their Preface, with this one demand: *whether their Master would yeeld vp Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias*. Hereto they made answer, That concerning those places, the King

King had giuen them no direction or Commission what to say, or doe. This was enough. The Senate would no longer hearken to *Philips* desire of peace; wherein they said hee did no better than trifle. Yet might his Embassadours haue truely said, That neither the Aetolians, Achæans, nor any of their fellowes, had in the late Treaty required by name, that Chalcis & Demetrias should be yeelded vp. For which of them indeed could make any claime to either of these Townes? As for Corinth, whereto the Achæans had some right; (though their right were no better, than that, hauing stolne it from One Macedonian King in a night, they had, after mature deliberation, made it away by bargaine vnto an Other.) *Philip* had already condescended to giue it backe vnto them. And this perhaps would haue beene alleaged, euen against the Greekes, in excuse of the King, by some of *T. Quintius* his friends; that so he might haue had the honour to conclude the warre, if a successour had beene decreed vnto him. But since he was appointed to continue Generall: neither his friends at Rome, nor he himselfe, after the returne of the Embassadours into Greece, cared to giue eare vnto any talke of peace.

Philip, seeing that his Achæans had forsaken him, and ioyned with their common Enemies; thought euen to deale with them in the like manner, by reconciling himselfe vnto *Nabis*, whom they hated most. There were not many yeeres past, since the Lacedæmonians vnder *Cleomenes*, with little other helpe than their owne strength, had beene almost strong enough both for the Macedonians & Achæans together. But now the condition of things was altered. *Nabis* his force consisted, in a manner, wholly in his Mercenaries: for he was a Tyrant, though stiling himselfe King. Yet he sorely vexed the Achæans: and therfore seemed to *Philip* one likely to stand him in great stead, if he could be wonne. To this purpose it was thought meet, that the Towne of Argos, which could not otherwise be easily defended, should be consigned ouer into his hands; in hope, that such a benefit would serue to tye him fast vnto the Macedonian. *Philocles* the kings Lieutenant, who was appointed to deale with *Nabis*, added further, That it was his Masters purpose to make a streight alliance with the Lacedæmonian, by giuing some daughters of his owne in marriage vnto *Nabis* his sons. This could not but be well taken. Yet *Nabis* made some scruple in accepting the Towne of Argos; vnlesse by decree of the Citizens themselues he might be called into it. Hereabout *Philocles* dealt with the Argiues: but found them so auerse, that, in open assembly of the people, they detested the very name of the Tyrant, with may railing words. *Nabis* hearing of this, thought hee had thereby a good occasion to robbe and fleece them. So hee willed *Philocles*, without more adoe, to make ouer the Towne which he was ready to receiue. *Philocles* accordingly did let him with his Army into it by night; and gaue him possession of the strongest places therein. Thus dealt *Philip* with the Argiues: who for very loue had forsaken the Achæans, to take his part. Early in the morning, the Tyrant made himselfe Master of all the Gates. A few of the principall men, vnderstanding how things went, fled out of the Citie at the first tumult. Wherefore they were all banished, and their goods confiscated. The rest of the chiefe Citizens that staied behinde, were commanded to bring foorth, out of hand, all their Gold and Siluer. Also a great imposition of money was laid vpon all those, that were thought able to pay it. Such as made their contribution readily, were dismissed without more adoe. But if any stood long vpon the matter: or played the theeues, in purloyning their owne goods; they were put to the whip, and, besides losse of their wealth, had their torments to boot. This done, the Tyrant began to make popular Lawes: namely such, as might serue to make him gracious with the rascall multitude: abrogating all debts, and diuiding the Lands of the rich among the poore. By such art of oppressing the great ones, it hath beene an old custome of Tyrants, to assure themselues of the Vulgar for a time.

As soone as *Nabis* had gotten Argos, He sent the newes to *T. Quintius*; and offered to ioyne with him against *Philip*. *Titus* was glad of it: so as he tooke the paines to crosse ouer the Streights into Peloponnesus, there to meet with *Nabis*. They had soone agreed (though King *Attalus*, who was present with the Consul, made some cauil touching Argos) and the Tyrant lent vnto the Roman sixe hundred of his Mercenaries of Crete: as also he agreed with the Achæans, vpon a Truce for foure moneths, reseruing the finall conclusion of peace betweene them vntill the Warre of *Philip* should be ended; which after this continued not long.

§. XIIII.

§. XIIII.

The battaile at Cynoscephalæ, wherein Philip *was vanquished by* T. Quintius.

Titus Quintius, as soone as he vnderstood that hee was appointed to haue Command of the Armie, without any other limitation of time, than during the pleasure of the Senate; made all things readie for diligent pursuite of the Warre. The like did *Philip*: who hauing failed in his negotiation of peace, and no lesse failed in his hopes of getting *Nabis* to friend in that Warre; meant afterwards wholly to relie vpon himselfe.

Titus had in his Armie about sixe and twentie thousand: and *Philip* a proportionable number. But neither of them knew the others strength, or what his Enemie intended to doe. Onely *Titus* heard that *Philip* was in Thessaly, and thereupon addressed himselfe to seeke him out. They had like to haue met vnawares, neere vnto the Citie of Pheræ: where the vant-curriers on both sides discouered each other; and sent word thereof vnto their seuerall Captaines. But neither of them were ouer hastie, to commit all to hazzard vpon so short warning. The day following each of them sent out three hundred Horse, with as many light armed Foot, to make a better discouerie. These met, and fought a long while: returning finally backe into their seuerall Campes, with little aduantage vnto either side. The Country about Pheræ was thicke set with Trees: and otherwise full of Gardens and mud-walles; which made it vnproper for seruice of the Macedonian *Phalanx*. Wherefore the King dislodged, intending to remoue backe into Scotusa in the Frontier of Macedon; where he might be plentifully serued with all necessaries. *Titus* conceiued aright his meaning: and therfore purposed also to march thitherwards; were it onely to waste the Country. There lay betweene them a great ledge of hills, which hindered the one from knowing what course the other tooke. Neuertheless they encamped not farre asunder, both the first and the second night; though neither of them vnderstood what was become of the other. The third day was very tempestuous; and forced each of them to take vp his lodging, where hee found it, by chance. Then sent they foorth discouerers againe, in greater number than before. These meeting together, held a long fight, wherein at first the Macedonians had the worse. But *Philip* anon sent in such strong supply; that if the resistance of the Aetolians had not beene desperate, the Romans their fellows had beene driuen backe into their Campe. Yet, all resistance notwithstanding, the Macedonians preuailed: so that *Titus* himselfe was faine to bring foorth his Legions, that were not a little discouraged, by the defeat of all their Horse, to animate those which were in flight.

Plut. in vita T. Q. Flam.

It was altogether besides the kings purpose, to put the fortune of a battaile in trust that day, with so much of his Estate as might thereon depend. But the newes came to him thicke and tumultuously, how the enemies fled, and how the day was his owne; if hee could vse an occasion, the like whereof he should not often finde. This caused him to alter his purpose: insomuch as he embattailed his men; and climbed vp those hills, which, for that the knops thereon had some resemblance vnto Dogs heads, were called, by a word signifying as much, *Cynoscephalæ*. As soone as he was on the hil-top; it did him good to see that they of his owne light armature were busie in fight, almost at the very Campe of the Enemies; whom they had repelled so farre. Hee had also libertie to choose his ground, as might serue best his aduantage: forasmuch as the Romans were quite driuen from all parts of the Hill. But of this commoditie he could make no great vse: the roughnesse of the place among those *Dogs heads*, as they were called, seruing nothing aptly for his *Phalanx*. Neuertheless hee found conuenient roome, wherein to marshall the one part of his Armie: and gaue order vnto his Captaines, to follow with the rest; embattailing them as they might. Whilest he was doing this: Hee perceiued that his Horsemen and light armature began to shrinke; as being faine vpon the Roman Legions, by force whereof they were driuen to recoyle. He sets forward to helpe them: and they no lesse hastily draw vnto him for succour; hauing the Romans not farre behinde them.

As the Legions began to climbe the Hill; *Philip* commanded those of his *Phalanx* to charge their pikes, and entertaine them. Here *Titus* found an extreme difficult piece of

of worke. For this *Phalanx*, being a great square battaile of armed pikes, like in all points to those which are now vsed in our moderne Warres: and being in like manner vsed, as are ours; was not to be resisted by the Roman Targettiers, as long as the *Phalanx* it selfe held together vndissolued. The Macedonians were embattailed in very close order: so that two of them stood opposite to one of the Romans; as also the pikes of the first ranke, had their points aduanced two or three foot before their fore-man. Wherefore it is no maruaile, if the Romans gaue back: euery one of them being troubled (as it were) with tenne enemies at once; and not able to come neerer to the next of them, than the length of a doozen foot or thereabout. *Titus* finding this, and not knowing how to remedie it; was greatly troubled: for that still the *Phalanx* bare downe all which came in the way. But in the meane while hee obserued, That they which were appointed by *Philip* to make his left wing, were not able through the much vneuennesse of the ground, to put themselues in order: so as either they kept their places on the Hil-tops; or else (which was worse) vpon desire either of beholding the pastime, or of seeming to be partakers in the worke, ran foolishly along by the side of their fellowes, which were occupied in fight.

Of this their disorder Hee made great and present vse. Hee caused the right wing of his Battaile to march vp the hill, against these ill-ordered troupes: his Elephants leading the way, to increase the terrour. The Macedonians were readier to dispute what should be done in such a case, than well aduised what to doe; as hauing no one man appointed, to command that part in chiefe. Indeed if they should haue done their best, it could not haue serued; since the ground whereon they stood, made their weapons vnusefull. For let it be supposed, that *Philip* hauing fixe and twenty thousand in his Armie (as hee is said to haue beene equall to the Enemie in number) had foure thousand Horse, foure thousand Targettiers, and foure thousand light-armed: so shall there remaine foureteene thousand Pikes; whereof he himselfe had embattailed the one halfe in a *Phalanx*; the other halfe in the left wing, are they whom *Quintius* is readie now to charge. The *Phalanx* hauing vsually sixteene in File, must, when it consisted of seuen thousand, haue weleere foure hundred and fortie in ranke; but foure hundred would serue, to make a Front long enough; the other fortie or seuen and thirtie Files might bee cut off, and reckoned in the number of the Targettiers, or light-armed. Allowing therefore, as *Polybius* doth, to euery man of them three foote of ground: this Front must haue occupied twelue hundred Foote, or two hundred and fortie paces; that is, very neere a quarter of a myle in length. Such a space of open Champaine, free from incumbrance of Trees, Ditches, Hillockes, or the like impediments, that must of necessitie dis-ioyne this close battayle of the *Phalanx*; was not euery where to bee found. Here at Cynoscephalæ *Philip* had so much roome, as would only suffice for the one halfe of his men; the rest were faine to stand still and looke about them, being hindered from putting themselues in order, by the roughnesse of the *Dogges heads*. But the Romans, to whom all grounds were much alike, were not hindered from comming vp vnto them; nor found any difficulty in mastring those enemies, whose feete were in a manner bound by the discommodity of the place. The very first impression of the Elephants, caused them to giue backe; and the comming on of the Legions, to betake themselues to flight. A Roman Tribune or Colonell, seeing the victory on that part assured, left the prosequution of it vnto others: and being followed by twenty Ensignes or Maniples, that is, (as they might fall out) by some two thousand men, tooke in hand a notable piece of worke; and mainely helpfull to making of the victory compleate. He considered that *Philip*, in pursuing the right wing of the Romans, was runne on so farre: as that himselfe with his fellowes, in mounting the hill to charge the left wing of the Macedonians, was already gotten aboue the Kings head. Wherefore hee turned to the left hand: and making downe the hill after the Kings *Phalanx*, fell vpon it in the Rere. The hindermost rankes of the *Phalanx*, all of them indeed saue the first fiue, were accustomed, when the battells came to ioyning, to carry their pikes vpright; and with the whole weight of their bodies to thrust on their fore-men: and so were they doing at the present. This was another great inconuenience in the Macedonian *Phalanx*. That it serued neither for offence nor defence, except onely in front. For though it were so, that *Alexander*, when hee was to fight with *Darius* in Mesopotamia, arranged his *Phalanx* in such order, that all the foure sides of it were as so many fronts looking sundrie

Excerpt. è Pol. libr. 17.

wayes,

wayes, because he expected that he should be encompassed round: yet is it to be vnderstood, that herein he altered the vsuall forme; as also at the same time hee embattailed his men in loose order, that so with ease they might turne their weapons, which way need should require. Likewise it is to be considered, That *Alexanders* men being thus disposed, were fit onely to keepe their owne ground; not being able to follow vpon the Enemy, vnlesse their hindmost rankes could haue marched backwards. But in this present case of *Philip*, there was no such prouision for resistance. Therefore his men, being otherwise vnable to helpe themselues, threw downe their weapons, and fled. The king himselfe had thought vntill now, that the fortune of the battaile was euery where alike, and the day his owne. But hearing the noyse behind him, and turning a little aside with a troupe of Horse, to see how all went: when hee beheld his men casting downe their weapons, and the Romans at his backe on the higher ground; He presently betook himselfe to flight. Neither staid he afterwards in any place (except only a small while about Tempe, there to collect such as were dispersed in this ouerthrow) vntill he was gotten into his owne Kingdome of Macedon.

There died of the Roman Armie in this battaile, about seuen hundred: of the Macedonians about eight thousand were slaine; and fiue thousand taken prisoners.

§. XV.

T. Quintius *falleth out with the Ætolians, and grants truce vnto* Philip, *with conditions vpon which the peace is ratified. Liberty proclaimed vnto the Greekes. The Romans quarrell with* Antiochus.

THe Aetolians wonderfully vaunted themselues; and desired to haue it noysed, through all Greece, that the victory at Cynoscephalæ was gotten (in a manner) wholly by their valour. They had gotten indeed the most of the bootie; by sacking the Macedonian Campe, whilest the Romans were busied in the chase. *Titus* therefore being offended both at their vain-glory; and at their rauenous condition; purposed to teach them better manners, by regarding them as slightly, as they thought highly of themselues. He also well perceiued, That by vsing them with any extraordinary fauour, he should greatly offend the rest of his Confederates in Greece; who detested the Aetolians much more vehemently, than euer they had done the Macedonians. But this displeasure brake not forth yet a while.

After the battaile *Titus* made hast vnto Larissa, a citie of Thessalie: which he presently tooke. Before his comming, *Philip* had sent thither one of his Courtiers to burne all his letters, and passages whatsoeuer in writing, betwixt him and others: of which many were there kept. It was well done of the King, that among the cares of so much aduersitie, he forgot not to prouide for the safety of his friends. Yet by his thus doing, they of Larissa might well perceiue, that he gaue them as already lost. Wherefore we finde not that they, or any of their Neighbors, did make delay of opening their gates to *Titus*.

At the same time, the town of Leucas bordering vpon Acarnania, was taken by the Roman Fleet: and very soone after, all the Acarnanians, a warlike Nation, and in hatred of the Aetolians euer true to *Philip*; gaue vp themselues vnto the Romans, hearing of the victory at Cynoscephalæ. The Rhodians also were then in hand with the conquest of Pærea, a Region of the Continent ouer against the Iland; whereof they had demanded restitution, in the late Treaty of Peace. They did heerein more manly, than any other of the Greeks: forasmuch as they awaited not the good leisure of the Romans; but with an Army of their own, & some helpe which they borrowed of the Achæans & other their friends, gaue battell to *Dinocrates* the kings Lieutenant, wherin they had the victory, & consequently recouered the whole Prouince. It angred *Philip* worse than all this, that the Dardanians gathered courage out of his affliction, to inuade his kingdome, wasting and spoyling, as if all had been abandoned to their discretion. This made him gather an Armie in all hast of fixe thousand foot and fiue hundred horse: wherewith comming vp on them, he draue them, with little or no losse of his owne, and great slaughter of theirs, hastily out of the kingdome. Which done, He returned to Thessalonica.

In this one enterprise He had successe answerable to his desire: but seeing what bad fortune accompanied his affaires, in all other parts at the same time, he thought it wisedome to yeeld vnto necessity; and therefore sent in all haste *Limnæus* and *Demosthenes*, with

with *Cycliadas* the banished Achæan, in whom he reposed much confidence, Embassadors vnto *Titus*. These had conference a long while in priuate, with *Titus* and some of his Roman Colonels: by whom they were gently entertained, and in very friendly wise dismissed. It seemes that they had Commission, to referre all vnto *Titus* his owne discretion, as *Philip* himselfe in few daies after did. There was granted vnto him a Truce for fifteene dayes: in which time, the king himselfe might come and speake with the Roman General. In the mean season many suspicious rumours went of *Titus*, as if he had been corrupted with great rewards from the king, to betray the Greekes his Confederates. Of these bruits the Ætolians were chiefe authours: who being wont to regard neither friendship nor honestie, where profit led them a wrong way, iudged alike of all men else. But against the day appointed for the meeting betwixt him and *Philip*, *Titus* had sent letters vnto his Associates, willing them to haue their Agents ready by a time appointed, at the entrance of Tempe, where the Treaty should bee held. There when they were all assembled, they entred into consultation before the kings arriuall, what should be most expedient for the common benefit of them all, & for euery estate in particular. The poore king *Amiuander* besought them all, & especially the Romans, that they would thinke vpon him, and considering his weakenesse which he confessed, make such prouision, that after the Romans had turned their backs, and were gone home, *Philip* might not wreake his anger vpon him who was not able to resist. Then spake *Alexander* one of the Ætolians: who commending *Titus* forsomuch as he had thus assembled the Confederates to aduise vpon their own good, and had willed them to deliuer their minds freely: added, That in the maine of the purpose which he had in hand, he was vtterly deceiued: for that by making peace with *Philip*, hee could neither assure the Romans of their quiet, nor the Greeks of their liberty. There was, he said, none other end to be made of the warre, which could agree either with the purpose of the Senate & people of Rome, or with the faire promises made by *Titus* himselfe vnto the Greeks, than the chasing of *Philip* quite out of his kingdome. And to this effect he made a long discourse. But *Titus* answered, That this Ætolian was ill acquainted, either with the good pleasure of the Senate and people of Rome, or with the laudable customes which they generally held: for that it was not the manner of the Romans, to seeke the vtter destruction of any king or Nation, at such time as they first made warre with them; vntill by some rebellion they found it a matter of necessity, to take such a rigorous course. And hereof he alledged the Carthaginians as a notable example: adding, That victory, to generous minds, was onely an inducement to moderation. As concerning the publike benefit of Greece: it was (he said) expedient, that the kingdome of Macedon should be greatly weakened and brought low; not that it should be vtterly destroyed: forasmuch as it serued as a barre, to the Thracians, Gaules, and a multitude of other saluage Nations, which would soone ouer-flow the whole continent of Greece, if this kingdome were not interposed. Wherefore he concluded, that if *Philip* would yeeld vnto those demands, wherewith hee had pressed him in the former Treaty; then was there no reason to denie him peace. As for the Ætolians: if they thought otherwise, it should be at their owne pleasure, to take counsaile apart for themselues as they thought good. Then began *Phaneas*, another of the Aetolians, to say, that all was come to nothing; for that ere long, *Philip* would trouble all the Greeks, no lesse than he had done in time before. But *Titus* interrupted him, & bad him leaue his babbling; saying, That himselfe would take such order, as that *Philip*, were hee neuer so desirous, should thenceforth not haue it in his power to molest the Greekes.

The next day King *Philip* came thither: whom *Titus* vsed friendly: and suffering him to repose himselfe that night, held a Councell the day following; wherein the King yeelded vnto all that had beene required at his hands; offring yet further to stand to the good pleasure of the Senate, if they would haue more added to the Conditions. *Phaneas* the Aetolian, insulting ouer him, said it was to bee hoped, that he would then at length giue vp to the Aetolians, a many of townes (which he there named) bidding him speake whether he would, or no. His answer was, that they might take them all. But *Titus* interposing himselfe, said it should bee otherwise; These were Thessalian townes, and should be all free: one of them onely excepted, which not long ago had refused to commit it self to the faith of the Romans, & therfore should now be giuen to the Aetolians. Hereat *Phaneas* cried out, that it was too great an iniury, thus to bee defrauded of the Townes

Townes that had sometime belonged vnto their Common-weale. Rather he willed *Titus* to consider, that by an ancient Couenant betweene them and the Romans, all the Townes taken ought to be their owne, and the Romans to haue nothing saue the pillage and captiues. It is true, that there had beene such a condition in the former warre: but it ceased to be of any validitie, as soone as the Ætolians made peace with *Philip*. And thus much *Titus* gaue them to vnderstand; asking them whether they thought it reasonable, that all the towns in Greece, which had let in the Romans by composition, should be deliuered into subiection of the Ætolians. The rest of the Confederates were very much delighted, with these angry passages between the Roman and the Ætolians: neither had they great reason to feare any hard measure, since *Titus* was so earnest in behalf of those Thessalians, to giue them liberty, though they had stood out against him, euen till very feare made them open their gates. Wherefore they opposed not themselues; but gaue their consent willingly vnto a Truce for foure Moneths.

The chiefe cause that mooued *Titus* to grant peace so readily to the Macedonian, besides that laudable custome by him before alleaged; was, the fame of *Antiochus* his comming with an Armie from Syria, and drawing neere toward Europe. Hee had also perhaps yet a greater motiue, euen the consideration that his successor might happen to defraud him of the honour, if the warre should happen to be protracted. And he was in the right. For when his letters, together with Embassadors from the Macedonian, and sundry States of Greece, came vnto Rome, new Consuls were chosen: who, (especially the one of them) stood very earnestly against the peace; alleaging friuolous matter of their owne suspition, in hope to get the honour of concluding the warre. The Senate began to be doubtfully affected, betweene the Embassadours of *Philip*, offring to stand to whatsoeuer was demanded, and the letters of *Titus* pressing them to accept this offer, on the one side, and the importunitie of the Consul on the other; who said, that all these goodly shewes were fraudulent, and that the king would rebell, as soone as the Armie was called out of Greece. But the matter was taken out of the Senators hands by two of the Tribunes, that referred it to an Assembly of the People, by whose soueraigne authority it was concluded, that Peace should be granted vnto the king. So tenne Embassadors were sent from Rome ouer into Greece: in which number were they, that had beene Consuls before *Titus*; and it was ordained by their aduice, that *Titus* should goe through with the businesse of Peace. These would very faine haue retained those three important Cities, of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, vntill the state of Greece were somewhat better setled. But finally *Titus* preuailed so, that Corinth was (though not immediately) rendred vnto the Achæans; and all the other Greek townes which *Philip* held, as well in Asia as in Greece, restored vnto libertie.

The Conditions of the Peace granted vnto *Philip*, were, That before the celebration of the next * *Isthmian Games*, He should withdraw his garrisons out of all the Greeke townes which he held, and consigne them ouer to the Romans: That he should deliuer vp vnto them all Captiues that he had of theirs, and all Renegado's: Likewise all his shippes of warre, reseruing to himselfe onely fiue of the lesser sort, and one of extraordinary greatnesse, wherein sixteene men laboured at euery oare: Further, that he should pay a thousand talents, the one halfe in hand, the other in ten yeeres following, by euen portions. Hereto * *Liuie* addes, That he was forbidden to make warre out of Macedon, without permission of the Senate. But I finde not that he obserued this Article, or was at any time charged with the breach of it. Fourehundred talents he had already deliuerd to *Titus*, together with his yonger son *Demetrius*, to remaine as hostage for his true dealing in this matter of peace, at such time as he lately sent his Embassadors to Rome when it was promised, that the money, and his sonne, should be restored backe vnto him, if the Senate were not pleased with the agreement. Whether this money were reckoned as part of the thousand talents, I cannot finde: and it seemeth otherwise, forasmuch as yong *Demetrius*, who, together with those foure hundred talents, was giuen for hostage, remained still in custody of the Romans, as a part of the bargaine which *Titus* formerly had made. Letters also were then sent by *Titus* vnto *Prusias* king of Bythinia: giuing him to vnderstand what agreement was made with *Philip* in behalfe of the Greeks; and how the Senate held it reasonable, that the *Ciani*, most miserably spoyled and oppressed by *Philip*, to gratifie this Bithynian his son-in-law, should be restored to liberty, & permitted to enioy the same benefit of the Romans, which other of their nation did. What effect

* *à Polib. Excerpt. Legat.*

* *Liu. lib. 33.*

effect these letters wrought, it was not greatly materiall; since the Romans were shortly busied with *Antiochus*, in such wise that they had not leisure to examine the conformity of *Prusias* to their will.

All Greece reioyced at the good bargain which *Titus* had made with *Philip*. Only the Aetolians found themselues agreeued that they were vtterly neglected; which was to the rest no small part of their contentment. The Bœotians continued to fauour the Macedonian; and thereby occasioned much trouble vnto themselues. There were some among them well-affected to the Romans: who seeing how things were like to goe, made their complaint vnto *Titus*; saying, that they were no better than lost, for the good will which they had borne vnto him; vnlesse at this time, when he lay close by them with his Armie, their Prætor, which was head of the opposite Faction, might be made away. *Titus* refused to haue ahand in the execution, yet neuertheless did animate them in their purpose. So they committed the fact, and hoped to haue kept themselues vndiscouered. But when the murder came out, and somewhat was confessed by those which were put to torture: the hatred of the people brake out violently against the Romans; in such wise, that howsoeuer they durst not take Armes against them, yet such of them as they found stragling from their Campe, they murdered in all parts of the Country. This was detected within a while, and many of the dead bodies found. Hereupon *Titus* requires of the Bœotians, to haue the murderers deliuered into his hands; and for fiue hundred souldiers, which he had lost by them, to haue paid vnto him fiue hundred Talents. In stead of making any such amends, they paid him with excuses; which hee would not take as good satisfaction. He sends Embassadours to the Achæans and Athenians, informing them what had hapned: and requested them not to take it amisse, though he dealt with these their friends as they had deserued. Herewithall he falls to wasting their Country; and besiegeth two such townes of theirs, as did seeme to be most culpable of the murders lately done. But the Embassadors of the Achæans and Athenians, (especially of the Achæans, who offered, if he needed them, to helpe him in this warre; yet besought him rather to grant peace vnto the Bœotians) preuailed so far with him; that he was pacified with thirty Talents, and the punishment of such as were knowne offenders.

In like sort, though not so violently, were many States of Greece distracted: some among them reioycing that they were free from the Macedonian, others greatly doubting that the Roman would proue a worse neighbour. The Aetolian would haue been glad of any Commotion; and therefore published rumours abroad, That it was the purpose of the Romans, to keepe in their owne hands all those places, wherein *Philip* lately had his Garrisons. Little did they, or the rest of the Greekes, conceiue, that this Macedonian Warre serued as an introduction to the Warre to bee made in Asia against King *Antiochus*; where grew the fruit, that was to bee reaped of this and many other victories. Wherefore to stay the progresse of bad rumours, when the *Isthmian games* were held, which in time of peace were neuer without great solemnity and concourse: *Titus* in that great assembly of all Greece, caused proclamation to be made by sound of Trumpet to this effect, That the Senate and people of Rome, & *Titus Quintius Flaminius* the General, hauing vanquished king *Philip* and the Macedonians, did will to be at libertie, free from Impositions, free from Garrisons, and liuing at their own Lawes, the Corinthians, Phocians, Locrians, Eubœans, Achæans of Phthiotis, Magnetians, Thessalians, & Perrhæbians. The suddennesse of this Proclamation astonished men: so as though they applauded it with a great shout; yet presently they cried out to heare it againe, as if they durst scarce credit their owne eares. The Greekes were Crafts-masters in the Art of giuing thankes; which they rendred now to T. *Quintius* with so great affection, as that they had well-neer smothered him, by thronging officiously about him.

This good will of the Greeks, was like to be much more auaileable vnto the Romans in their warre against *Antiochus*, than could haue beene the possession of a few Townes, yea or of all those Prouinces which were named in the Proclamation. Vpon confidence hereof, no sooner were the *Isthmian games* at an end, than *Titus*, with the Romans that were of his Councell, gaue audience to *Hagesianax* and *Lysias*, king *Antiochus* his Embassadours: whom they willed to signifie vnto their Lord, That he should doe well to abstaine from the free Cities in Asia, and not vexe them with warre: as also to restore whatsoeuer he had occupied, belonging to the kings, *Ptolomie* or *Philip*. Moreouer they willed him by these his Embassadors, that he should not passe ouer his Army into Europe;

ad ling, That some of them would visit him in person ere it were long, to talke with him further concerning these points. This done, they fell to accomplishing their promises vnto the Greeks; to the rest they gaue what they had promised. But the Phocians and Locrians they gaue vnto the Ætolians; whom they thought it no wisedome to offend ouermuch, being shortly to take a greater worke in hand. The Achæans of Phthiotis they annexed vnto the Thessalians; all saue the town of Thebes in Phthiotis, the same which had beene abandoned by T. *Quintius* to the Ætolians in the last Treaty with *Philip*. The Ætolians contended very earnestly about Pharsalus and Leucas. But they were put off with a dilatory answer, and reiected vnto the Senate: for howsoeuer somewhat the Councell might fauour them; yet was it not meet that they should haue their will, as it were in despight of *Titus*. So the Achæans were restored Corinth, Triphylia, and Herea. So the Corinthians were made free indeed (though the Romans yet a while kept the Acrocorinthus) for that all which were partakers of the Achæan Common-wealth, enioyed their liberty in as absolute manner, as they could desire. To *Pleuratus* the Illyrian were giuen one or two places, taken by the Romans from *Philip*: and vpon *Amynander* were bestowed those Castles, which he had gotten from *Philip* during this warre; to reigne in them & the grounds which they commanded, as he did among his Athamanians. The Rhodians had beene their owne Caruers. *Attalus* was dead a little before the Victory; and therefore lost his share. Yet many that were with *Titus* in Councell, would haue giuen the Townes of Oreum and Eretria, in the Ile of Eubœa, to his sonne and successour King *Eumenes*. But finally it was concluded, that these as well as the rest of the Eubœans, should be suffered to enioy their libertie. Orestis, a little Prouince of the kingdome of Macedon, bordering on Epirus, and lying towards the Ionian Sea, had yeelded vnto the Romans long ere this, and since continued true to them: for which cause it was also set at libertie, and made a free estate by it selfe.

These businesses being dispatcht: it remained, that all care should be vsed, not how to auoid the warre with King *Antiochus*, but how to accomplish it with most ease and prosperity. Wherefore Embassadors were sent both to *Antiochus* himselfe, to picke matter of quarrel, and about vnto others, to præ-dispose them vnto the assisting of the Romans therein. What ground and matter of Warre against this king the Romans now had, or shortly after found: as also how their Embassadors and Agents dealt and sped abroad; I referre vnto another place.

CHAP. V.

The Warres of the Romans with ANTIOCHVS *the Great, and his Adherents.*

§. 1.

What Kings, of the races of Seleucus *and* Ptolomie, *reigned in Asia and Egypt before Antiochus the Great.*

SEleucus *Nicator*, the first of his race, king of Asia and Syria, dyed in the end of the hundred twenty and fourth Olympiad. He was treacherously slaine by *Ptolomie Ceraunus*, at an Altar called Argos; hauing (as is said) beene warned before by an Oracle, to beware of Argos, as the fatall place of his death. But I neuer haue read that any mans life hath beene preserued, or any mischance, auoyded, by the predictions of such Diuellish Oracles. Rather I beleeue, That many such predictions of the Heathen Gods, haue been ante-dated by their Priests or by others; which deuised them after the euent.

Antiochus Soter, the sonne and heire of this *Seleucus*, was dearely beloued of his Father: who surrendred vnto him his owne wife *Stratonica*, when hee vnderstood how much the yong Prince was enamoured on her. Wherefore *Ptolomy Ceraunus* had great cause to feare, that the death of *Seleucus* would not be vnreuenged by this his Successor. But

But *Antiochus* was contented to be pacified, either with gifts, or perhaps only with faire words, containing himselfe within Asia, and letting *Ceraunus* enioy that quietly, which he had purchased in Europe with the bloud of *Seleucus*. It is said of this *Antiochus*, that although he married with the Queene *Stratonica* in his Fathers life; yet out of modesty he forbore to imbrace her, till his Father was dead. So that perhaps his incestuous loue was partly, if not chiefly, the cause of his not prosecuting that reuenge; whereunto Nature should haue vrged him. Afterwards hee had warres with *Antigonus Gonatas*, and with *Nicomedes* King of Bithynia. Also *Lutarius* and *Leonorius*, Kings or Captaines of the Gaules, were set vpon him by the same *Nicomedes*. With these hee fought a great battaile: wherein though otherwise the Enemies had all aduantage against him, yet by the terrour of his Elephants, which affrighted both their Horses and them, he won the Victory. He tooke in hand an enterprise against *Ptolemie Philadelphus*: but finding ill successe in the beginning, he soon gaue it ouer. To this King *Antiochus Soter* it was, that *Berosus* the Chaldæan dedicated his History of Assyria; the same, which hath since been excellently falsified by the Frier *Annius*. Hee left behinde him one sonne, called *Antiochus Theos*; and one daughter, called *Apame*, that was married vnto the king of Cyrene. So he died about the end of the hundred twentie and ninth Olympiad, or the beginning of the Olympiad following, in the fiftieth or one and fiftieth yeer of *the kingdome of the Greekes*, when he had reigned nineteene yeeres.

Genebrard l. 2. Iust. Mart. in Paran.

Antiochus, surnamed *Theos*, or the *god*, had this vaine and impious title giuen to him, by flattery of the Milesians; whom he deliuered from *Timarchus*, a Tyrant that oppressed them. Hee held long and difficult, but fruitlesse, warre with *Ptolomie Philadelphus* King of Egypt; which finally he compounded, by taking to wife *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolomie*.

Of these two Kings, and of this Lady *Berenice*, S. *Hierome* and other Interpreters haue vnderstood that Prophecie of *Daniel: The Kings daughter of the South, shall come to the king of the North, to make an agreement*; and that which followeth.

Dan. c. 11. v. 6.

Ptolomie Philadelphus was a great louer of Peace and Learning; and (setting apart his incestuous marriage with his owne sister *Arsinoe*) a very excellent Prince: howsoeuer, the worthiest of all that race. It was He, that built and furnished with Bookes, that famous Librarie in Alexandria: which to adorne, and to honour the more, He sent vnto *Eleazar* then high Priest of the Iewes, for the Bookes of *Moses* and other Scriptures. The benefits of this King vnto the Iewes, had formerly beene very great: for he had set at libertie as many of them, as his Father held in slauery throughout all Egypt; and hee had sent vnto the * Temple of God in Ierusalem very rich Presents. Wherefore *Eleazar* yeelding to the Kings desire, presented him with an Hebrew coppie: which *Ptolomie* caused to be translated into Greek, by seuenty two of the most graue & learned persons that could be found among all the Tribes. In this number of the 72. Interpreters, or (as they are commonly called) the *Seuentie*, *Iesus* the sonne of *Syrach*, is thought by *Genebrard* to haue beene one: who that he liued in this Age, it seemes to me very sufficiently proued by *Iansenius*, in his Preface vnto Ecclesiasticus. The whole passage of this business between *Philadelphus* and the High Priest, was written (as [h] *Iosephus* affirmes) by *Aristæus* that was employed therein. Fortie yeeres *Ptolomie Philadelphus* was king; reckoning the time wherein he ioyntly reigned with his Father. He was exceedingly beloued of his people; and highly magnified by Poets, and other Writers. Towards his end he grew more voluptuous, than he had beene in his former yeers: in which time he boasted, that he alone had found out the way how to liue for euer. If this had bin referred vnto his honourable deeds, it might haue stood with reason: otherwise, the Gowt, with which he was often troubled, was enough to teach him his owne errour. Hee was the first of the Kings, deriued from *Alexanders* Successors, that entred into League with the Romans: as also of his Off-spring was the last among those Royall Families, which by them was rooted vp.

* Aug. de Ciu. Dei l. 18. c. 42.
[h] Ios. ant. l. 12. c. 2.

Concerning that Booke which now goes vnder the name of *Aristæus*; many learned men, & among the rest *Lodouicus Viues*, hold suspition that it is counterfeit, and the inuention of some late Author. Surely if it were to be suspected in the time of *Viues*; it may be now much more iustly suspected: since a new Edition of it is come foorth, *purged from faults* (as the Papists terme those bookes, wherein they haue changed what they please) and set foorth by *Middendorpius* at Colen An. Dom. 1578.

Antiochus Theos had another wife, called *Laodice*, at such time as he married with *Berenice* the daughter of this *Ptolomie*. After his second marriage, he vsed his first wife with no better regard, than if she had beene his Concubine. *Laodice* hated him for this: yet aduentured not to seeke reuenge; vntill her owne sonne *Seleucus Callinicus* was of ability to be king. This was two or three yeeres after the death of *Ptolomie Philadelphus*: at what time she poysoned her husband *Theos*; and by permission of *Seleucus* her son, murdered

Berenice, together with a sonne that she had borne to *Antiochus*. *Iustine* reports, that *Berenice* saued her selfe, together with the yong Prince her childe, a while in the Sanctuary at Daphne: and that not onely some Cities of Asia prepared to succour her; but her brother *Ptolemie Euergetes*, king of Egypt, came to rescue her with an Armie; though too late, for she was slaine before.

Iust. l. 27.

With such cruelties *Seleucus Callinicus* succeeding vnto his Father that had fifteene yeeres beene king, beganne his reigne. His subiects were highly offended at his wicked nature; which they discouered in his first entrance. Wherefore it was like, that his Estate would haue beene much endangered, if *Ptolemie Euergetes*, who came against him, had not beene drawne backe into his owne Countrie, by some Commotions there in hand. For there were none that would beare armes against *Ptolemie*, in defence of their owne king: but rather they sided with the Egyptian; who tooke *Laodice* the kings mother, and rewarded her with death as she had well deserued. Wherefore *Seleucus*, being freed from this inuasion, by occasion of those domesticall troubles which recalled *Euergetes* home into Egypt; went about a dangerous peece of worke, euen to make warre vpon his owne subiects, because of their bad affection towards him; when as it had bin much better, by well-deseruing, to haue changed their hatred into loue. A great Fleet he prepared: in furnishing and manning whereof he was at such charges, that he scarce left himselfe any other hope, if that should miscarrie. Heerein hee embarked himselfe; and putting to Sea, did meete with such a tempest, as deuoured all saue himselfe, and a very few of his friends that hardly escaped. This calamity, hauing left him nothing else in a manner than his naked body, turned neuertheless to his great good; as anon after it seemed. For when his Subiects vnderstood, in what sort the gods (as they conceiued it) had punished him for his offences: they had commiseration of his Estate; and, presuming that hee would thenceforth become a new man, offered vnto him their seruice with great alacritie. This reuiued him, and filled him with such spirit; as thinking himselfe well enough able to deale with the Egyptian, he made ready a mighty Armie for that purpose. But his fortune was no better at Land, than it had beene at Sea. Hee was vanquished by *Ptolemie* in a great battaile: whence hee escaped hardly; no better attended, than after his late shipwracke. Hasting therefore backe to Antioch, and fearing that the enemie would soone be at his heeles; He wrote vnto his brother *Antiochus Hierax*, who lay then in Asia, praying him to bring succour with all speed; and promising, in recompence of his faith and diligence, the Dominion of a great part of Asia. *Antiochus* was then but fourteene yeeres old, but extreamely ambitious; and therefore glad of such an occasion to make himselfe great. Hee leuied a mighty Armie of the Gaules; wherewith he set forward to helpe his brother, or rather to get what he could for himselfe. Hereof *Ptolemie* being aduertised: and hauing no desire to put himselfe in danger more than he needed, tooke Truce with *Seleucus* for tenne yeeres. No sooner was *Seleucus* freed from this care of the Egyptian war, but his brother *Antiochus* came vpon him, and needs would fight with him, as knowing himselfe to haue the better Armie. So *Seleucus* was vanquished againe, and saued himselfe, with so few about him, that he was verily supposed to haue perished in the battaile. Thus did Gods iustice take reuenge of those murders by which the Crowne was purchased; and settled (as might haue beene thought) on the head of this bloody King. *Antiochus* was very glad to heare of his brothers death, as if thereby hee had purchased his hearts desire. But the Gaules, his Mercenaries, were gladder than He. For when hee led them against *Eumenes* King of Pergamus, being in hope to get honour by making a Conquest in the beginning of his Reigne: these perfidious Barbarians tooke counsaile against him, and deuised how to strippe him of all that hee had. They thought it very likely, that if there were none of the Royall house to make head against them; it would bee in their power, to doe what should be best pleasing to themselues, in the lower Asia. Wherefore they laid hands on *Antiochus*; and enforced him to ransome himselfe with money, as if he had beene their lawfull Prisoner. Neither were they so contented; but made him enter into such Composition with them, as tended but little to his honour. In the meane while *Seleucus* had gathered a new Armie; and prepared once more to trie his fortune against his brother. *Eumenes* hearing of this, thought the season fit for himselfe, to make his profit of their discord. *Antiochus* fought with him, and was beaten; which is no great maruaile, since he had great reason to stand in no lesse feare of the Gaules his own souldiers, than

than of the enemy with whom he had to deale. After this, *Eumenes* wonne much in *Asia*; whilest *Antiochus* went against his brother. In the second battell, fought between the brethren, *Seleucus* had the vpper hand: and *Antiochus Hierax* or *the Hawke*, (which surname was giuen him, because he sought his prey vpon euery one, without care whether he were prouoked or not) soared away as farre as hee could, both from his brother, and from his owne Gaules. Hauing fetcht a great compasse through Mesopotamia and Armenia, He fell at length in Cappadocia; where his father-in-law King *Artamenes* tooke him vp. He was entertained very louingly in outward shew; but with a meaning to betray him. This he soone perceiued: and therefore betooke him to his wings againe; though he knew not well, which way to bend his flight. At length he resolued to bestow himselfe vpon *Ptolomie*; his owne conscience telling him, what euill he had meant vnto *Seleucus* his brother; and therefore what little good he was reciprocally to expect at his hands. Infidelitie can finde no sure harbour. *Ptolomie* well vnderstood the perfidious and turbulent nature of this *Hierax*. Wherefore he layd him vp in close prison: whence though by meanes of an harlot, he got out; yet flying from his keepers, hee fell into the hands of theeues, by whom he was murthered. Neere about the same time died *Seleucus*. The Parthians and Bactrians had rebelled against him, during his wars with his brother. He therefore made a iourney against *Arsaces* founder of the Parthian kingdome: wherein his euill fortune, or rather Gods vengeance, adhered so closely to him, that he was taken prisoner. *Arsaces* dealt friendly with him, and dismissed him, hauing euery way giuen him royall entertainment: but in returning home, he bracke his necke by a fall from his horse, and so ended his vnhappy reigne of twenty yeeres. He had to wife *Laodice*, the sister of *Andromachus*, one of his most trusty Captaines: which was father vnto that *Achæus*, who making his aduantage of this affinitie, became shortly after (as he estiled himselfe) a king; though rather indeede, a great troubler of the world in those parts. By *Laodice* he had two sonnes; *Seleucus* the third, surnamed *Ceraunus*; and *Antiochus* the third, called afterwards *the Great*.

Seleucus Ceraunus reigned onely three yeeres; in which time he made warre vpon *Attalus* the first, that was King of Pergamus. Being weake of body through sicknesse, and in want of mony, He could not keepe his men of warre in good order: and finally hee was slaine by treason of *Nicanor*, and *Apaturius* a Gaule. His death was reuenged by *Achæus*, who slue the Traitours, and tooke charge of the Armie: which he ruled very wisely, and faithfully a while; *Antiochus*, the brother of *Seleucus*, being then a Childe.

§. II.

The beginning of the Great Antiochus *his reigne. Of* Ptolemy Euergetes, *and* Philopator *Kings of Egypt. Warre betweene* Antiochus *and* Philopator. *The rebellion of* Molo: *an expedition of* Antiochus *against him. The recontinuance of* Antiochus *his Egyptian warre: with the passages betweene the two Kings: the victory of* Ptolemie, *and Peace concluded. Of* Achæus, *and his rebellion; his greatnesse, and his fall.* Antiochus *his expedition against the Parthians, Bactrians, and Indians. Somewhat of the Kings reigning in India, after the death of the Great* Alexander.

ANtiochus was scarcely fifteene yeeres old, when hee began his reigne, which lasted sixe and thirty yeeres. In his Minoritie, He was wholly gouerned by one *Hermias*, an ambitious man; and one which maligned all vertue, that he found in any of the Kings faithfull seruants. This vilde qualitie in a Counsailour of such great place, how harmefull it was vnto his Lord, and finally vnto himselfe; the successe of things will shortly discouer.

Soone after the beginning of *Antiochus* his reigne, *Ptolemie Euergetes* King of Egypt died; and left his heire *Ptolemie Philopator*, a young Boy likewise, as hath else-where been remembred. This was that *Euergetes*, who relieued *Aratus* and the Achæans: who afterwards tooke part with *Cleomenes*; and louingly entertained him, when hee was chased out of Greece by *Antigonus Gonatas*. He annexed vnto his Dominion the Kingdome of Cyrene, by taking to wife *Berenice*, the daughter of King *Magas*. He was the third of the *Ptolemies*; and the last good King of the race. The name of *Euergetes*, or *the doer of good*, was giuen to him by the Egyptians; not so much for the great spoyles which he brought home, after his victories in Syria; as for that he recouered some of those

those Images or Idols, which *Cambyses*, when hee conquered Egypt, had carried into Persia. He was ready to haue made war vpon the Iewes, for that *Onias* their high Priest, out of meere couetousnesse of mony, refused to pay vnto him his yeerly tribute of 20. talents: but he was pacified by the wisdome of *Iosephus* a Iew, to whom afterwards he let in farme the Tributes and Customes that belonged vnto him in those parts of Syria which he held. For Cœlesyria, with Palæstina and all those parts of the Countrey that lay neerest vnto Egypt, were held by the Egyptian; either as hauing falne to the share of *Ptolemie* the first, at such time as the great *Antigonus* was vanquished and slaine in the battell at Ipsus; or as being won by this *Euergetes*, in the troublesome and vnhappy reigne of *Seleucus Callinicus*. The victories of this *Euergetes* in Syria, with the contentions that lasted for many succeeding ages betweene the *Ptolemies* and the *Seleucidæ*, were all foretold by *Daniel* in the Prophecie before cited, which is expounded by S. *Hierome*. This *Ptolomie Euergetes* reigned sixe and twenty yeeres; and dyed towards the end of the hundred thirty and ninth Olympiad. It may seeme by that which we finde in the Prologue vnto *Iesus* the sonne of *Sirach* his booke, that he should haue reigned a much longer time. For *Siracides* there saith that he came into Egypt in the eight and thirtieth yeere, when *Euergetes* was king. It may therefore be, That either this king reigned long together with his father: or that those eight and thirty yeeres, were the yeeres of *Iesus* his owne age; if not perhaps reckoned (as the Iewes did other whiles reckon) from some notable accident that had befallen them.

Not long after the death of *Euergetes*, *Hermias* the Counsailer, and in a manner the Protectour of King *Antiochus*, incited his Lord vnto warre against the Egyptian; for the recouerie of Cœlesyria and the Countries adioyning. This counsaile was very vnseasonably giuen, when *Molo*, the kings Lieutenant in Media, was broken out into rebellion, and sought to make himselfe absolute Lord of that rich Countrey. Neuertheleſſe *Hermias*, being more froward than wise, maintained stiffely, that it was most expedient, and agreeable with the kings honour, to send forth against a rebellious Captaine, other Captaines that were faithfull; whilst He in person made warre vpon one, that was like himselfe, a king. No man durst gaine-say the resolution of *Hermias*; who therefore sent *Xenætas* an Achæan, with such forces as he thought expedient, against the Rebell; whilst in the meane season an Armie was preparing for the kings expedition into Cœlesyria. The king hauing marched from Apamea to Laodicea, and so ouer the Deserts into the Vallie of Massyas, betweene the Mountaines of Libanus and Anti-libanus, found his way there stopped by *Theodotus* an Ætolian, that serued vnder *Ptolemie*. So he consumed the time there a while to none effect: and then came newes, that *Xenætas*, his Captain, was destroyed with his whole Armie; and *Molo* thereby become Lord of all the Countrey, as farre as vnto Babylon.

Xenætas, whilest he was yet on his iourney, and drew neere to the Riuer of Tygris; receiued many aduertisements by such as fled ouer vnto him from the Enemie, That the followers of *Molo* were, for the most part, against their wils, drawne by their Commander to beare armes against their king. This report was not altogether false; but *Molo* himselfe stood in some doubt lest his followers would leaue him in time of necessity. *Xenætas* therefore making shew, as if he had prepared to passe the Riuer by Boats in face of his Enemie; left in the night time such as he thought meete to defend his Campe; and with all the floure of his Armie went ouer Tygris, in a place tenne miles lower than *Molo* his Campe. *Molo* heard of this, and sent forth his horse to giue impediment; but hearing that *Xenætas* could not so bee stopped, Hee himselfe dislodged, and tooke his iourney towards *Media*; leauing all his baggage behinde him in his Campe. Whether he did this, as distrusting the faith of his owne souldiers: or whether thereby to deceiue his enemie; the great follie of *Xenætas* made his stratagem prosperous. For *Xenætas*, hauing borne himselfe proudly before, vpon the countenance of *Hermias*, by whom he was aduanced vnto this charge; did now presume, that all should giue way to his authority, without putting him to much trouble of vsing the sword. Wherefore he suffered his men to feast, with the prouisions which they found ready in the forsaken Campe: or rather he commanded them so to doe, by making Proclamation, That they should cherish vp themselues against the iourny, which he intended to take next day, in pursuit of the Rebels that fled. And to the same purpose he busied himselfe, in transporting the remainder of his Armie, which hee had left on the other side of Tygris. But *Molo* went no

no further that day, than he could easily returne the same night. Wherefore vnderstanding what good rule the Kings men kept: he made such haste backe vnto them, that he came vpon them early in the morning; whilest they were yet heauy with the wine and other good cheere, that they had spent at supper. So *Xenetas* and a very few with him, died fighting in defence of the Campe: the rest were slaughtered, without making resistance; and many of them, ere they were perfectly awake. Likewise the Campe on the other side of Tygris, was easily taken by *Molo*: the Captaines flying thence, to saue their owne liues. In the heat of this victorie, the Rebell marched vnto Seleucia, which he presently tooke: and, mastering within a little while the Prouince of Babylonia, and all the Countrie downe to the Red-Sea, or Bay of Persia, Hee hasted vnto Susa; where at his first comming, he won the City: but failing to take the Castle that was exceeding strong, returned backe to Seleucia, there to giue order concerning this businesse.

The report of these things comming to *Antiochus*, whilest he lay (as is said before) in the Vale of Marsyas; filled him with great sorrow, and his Campe with trouble. He tooke counsaile what to doe in this needfull case; and was well aduised by *Epigenes* the best man of warre he had about him, to let alone this enterprise of Cœlosyria; and bend his forces thither, where more need required them. This counsaile was put in execution with all conuenient haste. Yet was *Epigenes* dismissed by the way, and soone after slaine, by the practice of *Hermias*; who could not endure to heare good counsaile giuen, contrary to his owne good liking and allowance. In the iourney against *Molo*, the name and presence of the King was more auaileable, than any oddes which he had of the Rebell in strength. *Molo* distrusted his owne followers: and thought, that neither his late good successe, nor any other consideration, would serue to hold them from returning to the kings obedience; if once they beheld his person. Wherefore he thought it safest for him to assaile the Kings Campe in the night time. But going in hand with this, Hee was discouered by some that fled ouer from him to the King. This caused him to returne backe to his Campe: which, by some error, tooke alarme at his returne; and was hardly quieted, when *Antiochus* appeared in sight. The King was thus forward in giuing battaile to *Molo*, vpon confidence which he had that many would reuolt vnto him. Neither was he deceiued in this his beliefe. For not a few men, or Ensignes: but all the left wing of the enemie, which was opposite vnto the King, changed side forthwith as soone aseuer they had sight of the kings person; and were ready to doe him seruice against *Molo*. This was enough to haue wonne the Victorie: but *Molo* shortned the worke, by killing himselfe; as did also diuers of his friends, who for feare of torments preuented the Hang-man with their owne swords.

After this Victorie came ioyfull newes, that the Queene *Laodice*, daughter of *Mithridates* king of Pontus, which was married vnto *Antiochus* a while before, had brought foorth a sonne. Fortune seemed bountifull vnto the King: and therfore he purposed to make what vse he could, of her friendly disposition while it lasted: Being now in the Easterne parts of his kingdome, He iudged it conuenient to visit his Frontiers, were it only to terrifie the Barbarians, that bordered vpon him. Hereunto his Counsailer *Hermias* gaue assent: not so much respecting the Kings honour, as considering what good might thereby happen to himselfe. For if it should come to passe, that the King were taken out of the world by any casualtie: then made he no doubt of becomming Protector to the yong Prince; and thereby of lengthening his owne Gouernement. *Antiochus* therefore went against *Artabazanes*, who reigned among the Atropatians; hauing the greatest part of his kingdome, situate betweene the Caspian & Euxine Sea. This barbarous King was very old and feareful; and therefore yeelded vnto whatsoeuer conditions it pleased *Antiochus* to lay vpon him. So in this iourney *Antiochus* got honour, such as well contented him; and then returned homewards. Vpon the way, a Physician of his brake with him as concerning *Hermias*; informing him truely how odious he was to the people; and how dangerous he would be shortly vnto the kings owne life. *Antiochus* beleeued this, hauing long suspected the same *Hermias*; but not daring for feare of him to vtter his suspicions. It was therefore agreed, that he should be made away on the sudden: which was done, he being trained foorth by a sleight, a good way out of the Campe, and there killed without warning or disputation. The King needed not to haue vsed so much art, in ridding his hands of a man so much detested. For howsoeuer he seemed gracious whilst he was aliue: yet they that for feare had beene most obsequious to him

him, whilest he were in case to do them hurt, was as ready as the foremost, to speake of him as he had deserued, when once they were secure of him: Yea, his wife and children lying then at Apamea, were stoned to death by the wiues and children of the Citizens; whose indignation brake forth the more outragiously, the longer that they had beene concealed.

About these times, *Achæus* (of whom we spake before) thinking that *Antiochus* might happen to perish in some of these Expeditions which he tooke in hand; was bold to set a Diademe vpon his owne head, and take vpon him as a king. His purpose was to haue inuaded Syria: but the fame of *Antiochus* his returning thitherwards, made him quit the enterprise; and studied to set some handsome colour on his former presumption. It is very strange, that *Antiochus* neither went against *Achæus*; nor yet dissembled the notice which he had taken, of these his traiterous purposes: but wrote vnto him, signifying that he knew all; and vpbraiding him with such infidelity, as any offender might know to be vnpardonable. By these meanes he emboldned the Traytor: who being already detected, might better hope to maintaine his former actions by strong hand, than to excuse them, or get pardon by submission. *Antiochus* had at that time a vehement desire to recouer Cœlosyria, or what else he could, of the Dominions of *Ptolemie Philopater* in those parts. Hee began with Seleucia a very strong City neere to the mouth of the Riuer Orontes; which ere long hee wonne, partly by force, partly by corrupting with brybes the Captaines that lay therein. This was that Seleucia, whereto *Antigonus the great*, who founded it, gaue the name of Antigonia: but *Seleucus* getting it shortly after, called it Seleucia; and *Ptolemie Euergetes* hauing lately won it, might if it had so pleased him, haue changed the name into Ptolemais. Such is the vanity of men, that hope to purchase an endlesse memoriall vnto their names, by workes proceeding rather from their greatnesse, than from their vertue; which therefore no longer are their own, than the same greatnesse hath continuance. *Theodotus* the Ætolian, he that before had opposed himselfe to *Antiochus*, and defended Cœlosyria in the behalfe of *Ptolemie*; was now grown sorry, that he had vsed so much faith & diligence, in seruice of an vnthankful and luxurious Prince. Wherefore as a Mercenarie, he began to haue regard to his owne profit: which thinking to finde greater, by applying himselfe vnto him that was (questionlesse) the more worthy of these two kings; He offered to deliuer vp vnto *Antiochus* the Cities of Tyrus & Ptolemais. Whilest he was deuising about this treason, and had already sent messengers to king *Antiochus*: his practice was detected & he besieged in Ptolemais by one of *Ptolemies* Captaines, that was more faithfull than himselfe. But *Antiochus* hasting to his rescue, vanquished this Captaine who met him on the way: and afterwards got possession, not onely of Tyrus and Ptolemais, with a good fleete of the Egyptian kings that was in those Hauens: but of so many other Townes in that Countrie, as emboldned him to thinke vpon making a iourney into Egypt it selfe. *Agathocles* and *Socibius* bore all the sway in Egypt at that time: *Ptolemie* himselfe being loth to haue his pleasures interrupted, with businesse of so small importance, as the safety of his kingdome. Wherefore these two agreed together, to make prouision as hastily, and yet as secretly as might be, for the war: and neuertheless, at the the same time, to presse *Antiochus* with daily Embassadours to some good agreement. There came in the heate of this businesse, Embassadours from Rhodes, Byzantium, & Cyzicus, as likewise from the Ætolians; according to the vsuall courtesie of the Greekes, desiring to take vp the quarrell.

These were all entertained in Memphis, by *Agathocles* and *Socibius*: who intreated them to deale effectually with *Antiochus*. But whilest this treaty lasted, great preparations were made at Alexandria for the warre: wherein these two Counsailors perswaded themselues reasonably, that the victory would be their own; if they could get, for mony, a sufficient number of the greeks to take their parts. *Antiochus* heard only what was done at Memphis, and how desirous the Gouernours of Egypt were to be at quiet: whereunto he gaue the readier beliefe, not onely for that he knew the disposition of *Ptolemie*, but because the Rhodians, & other Embassadours, comming from Memphis, discourses vn to him all after one manner; as being al deceiued, by the cunning of *Agathocles* & his fellow: *Antiochus* therfore hauing wearied himselfe, at the long siege of a Town called Dulora, which he could not winne: & being desirous to refresh himselfe & his Armie in Seleucia, during the winter which then came on; granted to the Egyptian a truce for foure

moneths, with promise that hee would be ready to hearken vnto equall Conditions, when they should be offered. It was not his meaning to be so courteous, as hee would faine haue seemed, but onely to lull his enemies asleepe, whilest he tooke time to refresh himselfe; and to bring *Achæus* to some good order, whose treason daily grew more open and violent. The same negligence which he thought the Egyptian would haue vsed, He vsed himselfe; as presuming, that when time of the yeere better serued, little force would be needfull; for that the Townes would voluntarily yeeld vnto him, since *Ptolemie* prouided not for their defence. Neuertheleſſe, he gaue audience to the Embassadors, and had often conference with those that were sent out of Egypt: pleasing himselfe well, to dispute about the iustice of his quarrell; which he purposed shortly to make good by the sword, whether it were iust or no. He said, that it was agreed betweene *Seleucus* his Ancestor, and *Ptolemie* the sonne of *Lagi*, That all Syria, if they could winne it from *Antigonus*, should bee giuen in possession to *Seleucus*: and that this bargaine was afterwards ratified, by generall consent of all the Confederates, after the battaile at Ipsus. But *Ptolemies* men would acknowledge no such bargaine. They said, that *Ptolemie* the sonne of *Lagi*, had wonne Cœlosyria, and the Prouinces adioyning for himselfe: as also that he had sufficiently gratified *Seleucus*, by lending him forces to recouer his Prouince of Babylon, and the Countries about the Riuer of Euphrates. Thus whilest neither of them greatly cared for peace; they were, in the end of their disputation, as farre from concluding as at the beginning. *Ptolemie* demanded restitution; *Antiochus* thought, that he had not as yet gotten all that was his owne: Also *Ptolemie* would needs haue *Achæus* comprehended in the League betweene them, as one of their Confederates; But *Antiochus* would not endure to heare of this, exclaiming against it as a shamefull thing, that one King should offer to deale so with another, as to take his Rebell into protection, and seek to ioyn him in Confederacie with his own Soueraigne Lord. When the Truce was expired, and *Antiochus* prepared to take the field again: contrary to his expectation he was informed, That *Ptolemie*, with a very puissant Armie, was comming vp against him out of Egypt. Setting forward therefore to meet with the Enemie, he was encountred on the way by those Captaines of *Ptolemie*, that had resisted him the yeere before. They held against him the passages of Libanus, whence neuertheleſſe hee draue them: and, proceeding onward in his iourney, wonne so many places, that he greatly increased his reputation; and thereby drew the Arabians, with diuers of the bordering people, to become his followers. As the two Kings drew neere together: many Captaines of *Ptolemie* forsooke his pay, and fled ouer to *Antiochus*. This notwithstanding, the Egyptian had the courage to meet his enemy in the field. The battell was fought at Raphia: where it was not to be decided, whether the Egyptians or Asiatiques were the better Souldiers (for that the strength of both Armies consisted in Mercenaries, chiefly of the Greeks, Thracians, and Gaules) but whether of the Kings was the more fortunate. *Ptolemie*, with *Arsinoe* his Sister and Wife, rode vp and downe encouraging his men; the like did *Antiochus* on the other side: each of them rehearsing the braue deeds of his Ancestors; as not hauing of their owne, whereby to value themselues. *Antiochus* had the more Elephants: as also his, being of Asia, had they been fewer would haue beaten those of Africke. Wherfore by the aduantage of those beasts, Hee draue the Enemies before him, in that part of the battaile wherein he fought himselfe. But *Ptolemie* had the better men: by whose valour he brake the Grosse of his Enemies battaile, and won the victory; whilest *Antiochus* was heedelesly following vpon those, whom he had compelled to retire. *Antiochus* had brought into the field aboue seuenty thousand foot, and sixe thousand horse; whereof though he lost scarce ten thousand foot, and not foure hundred horse; yet the fame of his ouerthrow tooke from him all those places which he had lately won. When therefore he was returned home to Antioch: He began to stand in feare, lest *Ptolemie* and *Achæus*, setting vpon him both at once, should put him in danger of his whole Estate. This caused him to send Embassadors to the Egyptian to treat of peace: which was readily granted; it being much against the nature of *Ptolemie* to vexe himselfe thus with the tedious busineſſe of warre. So *Ptolemie*, hauing staied three moneths in Syria, returned home into Egypt clad with the reputation of a Conqueror; to the great admiration of his subiects, and of all those that were acquainted with his voluptuous and slothfull condition.

Achæus was not comprised in the league betweene these two Kings: or if hee had beene

beene included therein; yet would not the Egyptian haue taken the paines, of making a second expedition for his sake. The best was, that he thought himselfe strong enough, if fortune were not too much against him, to deale with *Antiochus*. Neither was he confident without great reason: For besides his many victories, whereby hee had gotten all that belonged vnto *Antiochus* on this side of *Taurus*, Hee had also good succesſe against *Attalus* King of Pergamus; that was an able man of warre, and commanded a strong Armie. Neither was hee, as *Molo* the Rebell had beene, one of meane regard otherwise, and carried beyond himselfe by apprehending the vantage of some opportunitie: but Cousin german to the King, as hath beene shewed before; and now lately the Kings brother-in-law, by taking to wife a younger daughter of the same *Mithridates* King of Pontus, which was also called *Laodice*, as was her sister the Queene, *Antiochus* his wife. These things had added maiestie vnto him; and had made his followers greatly to respect him, euen as one to whom a Kingdome was belonging. Neither made it a little for him, That King *Ptolemie* of Egypt held him in the nature of a friend: and that King *Antiochus* was now lately vanquished in the battaile at Raphia; and had thereby lost all his gettings in Syria. But all these hopes and likely-hoods came to nothing: For the King of Pontus, if hee would meddle in that quarrell betweene sonnes-in-law, had no reason to take part against the more honourable. As for the Egyptian: He was not only slothfull; but hindred by a rebellion of his owne subiects, from helping his friends abroad. For the people of Egypt, of whom *Ptolemie*, contrarie to the manner of his Progenitors, had armed a great number to serue in the late expedition; beganne to entertaine a good opinion of their owne valour, thinking it not inferiour to the Macedonian. Hereupon they refused to suffer as much as formerly they had don: since they lesse esteemed, than thy had done, the force of the Kings Mercenarie Greekes; which had hitherto kept them in streight subiection. Thus brake out a warre betweene the king and his subiects: wherin though the ill-guided force of the multitude was finally broken; yet king *Ptolomie* thereby wasted much of his strength, and much of his time, that might haue beene spent, as he thought, much better in reuelling; or, as others thought, in succouring *Achæus*. As for *Antiochus*, Hee had no sooner made his peace with the Egyptian, than he turned all his care to the preparation of warre against *Achæus*. To this purpose he entred into League with *Attalus*; that so he might distract the forces of his Rebell, and finde him worke on all sides. Finally, his diligence and fortune were such, that within a while he had pent vp *Achæus* into the Citie of Sardes; where he held him about two yeeres besieged. The Citie was very strong, and well victualled: so as there appeared not, when the second yeere came, any greater likelyhood of taking it, than in the first yeeres siege. In the end, one *Lagoras* a Cretan found meanes how to enter the Towne. The Castle it selfe was vpon a very high Rocke, and in a manner impregnable; as also the Towne-wall adioyning to the Castle, in that part which was called *the Sawe*, was in like manner situate vpon steepe Rockes, and almost inaccessible; that hung ouer a deepe bottome, whereinto the dead carkases of Horses, and other beasts, yea, and sometimes of men, vsed to be throwne. Now it was obserued by *Lagoras*, that the Rauens and other birds of prey, which hanted that place by reason of their food which was there neuer wanting, vsed to flie vp vnto the top of the Rocks, and to pitch vpon the walles; where they rested without any disturbance. Obseruing this often, he reasoned with himselfe, and concluded, that those parts of the Wall were left vnguarded, as being thought vnapprochable. Hereof he informed the king: who approued his iudgement, & gaue vnto him the leading of such men, as hee desired for the accomplishing of the enterpize. The succesſe was agreeable to that which *Lagoras* had afore conceiued: and though with much labour, yet without resistance, he scaled those rocks, and (whilest a generall assault was made) entred the towne in that part; which was at other times vnguarded, then vnthought vpon. In the same place had the Persians, vnder *Cyrus*, gotten into Sardes; when *Cræsus* thought himselfe secure on that side. But the Citizens tooke not warning, by the example of a losse manie ages past; and therefore out of memorie. *Achæus* held still the Castle: which not onely seemed by nature impregnable, but was verie well stored with all necessaries; & manned with a sufficient number, of such as were to him well assured. *Antiochus* therefore was constrayned to waste much time about it; hauing none other hope to preuaile, than by famishing the inclosed. Besides the vsuall tediousnesse of expectation; his busineſſe called him thence away into the higher Asia, where the Bactrians

ctrians, and Parthians with the Hyrcanians, had erected kingdoms taken out of his Dominions, vpon which they still incroched. But hee thought it not safe, to let *Acheus* breake loose againe. On the other side there were some Agents of *Ptolemie* the Egyptian, and good friends vnto *Acheus*; that made it their whole studie, how to deliuer this besieged Prince. If they could rescue his person, they cared for no more: but presumed that when he should appeare in the Countreyes vnder *Taurus*, he would soone haue an Armie at command, and bee strong enough to hold *Antiochus* as hardly to worke as at any time before. Wherefore they dealt with one *Bolis* a Cretan, that was acquainted well with all the wayes in the Countrey, and particularly with the by-paths and exceeding difficult passages among those Rockes, whereon the Castle of Sardes stood. Him they tempted with great rewards, which he should receiue at the hands of *Ptolemie*, as well as of *Antiochus*; to doe his best for performance of their desire. He vndertooke the businesse: and gaue such likely reasons of bringing all to effect, that they wrote vnto *Acheus*, by one *Arianus*, a trustie messenger, whom *Bolis* found meanes to conueigh into the Castle. The faith of these Negotiators *Acheus* held most assured. They also wrote vnto him in priuie Characters, or Chiphers, wherewith none saue he and they were acquainted: whereby he knew, that it was no fained deuice of his Enemies, in the name of his friends. As for the messenger; hee was a trustie fellow, and one whom *Acheus* found, by examination, heartily affected vnto their side. But the Contents of the Epistle, which were, That he should be confident in the faith of *Bolis*, and of one *Cambylus* whom *Bolis* had wonne vnto the businesse, did somewhat trouble him. They were men to him vnknowne: and *Cambylus* was a follower of *Antiochus*; vnder whom he had the command of those Cretans, which held one of the Forts that blocked vp the Castle of Sardes. Neuertheless other way to escape he saw none, than by putting himselfe to some aduenture. When the messenger had therefore passed to and fro: it was at length concluded, That *Bolis* himselfe should come speake with *Acheus*, & conduct him foorth. There was none other than good faith meant by any of the rest, saue onely by *Bolis* and *Cambylus*; which were Cretans, and (as all their Countrimen, *some few excepted, haue beene, and still are) false knaues. These two held a consultation together, that was, as *Polybius* obserues it, rightly Cretical: neither concerning the safety of him whose deliuery they vndertoke, nor touching the discharge of their owne faith; but onely how to get most with least adoe and danger to themselues. Briefly they concluded, That first of all they would equally share betweene them ten Talents, which they had already receiued in hand: and then, That they would reueale the matter to *Antiochus*; offering to deliuer *Acheus* vnto him, if they might be well rewarded both with present money, and with promise of consideration answerable to the greatnesse of such a seruice, when it should be dispatched. *Antiochus* hearing this promise of *Cambylus*, was no lesse glad, than were the friends of *Acheus* well pleased with the comfortable promises of *Bolis*. At length when all things were in readinesse on both sides, and that *Bolis* with *Arianus* was to get vp into the Castle, and conueigh *Acheus* thence: Hee first went with *Cambylus* to speake with the King, who gaue him very priuate audience; and confirmed vnto him by word of mouth the assurance of his liberall promises. And after that, putting on the countenance of an honest man, and of one that was faithfull vnto *Ptolemie* whom he had long serued; He accompanied *Arianus* vp into the Castle. At his comming thither, Hee was louingly entertained; yet questioned at large by *Acheus*, touching all the weight of the businesse in hand. But hee discourse so well, and with such grauity; that there appeared no reason of distrusting either his faith or iudgement. Hee was an olde Souldiour, had long beene a Captaine vnder *Ptolemie*, and did not thrust himselfe into this businesse; but was inuited by honourable and faithfull men. Hee had also taken a safe course, in winning (as it seemed) that other countrieman of his, who kept a Fort that stood in their way; and thereby had already sundry times giuen safe passage and repassage vnto *Arianus*. But against all these comfortable hopes, the importance of so great an aduenture stirred vp some diffidence. *Acheus* therefore dealt wisely, and sayde, That he would yet stay in the Castle a little longer: but that hee meant to send away with *Bolis* three or foure of his frends; from whom when he receiued better aduertisement, concerning the likelyhood of the enterprise, then would he issue forth himselfe. Hereby he tooke order, not to cõmit himselfe wholly vnto the faith of a man vnknowne. But as *Polybius* well notes, he did not consider that he

* Among these few I doe not except one, calling himselfe *Ludæmon*, *Iohn Andrew* a Cretan; who in one of his late shamelesse Libels, wherein he traduceth our King, Religion, and Country, with all the good & worthy men of whom he could learne the names, hath, by inserting my name twice, belied me; in calling me a Puritan, and one that haue beene dangerous vnto my Souereigne. It is an honour to be ill spoken of by so diligent a supporter of Treasons, and Architect of Lies: in regard whereof I may not denie him the comendation of Cretisme no lesse voluminous, than he in multiplicity of name is beyond any the Cretians in elder times, that were alwaies Tyers, euill beasts, and slow bellies.

k *à Polyb. hist. lib. 8.*

he playd the Cretian with a man of Crete: which is to say, That he had to do with one, whose knauery could not be auoided by circumspection. *Bolis* and *Cambilus* had layd there plots thus, That if *Acheus* came foorth alone, then should he easily be taken by the ambush prepared for him: if he were accõpanied with many of his friends, then should *Arianus* be appointed to lead the way, as one that of late had trodden it oft; & *Bolis* following behinde, should haue an eye vpon *Acheus* to preuent him not onely from escaping in the tumult, but from breaking his owne necke, or otherwise killing himselfe: to the end that being taken aliue, Hee might be to *Antiochus* the more welcome Present. And in such order came they now foorth: *Arianus* going before as Guide; the rest following, as the way serued, and *Bolis* in the Rere. *Acheus* made none acquainted with his purpose, till the very instant of his departure. Then signified he the matter to his Wife *Laodice*; and comforting her with hope as well as he could, appointed foure of his speciall friends to beare him companie. They were all disguised: and one of them alone tooke vpon him to haue knowledge of the Greek tongue; speaking & answering as need should require, for all, as if the rest had beene Barbarians. *Bolis* followed them, craftily deuising vpon his businesse, and much perplexed. For (saith *Polybius*) *Though he were of Crete, and prone to surmise any thing to the mischiefe of another*: yet could hee not see in the darke, nor know which of them was *Acheus*, or whether *Acheus* himselfe were there. The way was very vneasie, and in some places dangerous; especially to those that knew it not. Wherefore they were faine to stay in diuers places: and helpe one another vp or downe. But vpon euery occasion they were all of them very officious towards *Acheus*; lending him their hands, and taking such care of him, as easily gaue *Bolis* to vnderstand, that he was the man: and so by their vnseasonable duty, they vndid their Lord. When they came to the place where *Cambylus* lay in wait, *Bolis* whisteled, & presently clasped *Acheus* about the middle, holding him fast that he could not stirre. So they were all taken by the Ambush, and carried forthwith to *Antiochus*: who sate vp watching in his Pauilion, expecting the euent. The sight of *Acheus*, brought in bound vnto him, did so astonish the king, that he was vnable to speake a word, and anon brake out into weeping. Yet was he before informed of the plot, which might haue kept him from admiration: as also the next morning betimes assembling his friends together, He condemned *Acheus* to a cruell death; which argues, that hee was not moued with pitty towards this vnhappy man. Wherefore it was the generall regard of calamities, incident vnto great fortunes, that wrung from him these teares: as also the rarity of the accident, that made both him and his friends to wonder: though it be so, that such a course as this of his, in employing two mischieuous knaues against one Traitour, doth not rarely succeed well; according to that Spanish Prouerbe, *A vn traydor dos alleuosos*. The death of *Acheus* brought such astonishment vpon those which held the Castle, that after a while they gaue vp the place and themselues vnto the King; whereby he got entire possession of all to him belonging in the lesser Asia.

Some yeeres passed after this, ere *Antiochus* was ready for his Expedition against the Parthians and Hyrcanians. The Parthians were a little Nation of obscure beginnings, and commonly subiect vnto those that ruled in Media. In the great shuffling for Prouinces, after the death of *Alexander*, the Gouernement ouer them was committed by *Antipater* to one *Philip*, a man of small regard; shortly they fell to *Eumenes*; then to *Antigonus*; and from him, together with the Medes, to *Seleucus*: vnder whose posterity they continued vntill the Reigne of *Seleucus Calinicus*, being ruled by Lieutenants of the Syrian kings. The lustfull insolencie of one of these Lieutenants, together with the misfortune of *Callinicus*, that was vanquished and thought to be slaine by the Gaules; did stirre vp *Arsaces*, a Noble man of the Countrey, to seeke reuenge of iniuries done, and animate them to rebell. So he slue the kings Lieutenant; made himselfe king of the Parthians and Lord of Hyrcania; fought prosperously with those that disturbed him in his beginnings; and tooke *Seleucus Callinicus* prisoner in battaile, whom hee royally entertained, and dismissed. Hereby he wonne reputation as a lawfull king: and by good gouernement of his Country, procured vnto himselfe such loue of his Subiects, that his name was continued vnto his successors; like as that of the *Ptolemies* in Egypt, & that of the *Cæsars* afterwards in Rome. Much about the same time the Bactrians rebelled: thought these at length, and all belonging vnto the Seleucidæ beyond Euphrates; increased the Parthians dominion. Now *Antiochus* went against them with so strong an army, that

that they durst not meete him in plaine field; but kept themselues in woods, or places of strength, and defended the Streights and passages of Mountaines. The resistances they made auailed them not. For *Antiochus* had with him so great a multitude, and so well sorted, as he needed not to turne out of the way, from those that lay fortified against him, in Woods & Streights betweene their mountaines; it being easie to spare out of so great a number, as many as fetching a compasse about, might eyther get aboue the enemies heads; or come behinde, and charge them on the backe. Thus did hee often imploy against them his light armature: wherewith he caused them to dislodge, and giue way vnto his Phalanx; vpon which they durst not aduenture themselues in open ground. *Arsaces*, the second of the name, (for his father was dead before this) was then King of Parthia: who though hee was confident in the fidelity of his owne subiects; yet feared to encounter with so mighty an inuader. His hope was, that the bad wayes, and Deserts, would haue caused *Antiochus*, when he was at Ecbatane in Media, to giue ouer the iourney, without proceeding much further. This not so falling out: Hee caused the Wells and Springs in the Wildernesse, through which his enemy must passe, to bee dammed vp and spoiled. By which meanes, and the resistance before spoken of, when he could not preuaile, He withdrew himselfe out of the way; suffering the Enemie to take his pleasure for a time, in wasting the Countrey: wherein without some victorie obtained, he could make no long abode. *Antiochus* hereby found, That *Arsaces* was nothing strongly prouided for the war. Wherefore hee marched through the heart of Parthia: and then forward into Hyrcania where hee wanne Tambrace, the chiefe City of that Prouince. This indignitie, and many other losses, caused *Arsaces* at length, when he had gathered an Armie that seemed strong enough, to aduenture a battaile. The issue thereof was such as gaue to neither of the kings hope of accomplishing his desires, without exceeding difficultie. Wherefore *Asaces* craued Peace, and at length obtained it: *Antiochus* thinking it not amisse, to make him a friend, whom he could not make a subiect.

The next expedition of *Antiochus*, was against *Euthydemus* King of the Bactrians; one that indeede had not rebelled against him or his Ancestors: but hauing gotten the kingdome from those that had rebelled, kept it to himselfe. With *Euthydemus* hee fought a battaile by the Riuer Arius, where he had the victory. But the victory was not so greatly to his honour; as was the testimonie which he gaue of his owne priuate valour, in obtaining it. Hee was thought that day to haue demeaned him more couragiously, than did any one man in all his Armie. His horse was slaine vnder him; and he himselfe receiued a wound in his mouth, whereby he lost some of his teeth. As for *Euthydemus*, He withdrew himselfe backe vnto the furthermost parts of his kingdome, and afterwards protracted the warre, seeking how to end it by composition. So Embassadors passed betweene the Kings: *Antiochus* complaining, That a Countrey of his was vniustly vsurped from him: *Euthydemus* answering, That he had wonne it from the children of the Vsurpers: and further, That the Bactrians, a wilde Nation, could hardly be retained in order, saue by a King of their owne; for that they bordered vpon the Scythians, with whom if they should ioyne, it would be greatly to the danger of all the Prouinces that lay behinde them. These allegations, together with his owne wearinesse, pacified *Antiochus*, and made him willing to grant Peace, vpon reasonable Conditions. *Demetrius*, the sonne of *Euthydemus*, being a goodly Gentleman, and employed by his father, as Embassadour in this Treaty of Peace, was not a little auaileable vnto a good conclusion: for *Antiochus* liked him so well, that he promised to giue him in marriage, one of his owne daughters; and therewithall permitted *Euthydemus* to retaine the kingdome, causing him neuertheless to deliuer vp all his Elephants; as also to binde himselfe by oath, to such Couenants as he thought requisite.

So *Antiochus* leauing the Bactrian in quiet, made a iourney ouer Caucasus, and came to the borders of India, where he renewed with *Sophagasenus*, king of the Indians, the society that had beene betweene their Ancestors. The Indians had remained subiect vnto the Macedonians, for a little while, after *Alexanders* death. *Eumenes* in his warre against *Antigonus*, raised part of his forces out of their Countrey. But when *Antigonus* (after his victory) turned Westward, and was ouer-busied in a great ciuil warre: then did one *Sandrocottus*, an Indian, stirre vp his Countrey-men to Rebellion; making himselfe their Captaine, and taking vpon him, as Protector of their libertie. This Office

fice and Title he soone changed, though not without some contention, into the Name and Maiestie of a king. Finally hee got vnto himselfe (hauing an Armie of sixe hundred thousand men) if not all India, yet as much of it as had beene *Alexanders*. In this Estate he had well confirmed himselfe, ere *Seleucus Nicator* could finde leisure to call him to account. Neither did He faint, or humble himselfe, at the comming of *Seleucus*: but met him in the field, as ready to defend his owne; so strongly and well appointed, that the Macedonian was contented, to make both peace and affinity with him, taking onely a reward of fifty Elephants. This League, made by the Founders of the Indian and Syrian kingdomes, was continued by some Offices of loue betweene their children, and now renewed by *Antiochus*: whose number of Elephants were increased therupon, by the Indian king, to an hundred and fiftie: as also he was promised, to haue some treasure sent after him; which he left one to receiue. Thus parted these two great kings. Neither had the Indians, from this time forwards, in many generations, any businesse worthy of remembrance with the Westerne Countreyes. The posteritie of *Sandrocottus*, is thought to haue retained that kingdome vnto the dayes of *Augustus Cæsar*: to whom *Porus*, then reigning in India, sent Embassadours with Presents, and an Epistle written in Greeke: wherein, among other things, He said, That He had command ouer sixe hundred kings. There is also found, scattered in sundrie Authors, the mention of some which held that kingdome, in diuers Ages, euen vnto the time of *Constantine the Great*: being all petaduenture of the same race. But *Antiochus*, who in this Treatie with *Sophagasenus* carried himselfe as the worthier person, receiuing Presents; and after marching home through Drangiana and Carmania, with such reputation, that all the Potentates not onely in the higher Asia, but on the hither side of Taurus, humbled themselues vnto him, and called him *The Great*: saw an end of his owne Greatnesse within few yeeres ensuing, by presuming to stand vpon points with the Romans; whose Greatnesse was the same indeed, that his was onely in seeming.

§. III.

The lewd reigne of Ptolemie Philopator *in Egypt: with the tragicall end of his fauorites, when he was dead.* Antiochus *prepares to warre on the young childe* Ptolemie Epiphanes, *the son of* Philopator. *His irresolution in preparing for diuers warres at once. His voyage towards the Hellespont. Hee seekes to hold amitie with the Romans, who make friendly shew to him; intending neuertheless to haue warre with him. His doings against the Hellespont; which the Romans made the first ground of their quarrell to him.*

THis expedition being finished, *Antiochus* had leisure to repose himselfe a while; and studie which way to conuert the terrour of his puissance, for the enlargement of his Empire. Within two or three yeeres *Ptolemie Philopator* died: leauing his son *Ptolemie Epiphanes*, a young Boy, his successor in the kingdome; vnlikely by him to bee well defended, against a neighbour so mighty and ambitious. This *Ptolemie* surnamed *Philopator*, that is to say, *a louer of his Father*, is thought to haue had that surname giuen him in meere derision; as hauing made away both his Father and Mother. His young yeeres, being newly past, his childhood when he began to reigne, may seeme to discharge him of so horrible a crime, as his Fathers death: yet the beastlinesse of all his following life, makes him not vnlike to haue done any mischiefe, whereof hee could bee accused. Hauing woone the battaile at Raphiah, He gaue himselfe ouer to sensuality; and was wholly gouerned by a Strumpet called *Agathoclea*. At her instigation Hee murdered his owne wife and sister; which had aduentured her selfe with him, in that onely dangerous Action by him vndertaken and performed with honour. The Lieutenant shipes off his Prouinces, with all Commands in his Armie, & Offices whatsoeuer, were wholly referred vnto the disposition of this *Agathoclea*, and her brother *Agathocles*, and *Oenanthe* a filthy Bawd that was mother vnto them both. So these three gouerned the Realme at their pleasure, to the great griefe of all the Countrey, till *Philopator* died: who hauing reigned seuenteene yeeres, left none other sonne than *Ptolemie Epiphanes*, a childe of fiue yeeres old, begotten on *Arsinoe* that was his sister and wife. After the kings death, *Agathocles* began to take vpon him, as Protector of young *Epiphanes*, and Gouernour of the Land. He assembled the Macedons (which were the Kings ordinary forces in pay, not all borne in Macedonia, but the race of those that abode in Egypt with *Ptolemie the first*, and

and would not be accounted Egyptians; as neither would the Kings themselues) and bringing forth vnto them his sister *Agathocles*, with the yong King in her armes; began a solemne Oration. He told them, That the deceased father of this their king, had committed the childe into the armes of his sister, but vnto the faith of them: on whose valiant right hands, the whole state of the kingdome did now relye. He besought them therefore that they would be faithfull, and, as great neede was, defend their king against the treason of one *Tlepolemus*, an ambitious man, who traiterously went about to set the Diademe vpon his own head, being a meere stranger to the Royall blood. Herewithall he produced before them a witnesse, that should iustifie his accusation against *Tlepolemus*. Now though it were so, that he deliuered all this with a fained passion of sorrow, and counterfeiting teares: yet the Macedons that heard him, regarded not any word that he spake; but stood laughing, and talking one to another, what a shamelesse dissembler he was, to take so much vpon him, as if he knew not how greatly he was hated. And so brake vp the Assembly: He that had called it, being scarce aware how. *Agathocles* therefore, whom the old kings fauour had made mighty, but neither wise nor well qualified; thought to goe to worke, as had formerly been his manner, by vsing his authority, to the suppression of those that he distrusted. He haled out of a Temple the mother-in-law of *Tlepolemus*; and cast her into prison. This filled Alexandria with rumors, and made the people (though accustomed to suffer greater things, whilest they were committed in the old kings name) to meete in knots together and vtter one to another their mindes; wherein they had conceiued extreame hate, against these three pernicious misgouernours of the old king. Besides their consideration of the present iniurie done to *Tlepolemus*, they were some-what also moued with feare of harme; which, in way of requitall, *Tlepolemus* was likely to doe vnto the Citie. For He was, though a man most vnapt for Gouernement, as afterwards he proued; yet no bad Souldier, and well beloued of the Armie. It was also then in his power, to stop the prouision of victuals which was to come into Alexandria. As these motiues wrought with the people: so by the remedy which *Agathocles* vsed, were the Macedons more hastily, and more violently stirred vnto vprore. He secretly apprehended one of their number, whom hee suspected of conspiracie against him; & deliuered him vnto a follower of his own, to be examined by torture. This poore Souldier was carried into an inner roome of the Palace, and there stripped out of all his apparrell to be tormented. But whilest the whippes were brought forth, and all things euen in a readinesse for that purpose, there was brought vnto the minister of *Agathocles*, a sad report of *Tlepolemus* his being at hand. Hereupon the Examiner, and his Torturers, one after another, went out of the roome; leauing *Moeragenes* the Souldier alone by himselfe, and the doores open. He perceiuing this, naked as he was conueighed himselfe out of the Palace, and got vnto the Macedonians; of whom he found some in a Temple thereby at dinner. The Macedonians were as fierce in maintenance of their Priuiledges, as are the Turkes Ianizars. Being assured therefore that one of their fellowes had thus beene vsed; they fell to Armes in a great rage, and began to force the Palace: crying out, That they would see the king, and not leaue him in possession of such a dangerous man. The whole multitude in the Citie, with lowd clamours, made no lesse adoe than the Souldiours, though to lesse effect. So the old Bawd *Oenanthe* fled into a Temple: her sonne and Daughter stayed in the Court, vntill the king was taken from them; and they, by his permission which he easily gaue, and by appointment of those that now had him in their hands, deliuered vp to the furie of the people. *Agathocles* himselfe was stabbed to death, by some which therein did the office of friends; though in manner of enemies. His sister was dragged naked vp and downe the streets; as was also his mother, with all to them belonging: the enraged multitude committed vpon them a barbarous execution of iustice; biting them, pulling out their eyes, and tearing them in pieces.

These troubles in Egypt, serued well to stirre vp King *Antiochus*, who had very good leisure, though hewanted all pretence, to make warre vpon young *Ptolemie*. *Philip* of Macedon had the same desire to get what part he could of the childes estate. But it happened well, that *Ptolemie Philopater* in the Punicke Warre, which was now newly ended, had done many good offices vnto the Romans. Vnto them therefore the Egyptians addressed themselues, and craued helpe against these two kings: who though they secretly maligned one the other, yet had entred into couenant to diuide betweene them all

all that belonged vnto this Orphan; whose Father had beene Confederate with them both. So * *M. Lepidus* was sent from Rome, to protect from all violence the king of Egypt; especially against *Antiochus*. As for the Macedonian; He was very soone found busied, with warre at his owne doores. Also *Scopas* the Ætolian, being a Pensioner to the Egyptian, was sent into Greece to raise an Armie of Mercenaries. What *Lepidus* did in Egypt, I doe not finde: and therefore thinke it not improbable, that he was sent thither onely one of the three Embassadors, ° in the beginning of the Warre with *Philip*, as hath beene shewed before. As for *Scopas*; He shortly after went vp into Syria with his Armie: where winning many places, among the rest of his Acts, he subdued the Iewes; who seeme to haue yeelded themselues a little before vnto *Antiochus*, at such time as they saw him prepare for his Warre, and despaired of receiuing helpe from Egypt. But it was not long, ere all these victories of *Scopas* came to nothing. For the very next yeere following, which was (according to *Eusebius*) the same yeere that *Philip* was beaten at Cynoscephalæ; *Antiochus* vanquished *Scopas* in battaile, and recouered all that had bin lost. Among the rest, the Iewes with great willingnesse returned vnder his obedience; and were therefore by him very gently entreated.

* *Iustin. l. 30.*
° *Liu. lib. 31.*
vid. Iosep. ant. Iud. l. 12. c. 3.

The Land of Egypt this great King did forbeare to inuade; and gaue it out, that hee meant to bestow a daughter of his owne in marriage vpon *Ptolomie*: either hoping, as may seem, that the Countrie would willingly submit it selfe vnto him, if this yong child should happen to miscarry; or else that greater purchase might be made in the Western parts of Asia, whilest *Philip* was held ouer-laboured by the Romans. It appeares that he was very much distracted; hunting (as we say) two Hares at once with one Hound. The quarrels betweene *Attalus*, *Philip*, and the Greckes, promised to affoord him great aduantage, if he should bring his Armie to the Hellespont. On the other side, the state of Egypt being such as hath beene declared, seemed easily to be swallowed vp at once. One while therefore he tooke what he could get in Syria: where all were willing (and the Iewes among the rest, though hitherto they had kept faith with the Egyptian) to yeeld him obedience. Another while, letting Egypt alone, He was about to make inuasion vpon *Attalus* his kingdome; yet suffered himselfe easily to be perswaded by the Roman Embassadours, and desisted from that enterprise. Hauing thus farre gratified the Romans; He sends Embassadors to the Senate, to conclude a perfect amity betweene him and them. It is not lightly to be ouerpassed, That these his Embassadors were louingly entertained at Rome; and dismissed, with a Decree and answer of the Senate, altogether to the honour of king *Antiochus*. But this answer of the Romans was not sincere; being rather framed according to regard of the kings good liking, than of their owne intent. They had not yet made an end with *Philip*: neither would they gladly bee troubled with two great warres at once. Wherefore, not standing much vpon the nice examination of what belonged vnto their honour, they were content to giue good words for the present. In the meane time *Antiochus* fights with *Scopas* in Syria, and shortly prepares to winne some Towns elsewhere, belonging vnto *Ptolomie*; yet withall hee sends an Armie Westward, intending to make what profit he can of the distractions in Greece. Likewise it is considerable, as an argument of his much irresolution, How notwithstanding his attempts vpon both of their kingdomes, hee offered one of his daughters to *Ptolomie*, and another to *Eumenes* the sonne of *Attalus*, newly King of Pergamus: seeking each of their friendshippes, at one and the same time, when hee sought to make each of them a spoyle. Thus was hee acting and deliberating at once; being carried with an inexplicable desire of repugnancies, which is a disease of great, and ouer-swelling fortunes. Howsoeuer it was, Hee sent an Armie to Sardes by Land, vnder two of his owne sonnes: willing them there to stay for him; whilest he himselfe with a Fleet of an hundred Gallies, and two hundred other vessels, intended to passe along by the Coasts of Cilicia and Caria, taking in such places as held for the Egyptian. It was a notable Act of the Rhodians, that, whilest the warre of *Philip* lay yet vpon their hands, they aduentured vpon this great *Antiochus*. They sent vnto him a proud Embassage: whereby they gaue him to vnderstand, That if he passed forward beyond a certaine Promontorie in Cilicia, they would meet him and fight with him; not for any quarrell of theirs vnto him, but because he should not ioyne with *Philip* their enemy, and helpe him against the Romans. It was insolently done of them, neither seemed it otherwise, to prescribe such limits vnto the King: yet he tempered himselfe, and without any

any ſhew of indignation gaue a gentle anſwer; partly himſelfe to their Embaſſadours; partly vnto their whole Citie, by Embaſſadors which he thither ſent. He ſhewed his deſire, to renew the ancient Confederacies between his Anceſtors and them: and willed them not to be afraid, leſt his comming ſhould tend vnto any hurt, either of them, or of their confederates. As touching the Romans whom they thought that he would moleſt: they were (he ſaid) his very good friends; whereof, he thought there needed no better proofe, than the entertainement and anſwer by them newly giuen to his Embaſſadors.

The Rhodians appeare to haue been a cunning people, and ſuch as could foreſee what weather was like to happen. This anſwer of the King, and the relation of what had paſſed between his Embaſſadors and the Senate, moued them not a whit; when they were informed ſhortly after, that the Macedonian warre was ended at the battaile of Cynoſcephalæ. They knew that *Antiochus* his turne would be next; and prepared to be forward on the ſtronger ſide. Wherefore they would not be contented to ſit ſtill; vnleſſe the Townes on the South Coaſt of Aſia, belonging to *Ptolomie* their friend and Confederate, were ſuffered to be at quiet. Herein alſo they did well, for that they had euer beene greatly beholding to all the race of the *Ptolomies*. They therefore, in this time of neceſſity, gaue what aide they could vnto all the ſubiects of the Egyptian in thoſe parts. In like manner did king *Eumenes*, the ſonne of *Attalus*, prognoſticate as concerning the war that followed, between *Antiochus* and the Romans. For when king *Antiochus* made a friendly offer, to beſtow one of his daughters vpon him in marriage: He excuſed himſelfe, and would not haue her. *Attalus* and *Philetærus*, his brethren, wondred at this. But he told them, that the Romans would ſurely make war vpon *Antiochus*; and therein finally preuaile. Wherefore he ſaid, That by abſtaining from this affinitie, it ſhould be in his power to ioyne with the Romans, and ſtrengthen himſelfe greatly with their friendſhip. Contrariwiſe, if he leaned to *Antiochus*: as hee muſt be partaker in his ouerthrow; ſo was he ſure to be oppreſſed by him, as by an ouer-mighty neighbour, if he happened to win the victory.

Antiochus himſelfe wintered about Epheſus: where he took ſuch order as he thought conuenient, for the reducing of Smyrna and Lampſacus to obedience; that had vſurped their liberty, and obſtinately ſtroue to maintaine it, in hope that the Romans would protect them. In the beginning of the Spring he ſailed vnto the Helleſpont: where hauing won ſome Townes that *Philip* had gotten not long before this, he paſſed ouer into Europe ſide; and in ſhort ſpace maſtered the Cherſoneſus. Thence went he to Lyſimachia: which the Thracians had gotten & deſtroyed, when *Philip* withdrew his garriſon thence, to imploy it in the Roman war. The Ætolians obiected as a crime vnto *Philip*, in the conference before *T. Quintius*, that he had oppreſſed Lyſimachia, by thruſting thereinto a garriſon. Hereupon *Philip* made anſwer, that his garriſon did not oppreſſe the town, but ſaue it from the Barbarians: who tooke and ſackt it, as ſoone as the Macedonians were gone. That this anſwer was good & ſubſtantiall, though it were not acceptable as ſuch; might appeare by the miſerable caſe, in which *Antiochus* found Lyſimachia at his comming thither. For the town was vttery razed by the Barbarians; and the people carried away into ſlauery. Wherfore the king tooke order to haue it re-edified: as alſo to redeeme thoſe that were in bondage; and to recollect as many of the Citizens, as were diſperſed in the Country thereabout. Likewiſe he was carefull to allure thither, by hopefull promiſes, new inhabitants, and to repleniſh the Citie with the wonted frequencie. Now to the end that men ſhould not be terrified from comming thither to dwell, by any feare of the neighbour Thracians: he tooke a iourney in hand againſt thoſe barbarous people, with the one halfe of his Army; leauing the other halfe to repair the Citie. Theſe paines he tooke; partly in regard of the conuenient ſituation, & former glory of Lyſimachia; partly for that he thought it highly redounding vnto his owne honour, to recouer & eſtabliſh the dominion in thoſe parts which his fore-father *Seleucus Nicator* had won from *Lyſimachus*, and thereby made his kingdome of greater extent, than it occupied in any following time. But for this ambition he ſhall dearely pay: and as after that victory againſt *Lyſimachus*, the death of king *Seleucus* followed ſhortly; ſo ſhall a deadly wound of the kingdome founded by *Seleucus* enſue very ſpeedily; after the reconqueſt of the ſame Countrie, which was the laſt of *Seleucus* his purchaſes.

§. IIII.

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The Romans hold friendly correſpondence with Antiochus, *during their warre with* Philip: *after which they quarrell with him. The doings of* Hannibal *at Carthage: whence he is chaſed by his enemies, and by the Romans: His flight vnto the King* Antiochus. *The Ætolians murmure againſt the Romans in Greece. The warre of the Romans and Achæans, with* Nabis *the Tyrant of Lacedæmon. The departure of the Romans out of Greece.* T. Quintius *his Triumph. Peace denied to* Antiochus *by the Romans.*

FOr the Romans, though they were vnable to ſmother their deſire of warre with *Antiochus*, whereof notice was already taken both by their friends and by their enemies: yet was it much againſt their will to keepe the rumour on foot, which they meant ſhortly to make good, of this intended warre, ſo long as they wanted matter of quarrell; wherof they were furniſhed, by this enterpriſe of the Kings about Lyſimachia. It was not long, ſince King *Attalus*, a friend and helper of the Romans in their warre with *Philip*, could obtaine of them none other helpe againſt *Antiochus*, than Embaſſadors to ſpeak for him; becauſe the one of theſe kings was held no leſſe a friend than the other. Neither did there afterwards paſſe between them any other offices, than very friendly. *Antiochus* at the requeſt of their Embaſſadors, withdrew his Inuaſion from the kingdome of Pergamus: alſo very ſhortly after he ſent Embaſſadors to them, to make a perfect League of amitie betweene them. This was whileſt as yet they were buſied with *Philip*, and therefore had reaſon to anſwer his good will with good acceptation: as they did in outward ſhew. But when the Macedonian war was at an end, and all, or moſt of all the States in Greece, were become little better than Clients vnto the Romans: then was all this good correſpondence changed, into termes of worſe, but more plaine meaning. For *T. Quintius*, with his ten Counſailors ſent from Rome, requited (as hath bin *ſhewed before) with a commination of war, this kings gratulation of their victory; as alſo his long-profeſſed amitie, and deſire to continue in the ſame. * Ch.4.§ vlt.

Theſe ten Counſailors were able to informe *T. Quintius*, and acquaint him with the purpoſe of the Senate: whereof yet it ſeemes that he was not ignorant before; ſince, in regard of *Antiochus*, he was the more inclinable vnto peace with *Philip*. It was therefore agreed, when they diuided themſelues to make progreſſe through diuers quarters of Greece for the execution of their late Decree, That two of them ſhould viſit King *Antiochus*; and the reſt, where occaſion ſerued, vſe diligence to make a partie ſtrong againſt him. Neither was the Senate at Rome vnmindfull of the buſineſſe: wherein leſt *T. Quintius*, with his ten Aſſiſtants, ſhould happen to forget any thing to their parts belonging; *L. Cornelius* was ſent from Rome, of purpoſe to deale with the king about thoſe controuerſies, that were between him and *Ptolomie*. What other priuate inſtructions *Cornelius* had; we may coniecture by the mannaging of this his Embaſſage. For comming to Selymbria: and there vnderſtanding that *P. Villius* and *L. Terentius*, hauing bin ſent by *Titus*, were at Lyſimachia, He haſtened thither; whither alſo came *P. Lentulus* (another of the ten Counſailors) from Bargillæ, to be preſent at the Conference. *Hegeſianax* and *Lyſias* were alſo there; the ſame, who had lately brought from *Titus* thoſe peremptorie Conditions, which the Embaſſadors preſent ſhall expound vnto their Maſter. After a few daies *Antiochus* returned from his Thracian Expedition. The meeting and entertainement between him and theſe Romans, was in appearance full of loue. But when they came to treat of the buſineſſe in hand; this good mood was quite altered. *L. Cornelius*, in two or three words, briefly deliuered his errand from Rome: which was, That *Antiochus* had reaſon to deliuer backe vnto *Ptolomie* thoſe Townes of his, whereof he had lately gotten poſſeſſion. Hereunto he added, and that very earneſtly, That hee muſt alſo giue vp the Townes of late belonging vnto *Philip*; and by him newly occupied. For what could be more abſurd, than ſuch folly in the Romans, as to let *Antiochus* enioy the profit of that warre, wherin they had laboured ſo much, and hee done nothing? Further he warned the king, that he ſhould not moleſt thoſe Cities that were free: and finally He demanded of him, vpon what reaſon he was come ouer with ſo great an Armie into Europe; for that other cauſe of his iourney there was none probable, than a purpoſe to make warre vpon the Romans? To this the King made anſwer, That hee wondred why the Romans ſhould ſo trouble themſelues, with thinking

vpon the matters of Asia: wherewith hee prayed them to let him alone; euen as Hee, without such curiositie, suffered them to doe in Italie what they thought good. As for his comming ouer into Europe: they saw well enough what businesse had drawne him thither; namely, the warre against the barbarous Thracians: the rebuilding of Lysimachia, & the recouery of Townes to him belonging, in Thrace & Chersonesus. Now concerning his title vnto that countrie, He deriued it from *Seleucus*: who made conquest thereof, by his victory against *Lysimachus*. Neither was it so, that any of the places in controuersie betweene him and the other Kings, had beene still of old belonging to the Macedonians or Egyptians; but had beene seized on by them, or by others from whom they receiued them, at such time as his Ancestors, being Lords of those Countries, were hindred by multiplicitie of businesse, from looking vnto all that was their own. Finally he willed them, neither to stand in feat of him, as if he intended ought against them from Lysimachia; since it was his purpose to bestow this citie vpon one of his sons, that should reigne therein: nor yet to be grieued with his proceedings in Asia; either against the free cities, or against the king of Egypt; since it was his meaning to make the free Cities beholding vnto himselfe, and to ioyne ere long with *Ptolomie*, not onely in friendship, but in a bond of neere affinitie. *Cornelius* hauing heard this, and being perhaps vnable to refute it; would needs heare further, what the Embassadours of Smyrna and of Lampsacus, whom he had there with him, could say for themselues. The Embassadors of Lampsacus being called in, beganne a tale; wherein they seemed to accuse the king before the Romans, as it were before competent Iudges. *Antiochus* therefore interrupted them, and bade them hold their peace, forasmuch as hee had not chosen the Romans, but would rather take the Citizens of Rhodes, to be Arbitrators betweene Him and them.

Thus the Treatie held some few dayes, without any likelihood of effect. The Romans, hauing not laid their complaints in such sort, as they might be a conuenient foundation of the warre by them intended: nor yet hauing purpose to depart well satisfied, & thereby to corroborate the present peace, were doubtful how to order the matter, in such wise as they might neither too rudely, like boistrous Gallo-Greeks, pretend onely the goodnesse of their swords; nor yet ouer-modestly, to retaine among the Greeks an opinion of their iustice, forbeare the occasion of making themselues great. The king on the other side was wearie of these tedious guests; that would take none answer, and yet scarce knew what to say. At length came newes, without any certaine author, That *Ptolomie* was dead. Hereof neither the king, nor the Romans, would take notice, though each of them were desirous to hasten into Egypt: *Antiochus*, to take possession of the Kingdome, and *L. Cornelius*, to preuent him therof, and set the Countrie in good order. *Cornelius* was sent from Rome Embassadour, both to *Antiochus* and to *Ptolomie*: which gaue him occasion to take leaue, & prepare for his Egyptian voyage. Both He, and his fellow Embassadors, had good leaue to depart all together: and the king foorthwith made ready, to be in Egypt with the first. To his sonne *Seleucus* he committed his Armie, and left him to ouersee the building of Lysimachia: but all his Sea-forces Hee tooke along with him, and sailed vnto Ephesus. Thence hee sent Embassadours to *T. Quintius*: whom he requested to deale with him in this matter of peace, after such sort as might stand with honestie and good faith. But as he was further proceeding on his voyage, he was perfectly informed that *Ptolomie* was aliue. This made him beare another way from Egypt: and afterwards a tempest, with a grieuous shipwracke, made him without any further attempt on the way, glad to haue safely recouered his Port of Seleucia. Thence went he to Antiochia, where he wintred: secure, as might appeare, of the Roman warre.

But the Romans had not so done with him. During the Treaty at Lysimachia, (at leastwise not long before or after it) one of their Embassadours that had beene sent vnto the Macedonian, gaue him counsaile, as in a point highly tending to his good; not to rest contented with the Peace which was ganted vnto him by the Romans, but to desire society with them, whereby they should be bound to haue the same friends and enemies. And this he aduised him to doe quickly, before the Warre brake out with *Antiochus*; lest otherwise he might seeme, to haue awaited some fit occasion of taking Armes againe. They who dealt thus plainely, did not meane to be satisfied with weake excuses. In like manner some of the Greekes were sollicited; and particularly the Ætolians, That

That constantly & faithfully they should abide in the friendship of the people of Rome. It was needlesse to say plainly whereto this entreatie tended: the froward answer made by the Ætolians, declares them to haue well vnderstood the purpose. They complained, that they were not alike honoured by the Romans after the Victory, as they had beene during the Warre. They that so complained were the most moderate of them. Others cryed out that they had been wronged, and defrauded of what was promised vnto them: vpbraiding withall the Romans, as men to them beholding; not only for their Victory ouer *Philip*, but euen for helping them to set foot in Greece, which else they neuer could haue done. Hereto the Roman gaue gentle answers: telling them that there was no more to doe, than to send Embassadors to the Senate, and vtter their griefes; and then should all be well.

Such care tooke the Romans in Greece, for their Warre intended against *Antiochus*. The fame hereof arriuing at Carthage, gaue matter vnto the enemies of *Hannibal*, wherwith both to picke a thanke of the Roman Senate, and to chase out of their citie this honourable man, whom they so greatly hated. He had of late exercised his vertue against them in the Ciuill administration; and giuen them an ouerthrow, or two, in the long Robe. The Iudges at that time bore all the sway in Carthage: holding their places during life; and hauing subiect vnto them, the liues, goods, and fame of all the rest. Neither did they vse this their power with moderation: but conspired in such wise together, that who so offended any one of them, should haue them all to be his enemies; which being once knowne, He was sure to be soone accused and condemned. In this their impotent rule of the citie, *Hannibal* was chosen Prætor. By vertue of which Office, though he was superiour vnto them during that yeere: yet had it not been their manner to beare much regard vnto such an annuall Magistrate, as at the yeeres end must bee accountable to them, if ought were laid vnto his charge. *Hannibal* therefore sending for one of the Quæstors, or officers of the Treasurie, to come and speake with him: the proud Quæstor set lightly thereby, and would not come. For he was of the aduerse Faction to *Hannibal*; and men of his place were to be chosen into the Order of Iudges: in contemplation whereof, he was filled already with the spirit of future Greatnesse. But hee had not to doe with such a tame Prætor, as were they that had occupied the place before. *Hannibal* sent for him by a Pursiuant; and hauing thus apprehended him, brought him into iudgement before a publique assembly of the people. There he not onely shewed, what the vndutifull stubbornenesse of this Quæstor had beene; but how vnsufferable the insolencie of all the Iudges at the present was: whose vnbridled power made them to regard neither Lawes nor Magistrates. To this Oration when hee perceiued that all the Citizens were attentiue and fauourable; Hee foorthwith propounded a Law, which passed with the generall good liking; That the Iudges should be chosen from yeere to yeere, and no one man bee continued in that Office two yeeres together. If this Law had beene passed, before he passed ouer Iberus: it would not perhaps haue beene in the power of *Hanno*, to haue brought him vnto necessity of reforming another grieuance, concerning the Roman Tribute. This Tribute the Carthaginians were faine to leuie by Taxation laid vpon the whole Commonaltie; as wanting money in their publique Treasurie, wherewith to defray either that, or diuers other needfull charges. *Hannibal* considering this, beganne to examine the publique Reuenues; and to take a perfect note, both how much came into the Treasurie, by wayes and meanes whatsoeuer; and in what sort it was thence laid out. So he found, That the ordinary charges of the Common-wealth did not exhaust the Treasurie: but that wicked Magistrates, and corrupt Officers, turning the greatest part of the monies to their owne vse, were thereby faine to loade the people with needlesse burdens. Hereof hee made such plaine demonstration, that these Robbers of the common Treasure were compelled to restore, with shame, what they had gotten by knauerie: and so the Carthaginians were freed from the necessitie of making such poore shifts, as formerly they had vsed, when they knew not the value of their owne Estate. But as the vertue of *Hannibal*, was highly commended by all that were good Citizens: so they of the Roman Faction, which had, since the making of the peace vntill now, little regarded him, beganne to rage extreamely; as being by him stript of their ill-gotten goods, and ill-employed authoritie, both at once; euen when they thought themselues to haue been in full possession of the vanquished Carthage. Wherefore they sent letters to their friends at

at Rome: wherein they complained, as if the *Barchine* Faction grew strong againe, and *Hannibal* would shortly be in armes. Questionlesse, if oppressing the Citie by iniustice, and robbing the Treasurie, were the onely way to hold Carthage in peace with Rome: these Enemies to the *Barchines* might well crie out, That hauing done their best already to keepe all in quiet, they saw none other likelihood than of Warre. But hauing none other matter to alledge, than their owne inuentions: they said, That *Hannibal* was like vnto a wilde beast, which would neuer be tamed: That secret messages past betweene him, and King *Antiochus*: and that he was wont to complaine of idlenesse, as if it were harmefull to Carthage; with what else to like effect they could imagine. These accusations they directed not vnto the Senate: but addressing their letters craftily, euery one to the best of his owne friends at Rome, and such as were Senators; they wrought so well, that neither publike notice of their Conspiracie was taken at Carthage; nor the authoritie of the Roman Senate, wanting to the furtherance of their malicious purpose. Onely *P. Scipio* is said to haue admonished the *Fathers*, that they should not thus dishonourably subscribe, and become Seconds to the accusers of *Hannibal*: as if they would oppresse, by suborning or countenancing false witnesses against him; the man, against whom in warre they had not of long time preuailed, nor vsed their Victory in such base manner, when they obtained it. But the Romans were not all so great-minded as *Scipio*: they wished for some such aduantage against *Hannibal*; and were glad to haue found it. Three Embassadours they sent ouer to Carthage, *C. Seruilius*, *Q. Terentius*, and *M. Claudius Marcellus*: whose very names import sufficient cause of bad affection to *Hannibal*. These hauing past the Sea, were entertained by those that had procured their comming; and, being by them instructed how to carry themselues, gaue out, That they were sent to end some controuersies, between the Carthaginians and *Masanissa*. But *Hannibal* had kept such good espiall vpon the Romans, that he knew their meaning well enough: against which he was neuer vnprepared. It were enough to say, That he escaped them by flight: but in the actions of so famous a man, I hold it not impertinent to rehearse the particularities. Hauing openly shewed himselfe, as was his manner, in the place of Assembly, He went forth of the Towne when it began to waxe darke, accompanied with two which were ignorant of his determination; though such as he might well trust. He had appointed Horses to be in a readinesse at a certaine place: whence riding all night, He came to a Tower of his owne by the Sea-side. There had hee a Ship furnished with all things needfull; as hauing long expected the necessitie of some such iourney. So Hee bade Africke farewell; lamenting the misfortune of his Countrey, more than his owne. Passing ouer to the Ile of Cercina; hee found there in the Hauen some Merchants shippes of Carthage. They saluted him respectiuely: and the chiefe among them began to enquire, whither hee was bound. Hee said, Hee went Embassadour to Tyre: and that he entended there in the Iland to make a sacrifice; whereto Hee inuited all the Merchants, and Masters of the Ships. It was hote weather: and therefore Hee would needes hold his Feast vpon the shore; where, because there wanted couert, Hee made them bring thither all their sailes and yards to be vsed in stead of Tents. They did so; and feasted with him till it was late at night: at which time he left them there asleepe: and putting to Sea, held on his course to Tyre. All that night, and the day following, He was sure not to be pursued. For the Merchants did neither make haste to send any newes of him to Carthage, as thinking him to be gone Embassadour: neither could they, without some losse of time, such of them as made most speed homeward, get away from Cercina, being busied awhile in fitting their tackle. At Carthage, the misse of so great a person was diuersly construed. Some ghessed aright, That he was fled. But the more common opinion was, That the Romans had made him away. At length came newes where he had beene seene: and then the Roman Embassadours, hauing none other errand thither, accused him (with an euill grace) as a troubler of the Peace; wherby they onely discouered the mischiefe by them intended against him, and the malice of their Senate; missing the while their purpose, and causing men to vnderstand, that He fled not thus without great reason.

Hannibal comming to Tyre, the Mother-Citie of Carthage, was there entertained Royally: as one, in whose great worth and honour the Tyrians, by reason of affinitie betweene their Cities, thought themselues to haue interest. Thence went hee to Antioch; and, finding the King departed, visited his son in Daphne: who friendly welcomed him, and sent him vnto his Father at Ephesus, that exceedingly reioyced at his comming.

As *Antiochus* had cause to be glad, in that he had gotten *Hannibal*: so had the Romans no great cause to be therefore sorrie; otherwise than as they had much disgraced themselues, by discouerie of their impotent malice, in chasing him thus out of his Countrie. For it would not proue alike easie vnto this great Commander, to make stout Souldiers of base *Asiatiques*; as it had bin by his trayning and discipline, to make very seruiceable and skilfull men of Warre of the Spaniards, Africans, Gaules, and other Nations; that were hardie, though vnexperienced. Or were it supposed, that one mans worth, especially being so extraordinary, could alter the nature of cowardly people: yet was it therewithall considerable, that the vanities of *Antiochus*, the pride of his Court, the baseniesse of his Flatterers, and a thousand other such vexations, would bee farre more powerfull in making vnprofitable the vertue of *Hannibal*; now a desolate and banished man; than had bin the villanie of *Hanno* and his Complices, hindering him in those actions wherein he had the high Command, and was seconded by his warlike brethren. Wherefore the name of this Great Carthaginian, would onely help to ennoble the Roman Victory: or if it further serued to hearten *Antiochus*, and make him lesse carefull to auoid the war; then should it further serue, to iustifie the Romans in their quarrell. And it seemes indeed that it was no little part of their care, to get a faire pretence of making warre. For *Antiochus*, as is said before, hauing newly sent Embassadors to *T. Quintius*, requiring that the Peace might faithfully be kept: it was not probable, that hee had any meaning to take Armes; vnlesse by meere violence he were thereto enforced. Onely the Ætolians were greatly suspected, as a turbulent people, desirous of innouation, and therefore practising with this Great King; whom they wished to see among them in Greece. In this regard, and to appease them; they had of late beene answered with gentle words by one of the ten Counsailours, That the Senate would grant them whatsoeuer with reason they should aske. But this promise was too large, and vnaduised. For when their Embassadours came to Rome, the Senate would grant them nothing; but wholly referred them to *T. Quintius*, who fauoured them least. Hereat they murmured, but knew not how to right themselues: otherwise than by speaking such words, as might hasten the Romans out of Greece for very shame; who had no desire to be thence gone.

The daily talke at Rome was of war with *Antiochus*; but in Greece, when the Romans would leaue the Countrie. For the Ætolians were wont to vpbraid the rest of the Greeks with the vain libertie which the Romans had proclaimed, saying, That these their Deliuerers had laid heauyer fetters vpon them, than formerly they did weare; but yet brighter and fairer, than those of the Macedonian: likewise, that it was a gracious act of *Titus*, to take from the legs of the Greeks their chaine, and tie it about their necks. There was indeed no cause of tarrying longer in Greece, if the Romans had no other meaning than what they pretended. For *Philip* made no delay, in accomplishment of that which was laid vpon him: all the Townes of Greece were at libertie, and the whole Countrie at peace, both with the Romans, and within it selfe. As for *Antiochus*; Hee made it his daily suit, That the Peace betweene him and Rome, such as it was, might bee confirmed, and strengthened by a League of more assurance. Neuertheless, *T. Quintius* would needs feare that *Antiochus* meant forthwith to seize vpon Greece, as soone as hee and his Armie were thence departed. And in this regard, Hee retained still in his owne hands Chalcis, Demetrias, and the Acrocorinthus: by benefit of which Townes, he might the better withstand the dangerous Inuasion like to be made by *Antiochus*. Suteable vnto the doings of *Quintius* were the reports of the ten Embassadours, that had beene sent ouer to assist him; when they returned backe into the Citie. *Antiochus*, they said, would questionlesse fall vpon Greece: wherin he should find not onely the Ætolians, but *Nabis* the Tyrant of Lacedæmon, ready to giue him entertainment. Wherefore there was none other way, than to doe somewhat against these their suspected enemies: especially against *Nabis*, who could worst make resistance; whilest *Antiochus* was farre away in Syria, and not intentiue to his businesse. These reports went not onely current through the Citie, among the Vulgar; but found such credit with the chiefe of the Senate, that in the following yeere, against which time it was expected that *Antiochus* should be ready to take his great enterprise in hand; *P. Cornelius Scipio* the African, desired, and obtained, a second Consulship, with intention to be Generall in the Warre, against the King and his

Hannibal.

Hannibal. For the present, the businesse with *Nabis* was referred vnto *Titus*; to deale with him as hee thought good. This would bee a faire colour of his longer tarriance in Greece. Therefore he was glad of the employment: whereof also hee knew that many of the Greekes would not be sorry; though for his owne part, he wanted all good pretence of taking it in hand. For *Nabis* had entred into friendship with him, two or three yeeres before this, as is already shewed, whilest he had warre with *Philip*: and had further beene contented for the Romans sake to be at peace with the Achæans; neither since that time had he done any thing, whereby he should draw vpon himselfe this Warre. Hee was indeed a detestable Tyrant, and hated of the Achæans; as one, that besides his owne wicked Conditions, had formerly done to them great mischiefe. *Titus* therefore had a plausible Theme, wheron to discourse before the Embassages of all the Confederate Cities; Which he caused to meet for that purpose at Corinth. He told them, That in the war with *Philip*, not only the Greekes, but the Romans themselues, had each their motiues apart (which he there briefly rehearsed) that should stirre them vp, and cause them to be earnest. But in this which he now propounded to them concerning *Nabis*, the Romans had none other interest, than onely the making perfect of their honour, in setting all Greece at liberty: which noble Action was in some sort maimed, or incompleat, whilest the noble City of Argos was left in subiection to a Tyrant, that had lately occupied it. It therefore belonged vnto them, the Greekes, duely to consider, whether they thought the deliuerance of Argos a matter worthy to bee vndertaken; or whether otherwise to auoid all further trouble, they could be well contented to leaue it as it was. This concerned them, and not the Romans: who in taking this worke in hand, or letting it alone, would wholly be ruled by the Greekes themselues. The Athenian Embassador made answer hereunto very eloquently, and as pleasing as hee could deuise. Hee gaue thankes to the Romans for what was past; extolled their vertues at large; and magnified them highly in regard of this their Proposition: wherein vnrequested they freely made offer to continue that bounty, which at the vehement request of their poore Associates, they had already of late extended vnto the Greekes. To this Hee added, That great pittie it was to heare, such notable vertue & high deserts ill spoken of by some: which tooke vpon them, out of their owne imagination, to foretell what harme these their Benefactors meant to doe hereafter: when as Thankefulnesse rather would haue required an acknowledgement of the benefits and pleasures already receiued. Euery one found the meaning of this last clause, which was directly against the Ætolians. Wherefore *Alexander* the Ætolian rose vp, and told the Athenians their owne: putting them in minde of their ancient glorie, in those times when their City had beene the Leader of all Greece, for defence and recouery of the liberty generall: from which honour they were now so farre falne, that they became Parasites vnto those whom they thought most mighty; and by their base assentation, would leade all the rest into seruitude. Then spake He against the Achæans, Cliants that had beene a long time vnto the Macedonian; and souldiers of *Philip*, vntill they ranne away from his aduersitie. These, He said, had gotten Corinth, and must now haue warre be made for their sakes, to the end that they might also bee Lords of Argos: whereas the Ætolians, that had first made warre with *Philip*, and alwayes beene friends vnto the Romans, were now defrauded of some places, anciently to them belonging. Neither did he thus containe himselfe, but obiected vnto the Romans, fraudulent dealing: forasmuch as they kept their Garrisons in Demetrias, Chalcis, and the Acrocorinth; hauing beene alwayes wont to professe, That Greece could neuer be at libertie, whilest those places were not free. Also now at last, what else did they seeke by this discourse of warre with *Nabis*, than businesses wherewith to finde themselues occupied, that so they might haue some seeming cause of abiding longer in the Country? But they should doe well, if they meant as they spake, to carry their Legions home out of Greece: which could not indeed be free, till their departure. As for *Nabis*; the Aetolians themselues did promise, & would vndertake, That they would either cause him to yeeld to reason, and relinquish Argos freely, withdrawing thence his Garrison; or else compell him by force of Armes, to submit himselfe to the good pleasure of all Greece, that was now at vnitie. These words had beene reasonable, if they had proceeded from better men. But it was apparant, that no regard of the common liberty wrought so much with these Ætolians; as did their owne rauenous desire of oppressing others, and getting vnto themselues, that worse would vse it, the whole Dominion in Greece, which *Philip* had

had lost. Neither could they well dissemble this; making it no small part of their grieuance, That the old League was forgotten: wherein it had beene couenanted, That the Romans should enioy the spoyle of all, but leaue the Townes and Lands in possession of the Ætolians. This, and the remembrance of a thousand mischiefes by them done in former times, made the whole assembly, especially the Achæans, crie out vpon them: entreating the Romans to take such order before they went, that not onely *Nabis* might be compelled to doe right; but the Ætolian theeues bee enforced to keepe home, and leaue their neighbours in quiet. All this was highly to the pleasure of *Titus*: who saw, that by discountenancing the Ætolians, He was become the more gracious with all the rest. But whether it pleased him so well that *Antiochus* his Embassadors did presently after lie hard vpon him, to draw the peace to some good conclusion, it may bee greatly doubted. Hee cast them off with a slight answer: telling them, That the ten Embassadors or Counsailours which had beene sent vnto him from Rome, to bee his assistants in these matters of weight, were now returned home; and that, without them, it was not in his power to conclude vpon any thing.

Now concerning the Lacedæmonian warre; it was very soone ended. For *Titus* vsed the helpe of all his Confederates; and made as great preparation against *Nabis*, both by Land and Sea, as if hee should haue had to doe with *Philip*. Besides the Roman forces, King *Eumenes* with a Nauie, and the Rhodian Fleet, were inuited to the seruice: as also *Philip* of Macedon sent aid by Land; doing therein poorely, whether it were to get fauor of the Romans, or whether to make one among the number, in seeking reuenge vpon *Nabis*, that had done him iniurie. But the most forward in this Expedition were the Achæans, who set out ten thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse. As for the Ætolians: rather to hold good fashion, and sound their dispositions, than in hope to speed, their helpe was required; whereof they excused themselues as well as they thought best. Thus are the Achæans now become the prime friends of the Romans in Greece; hauing remoued the Ætolians from that degree of fauour: like as they themselues hereafter (though not in all haste) shall be supplanted of the same Lacedæmonians, against whom they are now marching.

Some of the Argiues, more bold than wise, began a conspiracie against the Lacedæmonians that held their Towne, meaning to open their gates vnto the Roman. But ere *Titus* drew neere, they were all detected and slaine: excepting a very few, that escaped out of the Towne. The fame of this Commotion, caused the Armie to march apace toward Argos; with hope to be there, before things were at quiet. But there was no stir within the Walls: the execution done vpon the first mouers, hauing terrified all the rest of the Citizens. *Titus* then thought it better, to assaile *Nabis* in the head of his strength at Lacedæmon, than to consume time about other places; especially at Argos: for the freedome whereof since the Warre was made, pitie it were, that the calamities of the warre should thereon fall most heauily.

Nabis had in readinesse an Army of fifteene thousand, wherewith to defend himselfe against these Inuaders. Fiue thousand of them were Mercenaries: the rest, of his owne Countrie; but such as were of all others the worst, as manumised slaues, malefactors and base peasants, vnto whom his Tyranny was beneficiall. Of the good and worthy Citizens he stood in doubt; and since he could not hope to win their loue, his meaning was to hold them quiet by feare. He called them all to an assembly: and compassing them round in with his Armie, told them of the danger that was toward him and them. If they could agree within themselues; they might, hee said, hope the better to withstand the common Enemie. But forasmuch as turbulent heads were inuited by light occasions, to raise tumults, and worke dangerous treason: it seemed vnto him the safest, and (withall) the mildest course, to arrest before-hand, aud put in ward, all those whom he found most reason to suspect. So should he keep them innocent perforce; and thereby preserue not only the City and his owne person from danger, but them also for the punishment, which else they might haue incurred. Hereupon hee cites and apprehends about foureſcore of them; whom hee leades away to prison, and the next night putteth them all to death. Thus was hee sure that they neither should offend, nor yet breake loose. As for the death of them, if it should happen to be noysed abroad: what could it else doe than terrifie the people; who must thereby vnderstand, that it was a mortall crime to bee suspected? And to the same purpose his cruelty extended it selfe vnto some

some poore wretches: whom he accused of a meaning to flie to the Enemie. These were openly whipt through all the streets, and slaine. Hauing thus affrighted the Citizens: He turned the more freely all his thoughts toward the Enemie, that came on apace. He welcommed them with a sallie: wherein, as commonly happens, the Souldiers of the Towne had the better at first; but were at length repelled with losse. *Titus* abode not many daies before Sparta: but ouer-ranne the Countrey; hoping belike to prouoke the Tyrant forth to battaile. The Roman Fleet at the same time, with king *Eumenes* and the Rhodians, laid siege vnto Gyttheum, the onely or principall Town that *Nabis* had. Likely they were to haue taken it by force, when there appeared hope of getting it by treason. There were two Gouernours within the Towne equall in authoritie: whereof the one, either for feare, or desire of reward, had a purpose to let in the Romans. But the other finding what was in hand, and being somewhat more faithfull, slue the Traitor; after whose death, he himselfe alone made the better defence. Yet when *T. Quintius* with part of his Armie came thither to Gyttheum: this Captaine of the Towne had not the heart to abide the vttermost, and awaite what either Time or his Master might doe for him, but was contented to giue vp the place; yet vpon Condition, to departin safety to Sparta with his Garrison. *Pythagoras*, the sonne-in-law of *Nabis*, and brother vnto his wife, was come from Argos, whereof he had the Gouernment, with a thousand Souldiours Mercenaries, and two thousand Argiues: it being (as may seeme) the Tyrants purpose, to relieue Gyttheum: which he thought would haue held longer out. But when they heard that it was lost, then began they to thinke vpon finishing the warre, by some reasonable Composition. *Pythagoras* therefore was sent his Embassadour to *Titus*: requesting onely that he would appoint a time and place for *Nabis* to meet and speak with him. This was granted. In that Parlee the Tyrant spake very reasonably for himselfe: proueing, that he suffered wrong, and had done none, and that by many good arguments; whereof the summe was, That whatsoeuer they now did, or could obiect vnto him, was of elder date than the League which they had made with him. Whereupon hee inferred, That neither for his keeping the Towne of Argos, nor for any other cause by them alleaged, they ought to make warre vpon him; since Argos, and all other their allegations whatsoeuer, had not hindered them, in time of their more need of him, from entring into that League with him; which was neuer broken on his part, nor ought to bee on theirs. But *Quintius* was not herewith satisfied. He charged him with Tyrannie; and gaue instance, as easily he might, of diuers barbarous cruelties by him committed. In all which points, forasmuch as they knew this *Nabis* to be guiltie, before they made Peace and Confederacie with him; it was expedient, that some other cause of this Inuasion should be alleaged. Wherefore he said further, That this Tyrant had occupied Messene, a Towne Confederate with the Romans: That he had bargained to ioyne with *Philip*; when he was their enemie, not onely in League, but also in affinity: and that his Fleet had robbed many of their ships, about the Cape of Malea. Now touching this Pyracie, since in the Articles by *Titus* propounded vnto *Nabis*, there was no restitution mentioned, other than of ships, by him taken from the Greeks his neighbours, with whom hee had long held warre: it may seeme to haue beene obiected, onely by way of Complement, and to enlarge the volume of those complaints, that were otherwise very friuolous. As for Messene, and the bargaine of Alliance made with *Philip*: they were matters foregoing the League, that was made betweene the Romans and this Tyrant; and therefore not to haue beene mentioned. All this it seemes that *Aristænus*, the Prætor of the Achæans, very well perceiued: who therfore doubting lest the Romans, (that were wont to talke so much of their own iustice, honour, and faithfull dealing) should now relent, and forbeare to molest him, who, though a wicked man, was yet their Confederate, and had neuer done them wrong; framed his discourse to another end. He entreated *Nabis* to consider well of his owne estate; & to settle his fortunes, whilest he might do it without hazzard: alledging the examples of many Tyrants that had ruled in the neighbour-cities, and therein committed great outrages; yet were afterwards contented to surrender their Estates, and liued in great securitie, honour, and happinesse, as priuate men. Thus they discoursed vntill night. The next day *Nabis* was contented to relinquish Argos; and requested them, to deliuer vnto him in writing their other demands, that hee might take counsaile with his friends. The issue of all was, That, in regard of the charges, whereat the Confederates must bee, for maintenance of an Armie to lie in Leaguer all that

that Winter (as there was no hope of making short worke) before the City of Sparta: they were contented to make peace with the Tyrant, vpon such Conditions as *Titus* should thinke meet. Besides the restitution of Argos, and all the places thereon depending; *Titus* propounded many other Conditions to *Nabis*, and some of them very grieuous. He would not suffer the Lacedæmonian to haue ought to doe in the Ile of Crete; no, nor to make any Confederacies; nor warre, either in that Iland or else-where; not to build any Towne or Castle vpon his owne Lands; not to keepe any other shipping, than two small Barkes; besides many other troublesome iniunctions; with imposition of an hundred talents in siluer to be paid out of hand, and fiftie talents yeerely, for eight yeeres next ensuing. For obseruance of these Couenants hee demanded fiue hostages, such as he himselfe should name; and one of them to bee the Tyrants owne sonne. If it had beene the meaning of *Titus*, to wi[illegible] draw the warre from *Nabis*, because it was not grounded vpon iustice: then had it [illegible]ice enough, if not more than enough, to take Argos from him; which he himselfe did offer, though it were for feare, to deliuer vp. But if it were thought reasonable, to dispense a little with the Roman faith, in regard of the great benefit which therby might redound vnto the state of their best friends in Greece; by the extirpation of this Tyrannie: then should this enterprise, when once it was taken in hand, haue bin prosecuted vnto the very vtmost. As for this middle course which the Romans held: as it was not honourable vnto them, to enrich themselues by the spoyle of one that had not offended them: nor pleasing to the Achæans, who iudged it euer after a great blemish to the noble acts of *Titus*: so did it minister vnto the Ætolians, and to such as curiously pried into the faults of those which tooke vpon them to be Patrons of Greece, no barren Subiect of malicious discourse. For since *Philip*, a King, and descended of many famous Kings, might not be suffered by these Masterly Romans, to hold any one of those Countries or Towns in Greece, that had belonged vnto his Ancestors: it was thought very strange, that Lacedæmon; once the most famous Citie among all the Greekes, was by the same Romans left in possession of a Tyrant, that had vsurped it but yesterday: and Hee therein rooted by their authoritie, as their friend and Confederate. *Nabis* on the other side thought himselfe vnmercifully dealt withall, by the selfe-same Romans, whose amity he had preferred in time of a doubtfull warre, before the loue and affinitie of the Macedonian king, that had committed the Citie of Argos into his hands. But falsly had he dealt with the Macedonian: and falsly was hee dealt with by those, to whom he did betake himselfe. Among these Articles propounded, there was nothing that pleased him; saue onely that for the banished Lacedæmonians, (of whom a great number were in the Roman Campe; hauing among them *Agesipolis* the naturall King of Sparta, that being a young childe was driuen out by *Lycurgus*, the first of the Tyrants) there was made no prouision, to haue them restored vnto their Citie and Estates; but onely leaue required for as many of their wiues, as would be so contented, to liue abroad with them in banishment. Wherefore he forbore to giue consent vnto these demands: and sustained an assault or two; hoping belike that the enemies would soone bee wearie. But his fearfull nature shortly ouercame the resolution, which the sense of these iniuries had put into him. So yeelding vnto all that had beene propounded, Hee deliuered the hostages; and thereupon obtained peace, that was confirmed afterwards at Rome by the Senate and People. From this time forward, He thought the Romans farre more wicked than himselfe; and was ready vpon the first aduantage, to doe them all the mischiefe that he could.

The Argiues had heard news that Lacedæmon was euen at point of being taken. This erected them, and gaue them heart to thinke vpon their owne good. So they aduentured to set vpon the Garrison; which was much weakened, by the remoue of the three thousand carried thence by *Pythagoras* to helpe the Tyrant at Sparta. There needed vnto their libertie no more, than that all of them ioyntly should set their hands to the getting of it; which no sooner they did than they obtained it. Presently after this came *T. Quintius* to Argos, where hee was ioyfully welcommed. Hee was deseruedly acknowledged as author of that benefit, whereon the Citizens had layed hold without staying for him: and that he might the better entitle himselfe thereto, he caused the liberty of the Argiues to be proclaimed at the Nemæan games; as ratifying it by his authority. The Citie was annexed againe to the Councell of Achaia; whereby the Achæans were not more strengthened, than the Argiues themselues were secured from danger of relapse, into

into the same extremities out of which they had newly escaped.

After this, *Titus* found little businesse or none wherewith to set on worke his Army in Greece. *Antiochus* was about to send another Embassage to Rome, desiring peace and friendship of the Senate. Things being therfore in appearance wholly disposed vnto quiet; *Scipio* the African, that was chosen Consul at Rome, could not haue his desire, of being sent Commander into Greece. The vnsyncere meaning of *Antiochus*, and the tumultuous disposition of the Ætolians, were held as considerations worthy of regard: yet not sufficient causes of making War. Neither appeared there any more honest way, of confuting the Ætolians, and of throughly perswading all the Greeks (which was not to bee neglected, by those that meant to assure vnto themselues the Patronage of Greece) that the good of the Countrie, was their sole intent; than by withdrawing thence their Legions, and leauing the Nation vnto it selfe, till occasion should be ripe, and call them ouer again. Wherefore after *Titus* had spent a Winter there, without any matter of employment, either found, or at any neere distance appearing; hee called an Assembly of Delegates, from all parts of Greece to Corinth: where he meant to bid them farewell. There hee recounted vnto them all that had passed since his comming into those parts; and willed them to value the Roman friendship, according to the difference of estate, wherein the Romans found and left them. Hereto he added some wholesome counsell; touching the moderate vse of their libertie, and the care which they ought to haue of liuing peaceably, and without faction. Lastly he gaue vp Acrocorinthus to the Achæans; withdrawing thence the Roman Garrison, & promising to do the like (which very soone he did) at Chalcis and Demetrias; that so it might be knowne, what lyers the Ætolians were, who had accused the Romans, of a purpose to retaine those places. With ioyfull acclamations did the Greekes testifie their good liking of that which *Titus* had said and done: as also (at his request) they agreed, to ransome and enlarge all Romans, that had beene sold into their Countrey by *Hannibal*.

Thus *Titus* crowned his actions in Greece with an happy end: and by leauing the Countrie before his departure was vrged, left therein behinde him the memory of his vertue and benefits, vntainted by iealousie & suspition of any euill meaning. At his comming to the City, He had the honour of a Triumph; which was the goodliest of all that Rome had vntill that day beheld. Three daies together the shew of his pomp continued: as being set out with the spoyles of a Countrie, more aboundant in things worthy of such a spectacle, than any wherein the Romans had before made Warre. All sorts of Armes, with Statues and curious pieces of Brasse or Marble, taken from the Enemie, were carried in the first dayes Pageant. The second day, was brought in, all the treasure of Gold and Siluer: some in the rude Masse vnwrought, some, in diuers sorts of Coine; and some, in Vessels of sundry kindes, that were the more highly prized by the workemanship. Among these were tenne shields, all of Siluer; and one of pure Gold. The third day *Titus* himselfe entred the Citie in his Triumphant Chariot. Before him were carried an hundred and foureteen Crownes of Gold, bestowed vpon him by diuers Cities. There were also led the beasts for Sacrifice; the Prisoners, and the hostages: among which, *Demetrius* the sonne of King *Philip*, and *Armenes* the sonne of *Nabis*, were principall. After him followed his Army; and (which added much grace, and good liking, to the shew) the Roman Captiues, by his procurement redeemed from slauerie in Greece.

Not long after this Triumph, He procured audience of the Senate for many Embassages, that were come out of Greece and Asia. They had all very fauourable answers, excepting those of king *Antiochus*: whom the Senate would not heare, but referred ouer to *T. Quintius*, and the ten that had bin his Counsailors; because their businesse was said to be somewhat intricate. Hereat the Kings Embassadors wondred. They said vnto *Titus* & his Associates, That they could not discern wherein consisted any perplexity of their message. For all Treaties of peace and friendship, were either betweene the Victor and the vanquished; betweene those, that hauing warred together, were vpon equall termes of aduantage; or betweene those that had liued alwayes in good agreement, without any quarrell. Vnto the Victor, they said, that the vanquished must yeeld; and patiently endure the imposition of some Couenants, that else might seeme vnreasonble. Where Warre had beene made, and no aduantage gotten: there was it vsuall to demand and make restitution of things and places claimed, gotten, or lost; accordingly as both parts could agree. But betweene those which had neuer fallen out, there ought no Conditions of establishing friendship to bee proposed: since it was reasonable, that each part should hold their owne; and neither carry it selfe as superiour vnto the other, in prescribing ought that might be troublesome. Now of this last kinde, was the league & friendship that had beene so long in conclusion, betwixt *Antiochus* and the Romans. Which being so: they held it strange, that the Romans should thus insist on points no way concerning them, and take vpon them to prescribe vnto the King, what Cities of Asia hee should set at libertie; from what Cities they would giue him leaue to exact his wonted Tributes; either putting, or not putting, his Garrisons into them, as the Senate should thinke fit. Hereto *Quintius* answered, that since they went so distinctly to worke, Hee would also doe the like. Wherefore he propounded vnto them two Conditions, and gaue them their choyce whether to accept: Eyther that it should be lawfull for the Romans, to take part in Asia with any that would seeke their friendship; Or if King *Antiochus* misliked this, and would haue them forbeare to meddle in Asia, that then he should abandon whatsoeuer he had gotten in Europe. This was plaine dealing, but no reasonable nor pertinent answer, to that which the Kings Embassadours had propounded. For if the Romans might be hired to abstaine from Asia, by the gift of all that *Antiochus* had lately wonne in Europe: then did not the affaires of Smyrna, Lampsacus, or any other Asiatiques, whom they were pleased to reckon as their Confederates, binde them in honour to make warre with a King that sought their loue, and had neuer done them iniury. But they knew very well, that *Antiochus* could not without great shame be so base, as to deliuer vp vnto them the Citie of Lysimachia, whereon of late he had beene at so much cost; in building it vp euen from the foundation, and repeopling it with Inhabitants, that had all beene dispersed, or captiue to the Barbarians. And so much the Embassadors with great indignation alledged: saying, That *Antiochus* desired friendship of the Romans; but so, as it might stand with his honour. Now in point of honour, the Romans tooke vpon them as if their cause were farre the superiour. For it was, they said, their purpose, to set at liberty those Towns, which the King would oppresse and hold in subiection: especially since those Townes were of Greekish bloud and language; and fell in that regard vnder the patronage, which Rome had affoorded vnto all Greece besides. By this colour they might soon haue left *Antiochus* king of not many subiects on the hither side of Euphrates. Neither did they forbeare to say, That, vnlesse hee would quit what he held in Europe, it was their meaning not onely to protect those which relied vpon them in Asia, but therein to make new Alliances: namely (as might bee vnderstood) with such as were his subiects. Wherefore they vrged his Embassadours to come to a point, and tell them plainely which of these two Conditions their King would accept. For lacke of a pleasing answer, which the Embassadours could not hereto make; little wanted of giuing presently defiance to the King. But they suffered themselues to be entreated, and were contented once againe to send ouer *P. Villius*, and others that had bin already with the King at Lysimachia; by whom they might receiue a finall answer, whether these demands made by *Quintius* and his Associates would be accepted, yea, or no. By this respite of time, and the fruitlesse Treaties ensuing, *Antiochus* got the leisure of two yeeres, or thereabouts, to prepare for warre; finding in the Romans all that while, no disposition to let him liue in peace.

§. V.

Of the long Warres which the Romans had with the Gaules, Ligurians, and Spaniards. Of M. Porcius Cato. *Iniuries done by* Masanissa *to the Carthaginians, that sue to the Romans for iustice in vaine.*

THe Insubrians, Bojians, & other of the Cisalpine Gauls, together with the Ligurians, made often, and (in a manner) continuall warre vpon the Romans in Italy, euen from such time as *Hannibal* and his brother *Mago* departed thence, vntill such time as they themselues were vtterly subdued: which was not, before the Romans were almost at the very height of their Empire. These Nations, hauing serued vnder *Mago* for wages, and afterwards hauing gotten *Amilcar* a Carthaginian, to bee Leader vnto them all, as hath beene already shewed; by this their fellowship in Armes,

Armes, grew to bee such willing partakers each of others fortune, that seldome afterwards either the Gaules or Ligurians did stir alone, but that their companions, hearing it, were ready to second them. How the Romans first preuailed, and got large possessions in *Gallia Cisalpina*, now called Lumbardie; it hath bin long since rehearsed between the first and second *Punick* Wars. As also it hath since appeared, how they lost the greatest part of their hold in that Countrie, by meanes of *Hannibal* his passage there-through. Neither is it likely that the re-conquest would haue beene more difficult or tedious vnto the Romans, than was the first purchase: if, besides the greater employments which they had of their Armies abroad, their forces appointed vnto this warre, had not been distracted by the Ligurians; that alwayes made them to proceed warily, hauing an eye to the danger at their backes. The Ligurians were a stout nation, light and swift of bodie; well practised in laying ambushes, and not discouraged with any ouerthrow, but forthwith ready to fight againe. Their Countrie was mountainous, rough, wooddie, and full of straight and dangerous passages. Few good Townes they had; but many Castles, exceedingly well fortified by nature: so as without much labour, they could neither bee taken nor besieged. They were also very poore; and had little or nothing that might giue contentment, vnto a victorious Armie that should spoyle their Land. In these respects, they serued excellently well, to traine vp the Roman Souldiers to hardnesse & military patience: teaching them (besides other exercises of warre) to endure much, and liue contented with a little. Their quarrell to Rome, grew partly from their loue vnto the Gauls, their neighbours and companions; partly from their delight in robbing & spoyling the Territorie of their borderers, that were subiect vnto Rome. But their obstinate continuance in the Warre which they had begun, seemes to haue bin grounded vpon the Condition of all Saluages; To be friends or foes, by custome, rather than by Iudgement: and to acknowledge no such vertue in Leagues, or formall conclusions of Peace, as ought to hinder them from vsing their aduantage, or taking reuenge of iniuries when they returne to minde. This qualitie is found in all, or most of the West-Indians: who, if they be demanded a reason of the Warres betweene them and any of their neighbours, doe vse commonly this answer, *It hath still beene the custome for vs and them, to fight one against the other.*

Ch.2.§.8. of this booke.

Diuers ouerthrowes, though none that were great, these Ligurians gaue vnto the Romans: but many more, and greater, they receiued. Often they sought peace, when they found themselues in distresse; and brake it againe as often, when they thought it profitable so to doe. The best was, that as their Countrie was a good place of exercise vnto the Romans, so out of their own Countrie they did little harme: not sending any great Armies farre from home; perhaps, because they knew not how to make warre, saue on their owne ground.

The Countrey of Spaine, as it was the first part of the Continent out of Italy that became subiect vnto the Romans: so was it the last of all their Prouinces, which was wholly & throughly by them subdued. It is likened in figure by some Geographers vnto an Ox-hide: & the Romans found in it the property of that Oxe-hide, which *Calanus* the Indian shewed vnto the Great *Alexander*, as an Embleme of his large Dominions. For, treading vpon any side of it, the further parts would rise from the ground. And thus was it with Spaine. Seldome did it happen, that those parts from which the Roman Armies lay furthest, were not vp in rebellion. The Spaniards were a very hardie Nation, and easily stirred vp to armes; but had not much knowledge in the Art of warre, nor any good Captaines. They wanted also (which was their principall hinderance) good intelligence among themselues: and being diuided into many small Signiories, that had little other communion than of language, they seldome or neuer prouided in generall for the common good of their Countrie; but made it their chiefe care, each of them to looke vnto their owne Territorie. Such priuate respects made them often to fall asunder, when many had vnited themselues together, for chasing out of the Romans. And these were the causes of their often ouerthrowes: as desire of liberty, rather than complaint of any wrong done to them, was the cause of their often taking armes.

The Carthaginians had beene accustomed, to make euacuation of this Cholericke Spanish humour; by employing as Mercenaries in their warres abroad, those that were most likely to be vnquiet at home. They had also taken Souldiers from one part of the Countrey, and vsed them in another: finding meanes to pay them all, out of the profits which

which they raised vpon the whole Countrie; as being far better husbands, and of more dexteritie than were the Romans, in that kinde. But contrariwise the Romans, vsing the seruice of their owne Legions, and of their sure friends the Latines, had little businesse for the Spaniards; and therefore were faine to haue much businesse with them. Spaine was too far distant, and withal too great, for them to send ouer Colonies thither, whereby to hold it in good order, according to the course that they tooke in Italy. Wherefore it remained, that they should alwaies maintaine such Armies in the Countrie, as might serue to hold it in obedience perforce; and such heedfull Captaines, as might be still ready to oppose the Barbarians in their first Commotion. This they did: and thereby held the Countrie; though seldome in peace.

Very soone after the departure of *Scipio*, there was raised warre in Spaine against the Romans, euen vpon the same generall ground, that was the foundation of all the Spanish Warres following. It was thought vnreasonable, that the Spaniards should one while helpe the Carthaginians against the Romans, and another while the Romans against the Carthaginians; basely forgetting to help themselues against those that were strangers, yet vsurped the Dominion ouer them. But the forces which *Scipio* had left behinde him in that Countrie, being well acquainted with the manner of Warre in those parts, suppressed this Rebellion by many victories: and, together with subiection, brought peace vpon the Countrie; which lasted fiue yeeres. This victory of the Romans, though it happily ended the Warre: yet left it still remaining the cause of the Warre; which after fiue yeeres brake out againe. The Spaniards fought a battaile with the Roman Proconsull, whom they slew; and had a great Victorie, that filled them with greater hopes. Yet the happy successe of their Warres in Greece, made the Romans thinke it enough to send thither two Prætors, and with each of them some two Legions. These did somewhat: yet not so much, but that *M. Porcius Cato*, who was Consull the yeere following, and sent into that Prouince; found at his comming little lesse to doe, than the reconquering of all Spaine. But it fell out happily, that all the Spaniards were not of one minde: some were faithfull to Rome; and some were idle beholders of the paines that others tooke. Yet when *Cato* had wonne a great victorie vpon the chiefest of them; they rose against him in many parts of the Countrey, and put him vnto much new trouble. Whilest he was about to make a iourney against those that were as yet vnsubdued: some of the lately vanquished, were euen ready to rebell. Hee therefore disarmed them: which they tooke so heauily, that many of them slew themselues for very griefe. Hearing of this; and well vnderstanding, that such desperation might worke dangerous effects; Hee called vnto him the principall among them: and commending vnto them peace and quietnesse, which they neuer had disturbed but vnto their owne great losse, He prayed them to deuise what course might be taken, for holding them assured vnto Rome, without further trouble. None of them could, or would giue counsaile in a matter of this nature. Hauing therefore talked with them once or twice, and finding their inuention barren in this kinde of Subiect; Hee gaue expresse charge, That vpon a day appointed they should throw downe the walls of all their Townes. Afterwards he carried the Warre about from place to place; and with singular industry finished it in short time. Neither thought he it any disgrace to him or to Rome, in this time of danger, to imitate the Carthaginians, and hire an Army of the Celtiberians, against other of their Countrimen: excusing the indignity, such as it seemed, with a iest, That if he were vanquished and slaine, then should he need to pay them nothing; whereas if he had the Victory, hee could pay them with the Enemies money. Finally, He brought the warre to so good end, that in long time after, though Spaine were often troublesome, yet was it in no danger of being lost. He increased also the publike Reuenues in that Prouince, by causing some Mynes of Iron and Siluer to be wrought, that had before laine vnregarded. Herein hee did benefit the Common-wealth, by a vertue much agreeable to his owne peculiar disposition.

For this *M. Cato* was not onely very notable in the Art of war, which might well be then termed the Occupation of the Romans; but so well furnished with all other vsefull qualities, that very little was wanting in him, which might seeme requisite to the accomplishment of a perfect man. He was very skilfull in the Roman Lawes, a man of great Eloquence, & not vnprofitable in any businesse either priuate or publike. Many bookes he wrote: wherof the principall were, of the Roman antiquities, & of husbandry. In matter of

of husbandrie he was notable, and thereby most increased his substance; being of meane birth, and the first of his House. Strong of bodie he was, and exceeding temperate: so as he liued in perfect health to very old age. But that which most commended him vnto the better sort of the Romans, was his great syncerítie of life, abstinence from bribes, and fashioning himselfe to the ancient laudable Customes of the Citie. Herein hee had merited singular commendations, if the vehemencie of his nature had not caused him to maligne the vertue of that Noble *Scipio* the African, and some other worthy men; that were no lesse honest than himselfe, though farre lesse riged, and more gallant in behauiour. Otherwise, Hee was a very good Citizen, and one of such temper, that he could fashion himselfe to all occasions; as if he were neuer out of his Element. He loued busi- 10
nesse so well, or rather hated vice so earnestly; that euen vnto the end of his life, He was exercised in defending himselfe, or accusing others. For at the age of fourescore & sixe yeers, He pleaded in his owne defence: and foure yeeres after, he accused *Sergius Galba* vnto the People. So began the Nobility of *Cato* his familie; which ended in his great grand-childe *M. Cato* the Vtican: one, that being of like vertue and feruencie, had all his good purposes dashit, and was finally wearied out of his life, by men of such Nobilitie and Greatnesse as this his Ancestor had continually vexed.

The Spanish warres, after *Cato* his departure out of the Countrie, though they were not very dangerous, yet were they many; and the Countrie seldome free from insurrection, in one part or other. The Roman Prætors therefore, of which two euery yeere 20
were sent ouer Commanders into Spaine (that was diuided into Gouernments) did rarely faile of such worke, as might affoord the honour of Triumph. One slew thirteene thousand Spaniards in a battell: another tooke sixtie Townes; and a third enforced many States of the Countrie to sue for Peace. Thus euery one of them, or most of them, did some laudable seruice; and yet so, that commonly there were of men, townes, and people, new that rebelled, in stead of the old that were slaine, taken, or reclaimed. At the causes hereof, I haue already pointed; and therefore thinke it enough to say, That the businesse in Spaine required not the imployment of a Roman Consul, from such time as *Cato* thence departed, vntill the Numantian Warre broke out, which was very long after. 30

In all other Countries to the West of the Ionian Seas, the Romans had peace; but so had not the Carthaginians. For when *Hannibal* was gone from them, and that the enemies of the *Barchine* House promised all felicitie which Rome could grant, vnto themselues & their obedient Citie: *Masanissa* fell to disputing with the sword, about the title to the best part of their Lands. He began with Emporia, a fruitfull Region about the lesser Syrtis: wherein among other Cities was that of Leptis, which daily paid a Talent vnto Carthage for Tribute. This Countrie the Numidian challenged; & by winning some part of it, seemed to better his claime vnto the whole. Hee had a great aduantage: for that the Carthaginians might not make any warre, without leaue obtained from their Masters the Romans. They had none other way of redresse, than by sending to Rome 40
their Complaint of his doings. And surely they wanted not good matter to alledge, if the Iudges had beene vnpartiall. For besides that *Scipio*, in limiting out to them their bounds, had left them the possession of this Countrey: *Masanissa* himselfe, now very lately pursuing a Rebell that fled out of his Kingdome, desired leaue of the Carthaginians, for himselfe to passe through it in his way to Cyrene: thereby acknowledging (had it otherwise beene questionable) that the Countrey was theirs. This notwithstanding, *Masanissa* had where-with to iustifie his proceedings, especially vnto the Roman Senate. He gaue the *Fathers* to vnderstand by his Embassadours, what faithlesse people the Carthaginians were, and how ill-affected to the State of Rome. There had lately been sent vnto them from *Hannibal*, one that should perswade them to take part with *Antiochus*. 50
This man they had examined vpon some suspicion of his errand; yet neither arresting him nor his ship, had thereby affoorded him meanes to escape. Hence the Numidian concluded, That certainely it was their purpose to rebell; and therefore good policie to keepe them downe.

As for the Countrie of Emporia: it had alwayes, he said, beene theirs that were able to hold it by strong hand: and so belonged sometime vnto the Numidian kings; though now of late it was in possession of the Carthaginians. But if truth were knowne, the Citizens of Carthage had not any very warrantable title vnto any more ground, than that

that whereon their Citie stood; or scarcely to so much. For they were no better than strangers in Africk, that had gotten leaue there to build vpon so much ground, as they could encompasse with an Oxe-hide cut into small thongs. What soeuer they held without such a compasse, was purchased by fraud, and wrongfull encroachments. This considered, *Masanissa* requested of the Senate, That they would not adiudge vnto such vsurpers, the Countrie sometimes appertaining to the Ancestors of him their assured friend. The Romans hauing heard these allegations on both sides, found the matter so doubtfull, that they could not on the sudden tell what to determine. Wherefore because they would doe nothing rashly; they sent ouer three Embassadours, of whom *P. Scipio* the 10
African was one and the chiefe, to decide the controuersie: yet secretly giuing them instructions, to leaue all as they found it, without making any end one way or other. The Embassadours followed their directions, and left all doubtfull. So was it likely, that *Masanissa* with a strong Armie should quickly preuaile, against those that could no more than talke of their right, and exclaime against the wrong. By such Arts were the Carthaginians held, not onely from stirring in fauour of King *Antiochus*, if they had thereto any disposition; but were prepared by little and little vnto their finall destruction: that came vpon them, when the Romans had leisure to expresse the vtmost of their hatred.

20 §. VI.

The Ætolians labour to prouoke Antiochus, Philip, *and* Nabis, *to warre vpon the Romans: by whom they hold themselues wronged and disgraced.* Nabis *besieged Gytheum, and wasteth some part of Achæa. The exact skill of* Philopœmen, *in aduantage of ground: whereby hee vtterly vanquisheth* Nabis. Antiochus *being denied Peace by the Romans, ioynes with the Ætolians. The Ætolians surprize Demetrias; and by killing* Nabis, *their Confederate, seize vpon Sparta. But they are driuen out by the Citizens: who at* Philopœmen *his perswasions annexe themselues to the Achæans.*

30 ALL Greece being at peace, and the Roman Armies thence departed: it grieued much the Ætolians to thinke, that they who had promised vnto themselues the whole spoyle of *Philip*, and the highest reputation among the Greeks; were not onely disappointed of their couetous hopes, but quite forsaken by their ancient dependants; and of all other the most vnregarded. Yet was there made a great accesse to their Estate; by adding much vnto them, of that which had beene taken from the Macedonian. This might well haue sufficed them, if their desires had not beene immoderate; and their indignation more vehement, than their desire. But they were not so pleased with that which they had, since they thought it no more than part of their due; as they were vexed with the deniall of that which they claimed, and with finding themselues to be wholly disesteemed, wherein they thought that they had vnsuf- 40
ferable wrong. Wherefore they deuised, in a Parliament which they shortly held, by what meanes they best might right themselues; and giue the Romans a sorrowful knowledge of the difference, betweene their enmity and friendship. To this purpose they soone agreed, as concurring all in one affection; That they would not onely perswade *Antiochus* to make war vpon the Romans, as one to whom the Romans had long refused Peace; but that they would deale with the King of Macedon their ancient enemie, and with *Nabis* the Tyrant of Lacedæmon, to ioyne altogether in a new Confederacy: whose ioynt forces could not in all likelihood, but far surmount those of the Romans, Achæans Rhodians, and King *Eumenes*, with all that were of their Faction. This was a great enterprise, which the Ætolians tooke in hand; and well beseeming them, for they were great 50
darers. They sent Embassadours to all these Kings, with perswasions, as they thought most forcible. But *Philip* was irresolute; and *Antiochus* willing to tiy first all other courses. *Nabis* the Lacedæmonian, who neither (as *Philip*) had lost much, nor (as *Antiochus*) was in feare of any warre; yet shewed himselfe of all other the most forward: and not staying so much as to seeke any good pretence; beganne immediately to lay siege vnto Gytheum, that had beene lately taken from him by the Romans. The Achæans, to whose care chiefly *Titus* at his departure had commended the affaires of Peloponnesus, were not slow to admonish *Nabis* of his duty: neither would they haue staied long from repressing his violence by open VVarre; had not some of them thought it wisedome to

to aske counsaile of the Romans, and particularly of *T. Quintius*, before they engaged themselues in a businesse of such importance. Whilest thus they spent time in sending Embassadours, and were aduised by *Quintius* to let all alone, and to waite for the comming of the Roman forces that would shortly be amongst them: *Nabis* was bold to giue them iuster cause of complaint, by wasting their owne Territorie.

Philopœmen was then Prætor of the Achæans, who had long bin absent in Crete; making war there for his mindes sake & recreation. Vnto him the Achæans referred themselues, giuing him leaue to order the warre at his pleasure; either staying till the Romans came, or doing otherwise, as he should thinke best. He made all haste to relieue Gytheum by Sea; fearing lest the Towne, and the Achæan Garrison within it, should be lost, if he vsed any delay. But *Philopœmen* was so bad a Sea-man, that hee knew not a strong Ship from a rotten. Hee made a *Quadrireme* Gallie his Admirall, that had foureſcore yeeres agoe beene counted a gallant vessell, in the Nauie of *Antigonus Gonatas*. Neither was the rest of his Fleet so good, as might encounter with that of the Lacedæmonian. Onely it fell out well, that he committed himselfe to a light Pinnace or Brigandine, that fought better with their wings, than with her tallons. For his Admirall Gallie was stemmed at the first; and being rotten with age, sprang so many leakes, and tooke in water so fast, that she was faine to yeeld without further resistance. When the rest of the Fleete saw what was become of their Admirall, all were presently discouraged, and saued themselues with what speed they could. But *Philopœmen* was not herewith danted. If hee had failed in Sea-seruice, which was none of his Occupation, He said, that he would make amends by Land. The Tyrant withdrew part of his Armie from the siege of Gytheum, to stop the Achæans if they should inuade the Countrie. But vpon these which were placed in guard of Laconia, *Philopœmen* came vnexpected; fired their Camp; and put all, saue a very few of them, to the sword. Then marched hee with all his Army towards Lacedæmon: within ten mile whereof he was, when the Tyrant met him that had already taken Gytheum. It was not expected that *Nabis* would haue beene ready for them so soon. Or if he should come from Gytheum, with any part of his forces: yet was it thought that hee must ouertake them, and charge them in the Rere. They marched therefore almost securely, in a long Troupe reaching some fiue miles; hauing their Horse, and the greatest part of their Auxiliaries at their backs, to beare off any sudden impression. But *Nabis*, who formerly vnderstood, or at least suspected, what course they would take, appeared in the front of them with all his Armie; encamped there where they meant to haue lodged. It was the custome of *Philopœmen*, when he walked or trauelled abroad with his friends, to marke the situation of the Countrie about him; and to discourse, what might befall an Armie marching the same. He would suppose, That hauing with him there such a number of Souldiers, ordered and sorted in such manner, and marching towards such a place; he were vpon that ground encountred by a greater Armie, or better prepared to the fight. Then would hee put the question, whether it were meet for him to hold on his way, retire, or make a stand? what peece of ground it were meet for him to seize vpon? and in what manner he might best doe it? in what sort he should order his men? where bestow his Carriages, and vnder what Guard? in what sort encampe himselfe? and which way march the day following? By such continuall meditation, Hee was growne so perfect, that hee did neuer meet with any difficultie, whence hee could not explicate himselfe and his followers. At this time hee made a stand: and hauing drawne vp his Rere, Hee encamped neere vnto the place where hee was; within halfe a mile of the Enemie. His baggage, with all thereto belonging, he bestowed on a Rocke; encompassing them round with his Souldiours. The ground was rough, the wayes bad, and the day almost quite spent; so as *Nabis* could not at the present greatly molest him. Both Armies were to water at one Brooke; whereto the Achæans lay the neerer. This watering therefore was like to minister the first occasion of skirmish. *Philopœmen* vnderstood this; and layd an ambush in place conuenient; wherein to the Mercenaries of *Nabis* fell, and were slaughtered in great numbers. Presently after this, hee caused one of his owne Auxiliaries to goe to the Tyrant, as a fugitiue, and tell him, that the Achæans had a purpose to get between him and Lacedæmon; wherby they would both debarre his returne into the Citie, and withall encourage the people to take Armes for the recouerie of their freedome. The Tyrant hearing this, marched hastily away; and left his Campe, which hardly otherwise would haue beene forced.

Some

Some Companies he made to stay behinde, and shew themselues vpon the Rampart, thereby to conceale his departure. But *Philopœmen* was not so to be beguiled. Hee easily wonne the Campe, and gaue chase to *Nabis*: whose followers being ouertaken, had no courage to turne about and make head. The enemies being thus dispersed, and fled into Woods, where they lay in couert all that day; *Philopœmen* conceiued aright, that their feare and necessitie would teach them to creepe homewards, and saue themselues, when it grew darke. Wherefore in the Euening, when hee had gathered together all those of his Light-armature, which had followed the chase whilest it was day, He led forth the rest that had well refreshed themselues, & occupied the two most ordinary passages vnto Lacedæmon. So *Nabis* his men, when it was darke night, perceiuing in *Philopœmens* Campe great store of lights; thought that all had beene at rest: and therefore aduentured to make an escape home. But they were so way-laid, that hardly one quarter of them got into Sparta. Thirty dayes together after this, did *Philopœmen* wast the Countrey round about, whilest *Nabis* durst not issue forth of his Towne; and then returned home, leauing the Tyrant in a manner without forces.

The Roman Embassadors were then in Greece, & *T. Quintius* among them, labouring to make their partie strong against *Antiochus* & *Nabis*, whom they knew to bee sollicited by the Ætolians. Very faire countenance they also made vnto *Philip*; and with comfortable promises drew him to make shew, whatsoeuer hee thought, of good correspondence. They promised to restore vnto him his sonne; and were contented to let him hope, that he should receiue other fauours at their hands; and regaine possessions of many places, by them taken from him. Thus did the Romans prepare for warre against *Antiochus* in Greece, whilest their Embassadors that were with him in Asia, denyed otherwise to grant him Peace, than if he would yeelde vnto one of the Conditions, by them so often propounded. The long absence of this King in Syria, where he had accomplished the marriage betweene *Ptolomie* and his daughter; together with the death of yong *Antiochus* the kings sonne, which happened during the Treatie, and hindered, or seemed to hinder the King, from giuing audience in person to the Embassadours; caused them to returne home to Rome; as vncertaine of their answer as at their setting forth. One thing that might haue beene, and partly was, beneficiall vnto them, they brought to passe during their abode at Ephesus; either by cunning, or (as *Liuie* rather thinkes) by chance. Finding *Hannibal* there, they discoursed often with him, and blamed him for hauing thus fled vnto *Antiochus*, vpon a causelesse suspition wherin he held the Romans; that honoured his vertue, and intended him no harme. Many haue affirmed that *P. Scipio* was one of these Embassadors; and that he, among other discourses with *Hannibal*, demanded once, *Which of all the famous Captaines that had liued*, Hannibal *iudged the most worthy?* So *Hannibal* gaue to *Alexander* of Macedon the first place: to *Pyrrhus* the second: and the third he challenged vnto himselfe. But *Scipio* who thought his owne title better, than that it ought to be so forgotten: asked yet further, What wouldest thou haue said then, *Hannibal*, if thou hadst vanquished me? To whom the Carthaginian replied, Then would not I haue giuen the first place to *Alexander*, but haue claimed it as due vnto my selfe. Now whether this were so, or otherwise: the often and friendly conference of *Hannibal* with the Roman Embassadors, made him suspected of *Antiochus*; who therefore did forbeare a while to vse his counsell. Yet afterwards, when *Hannibal* perceiued this change in the King: and plainly desiring him to tell the cause thereof, heard what it was; He easily recouered his former grace, and credit. For hee told how his Father had caused him to sweare at the Altars, when he was a little boy, That he neuer should be friend vnto the Romans. Wherefore he willed the king not to regard any vaine surmises: but to know thus much, That so long as he thought vpon warre with Rome, so long would *Hannibal* doe him all good seruice: whereas contrariwise if he intended to make peace, then should it behooue him to vse the counsaile of some other man.

The Ætolians, and their friends, were no lesse busie all this while, in making their partie strong against the Romans, than were the Romans, in mustering vp their friends in Greece. They had so often dealt with *Antiochus*, vanting much of their owne forces, and arrogating to themselues the honour of the victory against *Philip*; that finally they preuailed with him; especially when the Roman Embassadors had left him without hope of peace, vnles he would buy it at a deare rate. They dealt in like sort with the Macedonian.

But

But in vaine. He vnderstood the Romans, and himselfe, too well. Wherefore it concerned them to improue their own forces to the vttermost: as knowing, that all the burthen must lie vpon *Antiochus* and themselues, without helpe from any; saue onely from some few that were discontented in Greece. Whilest they were about this, and had with them an Embassador of the king *Antiochus* that animated them to resolution: the Athenian Embassadors, whom *Titus* had requested to be at their meeting, stayed their vehemencie a little; by exhorting them, not to conclude rashly, without first hearing the Romans, that lay neere at hand. For want of a ready answer hereto, they were contented to approue the motion. *Titus* hearing this, thought the businesse worthy of his presence. For since *Antiochus* had now declared himselfe against the Romans: it would be no smal piece of seruice, to withdraw from his friendship, those by whose encouragement he had made the aduenture. Wherefore he came to their *Panætolium*, or great Assembly of the Nation; where he forgot nothing that might serue to appease them. He willed them to consider the weight of the enterprise which they took in hand; wherby Greece was like to become a Champaigne-field, on which, to the ruine of the Country, the Romans, and king *Antiochus*, that commanded no small part of the World, should fight for the Masterie: the Ætolians, as Masters in that kind of Fence, setting them on, and becomming * *the Sticklers*. As for those grieuances which did thus exasperate them, and vrge them to such violent courses, Hee willed them to consider how slight they were, and how much better they might doe to send Embassadours to Rome, that should either pleade their right in the Senate, or (if their right vnto the places which they claimed, were not good) make request to haue what they desired: than thus to set the world in an vprore, and be afterwards the first that should repent it. But what he said, or could say, it skilled not much. They had already done ill, to make the Embassador of the king, whose helpe they had sought, waite so long for an answer, and stay doubting what good end they should make with the Romans. Neither was it newes vnto them to heare those comfortable words, That, by sending to Rome, they might happen to obtain what they desired; either as their right, or else by way of fauour. For with such Termes had they been feasted once already: and were by the Senate reiected vnto *Titus*: who, hauing it in his owne power, gaue them no satisfaction; yet would now againe referre them to the Senate. This were onely losse of time, and might abate their credit with *Antiochus*. Wherefore without more adoe they made a Decree, That King *Antiochus the Great* should bee entreated to come ouer into Greece, as wel to set the country at libertie, as also to decide the controuersies depending between the Romans and Ætolians. Such a Decree they would not haue made, had they not vnderstood the kings minde before. Hauing made it, they forgot no point of brauery, whereby to vaunt themselues to the Kings Embassadours, and against the Romans. *Titus* desired of their Prætor, to let him see a Copie of this new Decree. The Prætor answered, That then he had other things to doe: but that this Decree, and their further answer, they would shortly let him know, if hee came to their campe in Italy vpon the riuer of Tibris. Gentler words would haue done better, as the Aetolians are like to vnderstand hereafter. But hauing thus begun, they meant henceforth to goe roundly to worke. The care of the warre they referred vnto the more priuate Councel of their Nation; that no occasion might slip, in waiting for the Authority of a generall Assembly. The *Apocleti* (so were the Priuie Councell of Aetolia called) went as hotly to worke as any of the yongest heads could haue done. They laid a plot, how to get into their hands at one time the Townes of Chalcis, Demetrias, and Sparta; to each of which they sent men for the purpose. Demetrias they tooke vpon the sudden; entring, some of them as friends to conduct home a principall man of the Citie; who for speaking words against *T. Quintius*, had beene driuen to flee thence, but was, by intercession of those that loued him, againe recalled. His Aetolian companions, that were not many, seized vpon a Gate; whereat they let in a Troupe which they had left not far behind them; and so fell to murdering the chiefe of the Roman Faction. At Chalcis they sped not so well. Thither also they had a banished man to bring home: but they came so strong, that their purpose was discouered, and the Town prepared to defend it selfe against them. Being therefore demanded the cause of this hostilitie, they gaue a gentle answer, saying, That they came not thither as enemies, but onely to deliuer the Towne from the Romans; who more insolently dominered ouer it, than euer the Macedonians had done. By which Rhetoricke they preuailed no more, than they could doe by plaine force.

*Liu. l. 35. admissis Aetolis, forte, laxissis.

force. For the Townes-men replied, That they neither found any abridgement of their libertie, nor needed any Garrison to keep them from the Romans, from whom they neither feared any danger, nor receiued iniurie. So this businesse was dasht. The attempt vpon Sparta was more strange and desperate. *Nabis* their good friend, was Lord of the Towne, styling himselfe King: but, more truely by all men called Tyrant. He had weneere lost all, by means of the ouerthrow which *Philopæmen* had lately giuen him: since, he durst not stirre abroad; and daily expected the mischiefe, that on all sides threatned him. Wherefore hee sent messengers, one after another, to the Ætolians; requesting them, That as He had not beene slow to stirre in their behalfe, but aduentured himselfe vpon the vtmost of danger, when all others were backward; so they would be pleased to send him what helpe they might, since his bad fortune had caused him presently to neede it. It hath beene often said, That the rauenous Ætolians were onely true to themselues, and regarded neither faith nor friendship otherwise than as it might conduce to their owne ends. And so dealt they now. For since *Nabis* his mercenarie forces, which vpheld his Tyranny, were in a manner consumed: they thought it expedient for their Estate, to put him out of the way; &, by so doing, to assure Lacedæmon vnto themselues. To this purpose, they sent thither *Alexamenus*, one whom they thought a man fit for such a worke. To him they gaue a thousand Foot, and thirtie Horse, chosen for the purpose. These thirtie were by *Democritus* the Prætor brought into the Councell of the *Apocleti*, where they were commanded to be no wiser than they should be, nor to thinke that they were sent to make warre with the Achæans, or to doe ought else, saue onely what *Alexamenus* should command them; which were it neuer so desperate, and in seeming against all reason; yet must they vnderstand, that vnlesse they performed it, they should haue no good welcome home. So *Alexamenus* came to the Tyrant, whom hee encouraged with braue words: telling him that *Antiochus* was already in Europe, and would be anon in Greece, meaning to couer all the Land and Sea with his mighty Armies; and that the Romans were like to finde other manner of worke, than of late with *Philip*: since the Elephants of this great king, without other helpe, would suffice to tread them downe. As for the Ætolians, He said, that if need should so require, they would presently send away to Lacedæmon all the forces that they could raise: But that they were very desirous at the present, to make as goodly a muster as they could before the great king; which caused them to send him thither afore with no greater company. Hereupon he willed *Nabis* to take heart; bring forth his men, that had bin long pent vp in the Citie; and traine them without the wals: as if shortly he should employ them in worke of conquest, rather than defence. *Nabis* was glad of this: and daily exercised his men in the field; riding vp and downe with this *Alexamenus*, and no more than three or foure horse about him, from one point to another, to order and behold them. During this time of exercise, *Alexamenus* made it his fashion to step aside alone to his Ætolians, and say somewhat as he thought fit: which done, he still returned againe to *Nabis*. But when he saw time for the great worke that he had in hand: He then went aside to his thirty horsemen, and bade them remember the taske enioyned them at their setting foorth; telling them that they were all in case of banished men, vnlesse they would anone come vp to him, and helpe him to finish that which they should see him take in hand. Herewith all the Tyrant beganne to draw neere them: and *Alexamenus* making towards him, charged him on the sudden, and strucke him downe. The thirtie Ætolians neuer stood to deliberate vpon the matter: but all flew in; and, before any succour could arriue, had made an end of this wretched *Nabis*. Presently vpon the fact committed, the Tyrant his Mercenaries ranne vnto the dead body: where in stead of seeking reuenge, they stood foolishly gazing as beholders. *Alexamenus* with his Ætolians hasted into the Citie, and seized on the Palace: where he fell to ransacking the Treasure; and troubled himselfe with none other care, as though all were already done. Such of his followers as were dispersed in the Towne, did also the like; with the greater indignation of the Citizens: who seeing themselues free by the death of the Tyrant, could not indure to see those that had slaine him, beginne to tyrannize anew. Wherefore all the towne was shortly in Armes: and for lacke of another Captaine, they tooke a little Boy of the Royall stocke, that had beene brought vp with *Nabis* his children; whom they mounted vpon a good Horse, and made him their Chiefe. So they fell vpon the Ætolians that were idley stragling about; and put them all to the sword. *Alexamenus* with

with not many of his Company, were slaine in keeping the Citadell: and those few that escaped thence into Arcadia, were taken by the Magistrates; who sold them all as bond-slaues. In this doubtfull Estate of things at Lacedæmon, *Philopœmen* came thither: who calling out the chiefe of the Citie, and speaking such words vnto them, as *Alexamenus* should haue done after he had slaine the Tyrant; easily perswaded them for their owne good and safety, to incorporate themselues with the Achæans. Thus by the enterprise, no lesse dishonourable than difficult, of the Aetolians, and the small, but effectuall, trauaile of *Philopœmen*, the Achæans made a notable purchase: and Lacedæmon, that had hitherto bin gouerned either by kings, or by Tyrants that called themselues kings, became the member of a Common-wealth, wherof the name had scarce any reputation, when Sparta ruled ouer all Greece. 10

§. VII.

Antiochus, *perswaded by* Thoas *the Ætolian, comes ouer into Greece, ill attended. Sundry passages betweene him, the Ætolians, Chalcidians and others. He wins Chalcis, and thereby the whole Ile of Euhœa. The vanitie of the Kings Embassadors and the Ætolians, with the Ciuill answer of* Titus *to their discourse, before the Achæans. That it concerned the Greekes to haue desired peace, betweene the Romans and* Antiochus; *as the best assurance of their owne libertie. Of many petty Estates that fell to the King. Of* Aminander; *and an idle vanitie, by which King* Philip *was lost.* Hannibal *giues good counsaile in vaine. Some Townes wonne in Thessalie. The King retires to Chalcis; where hee marrieth a young Wife, and reuels away the rest of Winter. Vpon the comming of the Roman Consul all forsake* Antiochus. *He with two thousand Ætolians keepes the Streights of Thermopylæ. He is beaten, and flies into Asia: leauing all in Greece vnto the Victors.* 20

ANtiochus was troubled much in Asia with *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus*, that would not hearken to any Composition. He thought it neither safe nor honourable, to leaue them Enemies behinde him; and to winne them by force, was more than hitherto he was able. Yet was hee desirous with all speede conuenient to shew himselfe in Greece; where he had bin told, that his presence would effect wonders. It was said, That in all the Countrie there was a very small number, which bore heartie affection vnto the Romans: That *Nabis* was already vp in Armes: That *Philip* was like a Bandog in a chaine, desiring nothing more than to breake loose; and that the Aetolians, without whom the Romans had done nothing, nor nothing could haue done, were ready to conferre vpon him the greatnesse, which they had vnworthily bestowed vpon insolent Barbarians. Of all this the least part was true. Yet that which was true made such a noise as added credit vnto all the rest. Whilest therefore the King was thinking to send *Hannibal* into Africke, there to molest the Romans, & so giue him the better leisure of vsing his owne opportunities in Greece: *Thoas* the Aetolian came ouer to him, & bad him lay all other care aside; for that his Country-men had already taken Demetrias; a Towne of maine importance, that should giue him entertainment, whence he might proceede as became the greatnesse of his vertue and fortune. This did serue to cut off all deliberation. As for *Hannibal*: *Thoas* was bold to tell the king, first, That it was not expedient for him to diuide his forces at such a time, when the very reputation of his numbers, brought into Greece, might serue to lay open vnto him all places, without neede of vsing violence: and secondly, That in any such great enterprise there could not be chosen a more vnfit man to be imployed in the kings seruice, than was that famous *Hannibal* the Carthaginian. For he said, That the king should as greatly feele the losse of a Fleet or Armie, perishing vnder such a notable Commander if his fortune were bad, as if the same had miscarried vnder one of meaner qualitie: whereas neuertheless if *Hannibal* preuailed; *Hannibal* alone should haue all the honour, and not *Antiochus*. In this regard he was of opinion, That such a renowned Warriour should be alwayes neere vnto the kings person, to giue aduice: which being followed as often as it was found commodious, the good successe would wholly redound vnto the honour of him that had the soueraigne Command; euen of the King himselfe. *Antiochus* gladly hearkened vnto this admonition; being iealous of the vertue, that shined brighter than the Maiestie of his owne fortune. And therupon he laid aside the determination, which tended more to the aduancemẽt of his desires, than did any thing else by him then or after thought vpon. 30 40 50

Presently

Presently after this He made ready for Greece. Before his setting forth, in a friuolous pompe of ceremony, he went vp from the Sea-side to Ilium; there to doe sacrifice to *Minerua* of Troy. Thence passing ouer the Ægean Sea, He came to Demetrias. *Eurylochus* the Magnetian, the same whom the Ætolians had lately waited on home, when by that pretext they won Demetrias; was now the chiefe man & Ruler of his Nation. He therefore with his Countreymen, in great frequencie, came to doe their duties to the King *Antiochus*, and bid him welcome. The King was glad of this: and tooke it as a signe of good lucke, to be so entertained at the beginning. But it may be suspected, that the Magnetians found not the like cause of ioy. For whereas they had expected a Fleet and Armie somewhat like to that of *Xerxes*: they saw three hundred ships; of which, no more than fortie were seruiceable for the Warres; with an Armie of ten thousand Foot, fiue hundred Horse, and sixe Elephants. The Ætolians no sooner heard of his comming, than they called a Parliament; & made a Decree, whereby they inuited him into their Countrie. He knew before that they would so doe; and was therefore well onward on his way towards them, when they met him that brought the Decree. At his comming to Lamia, the Ætolians gaue him as ioyfull entertainment as they could deuise. Being brought into their Councell, He made an Oration: wherein he desired them to hold him excused, that he came not followed with a greater Armie. This was, he said, in true estimation a signe of his good will: in that he staid not to make all things ready; but hasted vnto their aide, euen whilest the season was vnfit for nauigation. Yet it should not be long, ere the hope of all those which had expected him, would be satisfied vnto the full. For it was his meaning to fill all Greece with Armies, and all the Sea-coast with his Fleets. Neither would he spare for any charge, trauaile, or danger, to follow the businesse which he had vndertaken: euen to driue the Romans and their authoritie out of Greece; leauing the Country free indeede, and the Aetolians therein the chiefe. Now as the Armies that were following him, should be very great: so was it his meaning, that all prouisions to them belonging should be correspondent; because hee would not be any way burdensome vnto his Confederates. But at the present he must needs entreat them, hauing thus hastily come ouer vnto their aide, vnprouided of many necessaries: that they would helpe him with Corne and other victuals, whereof he stood in neede. So he left them to their consultation: the conclusion whereof was, after a little dispute, (for a vaine motion was made by some, that the differences betweene the Romans and them, should be put by Compromise to the decision of *Antiochus*) That they would yeelde vnto the Kings desire, and assist him with all their forces. Here we may obserue, how vaine a thing it is for an absolute Prince to engage himselfe, as did *Antiochus*, in a businesse of dangerous importance, vpon the promised assurance of a State that is meerely popular. For if the vehemencie of *Thoas*, and some other of that Faction, had not preuailed in this Councell: the Aetolians, for gaine of two or three Townes, yea for hope of such gaine that might haue deceiued them; were like to haue abandoned this King their friend, vnto the discretion of the Romans. And what remedy had there beene, if this had so fallen out? He could haue bemoaned himselfe to *Thoas*, and complained of the wrong: but he must haue beene contented with this answer, That the fault was in those of the opposite side; whom *Thoas* would therefore haue pronounced to be very wicked men. It happened much better for the present; though in the future it proued much worse, both for him, and for the Aetolians. He was chosen Generall of all their forces: and thirtie Commissioners were appointed to be about him, as a Councell of Warre for the Nation. These armed such as readily they could, whilest it was in dispute where they should beginne the Warre. *Chalcis* was thought the meetest place to be first vndertaken: whither if they came suddenly, they should not peraduenture neede to vse much force. The King had brought with him into Aetolia but a thousand Foot; leauing the rest behinde him at Demetrias. With these he hasted away directly toward *Chalcis*; being ouertaken by no great number of the Aetolians, which accompanied him thither. At his comming, the Magistrates, and some of the chiefe Citizens, issued forth to parle with him. There the Aetolians beganne, as they had lately done before, to tell, how the Romans had onely in words and false semblance, set Greece at libertie. But such libertie, as might be true and vsefull, they said, would neuer be obtained; vntill by remooving the necessitie of obeying their pleasure that were most mightie, euery seuerall Estate had where to finde redresse of any pressure. And to this end was the great *Antiochus* come thither; a King well

well able to counterpoise, yea to ouerweigh the *Romans*: who neuertheleſſe deſired them onely, ſo to ioyne with him in League, as that if either the *Romans* and Hee ſhould offer them wrong, they might keepe it in their power, to ſeeke redreſſe at the others hands. The Chalcidians made hereto the ſame anſwer, which, to the like allegations, they had made not long before: That their freedome was not imaginarie, but abſolute; for which they were to thanke the *Romans*; without whoſe good liking, they would enter into no new confederacie. That which they ſpake of themſelues, they could likewiſe affirme of all the *Greekes*: foraſmuch as none of them payed any Tribute; was kept vnder, by any Garriſon; or liued otherwiſe than by their owne *Lawes*, and without being tied vnto conditions which diſpleaſed them. Wherefore they wondred, why the King ſhould thus trouble himſelfe, to deliuer Cities that were already free. But ſince hee, and the Ætolians, requeſted their friendſhip: they beſought both him, and the Ætolians, to doe a friendly Office, in departing from them quietly, and leauing them in ſuch good caſe as they were. With this anſwere the King departed: for he was not, as then, ſtrong enough to force them. But very ſoone after, he brought thither a greater power; which terrified them, and made them yeelde: before all the ſuccours could arriue, which *Titus* had ſent for their defence.

The chiefe Citie of Euboea being thus gotten; all the reſt of the Iland ſhortly yeelded to *Antiochus*. Foure or fiue hundred Roman Souldiers, that came ouer-late to haue defended Chalcis, repoſed themſelues at Delium, a little town of Boeotia, lying ouer againſt the Iland; where was a Temple and Groue, conſecrated vnto *Apollo*, that had the priuiledge of an inuiolable Sanctuary. In this place were ſome of them walking, and beholding the things there to be ſeene, whileſt others were buſied as they found cauſe: without feare of any danger; as being in ſuch a place, and no warre hitherto proclaimed. But *Menippus*, one of *Antiochus* his Captains, that had wearied himſelfe in many vaine Treaties of peace, tooke aduantage of their careleſneſſe, and vſed them with all extremitie of warre. Very few of them eſcaped: fiftie were taken; and the reſt ſlaine. Hereat *Quintius* was grieued: yet ſo, as it pleaſed him well to conſider, that his Romans had now more iuſt cauſe than before, to make warre vpon the King.

Antiochus liked wel theſe beginnings, and ſent Embaſſadors into all quarters of Greece; in hope, that his reputation ſhould perſwade very many to take his part. The wiſer ſort returned ſuch anſwere, as the Calcidians had done. Some reſerued themſelues vntill he ſhould come among them: knowing that either, if he came not, He muſt hold them excuſed for not daring to ſtirre; or, if he came, the Romans muſt pardon their iuſt feare, in yeelding to the ſtronger. None of thoſe that lay farre off, ioyned with him in true meaning; ſaue the Eleans, that alwayes fauoured the Ætolians, and now feared the Achæans. Little reaſon there was, that he ſhould thinke to draw the Achæans to his partie. Neuertheleſſe he aſſayed them, vpon a vaine hope that the enuie, which *Titus* was ſaid to beare vnto *Philopœmens* vertue, had bred a ſecret diſlike betweene that Nation & the Romans. Wherefore both Hee and the Ætolians ſent Embaſſadours to the Councell at Ægium; that ſpared not braue words, if the Achæans would haue beene ſo taken. The Kings Embaſſadour told of great Armies & Fleets that were comming; reckoning vp the Dahans, Medians, Elimæans & Caducians; names that were not euery day heard of, and therefore as he thought, the more terrible. Then told he them what notable men at Sea, the Sydonians, Tyrians, Arabians, and Pamphilians were; ſuch indeede as could not be reſiſted. Now concerning money and all warlike furniture: it was, he ſaid, well knowne, that the Kingdomes of Aſia had alwayes thereof great plenty. So as they were much deceiued: who conſidering the late warre made againſt *Philip*, did thinke that this with *Antiochus* would proue the like: the caſe was too farre different. Yet this moſt powerfull King, that for the liberty of Greece was come from the vtmoſt parts of the Eaſt; requeſted no more of the Achæans, than that they would hold themſelues as neutrall, and quietly looke on, whileſt He tooke order with the Romans. To the ſame effect ſpake the Ætolian Embaſſador, & further added, that in the battell at *Cynoſcephalæ*, neither *Titus* had done the part of a Generall, nor the Romans of good Souldiers: but that both He & his Armie had beene there deſtroyed, had they not beene protected by vertue of the Ætolians, which carried the day. *Titus* was preſent at the Councell, and heard all this: to which he made as fit anſwere, as could haue beene deſired. He told the Achæans, That neither the Kings Embaſſadour, nor the Ætolian, did ſo greatly labour to perſwade thoſe, vnto whom they addreſſed

addreſſed their Orations; as to vaunt themſelues the one vnto the other. So as a man might well diſcerne, what good correſpondence in vanitie it was, that had thus linked the king and the Ætolians together. For euen ſuch bragges as here they made, before the Achæans who knew them to be lyars, had the Ætolians alſo made vnto king *Antiochus*: proclaiming the victory ouer *Philip* to be meerely their Act; and the whole Country of Greece to be dependant on them. Interchangeably had they beene feaſted by the King, with ſuch tales as his Embaſſadour told euen now; of Dahans, and Aradians, & Elimæans, and a many others: that were all but a company of Syrians, ſuch as were wont to be ſold about for bondſlaues, and good for little elſe. Theſe diuers names of raſcall people were, he ſaid, like to the diuerſitie of Veniſon, wherwith a friend of his at Chalcis (no ſuch vanter as were theſe Embaſſadors) had ſometime feaſted him. For all that varietie, whereat he wondred, was none other, as his Hoſt then merrily told him; than ſo many pieces of one tame ſwine, dreſt after ſeuerall faſhions with varietie of ſawces. Setting therefore aſide this vanity of idle pompe: it were good to make iudgement of the great King, by his preſent doings. He had, notwithſtanding all this great noyſe, no more than tenne thouſand men about him: for which little Armie hee was faine in a manner, to begge victuals of the Ætolians; and take vp money at vſurie, to defray his charges. And thus he ranne vp and downe the Country; from Demetrias to Lamia, thence backe to Chalcis, and being there ſhut out, to Demetrias againe. Theſe were the fruits of lyes: wherewith ſince both *Antiochus* and the Ætolians had each deluded other; meet it was that they ſhould, as perhaps already they did, repent, whilſt wiſer men tooke heed by their example. To a fauourable Auditory much perſwaſion is needleſſe. The Achæans did not loue ſo well the Ætolians, as to deſire that they ſhould become Princes of Greece: but rather wiſhed to ſee them, of all other, made the verieſt abiects. Wherefore they ſtood not to hearken after newes, what *Antiochus* did, how hee ſped in Euboea, or what other Cities were like to take his part: but readily proclaimed warre againſt him, and againſt the Aetolians.

How the hatred betweene theſe two Nations grew inueterate; ſufficiently appeares in the ſtory foregoing. Now haue they gotten each their Patrons; the one, the Romans; the other, king *Antiochus*. Herein did each of them vnwiſely: though farre the greater blame ought to be laid on the turbulent ſpirits of the Aetolians. For when the Romans departed out of Greece, and left the Countrie at reſt: there was nothing more greatly to haue beene deſired, than that they might neuer finde occaſion to returne with an Armie thither againe. And in this reſpect ought the Greekes to haue ſought, not how Smyrna and Lampſacus might recouer their liberty (which had neuer been held a matter worth regarding, vntill now of late) but how the powers of the Eaſt and Weſt, diuided and kept aſunder by their Countrie, as two Seas by an Iſthmus or neck of land, might bee kept from ouerflowing the barre that parted them. Neither had the Romans any better pretence for their ſeeking to make free thoſe baſe Aſiatiques, which originally were Greekiſh; than the generall applauſe, wherwith all the nation entertained this their louing offer. Yet were Lyſimachia, and the townes in Thrace, lately gotten by *Antiochus*, pretended as a very great cauſe of feare; that ſhould moue them to take armes euen in their owne defence. But if all Greece would haue made interceſſion, and requeſted that things might continue as they were, promiſing ioyntly to aſſiſt the Romans, with their whole forces both by Land and Sea, whenſoeuer King *Antiochus* ſhould make the leaſt offer to ſtirre againſt them: then had not onely this quarrell beene at an end; but the Roman Patronage ouer the Country, had beene farre from growing, as ſoone after it did, into a Lordly rule.

The Achæans were at this time, in a manner, the only Nation of Greece, that freely & generouſly declared themſelues altogether from the Romans; their friends & benefactors. All the reſt haue doubtfull anſwers of hope vnto both ſides: or if ſome few, as did the Theſſalians, were firm againſt *Antiochus*; yet helped they not one another in the quarrel, nor ſhewed themſelues his enemies, till he preſſed them with open force. The Boeotians willingly receiued him, as ſoone as he entred vpon their borders, not ſo much for feare of his power, as in hatred of *Titus* and the Romans, by whom they had bin ſomewhat hardly vſed. *Amynander* the Athamanian, beſides his old friendſhip with the Aetolians, was caught with a bait, which it may be doubted, whether he did more fooliſhly ſwallow, or *Antiochus* caſt out. He had married the daughter of an Arcadian, that was an idle-

idle-headed man, and vaunted himselfe to be descended from *Alexander* the Great: naming his two sonnes, in that regard, *Philip* and *Alexander*. *Philip*, the elder of these brethren, accompanied his sister to the poore Court of *Athamania*: where hauing made his folly knowne, by talking of his Pedigree; Hee was iudged by *Antiochus* and the Aetolians, a man fit for their turnes. They made him beleeue, that in regard of his high parentage, and the famous memory of *Alexander* his forefather; it was their purpose, to doe their best for the conquest of Macedon to his behoofe: since no man had therto so good title as he. But for the enabling of them hereunto; it behooued him to draw *Aminander* to their party, that so they might the sooner haue done with the Romans. *Philip* was highly pleased herewith; and by perswasions of himselfe, or of his sister, effected as much as they desired. But the first piece of seruice done by this imaginary king (whether it proceeded from his owne phrenzie, in hope to get lout of the Macedonians that should be his subiects; or whether from some vanity in king *Antiochus* that imployed him) wrought more harme to his friends, than he and *Aminander* were able to doe good. There were two thousand men committed to his leading: with which he marched vnto Cynoscephalæ, there to gather vp the bones of the slaughtered Macedonians; whom their King had suffered all this while to lie vnburied. The Macedons troubled not themselues to thinke on this charitable act, as if it were to them any benefit at all: but king *Philip* took it in high indignation; as intended meerely vnto his despight. Wherefore he presently sent vnto the Romans; and gaue them to vnderstand, that he was ready with all his power to aid them wherein they should be pleased to vse him.

The Aetolians, Magnetians, Euboeans, Bœotians, & Athamanians, hauing now all ioyned with him; *Antiochus* tooke counsaile of them about the prosecution of the warre in hand. The chiefe question was, Whether it were meet for him to inuade Thessalie, that would not hearken to his perswasions; or whether to let all alone vntill the Spring: because it was now mid-winter. Some thought one thing, and some another: confirming each his owne sentence, with the weightiest reasons which he could alledge; as in a matter of great importance. *Hannibal* was at this meeting: who had long beene cast aside, as a vessel of no vse; but was now required to deliuer his opinion. Hee freely told the king, That what he should now vtter, was euen the same which he would haue spoken, had his counsaile at any time before been asked since their comming into Greece. For the Magnetians, Bœotians, & other their good friends, which now so willingly took their parts: what were they else than so many poore Estates, that, wanting force of their owne, did adioyne themselues for feare vnto him, that was strongest at the present; and would afterwards, when they saw it expedient, be as ready to fall to the contrary side, alledging the same feare for their excuse? Wherefore he thought most behoouefull, to win King *Philip* of Macedon vnto their partie: who (besides that being once ingaged, he should not afterwards haue power to recoyle and forsake them at his pleasure) was a mighty Prince; and one that had meanes to sustaine the Roman Warre with his proper forces. Now that *Philip* might be easily perswaded to ioyne with them; the benefit likely to redound vnto himselfe, by their societie, was a very strong Argument: though indeede what neede was there, of prouing by inference the likelihood of this hope? For, said Hee, *These Ætolians here present; and namely, this* Thoas, *being lately Embassadour from them into Asia, among other Motiues which he then vsed to excite the King vnto this Expedition, insisted mainely on the same point. He told vs that* Philip *was moued beyond all patience, with the Lordly insolence of the Romans: likening that king to some wilde beast, that was chained or lockt vp within some grate, and would faine breake loose. If this be so: let vs breake his chaine, and pull downe the grate, that he may regaine his libertie, and satisfie his angry stomacke, vpon those that are common Enemies to vs and him. But if it proue otherwise, and that his feare be greater than his indignation: then shall it behoue vs to looke vnto him; that he may not seeke to please his good masters the Romans, by offending vs. Your sonne* Seleucus *is now at Lysimachia, with part of your Armie: if* Philip *will not hearken to your Embassage; let* Seleucus *be in readinesse, to fall vpon Macedon, and finde him worke to defend his owne on the other side, without putting vs here to trouble. Thus much concerning* Philip; *and the present War in Greece. But more generally for the managing of this great enterprise, wherein now you are embarqued against the Romans, I told you my opinion at the beginning: Whereto had you then giuen eare, the Romans by this time should haue heard other newes, than that Chalcis in Euboea was become ours. Italie and Gaule should haue been on fire with war; and*

little to their comfort, they should haue vnderstood, that Hannibal *was againe come into Italy. Neither doe I see what should hinder vs euen now from taking the same course. Send for all your Fleet and Armie hither (but in any case let Ships of burden come along with them, loaden with store of victuals: For as the case now stands, we haue here too few hands, and too many mouthes,) wherefore, let the one halfe be employed against Italy; whilest you in person with the other halfe, tarrying on this side the Ionian Sea, may both take order for the affaires of Greece, and therewithall make countenance, as if you were euen ready to follow vs into Italy: yea, and be ready to follow vs indeed, if it shall be requisite. This is my advice; who though perhaps I am not very skilfull in all sorts of war; yet how to war with the Romans, I haue been instructed by long experience, both to their cost and mine owne. Of this counsaile which I giue, I promise you my faithfull and diligent seruice for the execution: but what counsaile soeuer you please to follow, I wish it may be prosperous.* Many were pleased with the great spirit of the man, and said he had spoken brauely: but of all this was nothing done; saue onely that one was sent into Asia, to make all things ready there. In the meane while they went in hand with Thessaly; about which they had before disputed. There when they had wonne one Towne by force, many other places, doubting their owne strength, were glad to make submission. But Larissa, that was chiefe of the Countrey, stood out: not regarding any terrible threats of the King, that lay before the walls with his whole Armie. This their faith and courage was rewarded by good fortune. For *M. Bœbius*, a Roman Proprætor, did send helpe thither. Likwise *Philip* of Macedon professed himselfe Enemy vnto *Antiochus*; whereby the fame of the succour comming to Larissa, grew such, as wrought more than the succour could haue done, had it arriued. For *Antiochus* perceiuing many fires on the Mountaines toppes afarre off; thought that a great Armie of Romans and Macedonians had beene comming vpon him. Therefore excusing himselfe by the time of the yeere; He brake vp his siege, and marched away to Chalcis. At Chalcis he fell in loue with a young Maiden, daughter vnto a Citizen of the Towne; whom, without regard of the much disproportion that was betweene them, both in yeeres and fortune, He shortly married; and so spent the Winter following, as delightfully as he could, without thinking vpon the war in hand. His great men and Captaines followed his example; and the souldiers as readily imitated their Captains: in such wise that when he tooke the field, he might euidently perceiue in what loose manner of discipline his Armie had passed the Winter. But *M. Acilius Glabrio*, the Roman Consul, shal meet him very shortly, and helpe him to reclaime them from this loosenesse of nuptiall Reuels; by setting them to harder exercise.

M. Acilius was chosen Consul with *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*. The war against *Antiochus* fell to him by lot; whereas otherwise Hee was no way so honourable, as *Nasica* his Colleague: vnto whom fell a charge, of far lesse credit and importance. *Nasica*, besides the great Nobility of his Family, had bin long since, in time of the *Punicke Warre*, crowned with the title of *The best man in Rome*: when the Senate, for very feare and superstition, durst not haue so pronounced him, had they not so thought him; as being commanded by Oracle, That none other man than the very best, should entertaine an old stone, which the Diuell then taught them to call *The Mother of the gods*. But no prærogatiue of Birth, Vertue, or good Opinion, gaue such aduantage to the better man, as to make choice of his owne Prouince; or arrogate more vnto himselfe, than his lot should affoord him. This vnpartiall distribution of employments, helped well to maintaine peace and concord. *P. Scipio* therefore was appointed to make warre against the Boijans; wherein hee purchased the honour of a Triumph, nothing so glorious as was that of his Colleague; though purchased with harder seruice, requiring the more abilitie in matter of war. But *M. Acilius* went ouer into Greece, with ten thousand Foot, two thousand Horse, & fifteen Elephants. *Ptolomie* King of Egypt, notwithstanding his late Alliance with king *Antiochus*; and *Philip* king of Macedon; had lately sent Embassadours to Rome, making offer to come each of them in person with all his forces into Ætolia, there to assist the Consul in this warre. *Ptolomie* sent also gold and siluer, toward the defraying of charges; as one that meant none other than good earnest. But he was too young, and dwelt too farre off. So his money was returned vnto him with thankes; and his louing offer as louingly refused. Vnto *Philips* Embassadours answer was made, that this his friendly offer was gratefully accepted: and that the Senate and People of Rome would thinke themselues beholding to him, for the assistance that Hee should giue to *Acilius* the

Consul. *Masanissa* likewise, and the Carthaginians, did striue, which of them should bee most forward in gratifying the Romans. Each of them promised a great quantitie of graine, which they would send partly to Rome, partly to the Army in Greece. And herein *Masanissa* farre out-went the poore city of Carthage; as also, in that he offered to lend the Consul fiue hundred Horse, and twenty Elephants. On the other side, the Carthaginians vndertooke to set out a Fleet at their own charges: and to bring in at one payment all the Tribute-money, which was behinde, and ought to be discharged by many yeerly pensions. But the Romans did neither think it good, to let them arme a Fleet; nor would let them redeeme themselues out of Tribute, by paying all at once. As for the Corne, it was accepted, with Condition, That they should be contented to receiue the price of it.

The hastie and ridiculous issue of this war, that began with such noyse and preparations, were hardly credible: were not the difference exceeding great, between the Roman and the Asiatick souldier. *Antiochus* had gotten this Spring a few townes of Acarnania, after the same maner as he had preuailed in other parts of Greece; partly by faire words, and treason of the Rulers; partly by terror, that was like to proue their excuse, when they should againe forsake him. But King *Philip* and *Bebius*, hauing recouered many places; and the Roman Consul being arriued, against whom none made resistance; He was glad to withdraw himselfe. *Aminander* fled out of his Athamania: which the Macedonian tooke and enioyed; as in recompence of his good seruice to the Romans. *Philip*, the brother of *Aminanders* wife, was taken by the Consul; made a mocking stocke, & sent away prisoner to Rome. The Thessalians vsed much more diligence in returning to their old friends, than they had done in yeelding to the King. All their cities, one after other, gaue vp themselues: the Garrisons of *Antiochus*, compounding onely for their owne liues, and departing vnarmed: yet so, that a thousand of them stayed behind, and tooke pay of the Romans. This did wonderfully perplexe *Antiochus*; who hauing withdrawne himselfe to Chalcis, and hearing how things went, cried out vpon his friends: and said, That they had betrayed him. He had taken a great deale of toyle during one halfe of a Winter, and spent the other halfe in such Nuptials, as were little to his honour: after which, in time of need, Hee found all the promises of the Ætolians meerely verball: and himselfe reduced into tearmes of great extremitie. Hee therefore admired *Hannibal* as a wise man, yea a very Prophet, that had fore-seene all this long before. Neuertheless He sent word to the Ætolians, that they should now make ready all their forces: as considering their own need to be no lesse than his. But the Ætolians had cause to thinke, that they themselues were shamefully disappointed by *Antiochus*, who hauing promised to doe great wonders, was in all this while seconded by no greater numbers out of Asia, than so many as would fill vp the same ten thousand which he first brought ouer. Yet came there some of them, though fewer than at any time before, which ioined with him. Hereat the king was angry: and could get no better satisfaction, than that *Thoas* and his fellowes had done their best, in vaine, to haue made all the Nation take Armes. Since therefore neither his owne men came ouer to him out of Asia, nor his friends of Greece would appeare in this time of danger: Hee seized vpon the Streights of Thermopylæ; as meaning to defend them against the Romans, vntil more helpe should come.

pl.3.c.6.§.3. Of the Streights of Thermopylæ there hath been spoken enough * before, vpon many occasions: and then chiefly, when they were defended by *Leonidas* against the huge Armie of *Xerxes*. Wherefore it may easily be conceiued, how the Romans, that landed about Apollonia, and so came onwards into Thessalie, were vnable to passe that Ledge of Mountaines, diuiding the one halfe of Greece; vnlesse they could win this difficult entrance. But there was great difference betweene *Leonidas* and *Antiochus*. The former of these, with an handfull of men, defended this passage two or three daies together, against a World of men comming to inuade the Country. The latter, hauing taken vpon him to doe great miracles, and effect what he listed himselfe in Greece: did commit himself vnto the safetie of this place, when he was charged by not many more than he had in his owne Armie. There whilest he lay, He sent earnest messengers one after another to the Ætolians, intreating them not to forsake him thus; but at least wise now to helpe, and keepe the toppes of the Mountaines, lest the Romans finding any by-path, should come downe vpon him. By this importunity, he got of them two thousand, that vndertook to make good the few passages: by which onely, and not without extreme difficulty, it was possible for the Enemy to ascend. The Roman Consul in like sort, prepared to force the

the Streights: without staying to expect king *Philip*: that was hindered by sickenesse from accompanying him. He had with him *M. Porcius Cato*, and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, that had both of them beene Consuls. These he sent forth by night with two thousand men, to try whether by any meanes they could get vp to the Ætolians. He himselfe incouraged his Armie: not onely by telling them, with what base conditioned enemies they had to deale: but what rich kingdomes *Antiochus* held, that should bountifully reward them if they were victors. This was on the day before the battaile. All that night *Cato* had a sore iourney (for what happened vnto *L. Valerius* it is vncertaine, saue onely that he failed in his intent) and so much the worse, for that he had no skilfull guide. Seeing therefore his men exceedingly tired, with climbing vp steepie Rocks and crooked wayes: He commanded them to repose themselues; whilest Hee, being a very able man of body, tooke in hand the discouery, accompanied with no more than one of like mettle to himselfe. After a great deale of trouble, He found at length a path: which he tooke to be, as indeede it was, the best way leading vnto the Enemies. So thither he brought his men; and held on the same path till toward break of day. It was a place not hanted, because in time of peace there was a faire way through the Streights below, that required no such trouble of climbing; neither had this entrance of the Thermopylæ bin so often the Seat of War, as might cause any trauailers to search out the passages of those desolate Mountaines. Wherefore the way that *Cato* followed, though it were the best: yet did it lead him to a bogge at the end, which would suffer him to passe no further. So he staid there vntill day-light: by which he discouered both the Campe of the Greekes vnderneath him; and some of the Ætolians very neere vnto him, that were keeping watch. He therfore sent forth a lustie Crue of his men, whom he thought fittest for that seruice; and willed them by any meanes to get him some prisoners. This was effected: and hee thereby vnderstood, that these Ætolians were no more than sixe hundred; as also that king *Antiochus* lay beneath in the Valley. So hee presently set vpon the Ætolians, ouerthrew them, slew a great part of them, and chased the rest, that by flying into their Campe, guided him vnto it. The fight was already begun betweene the Armies below: and the Romans, that had easily repelled the kings men, and driuen them into their Campe, found it in a manner a desperate piece of worke to assault the Campe it selfe; which occupied the whole bredth of the Streights; was notably fortified, and not only defended by *Antiochus* his long Pikes, which were best at that kinde of seruice; but by Archers and slingers that were placed ouer them on the Hill-side, and powred down a showre of weapons on their heads. But *Cato* his approch determined the matter. It was thought at first that the Ætolians had beene comming to helpe the Kings men: but when the Roman armes and ensignes were discouered, such was the terrour, that none made offer of resistance; but all of them forsooke the Campe, and fled. The slaughter was not great: for that the badnesse of the way did hinder the Roman Army from making pursuit. Yet this dayes losse draue *Antiochus* out of Greece, who directly fled to Chalcis; and from thence with the first opportunitie, got him backe into Asia.

All the Cities that had imbraced the friendship of *Antiochus*, prepared forthwith to entertaine the Romans, and intreat for pardon: setting open their gates; and presenting themselues vnto the Consul, in manner of suppliants. Briefly, in few dayes all was recouered that *Antiochus* had gained: the Ætolians onely standing out, because they knew not what else to doe. Neither did the Consul giue them any respite. At his returne from Chalcis he met with king *Philip*, that hauing recouered health, came to ioyne with him against *Antiochus*: ouer whom since the victory was alreade gotten, Hee did gratulate vnto the Romans their good successe; and offered to take part with them in the Ætolian Warre. So it was agreed, That the Consul should besiege Heraclea; and *Philip*, Lamia; at the same time. Each of them plied his worke hard; especially *Philip*, who faine would haue gotten Lamia before the Consul should come to helpe him. But it could not be. For his Macedonians that vsed to worke by Myne, were ouermuch hindered by the stonie ground. Yet was Lamia euen ready to be taken, when the Consul, hauing won Heraclea, came thither; and told *Philip*, that the spoyle of these towns was a reward vnto those that had fought at Thermopylæ. Herewith *Philip* must be contented; and therefore went his way quietly. But *Acilius*, that could so ill endure to see *Philip* in likelihood of thriuing by the Romans victory, got not Lamia himselfe: vntill such time as another Consul was ready to ease him of his charge.

The losse of Heraclea did so affright the Ætolians, that they thought no way safer than to desire peace. Yet had they sent vnto king *Antiochus* presently after his flight: entreating him not to forsake them vtterly, but either to returne with all those forces which he had purposed to bring into Greece; or if any thing with-held him from comming in person, at leastwise to help them with money and other aide. They prayed him to consider, that this did not onely concerne him in honour; but appertained vnto his owne safetie: since it would be much to his hurt, if the Ætolians being wholly subdued, the Romans, without any Enemies at their backes, might set vpon him in Asia. He considered well of this, and found their words true. Therefore He deliuered vnto *Nicander*, one of their Embassadours, a summe of money, that might serue to defray the charges of the Warre: promising that ere long he would send them strong aide, both by Land and Sea. *Thoas*, another of their Embassadours, Hee retained with him: who willingly stayed, that he might vrge the king to make his word good. But when Heraclea was taken from them; then did the Ætolians lay aside all hope of amending their fortune by the helpe of *Antiochus*; and made suite vnto the Consul to obtaine peace, vpon any reasonable Condition. The Consul would scarce vouchsafe to giue them audience, but said He had other businesse in hand; onely he granted them tenne dayes of Truce, and sent *L. Valerius Flaccus* with them to Hypata; willing them to make him acquainted with as much, as they would haue deliuered vnto himselfe. At their comming to Hypata; they began, as men fauouring their owne cause, to alledge how well they had deserued of the Romans. Whereto *Flaccus* would not hearken. He told them plainely, That the memory of such good Offices past, was quite obliterated by the malice which they had shewed of late. Wherefore he willed them to acknowledge their fault, and to entreat pardon. Better they thought to doe so euen betimes, than to stay till they were reduced into termes of more extremity. Hereupon they agreed to commit themselues vnto the faith of the Romans; and to that effect sent Embassadors to the Consul. This phrase of *committing vnto the faith*; signified, in their vse of it, little else than the acknowlegement of a fault done, and the craving of pardon. But the Romans vsed those words in another sense; and counted them all one, as * *yeelding to discretion*. Wherefore when the Consul heard them speake in this manner: He asked them whether their meaning were agreeable to their words. They answered that it was: and shewed him the Decree of their Nation, lately made to this purpose. Then said hee, I command you first of all, That none of you presume to goe into Asia, vpon any businesse priuate or publike: then, That ye deliuer vp vnto me *Dicæarchus* the Aetolian, *Menestratus* the Epirot, *Aminander* the Athamanian, and such of his Countrimen as haue followed him in reuolting from vs. Whilest he was yet speaking: *Phameas* the Embassadour interrupted him; and prayed him not to mistake the custome of the Greekes, who had yeelded themselues *vnto his faith; not vnto slauerie. what?* (said the Consul) *Doe ye stand to plead Custome with mee, being now at my discretion? Bring hither a chaine.* With that, chaines were brought; and an iron collar by his appointment fitted vnto euery one of their neckes. This did so affright them, that they stood dumbe and knew not what to say. But *Valerius* and some others entreated the Consul, not to deale thus hardly with them, since they *came* as Embassadours; though *since*, their Condition was altered. *Phameas* also spake for himselfe: and said, That neither He nor yet the *Apocleti* or ordinarie Councel of the Nation, were able to fulfill these iniunctions; without approbation of the generall Assembly. For which cause he entreated yet further ten dayes respite; and had granted vnto him Truce for so long.

* Lega excerp. è Polyb. 13.

This surcesance of warre, during ten and other ten dayes together, began presently after the taking of Heraclea; when *Philip* had beene commanded away from Lamia, that else he might haue wonne. Now because of the indignitie herein offered vnto that king, and to the end that he might not returne home with his Armie, like one that could not be trusted in imployment: especially the Romans being like hereafter to haue further neede of him, in the continuance of this Warre: He was desired to set vpon the Athamanians, and some other petty Nations their borderers, whilest the Consul was busie with the Aetolians; taking for his reward, all that hee could get. And he got in that space all Athamanta, Perrhæbia, Aperantia, & Dolopia. For the Aetolians, hearing what had befalne their Embassadors, were so enraged, That although they were very ill prouided for Warre, yet they could not indure to heare more talke of peace. And it happened, that

that *Nicander* about the same time was come back from *Antiochus*, with mony and hopefull promises: the Romans abiding still about Heraclea; & *Philip* hauing lately risen from before Lamia, yet not being far gone thence. His money *Nicander* conueighed into Lamia, by very vnusuall dexteritie. But he himselfe being to passe further to the Assembly of the Aetolians, there to make report of his Embassage; was very much perplexed about this his iourney, which lay betweene the Roman and Macedonian Campes. Yet he made the aduenture: and keeping as farre as they could from the Roman side, fell vpon a Station of Macedonians; by whom he was taken, and led vnto their King. He expected no good; but either to be deliuered vnto the Romans, or vsed ill enough by *Philip*. But it seemes, that the king had not hitherto concocted well the indignitie, of his being sent away from Lamia. For He commanded his seruants to entreat *Nicander* friendly: and he himselfe being then at supper, did visit him as soone as he rose vp: giuing him to vnderstand; That the Aetolians did now reape the fruits of their owne madnesse; forasmuch as they could neuer hold themselues contented, but would needes be calling strangers into Greece. They had pleased themselues well, in their acquaintance first with the Romans, & then with king *Antiochus*; but himselfe, being their neighbour, they could neuer well endure. It was now therfore, He said, high time for them to haue regard vnto his friendship, whereof hitherto they had neuer made any tryall: for surely their good affection, one vnto the other, would be much more auaileable vnto each of them; than their mutuall catching of aduantages; whereby they had wrought themselues much displeasure. Thus much the king willed *Nicander* to signifie vnto his Countrimen; and priuately to hold in minde the courtesie which he then did him, in sending him safe home. So giuing him a Conuoy to gard him to Hypata; He louingly dismissed him. For this benefit, *Nicander* was alwaies after dutifully affected to the Crown of Macedon: so as in the war of *Perseus* he made himselfe suspected vnto the Romans, and therefore was had away to Rome, where he ended his life.

When the Consul vnderstood, that the Ætolians refused to make their submission, in such wise as he required it: hee foorthwith meant to prosecute the warre against them, without any longer forbearance. They were preparing to make head against him at Naupactus: whither hee therefore directly marched, to try what they could or durst. The siege of Naupactus was of greater length, than the Romans had preconceiued it: for it was a strong City, and well manned. But *Acilius* stood vpon point of honour; wherin he thought that he should haue beene a loser, by rising from before it without Victory. So He staid there welneere all the following time of his Consulship; whilest the Macedonian king and the Achæans made farre better vse of the Roman Victory. *Philip*, as is said before, being allowed to take in such places as had reuolted vnto *Antiochus*, and were not hitherto reclaimed, won the strong Citie of Demetrias; and with an hastie course of Victory, subdued the Athamanians and others. The Achæans called to accompt the Elæans, and Messenians: which had long beene addicted to the Ætolian side; and followed it, in taking part with *Antiochus*. The Eleans gaue good words; whereby they saued themselues from trouble awhile. The Messenians being more stout, before they were inuaded; had none other helpe when the Achæan Prætor wasted their Countrey, than to offer themselues vnto the Romans. *Titus* was then at Corinth: to whom they sent word, That at his Commandement their gates should be opened; but that vnto the Achæans it was not their meaning to yeeld. A message from *Titus* to the Achæan Prætor, did suffice to call home the Armie, and finish the Warre: as also the peremptorie Command of the same *Titus* caused the Messenians to annexe themselues vnto the Achæans, and become part of their Common-weale. Such was now the Maiestie of a Roman Embassadour. *Titus* did fauour the Achæans; yet could not like it wel, that either they or any other should take too much vpon them. He thought it enough, that they had their libertie, and were strong enough to defend it against any of their neighbours. That they should make themselues great Lords, and able to dispute with the Romans vpon euen termes; it was no part of his desire. They had lately bought the Ile of Zacynthus; which had once been *Philips*, and was afterward giuen by him to *Aminander*, who sent a Gouernor thither. But when *Aminander* in this present warre, was driuen out of his owne Kingdome by *Philip*: then did the Gouernour of Zacynthus offer to sell the Iland to the Achæans; whom he found ready Chapmen. *Titus* liked not of this: but plainly told them, That the Romans would be their owne Caruers, and take what they thought good, of the Lands belonging to their

their Enemies; as a reward of the victorie which they had obtained. It was bootlesse to dispute. Wherefore the Achæans referred themselues vnto his discretion. So hee told them, that their Commonwealth was like a Tortoyse, wherof Peloponnesus was the shel: and that holding themselues within that compasse, they were out of danger; but if they would needs bee looking abroad, they should lie open to blowes, which might greatly hurt them. Hauing settled things thus in Peloponnesus, Hee went ouer to Naupactus: where *Glabrio* the Consul had laine two moneths, that might haue beene farre better spent. There, whether out of compassion which hee had vpon the Ætolians; or out of dislike of king *Philips* thriuing so fast: He perswaded the Consul to grant vnto the besieged, & to the whole Nation, so long Truce, that they might send Embassadors to Rome; and submitting themselues, craue pardon of the Senate. Most like it is, that Naupactus was in great danger: else would not the Aetolians haue made such earnest suit as they did vnto *Titus*, for procuring of this fauour. But if *Glabrio* had beene sure to carry it, in any short space: it may well be thought hee would not haue gone away without it; since the winning of that Towne, wherein was then the whole floure of the Nation, would haue made the promised submission much more humble and syncere. When they came vnto Rome, no entreaty could helpe them to better Conditions, than one of these two; That either they should wholly permit themselues to the good pleasure of the Senate; Or else pay a thousand Talents, and make neither Peace nor Warre with any, further than as the Romans should giue approbation. They had not so much mony: neither could they well hope to bee gently dealt withall, if they should giue themselues away *vnto discretion*; which what it signified, they now vnderstood. Wherefore they desired to haue it set downe, in what points, and how farre forth, they should yeeld vnto the good pleasure of the Senate. But hereof they could get no certaine answer: so that they were dismissed as enemies, after long and vaine attendance.

Whilest the Aetolians were pursuing their hopes of peace, the Consull had little to doe in Greece; and therefore tooke vpon him grauely to set things in order among the tractable Achæans. Hee would haue had them to restore the banished Lacedemonians home into their Countrie; and to take the Eleans into the fellowship of their Commonwealth. This the Achæans liked well enough: but they did not like it, that the Romans should be meddling in all occurrences. Wherefore they deferred the restitution of the banished Lacedæmonians: intending to make it an Act of their own meere grace. As for the Eleans: they were loth to be beholding to the Romans, and thereby to disparage the Achæans: into whose Corporation they were desirous to be admitted, and saw that they should haue their desire, without such compulsiue mediation.

The Roman Admirall *C.Liuius*, much about the same time, fought a battaile at Sea with *Polyxenidas*, Admirall to the king *Antiochus*. King *Eumenes* brought helpe to the Romans, though it was not great: and fiue and twenty saile of Rhodians came after the battaile, when they were following the Chase. The kings Fleet was the better of saile: but that of the Romans the better manned. Wherefore *Polyxenidas* being vanquished in fight, was yet out of danger; as soone as he betooke himselfe to a speedy retrait.

And such end had the first yeeres warre, betweene King *Antiochus* and the Romans. After this, as many of the Greeks as had followed the vaine hopes of the Ætolians, were glad to excuse themselues by feare; thinking themselues happy when by Embassadours they had obtained pardon. On the contrarie side, *Philip* of Macedon, Arch-enemie of late vnto the Romans, did now send to gratulate this their Victorie: and, in recompence of his good affection, had restored vnto him *Demetrius* his younger sonne; whom some few yeeres they had kept as an hostage. Also King *Ptolomie* of Egypt, gratulating the Roman Victory, sent word how greatly all Asia and Syria were thereby terrified. In which regard Hee desired the Senate not to foreslow time; but to send an Armie, as soone as might be, into Asia: promising, that his assistance, wherein soeuer it pleased them to vse it, should not bee wanting. This *Ptolomie* was the sonne-in-law of King *Antiochus*: but he was the friend of Fortune. He vnderstood long before, as did all that were indifferent beholders of the Contention, that the Romans were like to haue the vpper hand. The same did *Antiochus* now begin to suspect, who had thought himselfe a while as safe at Ephesus, as if he had bin in another world: but was told by *Hannibal*, That it was not so far out of Greece into Asia, as out of Italy into Greece; and that there was no doubt but the Romans would soon be there, & make him try the chance of a battell for his kingdome.

§. VIII.

§. VIII.

Lucius Scipio, *hauing with him* Publius *the African his elder brother, for his Lieutenant, is sent into Greece. Hee grants long Truce to the Ætolians, that so he might at leisure passe into Asia. Much troublesome businesse by Sea; and diuers fights. An inuasion vpon* Eumenes *his Kingdome; with the siege of Pergamus, rayſed by an handfull of the Achæans.* L.Scipio *the Consul comes into Asia: where* Antiochus *most earnestly desireth peace, and is denied it. The battaile of* Magnesia: *wherein* Antiochus *being vanquished, yeelderh to the Romans good pleasure. The Conditions of the peace. In what sort the Romans vsed their Victorie.* L.Cornelius Scipio, *after a most sumptuous triumph ouer* Antiochus, *is surnamed The Asiatique, as his brother was stiled The African.*

Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the brother of *P.Scipio* the African, was chosen Consul at Rome with *C.Lælius*. *Lælius* was very gracious in the Senate: and therefore being desirous (as generally all Consuls were) of the more honourable employment, offered to referre to the arbitrement of the Senate, if *L.Cornelius* would bee so pleased, the disposition of their Prouinces; without putting it to the hazzard of a Lotterie. *Lucius* hauing talked with his brother *Publius*, approued well of the motion. Such a question had not of long time been put vnto the Fathers: who therefore were the more desirous to make an vnblameable Decree. But the matter being, otherwise somewhat indifferent; *P.Scipio* the African said openly thus much, That if the Senate would appoint his brother to the warre against *Antiochus*, He himselfe would follow his brother in that war, as his Lieutenant. These words were heard with such approbation, that the controuersie was forthwith at an end. For if *Antiochus* relied vpon *Hannibal*, and should happen to be directed wholly by that great Captaine: what better man could they oppose, than *Scipio*; that had beene victorious against that same Great Worthy? But indeed a worser man might haue serued well enough the turne. For *Hannibal* had no absolute Command, nor scarce any trust of great importance: excepting now and then in consultation, where his wisedome was much approued, but his liberty and high spirit as much disliked. It is worthy of remembrance; as a signe of the freedome that he vsed in his censures, euen whilest hee liued in such a Court. *Antiochus* mustered his Armie in presence of this famous Captaine: thinking, as may seeme, to haue made him wish, that he had beene serued by such braue men in Italy. For they were gallantly decked, both Men, Horses, and Elephants, with such costly furniture of Gold, Siluer, and Purple; as glittered with a terrible brauery on a Sun-shine day. Whereupon the king, well pleasing himselfe with that goodly spectacle, asked *Hannibal* what he thought; and whether all this were not enough for the Romans. *Enough* (said *Hannibal*) *were the Romans the most couetous men in all the world*: meaning, that all his Cost vpon the backes of Cowardly Asiatiques, was no better than a spoyle to animate good Souldiers. How little this answer pleased the King, it is easie to ghesse. The little vse that he made of this Carthaginian, testifies that his dislike of the man, caused him to lose the vse of his seruice, when he stood in greatest necessitie thereof.

The *Scipio's* made all haste away from Rome as soon as they could. They carried with them, besides other Souldiers newly prest to the war, about fiue thousand Voluntaries, that had serued vnder *P.Africanus*. There was also a Fleet of thirty *Quinquereme* Gallies, and twenty *Triremes* newly built, appointed vnto *L.Æmilius Regillus*, that was chosen Admirall the same yeere for that voyage. At their comming into Greece, they found the old Consul *Glabrio* besieging Amphyssa a City of the Ætolians. The Ætolians after that they were denied peace, had expected him once againe at Naupactus. Wherefore they not onely fortified that Towne: but kept all the passages thereto leading; which heedlesly, as in a time of confusion, they had left vnregarded the last yeere. *Glabrio* knowing this, deceiued their expectation, and fell vpon Lamia; which being not long since much weakened by *Philip*, and now by him attempted on the sudden; was carried at the second assault. Thence went he to Amphyssa: which he had almost gotten; when *L.Scipio*, his successor, came with thirteene thousand Foote, and fiue hundred Horse, and tooke charge of the Armie. The Towne of Amphyssa was presently forsaken by the Inhabitants, but they had a Castle, or higher Town, that was impregnable; whereinto they all retired. The Athenian Embassadors had dealt with *P.Scipio*, in behalfe of the Ætolians:

lians: entreating him to ſtand their friend, and helpe them in obtaining ſome tolerable Condition of peace. He gaue them gentle words: and willed them to perſwade the Ætolians, that they ſhould faithfully and with true meaning deſire it. This was gladly taken. But many meſſages paſſing to and fro: though *Publius* continued to put them in good hope; yet the Conſul made ſtill the ſame anſwer, with which they had been chaſed from Rome. The concluſion was, That they ſhould ſue for a longer time of reſpite from warre: whereby at more leiſure they might attend ſome better diſpoſition of the Senate; or any helpfull commoditie which time ſhould afford. So they obtained halfe a yeeres truce: after which, the Winter was like to afford them another halfe yeeres leiſure of breathing. Hereof were they not more glad, than was *P. Scipio*: who thought all time loſt, which with-held the Warre from paſſing ouer into Aſia.

The buſineſſe of Ætolia being thus laid aſide: and the old Conſul *Glabrio* ſent home into Italy: the *Scipio's* marched into Theſſaly; intending thence to take their way by Land, through Macedon & Thrace vnto the Helleſpont. Yet they conſidered, That hereby they muſt commit themſelues vnto the loyaltie of King *Philip*: who might either do them ſome miſchiefe by the way, if he were diſpoſed to watch a notable aduantage: or at the leaſt, would be vnfaithfull; though he were not ſo couragious, yet might hee take ſuch order with the Thracians, that euen for want of victuals, if by no greater inconuenience, they ſhould be diſgracefully forced to returne. Hee had promiſed them the vtmoſt of his furtherance: wherein, whether he meant ſyncerely, they thought to make ſome triall, by cauſing a Gentleman to ride Poſt vnto him, and obſerue his doings as he ſhould take them on the ſudden. The King was merry at a feaſt, and drinking, when the Meſſenger came: whom he louingly bade welcome; and ſhewed him the next day, not only what prouiſion of victuals he had made for the Army, but how he had made bridges ouer the riuers, and mended the bad wayes by which they were to paſſe. With theſe good newes *Gracchus* returned backe in haſte vnto the *Scipio's*: who entring into Macedon, found all things in a readineſſe, that might helpe to aduance their iourny. The King entertained them royally; and brought them on their way, euen to the Helleſpont: where they ſtayed a good while, vntill their Nauie was in readineſſe to tranſport them into Aſia.

Much was done at Sea in the beginning of this yeere; though, for the moſt part, little of importance. *Polyxenidas*, the Admirall of *Antiochus*, was a baniſhed Rhodian: true to the King; and deſirous of reuenge vpon his Countrymen that had expelled him. Hee, hearing that the Rhodian Fleet was at Samos, the Romans & *Eumenes* hauing not as yet put to Sea; thought to doe ſomewhat vpon thoſe that were ſo early in their diligence, before their followers ſhould arriue to helpe them. Yet went he craftily to worke; and ſent word, as in great ſecrecie, to the Rhodian Admirall, That if the ſentence of his baniſhment might be repealed, He would, in requitall thereof, betray all the Kings Fleet. After many paſſages to and fro, this was beleeued: and the Rhodian Admirall grew ſo careleſſe, expecting ſtill when he ſhould receiue a watch-word from *Polyxenidas*, that hee himſelfe was taken by *Polyxenidas* in his owne Hauen. The Kings Fleete ſet foorth from Epheſus by night; and, for feare of being diſcouered, reſting one day in a harbour by the way, came the ſecond night to Samos: where, by morning, it was ready to enter the Hauen. *Pauſiſtratus* the Rhodian Admirall ſeeing this, thought it his beſt way of reſiſtance, to beſtow his men on the two head-lands or points of the Hauen; ſo to guard the mouth of it: for that he ſaw no likelihood of defending himſelfe by Sea. But *Polyxenidas* had already landed ſome Companies, in another part of the Iland: which falling vpon the backe of *Pauſiſtratus*, compelled him to alter his directions, and command his men aboord. This could not be without great confuſion: ſo as the enemies tooke him out of all order; and ſunke or boorded all his Nauie, fiue excepted, that by a ſudden deuice made ſhift to eſcape. Each of them hung out a burning Creſſet vpon two poles, at the Beake-head: and then rowed forwards directly vpon the Enemie: who hauing not bethought himſelfe what ſhift to make againſt ſuch vnexpected danger of firing, was content to giue way vnto theſe deſperate Gallies; for feare leſt they ſhould burne, together with themſelues, a part of the kings Fleete.

Not long after this, the Romans had ſome loſſe by tempeſt: whereof *Polyxenidas* could not take ſuch aduantage as hee had hoped; becauſe, putting to Sea for that purpoſe, Hee was driuen backe againe by the like foule weather. But the Rhodians, to ſhew that they

they were not diſcouraged, ſet forth twentie other Gallies: the Romans alſo with king *Eumenes* repaired their Fleet; and all of them together, in great brauerie, preſented battaile to *Polyxenidas* before the Hauen of Epheſus. When hee durſt not accept it: they went from place to place, attempting many things, as eyther they were entreated by the Rhodians, or perſwaded by ſome appearing hopes of doing good. Yet performed they little or nothing: for that one while they were hindred by ſtormes at Sea; and another while by ſtrong reſiſtance, made againſt them at Land.

Eumenes with his Fleet was compelled to forſake them; and returne home to the defence of his owne kingdome. For *Antiochus* waſted all the grounds about Elæa & Pergamus: and leauing his ſonne *Seleucus* to beſiege the royall Citie of Pergamus: did with the reſt of his Armie ſpoyle the whole Countrey thereabout. *Attalus*, the brother of king *Eumenes*, was then in Pergamus; hauing with him no better men to defend the Citie, than were they that lay againſt it. Wherefore he had reaſon to ſtand in feare; being too much inferiour in number. There came to his aid a thouſand Foot, and an hundred Horſe of the Achæans: old ſouldiers all; and trayned vp vnder *Philopœmen*, whoſe Scholler, in the Art of warre, *Diophanes* their Commander was. This *Diophanes*, beholding from the walls of Pergamus, which was an high Towne, the demeanour of the Enemy, began to diſdain that ſuch men as they ſhould hold them beſieged. For *Seleucus* his Armie which was encamped at the hill-foot, ſeeing that none durſt ſallie forth vpon them, grew ſo careleſſe: as otherwiſe, than by ſpoyling all behinde their backes, they ſeemed to forget that they were in an Enemies Countrie. *Diophanes* therfore ſpake with *Attalus*: and told them that hee would goe forth, encamped not farre from the Enemy. They of Pergamus thought him little better than mad. As for the beſiegers; they wondred at firſt what his meaning was: but when they ſaw that he held himſelfe quiet, they made a ieſt of his boldneſſe; and laughed to ſee with what an handfull of men he looked ſo ſtoutly. So they returned vnto their former negligence and diſorders. Which *Diophanes* perceiuing, He commanded all his men to follow him, euen as faſt as they well might: and he himſelfe, with the hundred Horſe, brake out on the ſudden vpon the Station that was next at hand. Very few of the enemies had their Horſes ready ſaddled, but more few, or none, had the hearts to make reſiſtance: ſo as He draue them all out of their Campe; and chaſed them as farre as he might ſafely aduenture; with great ſlaughter of them, and no loſſe of his owne. Hereat all the Citizens of Pergamus (who had couered the walls of the Towne, men and women, to behold this ſpectacle) were very ioyfull; and highly magnified the vertue of theſe Achæans. Yet would they not therefore iſſue forth of their gates, to helpe the Achæans in doing what remained to be done. The next day *Seleucus* encamped halfe a mile further from the Towne, than he had done before: and againſt him went fourth *Diophanes* the ſecond time; who quietly reſted a while in his old Station. When they had ſtayed many houres, looking who ſhould begin: *Seleucus*, in faire order as he came, withdrew himſelfe toward his lodging that was further off. *Diophanes* moued not whileſt the Enemie was in ſight: but as ſoone as the ground betweene them hindred the proſpect, hee followed them in all haſte, and ſoone ouertaking them with his Horſe, charged them in Rere; ſo as he brake them, and with all his forces purſued them at the heeles, to their very Trenches. This boldneſſe of the Achæans, and the baſeneſſe of his owne men, cauſed *Seleucus* to quit the ſiege, little to his honour. Such being the qualitie of theſe Aſiatiques; *Philopœmen* had cauſe to tell the Romans, That he enuied their victorie. For when *Antiochus* lay feaſting at Chalcis after his mariage, and his ſouldiers betooke themſelues to Ryot, as it had beene in a time of great ſecurity: a good man of warre might haue cut all their throates, euen as they were tipling in their victualling houſes; which *Philopœmen* ſaid that he would haue done, had He beene Generall of the Achæans, and not, as he then was, a priuate man.

Antiochus was full of buſineſſe: and turning his care from one thing to another, with a great deale of trauaile, brought almoſt nothing to paſſe. Hee had beene at Pergamus: into which *Eumenes*, leauing the Romans, did put himſelfe with a few of his Horſe and light armature. Before Pergamus he left his ſonne, as before hath beene ſhewed, & went to Elæa: whither he heard that *Æmylius* the Roman Admiral was come, to bring ſuccour to *Eumenes*. There hee made an Ouerture of peace: about which to conſult, *Eumenes* was ſent for by *Æmylius*, and came from Pergamus. But when it was conſidered, that no concluſion could be made without the Conſul; this Treatie brake off. Then followed the

the Ouerthrow newly mentioned; which caused *Seleucus* to giue ouer the siege of Pergamus. Afterwards, foure or fiue Townes of scarce any worth or note were taken by the King; and the Syrian Fleet, being of seuen and thirty Sayle, was beaten by the Rhodian which was of like number. But of this victorie the Rhodians had no great cause to reioyce: for that *Hannibal* the Carthaginian, who, together with *Apollonius* a Courtier of *Antiochus*, was Admirall of the Syrians, did them in manner as great hurt as they could doe to *Apollonius*; and hauing the victory taken out of his hand by *Apollonius* his flight, yet made such a retrait, that the Rhodians durst not farre aduenture vpon him. Now of these Actions which were but as Præfaces vnto the warre; the last and greatest was a victory of the Romans by Sea, against *Polyxenidas* the Kings Admirall. The battaile was fought by Myonnesus a Promontorie in Asia: where *Polyxenidas* had with him foure-score and nine Gallies; and fiue of them greater, than any of the Romans. This being all the strength which he could make by Sea: we may note the vanity of those brags, wherwith *Antiochus* vaunted the last yeere, That his *Armada* should couer all the shores of Greece. The Romans had eight and fiftie Gallies; the Rhodians, two and twenty: the Roman being the stronger built, and more stoutly manned; the Rhodian more light-timbred and thin planckt, hauing all aduantage of speed, and good Sea-men. Neither forgot they to helpe themselues by the same deuice; with which, fiue of their Gallies had lately escaped from Samos. For with fire in their prowes they ran vpon the Enemy: who declining them for feare, laid open his side: and was thereby in greater danger of being stemmed. After no long fight, the Kings Nauie hoysted saile: and hauing a faire winde, bore away toward Ephesus as fast as they could. Yet fortie of their Gallies they left behinde them: whereof thirteene were taken: all the rest burnt or sunke. The Romans and their fellowes lost only two or three shippes: but got hereby the absolute Masterie of the Sea.

The report of this misaduenture, may seeme to haue taken from *Antiochus* all vse of reason. For as if no hope had beene remayning, to defend those places that hee held in Europe: He presently with-drew his Garrisons from Lysimachia: which might easily haue beene kept, euen till the end of Winter following, and haue reduced the besiegers (if the siege had beene continued obstinately) vnto termes of great extremitie. Hee also gaue ouer the siege of Colophon: and laying aside all thought saue onely of defence, drew together all his Armie; and sent for helpe to his father-in-law, King *Ariarathes* the Cappadocian.

Thus the Roman Consul, without impediment, not onely came to the Hellespont, but had yeelded vnto him all places there, belonging to *Antiochus* on Europe side. The Fleet was then also in readinesse, to transport him ouer into Asia: where *Eumenes* had taken such care before, that Hee landed quietly at his owne good ease, euen as if the Countrie had beene his already. The first newes that he heard of the Enemie, was by an Embassador that came to sue for peace. This Embassador declared in his Masters name, That the same things which had hindered him from obtaining peace of the Romans heretofore, did now perswade him, that he should easily come to good agreement with them. For in all disputations heretofore, Smyrna, Lampsacus, and Lysimachia, had beene the places about which they varied. Seeing therefore the King had now already giuen ouer Lysimachia; and was further purposed, not to striue with the Romans about Lampsacus and Smyrna: what reason was there, why they should need to trouble him with warre? If it was their desire, that any other Townes vpon the Coast of Asia, not mentioned by them in any former Treaties, should bee also set at libertie, or otherwise deliuered into their hands: the King would not refuse to gratifie them therein. Briefly, let them take some part of Asia: so as the bounds, diuiding them from the King, might not be vncertaine; and it should bee quietly put into their hands. If all this were not enough: the King would likewise beare halfe the charges, whereat they had beene in this warre. So praying the Romans to hold themselues content with these good offers, and not to bee too insolent vpon confidence of their fortune; Hee expected their answer. These offers which to the Embassador seemed so great, were iudged by the Romans to be very little. For they thought it reasonable, that the King should beare all the charges of the warre, since it began through his owne fault: and that He should not onely depart out of these few Townes, which he held in Æolis and Ionia, but quite out of *Asia the lesse*, and keep himselfe on the other side of Mount *Taurus*. When the Embassadours therefore saw, that

that no better bargaine could be made, He dealt with *P. Scipio* in priuate: and to him hee promised a great quantitie of gold, together with the free restitution of his sonne, who (it is vncertaine by what mischance) was taken prisoner, and most honourably entertained by the King. *Scipio* would not hearken to the offer of gold: nor otherwise to the restitution of his sonne, than vpon Condition, That it might bee with making such amends for the benefit, as became a priuate man. As for the publike businesse: Hee onely said thus much; That since *Antiochus* had already forsaken Lysimachia, and suffered the warre to take hold on his owne Kingdome; there was now none other way for him, than either to fight, or yeeld to that which was required at his hands. Wherefore, said He, tell your king in my name, that I would aduise him to refuse no Condition wherebyhe may haue peace.

The king was not any whit moued with this aduice. For seeing that the Consul demanded of him no lesse, than if he had beene already subdued: little reason there was that he should feare to come to battaile; wherein he could lose, as he thought, no more, than by seeking to auoid it he must giue away. Hee had with him threescore and tenne thousand Foot, and twelue thousand Horse; besides two and fiftie Indian Elephants, and many Chariots armed with hookes or sythes, according to the manner of the Easterne Countries. Yet was he nothing pleased, to heare that the Consul drew neere him apace as one hastning to fight. But howsoeuer he was affected; He made so little shew of feare, that hearing *P. Scipio* to lie sicke at Elæa, He sent thither vnto him his sonne without ransome: as one both desirous to comfort this noble Warriour in his sicknesse, and withall not desirous to retaine the young Gentleman for a pledge of his owne safetie. Thus ought his bountie to be constant. Otherwise it might be suspected, That herein hee dealt craftily. For since he could haue none other ransome of *Scipio*, than such as an honourable man, that had no great store of wealth, might pay: better it was to doe such a courtesie before the battell, as would afterwards haue beene little worth; than to stay vntill the Romans, perhaps victorious, should exact it at his hands. *P. Scipio* was greatly comforted with the recouerie of his sonne: so as the ioy thereof was thought, to haue beene much aualeable vnto his health. In recompence of the kings humanitie, Hee said onely thus much vnto those that brought him this acceptable Present, *I am now able to make your King none other amends, than by aduising him not to fight vntill hee shall heare that I am in the Campe.* What he meant by this, it is hard to coniecture. *Antiochus* resolued to follow his caunsaile: and therefore withdrew himselfe from about Thyatira, beyond the Riuer of Phrygius or Hyllus, vnto Magnesia by Sipylus: where encamping, Hee fortified himselfe as strongly as hee could. Thither followed him *L. Scipio* the Consul; and sate downe within foure miles of him. About a thousand of the kings Horse, most of them Gallo-Greeks, came to bid the Romans welcome: of whom at first they slew some; and were anon, with some losse, driuen backe ouer the Riuer. Two daies were quietly spent; whilest neither the King nor the Romans would passe the water. The third day the Romans made the aduenture: wherein they found no disturbance; nor were at all opposed, vntill they came within two miles and a halfe of *Antiochus* his Campe. There as they were taking vp their lodging, they were charged by three thousand Horse and Foote: whom their ordinary *Corps da gard* repelled. Foure dayes together after this, each of them brought forth their Armies; and set them in order before the Trenches, without aduancing any further. The fift day the Romans came halfe way forward; and presented battaile; which the King would not accept. Thereupon the Consul tooke aduice what was to be done. For either they must fight vpon whatsoeuer disaduantage, or else resolue to abide by it all Winter, farre from any Countrey of their friends, and therefore subiect vnto many difficulties: vnlesse they would staine their honour by returning farre backe, to winter in a more conuenient place; and so defer the warre vntill the next Spring. The Roman souldier was throughly perswaded of that Enemies base temper. Wherefore it was the generall Crie, That this great Armie should be assayled, euen in the Campe where it lay: as if rather there were so many beasts to be slaughtered, than men to bee fought with. Yet a day or two passed, in discouering the fortifications of *Antiochus*, and the safest way to set vpon him. All this while *P. Scipio* came not. Wherefore the King, being very loth to dishearten his men, by seeming to stand in feare of the Enemie, resolued to put the matter to triall. So when the Romans took the field againe, and ordered their Battells:

Hee also did the like; and aduanced so farre, that they might vnderstand his meaning to fight.

The Roman Armie consisted of foure Legions, two Roman and two Latine: in each of which were fiue thousand and foure hundred men. The Latines, as vsually, were in the points; the Romans, in the maine battell. All of them, according to their wonted forme, were diuided into Maniples. The *Hastati* had the leading: after them follow the *Principes*, at such distance as was vsuall; and last of all, the *Triarij*. Now beside these, there were about three thousand Auxiliaries; partly Achæans; and partly such as belonged to *Eumenes*: which were placed in an equall Front beyond the Latines in the right wing. Vtmost of all (saue some fiue hundred Cretians, and of the Trallians) were almost three thousand Horse: of which, *Eumenes* had brought thither eight hundred; the rest being Roman. The left wing was fenced by the banke of the riuer: yet foure Troups of horse were placed there, though such helpe seemed in a manner needlesse. Two thousand Voluntaries, Macedonians and Thracians, were left to guard the Campe. The Consul had with him sixteene African Elephants, which he bestowed in his Rere: forasmuch as had they come to fight with those of *Antiochus*, they onely would haue serued to discourage his men; as being sure to bee beaten: the Indian being farre the greater, and more couragious beastes: whereof *Antiochus* had likewise much aduantage in number.

The kings Armie being compounded of many Nations, diuersly appointed, and not all accustomed to one manner of fight, was ordered according to the seuerall kindes, in such wise as each might be of most vse. The maine strength of his Foot consisted in sixteene thousand, armed all Macedonian-like, and called Phalangiers. These hee placed in the middest, and diuided into tenne Battalions: euery one hauing two and thirty in File, and fiftie in Front. Betweene euery Battalion were two Elephants, goodly beastes, and such as being adorned with Frontals, high Crests, Towers on their backes, and besides him that gouerned the Elephant, foure men in euery Tower, made a gallant and terrible shew. On the right hand of these were fifteene hundred Horse of the Gallo-Greeks: then, three thousand Barbd Horse: and a Regiment of almost a thousand Horse, called the *Agema*, that were all Medians, the choyce of the Countrie, and accompanied by some others. All which Troupes of Horse, diuided in their seuerall kindes, doe seeme to haue followed one another in depth, rather than to haue bin stretched out in Front. Adioyning vnto these, were sixteene Elephants together in one flocke. A little further to the right hand, was the kings owne Regiment; called the *Argyraspides*, or *Siluershields*, by a name borrowed from their furniture, but nothing like so valiant as those of the same name, that had serued vnder Great *Alexander*: then, twelue hundred Archers on horsebacke, three thousand light-armed Foot, two thousand and fiue hundred Archers of Mysia; with foure thousand Slingers and Archers of the Cirtæans, and Elymæans. On the left hand of the Phalangiers, were placed the like numbers of Gallo-Greeks, and Barbd Horse: as also two thousand horse that were sent from *Ariarathes*, with two thousand and seuen hundred of diuers Nations; and a Regiment of a thousand Horse more lightly armed, that were called *The Kings Troup*, being Syrians, Phrygians, and Lydians. In front of all these Horse were the Chariots armed with hookes or sythes, and the Dromedaries, whereon sate Arabians with long Rapiers, that would serue to reach from those high Camels. Beyond these were, as in the right wing, a rable of many Nations, Carians, Cicilians, Pamphylians, Pisidians, Cyrtæans, Elymæans, and many others, hauing also with them sixteen Elephants. *Antiochus* himselfe commanded in the right wing: *Seleucus* in the left: and three of his principall Captains commanded ouer the Phalangiers.

The first on-set was giuen by the Dromidaries, and armed Chariots: of which the one, being like to terrifie the Horse; the other, to breake the Squadrons of the Foote; *Eumenes* with a few light-armed Cretians, Archers, Darters, and Slingers, easily made frustrate the danger threatned by them both. For with shoutings, and noyses, and some wounds, they were driuen out of the field; and running backe vpon their owne men, did the same harme which they had intended to the Enemies. Wherefore the Roman Horse following this aduantage, charged vpon the left wing: whereas they found no resistance; some being out of order; others being without courage. It is shamefull to rehearse; and so strange, that it may hardly seeme credible: that the Phalangiers, with

with such varieties of *Auxiliaries*, made little or no resistance; but all of them fled, in a manner, as soone as they were charged. Onely the king, *Antiochus* himselfe, being in the left wing of his owne battaile; and seeing the Latines, that stood opposite vnto him, weakly flanked with Horse: gaue vpon them couragiously, and forced them to retire. but *M. Æmilius*, that had the Guard of the Roman Campe, issued forth with all his power to helpe his fellowes: and, what by perswasion, what by threats, made them renew the fight. Succour also came from the right wing; where the Romans were already victorious: whereof when *Antiochus* discouered the approach; Hee not onely turned his Horse about, but ranne away vpon the spur without further tarriance. The Campe was defended a little while: and with no great valour; though by a great multitude that were fled into it. *Antiochus* is said to haue lost in this battaile fiftie thousand Foot, and foure thousand Horse; besides those that were taken. Of the Romans, there were not slaine aboue three hundred Foot, and foure and twenty Horse: of *Eumenes* his followers fiue and twenty.

Antiochus fled to Sardes, and from thence to Apamea, the same night; hearing that *Seleucus* was gone thither before, He left the custodie of Sardes, and the Castle there, to one whom he thought faithfull. But the Townes-men and Souldiers were so dismayed with the greatnesse of the Querthrow; that one mans faith was worth nothing. All the Townes in those parts, without expecting summons, yeelded vp themselues by Embassadours: whom they sent to the Romans, whilest they were on the way. Neither were many daies spent, ere *Antiochus* his Embassadour was in the Campe: hauing none other errand, than to know what it would please the Romans to impose vpon the king his Master. *P. Scipio* was now come to his brother, who obtained leaue to make the answer, because that it should bee gentle. They required no more than they had lately done: which was, that he should quite abandon his Dominions on this side Taurus. For their charges in that Warre, they required fifteene thousand Talents: fiue hundred in hand; two thousand and fiue hundred, when the Senate and People of Rome should haue confirmed the peace; and the other twelue thousand, in twelue yeeres next ensuing, by euen portions. Likewise they demanded foure hundred Talents for *Eumenes*; and some store of Corne, that was due to him vpon a reckoning. Now besides twentie hostages which they required, very earnest they were to haue *Hannibal* the Carthaginian, and *Thoas* the Ætolian, with some others who had stirred vp the King to this war, deliuered into their hands. But any wise man might so easily haue perceiued, that it would be their purpose to make this one of their principall demands; as no great art was needfull to beguile their malice. The kings Embassadour had full commission, to refuse nothing that should be enioyned. Wherefore there was no more to doe, than to send immediately to Rome for the ratification of the Peace.

There were new Consuls chosen in the meane while at Rome, *M. Fulnius*, and *Cn. Manlius Volso*. The Ætolians desired peace, but could not obtaine it: because they would accept neither of the two Conditions to them before propounded. So it was decreed, That one of the Consuls should make warre vpon the Ætolians; the other, vpon *Antiochus* in Asia. Now though shortly there came newes that *Antiochus* was already vanquished in battaile, and had submitted himselfe vnto all that could be required at his hands: yet since the State of Asia was not like to bee so throughly settled by one Victory, but that many things might fall out worthy of the Romans care; *Cn. Manlius*, to whom Asia fell by lot, had not his Prouince changed.

Soone after this, came the Embassadours of King *Antiochus* to Rome, accompanied with the Rhodians and some others: yea, by king *Eumenes* in person; whose presence added a goodly lustre to the businesse in hand. Concerning the peace to bee made with king *Antiochus*, there was no disputation: it was generally approoued. All the trouble was, about the distribution of the purchase. King *Eumenes* reckoned vp his own deserts; and comparing himselfe with *Masanissa*, hoped that the Romans would be more bountifull to him than they had beene to the Numidian; since they had found him a King indeed, whereas *Masanissa* was onely such in title; and since both hee and his Father had alwayes beene their friends, euen in the very worst of the Roman fortune. Yet was there much adoe to make him tell what hee would haue: He still referring himselfe to their courtesie; and they desiring him to speake plaine. At the length hee craued they would bestow vpon him, as much of the Country by them taken from *Antiochus*, as they had

had no purpose to keepe in their owne hands. Neither thought he it needfull, that they should trouble themselues with the care of giuing liberty to many of the Greeke Townes, that were on Asia side. For since the most of those Townes had beene partakers with the king in his Warre; it was no reason that they should bee gainers by his ouerthrow. The Rhodians did dot like of this. They desired the Senate to be truely Patrons of the Grecian liberty; and to call to minde, that no small part of Greece it selfe had bin subiect vnto *Philip*, and serued him in his Warre: which was not alledged against him as a cause why they should not be made free, after that *Philip* was ouercome. But the maine point whereon they insisted, was this, That the Victory of the Romans against king *Antiochus* was so great, as easily might satisfie the desires of all their friends. The Senate was glad to heare of this; and very bountifully gaue away so much, that euery one had cause to be well pleased.

Such end had the Warre against king *Antiochus*: after which, *L.Cornelius Scipio*, returning home, had granted vnto him the honour of a Triumph: the pompe whereof exceeded in riches, not onely that of *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, but of any ten that Rome had beheld vntill that day. Now forasmuch as the surname of *The African* had beene giuen vnto *P.Scipio*, it was thought conuenient by some, to reward *L.Scipio* with the title of *The Asiatick*: which the fortune of his Victory had no lesse deserued; though the vertue, requisite to the purchase thereof, was no way correspondent.

§.IX.

The Ætolians, and the Gallo-Greeks, vanquished by the Roman Consuls Fuluius *and* Manlius. Manlius *hardly obtaines a Triumph: being charged (among other obiections) with attempting to haue passed the bounds appointed as fatall to the Romans by* Sibyl. *Of* Sibyls *Prophesies; the Bookes of* Hermes; *and that Inscription,* Simoni Deo Sancto. *The ingratitude of Rome to the two* Scipio's: *and that beginning and faction among the Roman Nobilitie.*

MArc. *Fulaius* and *Cn.Manlius* had the same charge diuided betweene them, which *L.Cornelius Scipio*, now styled *Asiaticus*, had lately vndergone. It was found more than one mans worke, to looke at once to Greece and to Asia. And for this reason was it apparant, that *L.Scipio* had granted so long a Truce to the Ætolians. But since, in this long *Interim* of Truce, that haughtie little Nation had not sought to humble it selfe to the *Roman Maiestie*, it was now to bee brought vnto more lowly termes than any other of the Greekes. The best was, that so great a storme fell not vnexpected vpon the Ætolians. They had foreseene the danger, when their Embassadours were vtterly denied peace at Rome: and they had prouided the last remedie; which was, to entreate the Rhodians and Athenians to become intercessours for them. Neyther were they so deiected, with any terrible apprehensions, that they could not well deuise, euen vpon helping themselues, by repurchase of Countries lost, where they spied aduantage.

Poore king *Aminander* liued in exile among them, whilest *Philip* of Macedon kept for him, possession of his Lands and Castles. But the Athamanians (besides that many of them bore a naturall affection to their owne Prince) hauing beene long accustomed to serue a Mountaine Lord, that conuersed with them after an homely manner; could not endure the proud and insolent manner of command, vsed by the Captaines of *Philip* his Garrisons. They sent therefore some few of them to their King, and offered their seruice toward his restitution. At the first there were onely foure of them; neither grew they, at length, to more than two and fiftie, which vndertooke the worke. Yet assurance, that all the rest would follow, made *Aminander* willing to trie his fortune. Hee was at the borders with a thousand Ætolians, vpon the day appointed: at what time his two and fiftie aduenturers hauing diuided themselues into foure parts, occupied, by the ready assistance of the multitude, foure of the chiefe Townes in the Countrie, to his vse. The fame of this good successe at first; with diuers letters running from place to place, whereby men were exhorted to doe their best in helping forward the Action, made the Lieutenants of *Philip* vnable to thinke vpon resistance. One of them held the Towne of Thebum a few dayes; giuing thereby some leisure vnto his King to pro-

prouide for the rescue. But when he had done his best, he was forced thence; and could onely tell *Philip*, whom he met on the way, that all was lost. *Philip* had brought from home sixe thousand men; of whom, when the greater part could not hold out, in such a running march, hee left all saue two thousand behinde him, and so came to Athæneum, a little Athamanian Castle, that still was his, as being on the frontier of Macedon. Thence he sent *Zeno*, who had kept Theium awhile, to take a place lying ouer Argithea, that was chiefe of the Countrie. *Zeno* did as he was appointed: yet neither hee, nor the king had the boldnes to descend vpon Argithea; for that they might perceiue the Athamanians, all along the hill sides, ready to come downe vpon them, when they should be busie. Wherefore nothing was thought more honourable than a safe retreat: especially when *Aminander* came in sight with his thousand Ætolians. The Macedonians were called back, from-wards Argithea, & presently withdrawn by their king towards his owne borders. But they were not suffered to depart in quiet at their pleasure. The Athamanians and Ætolians way-laid them, and pursued them so closely, that their retrait was in manner of a plaine flight, with great losse of men and armes, few of those escaping, that were left behinde, as to make a countenance of holding somewhat in the Countrey, vntill *Philip* his returne.

The Ætolians hauing found the businesse of Athamania so easie, made an attempt in their owne behalfe, vpon the Amphilochians and Aperantians. These had belonged vnto their Nation, & were lately taken by *Philip*; from whom they diligently reuolted and became Ætolian againe. The Dolopians lay next; that had beene euer belonging to the Macedonian, and so did still purpose to continue. These tooke Armes at first: but soone layed them away; seeing their neighbors ready to fight with them in the Ætolian quarrell, and seeing their owne king so hastily gone, as if he meant not to returne.

Of these victories the ioy was the lesse; for that newes came of *Antiochus* his last ouerthrow, and of *M.Fuluius* the new Consul his hasting with an armie into Greece. *Aminander* sent his excuses to Rome, praying the Senate, not to take it in despight, that hee had recouered his owne from *Philip* with such helpe as he could get. Neither seemes it that the Romans were much offended to heare of *Philip* his losses: for of this fault they neither were sharpe correctors, nor earnest reprouers. *Fuluius* went in hand with the businesse, about which he came, and layed siege to Ambracia, a goodly Citie, that had beene the chiefe seate of *Pyrrhus* his Kingdome. With this he began; for that it was of too great importance to be abandoned by the Ætolians: yet could not by them be reliued, vnlesse they would aduenture to fight vpon equal ground. To help the Ambracians, it was not in the Ætolians power: for they were, at the same time, vexed by the Illyrians at sea, and ready to be driuen from their new conquest, by *Perseus* the sonne of *Philip*, who inuaded the Countries of the Amphilochians and Dolopians. They were vnable to deale with so many at once; and therefore as earnestly sought peace with the Romans, as they stoutly made head against the rest. In the meane while the Athenian and Rhodian Embassadours came; who besought the Consul to grant them peace. It helped well that Ambracia made strong resistance, and would not bee terrified, by any violence of the Assaylants, or danger that might seeme to threaten. The Consull had no desire to spend halfe his time about one Citie, and so bee driuen to leaue vnto his successour the honour of finishing the Warre. Wherefore hee gladly hearkened vnto the Ætolians, and bade them seeke peace with faithfull intent, without thinking it ouerdeare, at a reasonable price; considering with how great a part of his Kingdome their friend *Antiochus* had made the same purchase. Hee also gaue leaue to *Aminander*, offering his seruice as a mediatour, to put himselfe into Ambracia, and trie what good his perswasions might doe with the Citizens. So, after many demaunds and excuses, the conclusion was such as was grieuous to the weaker, but not vnsufferable. The same Embassadours of the Athenians and Rhodians, accompanied those of the Aetolians to Rome, for procuring the confirmation of Peace. Their eloquence and credit was the more needfull in this intercession, for that *Philip* had made a very grieuous complaint about the losse of those Countries, which they had lately taken from him. Heereof the Senate could not but take notice; though it did not hinder the peace, which those good Mediatours of Rhodes and Athens did earnestly sollicite. The Aetolians were bound to vphold the Maiestie of the people of Rome, and to obserue diuers Articles, which made them the lesse free, and more obnoxious to the Romans, than any

any people of Greece; they hauing beene the first that called these their Masters into the Countrie. The ile of Cephalenia was taken from them by the Romans; who kept it for themselues (as not long since they had gotten Zacinthus from the Achæans, by stiffely pressing their owne right) that so they might haue possession along the coast of Greece, whilest they seemed to forbeare the Countrey. But concerning those places, whereto *Philip*, or others, might lay claime, there was set down an Order so perplexed, as would necessarily require to haue the Romans Iudges of their controuersies, when they should arise. And hereof good vse will bee shortly made: when want of employment elsewhere, shall cause a more Lordly Inquisition to be held, vpon the affaires of Macedon and Greece. 10

Cn. Manlius, the other Consull, had at the same time warre in Asia, with the Gallo-Greeks and others. His Armie was the same that had followed *L. Scipio*; of whose victorie, his acts were the consummation. He visited those Countries on the hither side of Taurus, that had scarce heard of the Romans; to whom they were abandoned by *Antiochus*. Among these were some petty Lords, or Tyrants, some free Cities, and some that were together at Warres, without regard of the great alteration that hapned in Asia. From euery of these hee got somewhat; and by their quarrells found occasion to visite those Prouinces, into which hee should else haue wanted an errand. Hee was euen loaden with booty, when, hauing fetcht a compasse about Asia, he came at length vpon the Gallo-Greeks. These had long domineered ouer the Countrie: though of late times, it was rather the fame and terror of their fore-passed acts, than any present vertue of theirs, which held them vp in reputation. Of the Romans they had lately such triall, when they did serue vnder king *Antiochus*, as made them to acknowledge themselues farre the worse men. Wherefore they thought it no small part of their safetie, that they dwelt vpon the Riuer Halys, in an In-land Countrie, where those enemies were not very like to search them out. But when such hopes failed; and when some Princes of their owne Nation; that had beene friends of *Eumenes*, exhorted the rest to yeeld: then there was no counsaile thought so good, as to forsake their houses and Countrey, and, with all that they could carrie or driue, to betake themselues vnto the high mountaines of Olympus and Margana. These mountaines were exceeding hard of ascent, though none should vndertake the custodie. Being therefore well manned and victualled for a long time; as also the naturall strength being helpt, by such fortification as promised greatest assurance: it was thought, that the Consul would either forbeare the attempt of forcing them, or easily bee repelled; and that finally, when hee had stayed there a while, winter, and much want, should force him to dislodge. Yet all this auailed not. For whereas the Gallo-Greekes had beene carelesse of furnishing themselues with casting weapons, as if stones would haue serued well enough for that purpose: the Romans, who came farre otherwise appointed, found greater aduantage in the difference of Armes, than impediment in disaduantage of ground. Archers and Slingers did easily preuaile against casters of stones; especially being such as were these Gollo-Greeks, neither exercised in that manner of fight, nor hauing prepared their stones before-hand, but catching vp what lay next, the too great, and the too little, oftner than those of a fit size. Finally, the Barbarians, wanting defensiue Armes, could not hold out against the Arrowes and weapons of the Roman light armature: but were driuen from a piece of ground, which they had vndertaken to make good, vp into their Campe on the top of the mountaine; and being forced out of their Campe, had none other way left, than to cast themselues headlong downe the steepe rockes. Few of their men did escape aliue: all their wiues, children, and goods became a prey vnto the Romans. In the very like manner, were the rest of that Nation ouercome soone after, at the other mountaine: onely more of them saued themselues by flight, as hauing fairer way at their backes. 20 30 40 50

These warres being ended: *Fuluius* and *Manlius* were appointed by the Senate, each of them to retaine as Proconsul, his Prouince for another yeere. *Fuluius*, in his second yeere, did little or nothing. *Manlius* gaue peace to those whom he had vanquished; as likewise to *Ariarathes* the Cappadocian, and some others, not by him vanquished, but submitting themselues for feare of the Roman armes. He drew from them all, what profit he could: and laid vpon them such conditions, as he thought expedient. He also did finish the league of peace with *Antiochus*; whereto hee swore, and receiued the Kings oath

oath by Embassadors, whom he sent for that purpose. Finally, hauing set in order the matters of Asia, he took his way toward the Hellespont, loaden with spoyle, as carrying with him (besides other treasures) all that the Gallo-Greeks had in so many yeers extorted, from the wealthy Prouinces that lay round about them. Neither did this Armie of *Manlius* returne home, rich in money alone, or cattell, or things of needfull vse, which the Roman souldier had beene wont to take as the onely good purchase; but furnished with sumptuous housholds-stuffe, and slaues of price, excellent Cookes, and Musicians for banquets, and in a word, with the seedes of that luxurie, which finally ouer-grew and choked the Roman vertue.

The Country of Thrace lay between Hellespont & the kingdome of Macedon, which way *Manlius* was to take his iourney homeward. *L. Scipio* had found no impediment among the Thracians: either for that he passed through them, without any such booty as might prouoke them; or perhaps rather, becaule *Philip* of Macedon had taken order, that the Barbarians should not stirre. But when *Manlius* came, along with a huge traine of baggage; the Thracians could not so well contain themselues. Neither was it thought, that *Philip* tooke it otherwise than very pleasantly, to haue this Roman Armie robbed, & well beaten on the way. He had cause to be angry, seeing how little himselfe was regarded, and what great rewards were giuen to *Eumenes*. For he vnderstood, and afterwards gaue the Romans to vnderstand, that *Eumenes* could not haue abidden in his owne kingdome, if the people of Rome had not made warre in Asia: whereas contrariwise, *Antiochus* had offered vnto himselfe three thousand talents, and fiftie ships of warre, to take part with him and the Ætolians, promising moreouer to restore vnto him all the Greeke Cities, that had been taken from him by the Romans. Such being the difference between him and *Eumenes*, when the warre began: he thought it no euen dealing of the Romans, after their victory, to giue away not only the halfe of Asia, but Chersonnesus & Lysimachia in Europe, to *Eumenes*; whereas vpon himselfe they bestowed not any one Towne. It agreed not indeed with his Nobilitie to goe to Rome and begge Prouinces in the Senate, as *Eumenes* and the Rhodians had lately done. He had entertained louingly the two *Scipio's*, which he thought the most honourable men in Rome; and was grown into neer acquaintance with *Publius*, holding correspondence with him by letters, whereby hee made himselfe acquainted with the warres in Spaine and Africke. This perhaps he deemed sufficient, to breed in the Romans a due respect of him. But *Eumenes* tooke a surer way. For the *Scipio's* had not a disposing of that which they wonne from *Antiochus*: as neitheir indeed had *Manlius*, nor the ten Delegates assisting him; but the Senate of Rome, by which those Delegates were chosen, and instructed how to proceed. When *Philip* therfore saw these vpstart kings of Pergamus, whom he accounted as base companions, aduanced so highly, and made greater than himselfe; yea himselfe vnregarded, contemned, and exposed to many wrongs: then found he great cause to wish, that he had not so hastily declared himselfe against *Antiochus*, or rather that he had ioyned with *Antiochus* and the Ætolians, by whom he might haue beene freed from his insolent Masters. But what great argument of such discontentedness the Macedonian had, we shall very shortly be vrged to discourse more at large. At the present it was beleeued, that the Thracians were by him set on, to assaile the Romans passing through their Country. They knew all aduantages; and they fell, vnexpected, vpon the carriages, that were bestowed in the midst of the Armie; whereof part had already passed a dangerous wood, through which the baggage followed; part was not yet so farre aduanced. There was enough to get, and enough to leaue behind: though both the getting and the sauing, did cost many liues, as well of the Barbarians, as of the Romans. They fought vntill it grew to night: & then the Thracians withdrew themselues; not without as much of the bootie, as was to their full content. And of such trouble there was more, though lesse dangerous, before the Armie could get out of Thrace into Macedon. Through the kingdome they had a faire march into Epirus; and so to Apollonia, which was their handle of Greece. 10 20 30 40 50

To *Manlius*, and to *Fuluius*, when each of them returned to the Citie, was granted the honour of Triumph. Yet not without contradiction: especially to *Manlius*, whom some of the ten Delegates, appointed to assist him, did very bitterly taxe, as an vnworthy commander. Touching the rest of their accusation; it sufficeth that hee made good answer, and was approoued by the chiefe of the Senate. One clause is worthy of more particular consideration. Reprehending his desire to haue hindred the peace with *Antiochus*; they

Liu.l.38. they laid, *That with much adoe he was kept from leading his Armie ouer* Taurus, *and aduenturing vpon the calamitie threatned by* Sibyls *verses, vnto those that should passe the fatall bounds*. What calamitie or ouerthrow this was, wherewith *Sibyls* prophecie threatned the Roman Captaine or Armie, that should passe ouer *Taurus*, I doe not conceiue. *Pompey* was the first, that marched with an Armie beyond those limits: though the victories of *Lucullus* had opened vnto him the way, and had before-hand won, in a sort, the Countries on the other side of the Mount; which *Lucullus* gaue to one of *Antiochus* his race, though *Pompey* occupied them for the Romans. But we finde not, that either *Lucullus* or *Pompey* suffered any losse, in presuming to neglect the bounds appointed by *Sibyl*. Indeed the accomplishment of this prophecie, fell out neere about one time, with the re- 10 stitution of *Ptolomie* king of Egypt, that was forbidden vnto the Romans by the same *Sibyl*. It may therefore seeme to haue had reference vnto the same things, that were denounced, as like to happen vpon the reduction of the Egyptian King. Whether the O-

Tull. de Diuin. lib.2. racles of *Sibyl* had in them any truth, and were not, as *Tullie* noteth, *sowed at randome in the large field of Time*, there to take root, and get credit by euent; I will not here dispute. But I hold this more probable, than that the restitution of *Ptolomie* to his kingdome by *Gabinius* the Roman, should haue any way betokened the comming of our Sauiour: as some both ancient and moderne Christian Writers haue been well pleased to interpret *Sibyl* in that prophecie. Of the Sibylline prædictions, I haue sometimes thought reuerently: though not knowing what they were (as I thinke few men know) yet following 20 the common beleefe and good authority. But obseruation of the shamefull Idolatry, that vpon all occasions was aduanced in Rome by the books of *Sibyl*, had well preuailed vpon my credulitie, and made me suspect, though not the faith and pious meaning, yet the iudgement of *Eusebius*: when that learned and excellent work of Master *Casaubon* vpon

Isaac. Casaub. Exercita. 1. ad Annal. Bar. n. 10. & 11. the Annales of Cardinall *Baronius*, did altogether free me from mine errour; making it apparant, That not onely those prophecies of *Sibyl*, wherin Christ so plainly was shewed, but euen the bookes of *Hermes*, which haue borne such reputation, were no better than counterfeited pieces, and at first entertained (whosoeuer deuised them) by the vndiscreet zeale of such, as delighted in seeing the Christian Religion strengthened with forrein proofs. And in the same ranke, I thinke, we ought to place that notable Historie, 30 reported by *Eusebius* from no meane Authors, Of the honour which was done to

Euseb. Eccl. hist. c. 13. *Simon Magus* in Rome; namely, of an Altar to him erected, with an inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, that is, *To Simon the holy god*. For what can bee more strange, than that a thing so memorable, and so publike, should haue beene quite omitted by *Tacitus*, by *Suetonius*, by *Dion*, and by all which wrote of those times? Phylosophers and Poets would not haue suffered the matter to escape in silence, had it beene true; neither can it be thought that *Seneca*, who then liued and flourished, would haue abstained from speaking any word of an Argument so famous. Wherefore I am perswaded, that this inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, was, by some bad *Criticisme*, taken amisse in place of *Semoni Sango*: a title foure hundred yeeres older than the time of *Si-* 40 *mon Magus*. For the goods of one *Vitruuius* a Rebell, had many ages before beene consecrated *Semoni Sango*, that is, *To the Spirit or Demi-god Sangus*, in whose Chappell they were bestowed. So as either by the ill shape of the old Roman letters, or by some spoile that Time had wrought vpon them; it might easily come to passe, that the words should be misse-read, *Simoni Sancto*, and that some Christian who had heard of *Simon Magus*, but not of *Sangus*, therupon should frame the coniecture, which now passeth for a true Historie. Such coniectures, being entertained without examination, find credit by Tradition, whereby also, many times, their fashion is amended, and made more Historicall, than was conceiued by the Authour. But it cannot bee safe, to let our faith (which 50 ought to stand firme vpon a sure foundation) leane ouer-hardly on a well painted, yet rotten post.

Now concerning the Triumph of *Cn. Manlius*, it may be numbred among a few of the richest, which euer the Citie beheld. Out of that which he brought into the Treasurie, was made the last paiment of those monies which the common-wealth had borrowed from priuate men, in the second *Punick warre*. So long was it, that Rome had still some feeling of *Hannibal*: which being past, there was remaining neither care, nor memorie, of any danger. This Triumph of *Manlius* was deferred by him, euen so long as hee well could: for that he thought it not safe, to make his entrance into the Citie, vntill the

the heat of an Inquisition, than raging therein, should be allayed. The two *Scipio's* were called one after other, into iudgement, by two Tribunes of the people; men, onely by this accusation, knowne to Posteritie. *P. Scipio* the African, with whom they beganne, could not endure that such vnworthy men should question him, of purloyning from the Common Treasury, or of being hired with bribes by *Antiochus*, to make an ill bargaine for his Countrey. When therefore his day of answer came; hee appeared before the Tribunes, not humbly as one accused, but followed by a great traine of his friends and Clients, with which he passed through the middest of the Assembly, and offered himselfe to speake. Hauing audience, he told the people, That vpon the same day of the 10 yeere hee had fought a great battaile with *Hannibal*, & finished the *Punick Warre* by a signall victory. In memory whereof, he thought it no fit season to brabble at the Law; but intended to visit the *Capitoll*, and there giue thankes to *Iupiter*, and the rest of the gods, by whose grace, both on that day and at other times, he had well & happily discharged the most weighty businesse of the Common-weale. And hereto he inuited with him all the Citizens: requesting them, *That if euer since the seuenteenth yeere of his life, vntill he now grew old, the honourable places by them conferred vpon him, had preuented the capacitie of his age, and yet his deserts had exceeded the greatnesse of those honourable places: then would they pray, that the Princes and great ones of their Citie might still be like to him.* These words were heard with great approbation: so as all the people, euen the Officers of the 20 court, followed *Scipio*, leauing the Tribunes alone, with none about them, excepting their own slaues & a Crier, by whom ridiculously they cited him to iudgement, vntill for very shame, as not knowing what else to doe, they granted him, vnrequested, a further day. After this, when the African perceiued that the Tribunes would not let fal their suit, but enforce him to submit himselfe to a disgracefull triall: he willingly relinquished the Citie, & his vnthankefull Romans, that could suffer him to vndergoe so much indignitie. The rest of his time he spent at Liternum: quietly with a few of his inward friends, and without any desire of seeing Rome again. How many yeers he liued, or whether he liued one whole yeere, in this voluntary banishment; it is vncertaine. The report of his dying in the same yeere, with *Hannibal* and *Philopœmen*, as also of his priuate behauiour at Liternum, render it probable, that he out-liued the Tribuneship of his accusers; who 30 meant to haue drawn him back to his answer, if one of their Colleagues (as one of them had power to hinder all the rest from proceeding) had not caused them to desist. Howsoeuer it was; the same Tribunes went more sharply to work with *L. Scipio the Asiatique*. They propounded a Decree vnto the people, touching mony receiued of *Antiochus*, and not brought into the common Treasury; that the Senate should giue charge vnto one of the Prætors, to inquire, and iudicially determine thereof. In fauour of this Decree, an Oration was made by *Cato*, the supposed author of these contentions, and instigator of the Tribunes. He was a man of great, but not perfect, vertue; temperate, valiant, and of singular industrie; frugall also, both of the publike, and of his owne; so as in this kinde he was euen faultie: for though he would not be corrupted with bribes, yet was he vn- 40 mercifull and vnconscionable, in seeking to increase his owne wealth, by such means as the Law did warrant. Ambition was his vice; which being poysoned with enuie, troubled both himselfe and the whole Citie, whilest he liued. His meane birth caused him to hate the Nobilitie, especially those that were in chiefe estimation. Neither did he spare to bite at such as were of his own ranke, men raised by desert, if their aduancement were like to hinder his: but lately before this, when *Glabrio*, whose Lieutenant he had beene at Thermopylæ, was his Competitor for the Censorship, and likely to carry it, he tooke an Oath against him, which was counted as no better than malicious periurie, That he had not brought into the common Treasury some vessels of gold & siluer, gotten in the Campe of *Antiochus*. Now the hatred which he bare vnto the *Scipio's*, grew partly, (be- 50 sides his generall spight at the Nobility) from his owne first rising, wherin he was countenanced by *Fabius Maximus*, who brooked not the African; partly from some checke, that was giuen vnto himself, in the African voyage, by *P. Scipio*, whose Treasurer he then was: For when *Cato* did vtter his dislike of the Consuls bad husbandry (iudging Magnificence to be no better) in some peremptory manner; *Scipio* plainly told him, That hee had no need of such double diligence in his Treasurer. Wherefore, either not caring what lyes he published, or for want of iudgment, thinking vnworthily of the vertue that was farre aboue him, *Cato* filled Rome with vntrue reports against his Generall; whose noble

noble deedes confuted sufficiently the author of such false tales. And thus began the hatred: which being not regarded nor thought vpon by the *Scipio's*, whilest it was nourished by their enemy, brake out vpon aduantage, especially against *L. Scipio*: his brother being dead, or out of the way. A seuere inquiry and judgement being appointed of purpose against *Scipio*, matters were so carried, that he was seene condemned in a sum of money, far exceeding his ability to pay. For *non payment*, his body should haue been laid vp in prison: but from this rigour of the Law he was freed by *Tiberius Gracchus*, the same Tribune who had caused the suite against the African to be let fall. In his estate, which was confiscated to the vse of the Citie, when there neither appeared any signe of his hauing beene beholding to *Antiochus*, nor was found so much as what he had beene condemned to pay; then fell his accusers, and all whose hands had been against him, into the indignation of *the People*. But for this was *L. Scipio* no whit the better. His kinred, friends, and Clients made such a collection for him, as would haue set him in better estate than before, if he had accepted it. Hee tooke no more than such of his owne goods, as were of necessary vse, being redeemed for him by his neerest friends.

And thus began the ciuill warre of the *Tongue*, in the Roman pleadings: which had either not beene, or not beene much regardable, vntill now, since the Punicke Warre. Securitie of danger from abroad; and some want of sufficient employment, were especiall helpes to the kindling of this fire; which first caught hold vpon that great Worthy, to whose vertue Rome was indebted, for changing into so great security her extreme danger. But these factious contentions did no long while contain themselues within heat of words, and cunning practice. For when the Art of leading the multitude, in such quarrelsome businesse, grew to perfection, they that found themselues ouer-matched by their aduersaries at this kinde of weapon, began to make opposition, first, with clubs & stones, afterward with swords; and finally, proceeded from frayes & murders in the streets, vnto battaile in the open field. *Cornelia*, daughter of *Scipio* the African, a Lady of rare vertue, that in honour of her two sonnes was more commonly named *Mother of the Gracchi*, saw those her two sons, whilest they were but yong, slaughtered in Rome, together with some of their friends, by those whom they opposed, and their death not reuenged by order of Law, but rather approued by the Senate. At these times the Senatours began to take vpon them authoritie, more than was to them belonging. They conferred vpon the Consuls all the whole power of the Citie, vnder this forme, *Let the Consuls prouide, that the Commonweale receiue no detriment*. By this Decree of theirs, and by their proclaiming any Citizen *enemy to the State*, they thought to haue wonne a great aduantage ouer the multitude. But after the death of *C. Gracchus*, and of *Saturninus* a popular man, whom by such authority they did put out of the way; it was not long ere *Marius*, a famous Captaine of theirs, was so condemned, who by force of armes returned into the Citie, and murdered all the principall Senators: whereupon began the ciuill warres; which giuing vnto *Sylla*, who preuailed therin, means to make himselfe absolute Lord of Rome, taught *Cæsar*, a man of higher spirit, to affect and obtaine the like soueraign power, when by the like Decree of the Senate he was prouoked. It is true, that neuer any Consul had finally cause to reioyce, of his hauing put in execution such authority to him committed by the Senate. But as the furie of the multitude, in passing their Lawes, by hurling of stones, and other violence, made the Citie stand in need of a Soueraigne Lord: so the vehemency of the Senate, in condemning as enemies those that would not submit themselues, when they were ouer-topped by voyces in the House, did compell *Cæsar*, or giue him at least pretence, to right himselfe by armes: wherewith preuailing against his aduersaries, hee tooke such order, that neither Senate nor people, should thenceforth be able to doe him wrong. So by intestine discord, the Romans consuming all or most of their principal citizens, lost their owne freedome, and became subiects vnto the arbitrary gouernment of one: suffering this change in three generations, after this beginning of their insolent rule, wherein they tooke vpon them as the highest Lords on earth, to doe euen what they listed. Yet had not Rome indeed attained hitherto vnto compleat greatnesse, nor beleeued of her selfe as if shee had, whilest a king sate crowned on the Throne of *Alexander*, continuing and vpholding the reputation of a former Empire. Wherefore this consummation of her honour was thought vpon betimes. How it was effected, the sequele will discouer.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The second Macedonian Warre.

§. I.

The Condition wherein those Princes and Estates remained, which were associates of the Romans, when the warre with Antiochus *was finished. The Romans quarrell with* Philip. *They deale insolently with the Achæans. The Macedonian, being vnreadie for warre, obtaines peace at Rome, by his sonne* Demetrius; *of whom thencefoorth hee becomes ielous.*

AFter the ouerthrow of *Antiochus*, although *Philip* of Macedon, *Eumenes* King of Pergamus, the Commonweale of the Achæans, and all other the States of Greece, were gouerned by the same Lawes and Magistrates, as they formerly had beene, before the arriuall of the Romans in those parts: yet in very truth (the publike declaration excepted) they were none other than absolute vassals to the People of Rome. For of those fiue Prerogatiues belonging to a Monarch, or vnto Soueraigne power, in whomsoeuer it rest; namely, *To make Lawes, To create Magistrates, To arbitrate Peace and Warre, To beate Monie*, and *to reserue* (as the French call it) *le dernier resort*, or *the last Appeales*, the Romans had assumed foure; and the greatest of them so absolutely, that is, *The Appeale*, or last resort, as euery petty iniurie offered to each other by the forenamed Kings or States, was heard and determined either by the Roman Embassadors, or Commissioners, in those places whence the Complaint came, or otherwise by the Senators themselues within Rome; from whose arbitrement, or direction, if either King, or Common-weales, declined, He or they were beaten, and inforced to obedience; or had their Estates and Regalities vtterly dissolued. Neuertheleſſe it is true, that they had their owne Lawes, and Offices of their owne ordaining: yet so, as neither their Lawes were of force, when the Romans interposed their will to the contrary, neither was their election of Magistrates so free, as that they had not therein especiall regard vnto the good pleasure of these their Masters.

And to such degree of seruitude the seuerall Estates of Greece did bow very gently: either as being thankefull for their deliuerance from a yoke more sensibly grieuous; or, as being skilfull in the Art of flattery, and therin taking delight, since therin consisted their chiefe hope of thriuing; or, as being more fearful of displeasing the strongest, than mindfull of their owne honour. But *Eumenes* liuing further off, and being most obsequious vnto the Romans, was not, of long time, questioned about any of his doings: his conformitie vnto them in matter of warre & peace, together with the diuersion of their thoughts another way, giuing him leaue to vse his owne euen as he listed, vntill they should otherwise dispose of him. Neither was it a little auaileable to him, that his kingdome bordered vpon the Nations, by them not throughly subdued. For vpon the same reason (as well as vpon his owne high deserts) were they very loving vnto *Masanissa*, and to his House, vntill Carthage was ruined, and their Dominion setled in Africke: as likewise afterwards to the kings of Mauritania, Cappadocia, and others: holding people in subiection vnto themselues, by the Ministery of kings; especially of such Kings, as were vsefull and obsequious vnto them.

Now the Macedonian was of a more noble temper; & shewed himselfe not forgetfull of his owne former greatnesse, the honour of his race, or the high reputation of his kingdome. But such magnanimity was none otherwise construed by the Romans, than as want of due reuerence to their estate, & a valuation of himselfe against them: which, in the pride of their fortune, they could not indure. Wherfore notwithstanding that he had lately giuen passage to their Armies through his country, prepared the wayes for them, and furnished them both with victuals, and other things needfull, to transport them ouer the Hellespont into Asia against *Antiochus*: yet vpon the complaint of *Eumenes*, and the States of Thessalie and Thrace, he was commanded to abandon the Cities of Ænus and Maronea,

Maronea, with all Pieces and Places demanded by any of his neighbours; whereof many of them he had lately conquered, by direction, or licence, euen from the Romans themselues.

These townes of Ænus and Maronea had beene part of *Lysimachus* his Kingdome: who from Thrace Northwards, and to the Northwest, extended his dominion very far. He is thought to haue made himselfe Lord of Transyluania: in which Prouince it is said, * That innumerable Medals of gold haue beene found, in the age of our grandfathers, each of them weighing two or three crownes, and stamped with his Image on the one side, on the other side with *Victorie*. Of all these Lordships, the possession, or rather the title, for he liued not to settle his estate in Europe, fel to *Seleucus Nicator* by right of war, wherein he vanquished and slew *Lysimachus*: as also, by the like right, *Ptolomie Ceraunus* thought them his owne, when he had murdered *Seleucus*. But the inundation of the Gaules, which the kingdome of Macedon could not sustaine, did shortly and easily wash away from that crowne, together with the more part of Thrace, all those heapes of land newly thereto annexed. Somewhat of this was afterwards regained by *Antigonus* the sonne of *Demetrius*, and his successors: though not much; for they were otherwise busied. The furie of the Gaules being ouer-past, those Countries which lately had beene oppressed by them, recouered their libertie; and not onely held it, but learned, some of them, especially the Dardanians and wilde Thracians, to finde their aduantages, and make vse of them, euen vpon Macedon. Against the mischiefs commonly done by these, king *Philip* did prouide the most conuenient remedies: by shutting vp the wayes, whereby the Dardanians might enter into his kingdome; and by occupying Lysimachia, with some other townes in Thrace, which he fortified, as Bulwarkes of his owne Countrey, against the Barbarians. Now, although it behooued him thus to doe, for the defence of his owne estate: yet forasmuch as these Townes were, in a manner, at absolute libertie, his possession of them was thought to partake more of violence than of iustice. And in this respect he was formerly accused by the Ætolians, of wrongfull vsurpation and oppression, in his hauing occupied Lysimachia. Hereunto hee made a good answer, That his Garrison did only saue it from the Thracians: who, as soone as he thence withdrew his men, did seize vpon the Towne, and ruine it. The like perhaps he might haue said, touching Ænus and Maronea; That they were places vnable to defend themselues, and Gates, by which the Barbarians might haue entrance into his kingdom. But this Plea had not auailed him, in the disputation about Lysimachia: & in the present question, the Romans were not without their owne title; since *Antiochus* had gotten all the Country thereabout, whilest *Philip* was busied in his former warre: and since they, by their victory had gotten vnto themselues all the title, which *Antiochus* thereto could pretend. Wherefore he onely submitted his right vnto the good pleasure of the Senate: referring it vnto their disposition, Whether Ænus and Maronea should be set at libertie: whether left in his hand, or whether bestowed vpon *Eumenes*; who begged them, as an appendix to Lysimachia & Chersonesus, that were already his by their gift. What they would determine, he might easily perceiue, by the demeanor of their Embassadors towards him: who sitting as Iudges between him and all that made complaint vpon him, gaue sentence against him in euery controuersie. Neuertheless, he sent Embassadors to Rome, there to maintaine his right vnto these Townes; wherein he thought, that equitie (if it might preuaile) was wholly on his side. For he had holpen their Consuls in the warre against *Antiochus* and the Ætolians: wherein whatsoeuer hee had gotten for himselfe, was now taken from him by their Embassadours: and would they now deprue him of those two Townes, lying so fitly for the guard of his kingdome, which he had gotten to himselfe out of the ruines of *Antiochus*, like as out of his owne ruines *Antiochus* had gotten in those quarters a great deale more? By such allegations either he was likely to preuaile, or at least wise to gaine time, wherein he might bethinke himselfe what he had to doe. It was not longere he had word from Rome, That the Senate were no more equall to him, than had beene their Embassadors. Wherefore, considering how insolently the Maronites had behaued themselues, in pleading against him for their liberty, hee tooke counsell of his owne passions; and (as by nature he was very cruell) gaue order to *Onomastus*, that was Warden of the Sea-coasts, to handle these Maronites in such sort, as they might haue little ioy of the libertie by them so earnestly desired. *Onomastus* employed *Cassander*, one of the kings men dwelling in Maronea, and willed him to let in the Thracians

* *Hist. of Hungarie by Mart. Fumet. lib. 5.*

cians by night, that they might sacke the Towne, and vse all cruelties of warre. This was done: but so il taken by the Roman Embassadors, who had better notice, than could haue beene feared, of these proceedings; that the King was by them directly charged with the crime, and called more strictly, than became his Maiestie, to an accompt. He would haue remooued the blame from himselfe, and layed it euen vpon the Maronites; affirming, that they, in heat of their Factions, being some inclinable to him, other some to *Eumenes*, had fallen into such outrage, that they had cut one anothers throates. And hereof he willed the Embassadours to enquire; among the Maronites themselues: as well knowing, that they who suruiued, were either his owne friends; or so terrified and amazed by the late execution of his vengeance among them, that they durst not vtter an offensiue word. But he found the Romans more seuere, and more throughly informed in the businesse, than to rest contented with such an answer. He was plainely told, That if he would discharge himselfe of the crime obiected; he must send *Onomastus* and *Cassander* to Rome, there to be examined as the Senate should thinke fit. This did not a little trouble him. Yet he collected his spirits, and said, that *Cassander* should be at their disposition: but concerning *Onomastus*, who had not beene at Maronea, nor neere to it, he requested them not to presse him; since it stood not with his honour, so lightly to giue away his friends. As for *Cassander*, because hee should tell no tales; hee tooke order to haue him poysoned by the way. By this wee see, that the doctrine, which *Machiauel* taught vnto *Cesar Borgia*, to employ men in mischieuous actions, and afterwards to destroy them when they haue performed the mischiefe; was not of his owne inuention. All ages haue giuen vs examples of this goodly policie, the later hauing beene apt schollers in this lesson to the more ancient: as the reigne of *Henry* the eighth here in England, can beare good witnesse; and therein especially the Lord *Cromwell*, who perished by the same vniust Law that himselfe had deuised, for the taking away of another mans life.

Such actions of *Philip* made an vnpleasant noise at Rome, & were like to haue brought vpon him the warre which he feared, before hee was ready to entertaine it. Wherefore he employed his younger son *Demetrius* as Embassadour vnto the Senate: giuing him instructions, how to make answer to all complaints, and withall to deliuer his owne grieuances, in such wise that if ought were amisse, yet might it appeare that hee had beene strongly vrged to take such courses. The summe of his Embassage was, to pacifie the Romans, and make all euen for the present. *Demetrius* himselfe was knowne to be very acceptable vnto the Senate; as hauing beene well approued by them, when he was hostage in Rome: and therefore seemed the more likely, to preuaile somewhat; were it onely in regard that would be borne vnto his person.

Whilest this businesse with the Macedonian hung in suspense, and whilest hee, by his readinesse to make submission, seemed likely to diuert from himselfe some other way the Roman armes: the same Embassadours, that had beene Iudges betweene him and his neighbours, made their progresse through the rest of Greece; and tooke notice of the controuersies, which they found betweene some Estates in the Countrey. The greatest cause that was heard before them, was the complaint of the banished Lacedæmonians against the Achæans. It was obiected vnto the Achæans, That they had committed a grieuous slaughter vpon many Citizens of Lacedæmon: That vnto this cruelty they had added a greater, in throwing downe the walls of the Citie: as also further, in changing the Lawes, and abrogating the famous Institutions of *Lycurgus*. Hereto *Lycortas*, then Prætor of the Achæans, made answer, That these banished Lacedæmonians, who now tooke vpon them to accuse the Nation that had once protected them; were notoriously known to be the men, who had themselues committed that murder, whereof shamelesly they laid the blame vpon others: the Achæans hauing onely called those vnto iudgement, they were supposed to bee chiefe authours of a Rebellion against both them and the Romans; and these plaintifes hauing slaine them, vpon priuate, though iust hatred, as they were comming to make answer for themselues. Concerning their throwing downe the walls of Lacedæmon, he said it was most agreeable to *Lycurgus* his ordinance: who, hauing perswaded his Citizens to defend their Towne and libertie by their proper vertue, did inhibite vnto them all kindes of fortifications: as the Retraits and Nests either of Cowards, or (whereof Lacedæmon had wofull experience) of Tyrants and Vsurpers. Further he shewed, how the same Tyrants that had built these walls

and hemmed in the Spartans, had alſo quite aboliſhed *Lycurgus* his ordinances; and gouerned the Citie by their owne lawleſſe will. As for the Achæans; they communicated their owne Lawes, which they held for the beſt, or elſe would ſoone change them and take better, vnto the Lacedæmonians; whom they found without Lawes, or any tolerable forme of policie. For concluſion, *Lycortas* plainely tolde *App. Claudius* the chiefe of the Embaſſadours, That hee and his Countrimen held it ſtrange, being friends and faithfull Allies of the Romans, to ſee themſelues thus conſtrained, to anſwer and giue account of their actions, as vaſſals and ſlaues to the *People of Rome*. For if they were indeed at libertie: why might not the Achæans as well require to be ſatisfied about that which the Romans had done at Capua, as the Romans did buſie themſelues, to take account how things went at Lacedæmon? For if the Romans would ſtand vpon their greatneſſe; and intimate, as they began, that the liberty of their friends was nothing worth, longer than ſhould pleaſe themſelues to ratifie it: then muſt the Achæans haue recourſe vnto thoſe Agreements, that were confirmed by oath, & which without periurie could not be violated; as reuerencing, and indeed fearing the Romans, but much more, the immortall gods. To this bold anſwer of *Lycortas*, *Appius* found little to reply. Yet taking ſtate vpon him; he pronounced more like a Maſter than a Iudge, That if the Achæans would not be ruled by faire meanes, and earne thankes whileſt they might; they ſhould be compelled with a miſchiefe, to doe what was required at their hands, whether they would or no. This altercation was in the Parliament of the Achæans, which groned to heare the Lordly words of *Appius*. Yet feare preuailed aboue Indignation: and it was permitted vnto the Romanes to doe as they liſted. Hereupon the Embaſſadours reſtored ſome baniſhed and condemned men: but the Romane Senate, very ſoone after, did make voide all iudgements of death or baniſhment, that had beene laid by the Achæans vpon any Citizen of Lacedæmon; as likewiſe they made it a matter of diſputation, whether or no the Citie and Territory of Lacedæmon, ſhould be ſuffered to continue a member of the Achæan Cõmon-wealth; or taken from them, and made as it had beene an Eſtate by it ſelfe. By bringing ſuch a matter into queſtion, the Romans well declared, That they held it to depend vpon their owne will, how much or how little any of their confederates ſhould be ſuffered to enioy: though by contributing Sparta to the Councell of Achaia, they diſcouered no leſſe, as to them ſeemed, the loue which they bare vnto the Achaians, than the power which they had ouer them.

Into ſuch ſlauery had the Greeks, & all kings and Common-weales whatſoeuer, bordering vpon any part of the Mediterran Seas, reduced themſelues; by calling in the Romans to their ſuccour. They wanted not the good counſaile & perſwaſion of many wiſe and temperate men among them; They had alſo the examples of the Italians, Spaniards, Gauls and Africans, all ſubdued by the Romans; and, by ſeeking Patronage, made meere vaſſals; to inſtruct them, what in the like caſe they ſhould expect: yet could not the true reaſons of Eſtate and Policie ſo preuaile with them, but their priuate paſſions, & neighbouring hatred, which hath euermore bought reuenge at the price of ſelf-ruine, brought them from the honour which they enioyed, of being free Princes and Cities, into moſt baſe and fearefull ſeruilitie.

All this made well for *Philip* of Macedon: who though he ſaw the Greeks very farre from daring to ſtirre againſt thoſe, by whom both hee and they were kept in awe; yet was he not without hope, that (few of them excepted, whom the Romans by freeing from his ſubiection had made his implacable enemies) in heartie affection all the Countrey would be his, whenſoeuer he ſhould take armes, as ſhortly hee was like to doe. Young *Demetrius*, comming home from Rome, brought with him the deſired ratification of peace; though qualified with much indignitie ſoone following. Hee had beene louingly vſed at Rome, and heard with great fauour in the Senate. There, being confounded with the multitude of obiections, whereto his youth, vnskilful in the Art of wrangling, could not readily make anſwer: it was permitted vnto him, to reade ſuch briefe notes as he had receiued from his Father, and out of thoſe the Senate were contented to gather ſatisfaction; more for *Demetrius* his owne ſake, as they then ſaid and wrote into Macedon, than for any goodneſſe in the defence. Such pride of theirs, in remitting his faults at the intreatie of his ſonne, together with ſome inſolence of his ſonne, growing (as appeared) from this fauour of the Romans; did increaſe in *Philip* his

his hatred vnto Rome, and breed in him a iealoſie of his too forward ſonne. To ſet him forward in theſe paſſions, there came daily new Embaſſadours from Rome, ſome bringing one commandement, ſome another; and ſome, requiring him to fulfill thoſe things, which had beene impoſed vpon him by their fore-goers. Neither were there wanting that obſerued his countenance: and when hee had fulfilled all that was required at his hands; yet laid it to his charge that he had done things vnwillingly, and would be obedient, no longer than hee needes muſt. With theſe Embaſſadours young *Demetrius* was conuerſant: rather perhaps out of ſimplicitie, and for that they made much of him, than for any ambitious reſpect; yet a great deale more than was pleaſing to his father. So the rumour grew current through all Mãcedon, That *Perſeus*, the elder ſon of the king, ſhould not ſucceed vnto his father; but that the Diademe ſhould be conferred vpon *Demetrius*, if not by ſome other pretence, yet by meere fauour of the Romans. This offended not onely *Perſeus*, but *Philip* himſelfe: who ſuſpected his younger ſonne, as more Roman than his owne; and accordingly miſconſtrued all his doings. But ere we proceed vnto the bitter fruits of this iealoſie; it will not be amiſſe, to ſpeake of ſome memorable accidents that were in the meane time.

§ II.

The death of Philopœmen, Hannibal, *and* Scipio. *That the Militarie profeſſion is of all other the moſt vnhappie: notwithſtanding ſome examples, which may ſeeme to proue the contrary.*

THE Romans, wanting other matter of quarrell in the Continent of Greece, had of late beene ſo peremptorie with the Achæans; that they ſeemed not vnlikely to take part againſt them, in any controuerſie that ſhould bee moued. Hereupon the Meſſenians, who againſt their will were annexed vnto the Achæan Commonwealth, hauing long beene of a contrary Faction thereto; grew bold to withdraw themſelues from that Societie, with purpoſe to ſet vp againe an Eſtate of their owne, ſeuered from communion with any other. This was the deuice of ſome that were powerfull in their Citie: who finding the multitude onely inclinable to their purpoſe, and not ouer-ſtrongly affected in the buſineſſe; were carefull to ſeeke occaſion of reducing things to ſuch paſſe, that all their Citizens might bee entangled in a neceſſitie of ſtanding out, and of not returning to the Achæan League. And hereupon they began to doe ſome acts of hoſtilitie; whereby it was probable that blood ſhould bee drawne, and either ſide ſo farre exaſperated, that little hope of agreement would bee left. Vpon the fame of their commotion and proceedings; *Philopœmen*, then Prætor of the Achæans, leuied ſuch forces as hee could in haſte, and went againſt them. Many principall Gentlemen of the Achæans, eſpecially of the Megalopolitans, were ſoon in a readineſs to wait vpon him. Beſides theſe, which were all, or for the moſt part, Horſe; he had ſome Auxiliaries out of Thrace and Crete, that vſually were kept in pay. Thus accompanied, he met with *Dinocrates*, Captaine of the Meſſenians; whom hee charged, and forced to runne. But whileſt his horſemen were too earneſt in following the chaſe; there arriued, by chance, a ſupply of fiue hundred from Meſſene, which gaue new courage vnto thoſe that were fled. So the Enemies began to make head againe; and with the helpe of thoſe, who very ſeaſonably came to their aide, compelled *Philopœmens* Horſemen to turne backe. *Philopœmen* himſelfe had long beene ſicke of an Ague, and was then very weake: yet the greatneſſe of his courage would not ſuffer him, to bee negligent of their ſafetie, which had ſo willingly aduentured themſelues vnder his conduct. Hee tooke vpon him to make the Retrait: and ſuffering his Horſemen to paſſe along by him in a narrow lane, he often turned about againſt the Meſſenians; whom his reputation, and the knowledge of his great worth, did terrifie from approaching ouer-neere to him. But it fell out vnhappily, that being caſt to ground by a fall of his Horſe, and being withall in very weake plight of body, he was vnable to get vp againe. So the Enemies came vpon him, and tooke him; yet ſcarce beleeued their fortune to be ſo good, although their eyes were witneſſes. The firſt meſſenger that brought theſe newes to Meſſene, was ſo farre from being beleeued, that he was hardly thought to bee in his right wits. But when the truth was affirmed by many reports, all the Citie ranne foorth to meet him,

him, and behold the spectacle seeming so incredible. They caused him to be brought into the Theater, that there they might satisfie themselues with beholding him. The greatest part of them had compassion on his misfortune: and in commemoration both of his vertue, and of the singular benefits by him done vnto them, especially in deliuering them from *Nabis* the Tyrant; began to manifest their good will for his deliuerie. Contrariwise, *Dinocrates* and his Faction were desirous hastily to take away his life: because they held him a man implacable, and one that would neuer leaue any disgrace, or iniurie, done to him, vnreuenged. They durst not one trust another with the keeping of him: but committed him into a strong vault vnder ground, that had beene made for the custody of their Treasure. So thither they let him downe fast bound, and with an engine laid an heauie stone vpon the mouth of the vault. There hee had not stayed long, ere his enemies had concluded his present death. The Hangman of the Citie was let downe vnto him, with a cup of poyson, which *Philopœmen* tooke in his hand: and asking no more than whether the Horsmen were escaped, and particularly whether *Lycortas* was safe; when he heard an answer to his minde, hee said it was well: and so with a cheerefull countenance, dranke his last draught. He was seuentie yeeres old, and weakned with long sicknesse, whereby the poyson wrought the sooner, and easily tooke away his life. The Achæans, when they missed him in their flight, were maruellously offended with themselues, for that they had beene more mindefull to preserue their owne liues, than to looke vnto the safetie of so excellent a Commander. Whilest they were deuising what to doe in such a case: they got aduertisement of his being taken. All Achaia was by this report vehemently afflicted: so as Embassadours were forthwith dispatched vnto Messene, crauing his enlargement: and yet preparation made withall, to obtaine it by force, in case that faire meanes would not serue. *Lycortas* was chosen Generall of the Armie against Messene: who comming thither, and laying siege to the Towne, enforced it in short space to yeeld. Then *Dinocrates*, knowing what he was to expect, laid hands vpon himselfe, and made an end of his owne life. The rest of those that had beene partakers in the murder, were compelled to wait in bonds vpon the ashes of *Philopœmen* that were carried home in solemne pompe to Megalopolis; where they were all of them slaine at his funerall, as sacrifices to his Ghost whom they had offended. *Q. Martius*, a Roman Embassadour, was then in Greece; whence, vpon one occasion or other, the Roman Embassadours were seldome absent. Hee would haue entermedled in this businesse of Messene, had not *Lycortas* made short worke, and left him nothing to doe.

About the same time was *T. Quintius Flaminius* sent Embassadour to *Prusias* King of Bithynia: not so much to withdraw him from prosecuting the war against *Eumenes*, as to entreat him, that he would deliuer *Hannibal*, the most spightful enemy in all the world vnto the Senate and People of Rome, into his hands. *Prusias* (therein vnworthy of the Crowne he wore) did readily condescend: or rather (as *Liuie* thinkes) to gratifie the Romans, he determined either to kill *Hannibal*, or to deliuer him aliue to *Flaminius*. For vpon the first conference betweene the King and *Flaminius*, a troupe of Souldiers were directed to guard and enuiron the lodging where *Hannibal* lay. That famous Captaine hauing found cause before this to suspect the faith of *Prusias*, had deuised some secret sallies vnder-ground to saue himselfe from any treasonable and sudden assault. But finding now that all parts about him were fore-closed, he had recourse to his last remedy: which he then was constrained to practise, as well to frustrate his enemies of their triumphing ouer him, as to saue himselfe from their torture and mercilesse hands; who, as hee well knew, would neither respect his famous enterprises, his honour, nor his age. When therfore he saw no way of escape, nor counsell to resort vnto, hee tooke the poyson into his hand, which he alwaies preserued for a sure Antidote against the sharpest diseases of aduerse fortune; which being ready to swallow downe, he vttered these words: *I will now* (said he) *deliuer the Romans of that feare, which hath so many yeeres possest them; that feare, which makes them impatient to attend the death of an old man. This victory of* Flaminius, *ouer me, which am disarmed, and betrayed into his hands, shall neuer bee numbred among the rest of his heroicall deedes: No; it shall make it manifest to all the Nations of the World, how farre the ancient Roman vertue is degenerate and corrupted. For such was the noblenesse of their forefathers; as, when* Pyrrhus *inuaded them in Italie, and was ready to giue them battaile at their owne dores, they gaue him knowledge of the treason intended against him by poy-*

son; whereas these of a later race haue employed Flaminius, *a man who hath heretofore beene one of their Consuls, to practise with* Prusias, *contrary to the honour of a King, contrary to his Faith giuen, and contrary to the Lawes of Hospitalitie, to slaughter or deliuer vp his owne Guest.* He then cursing the person of *Prusias, and all his, and desiring the immortall gods to reuenge his infidelitie*, dranke off the poyson, and died.

In this yeere also (as good Authors haue reported) to accompanie *Philopœmen* and *Hannibal*, died *Scipio* the African: these being, all of them, as great Captaines as euer the world had; but not more famous, than vnfortunate. Certainly, for *Hannibal*, whose Tragedie we haue now finished, had he beene Prince of the Carthaginians, and one who by his authority might haue commanded such supplies, as the Warre which he vndertooke, required; it is probable, that he had torne vp the Roman Empire by the roots. But he was so strongly crost by a cowardly and enuious Faction at home; as his proper vertue, wanting publike force to sustaine it, did lastly dissolue it selfe in his owne, and in the common miserie of his Countrey and Common-weale.

Hence it comes, to wit, from the enuie of our equals, and iealousie of our Masters, be they Kings, or Commonweales, That there is no Profession more vnprosperous than that of Men of Warre, and great Captaines, being no Kings. For besides the enuie and iealousie of men, the spoyles, rapes, famine, slaughter of the innocent, vastation, and burnings, with a world of miseries laid on the labouring man, are so hatefull to God, as with good reason did *Monluc* the Marshall of France confesse, That, *were not the mercies of God infinite, and without restriction, it were in vaine for those of his profession to hope for any portion of them: seeing the cruelties, by them permitted and committed, were also infinite.* Howsoeuer, this is true, That the victories, which are obtained by many of the greatest Commanders, are commonly either ascribed to those that serue vnder them, to Fortune, or to the cowardise of the Nation against whom they serue. For the most of others, whose vertues, haue raised them aboue the leuell of their inferiours, and haue surmounted their enuie: yet haue they beene rewarded in the end, either with disgrace, banishment, or death. Among the Romans we finde many examples hereof; as *Coriolanus*, *M. Liuius*; *L. Æmilius*, and this our *Scipio*, whom wee haue lately buried. Among the Greekes wee reade of not many, that escaped these rewards. Yea, long before these times, it was a Legacie that *Dauid* bequeathed vnto his victorious Captaine *Ioab*. With this fare *Alexander* feasted *Permenio*, *Philotas*, and others; and prepared it for *Antipater* and *Cassander*. Hereto *Valentinian* the Emperour inuited *Ætius*: who, after many other victories, ouerthrew *Attila* of the Hunnes, in the greatest battaile, for the well fighting and resolution of both Armies, that euer was strucken in the world; for there fell of those that fought, beside runne-awayes, an hundred and foure score thousand. Hereupon it was well and boldly told vnto the Emperour by *Proximus*, That in killing of *Ætius*, hee had cut off his owne right hand with his left: for it was not long after that *Maximus* (by whose persuasion *Valentinian* slue *Ætius*) murdered the Emperour; which hee neuer durst attempt, *Ætius* liuing. And, besides the losse of that Emperour, it is true, That with *Ætius*, the glory of the Westerne Empire was rather dissolued than obscured. The same vnworthy destinie, or farre worse, had *Belisarius*; whose vndertakings and victories were so difficult and glorious, as after-ages suspected them for fabulous. For he had his eyes torne out of his head by *Iustinian*: and hee died a blinde beggar. *Narses* also, to the great preiudice of Christian Religion, was disgrac'd by *Iustine*. That rule of *Cato* against *Scipio*, hath been well obserued in euery age since then; to wit, That the Common-weale cannot be accounted free, which standeth in awe of any one man. And hence hath the Turkes drawne another Principle, and indeed a Turkish one, That euery warlike Prince should rather destroy his greatest men of Warre, than suffer his owne glory to be obscured by them. For this cause did *Baiazet* the second dispatch *Bassa Acomat*; *Selim* strangle *Bassa Mustapha*; and most of those Princes bring to ruine the most of their *Visiers*. Of the Spanish Nation, the great *Gonsaluo*, who draue the French out of Naples: and *Ferdinando Corsete*, who conquered Mexico; were crowned with nettles, not with Lawrell. The Earles of Egmond and Horn, had no heads left them to weare garlands on. And that the great Captaines of all Nations haue beene paid with this copper Coine; there are examples more than too many. On the contrary it may be said, That many haue acquired the State of Princes, Kings, and Emperours, by their great abilitie in matter of warre. This I confesse. Yet must it be had withall in

in consideration, that these high places haue beene giuen, or offered, vnto very few, as rewards of their militarie vertue; though many haue vsurped them, by the helpe and fauour of those Armies which they commanded. Neither is it vnregardable, That the Tyrants which haue oppressed the liberty of free Cities: and the Lieutenants of Kings or Emperours, which haue traiterously cast downe their Masters, and stepped vp into their seats; were not all of them good men of warre: but haue vsed the aduantage of some commotion, or many of them by base and cowardly practices, haue obtained those dignities, which vndeseruedly were ascribed to their personall worth. So that the number of those, that haue purchased absolute greatnesse by the greatnes of their warlike vertue, is farre more in seeming, than in deed. *Phocas* was a Souldiour, and by helpe of the Souldiours he got the Empire from his Lord *Mauritius*: but he was a coward; and with a barbarous crueltie, seldome found in any other than cowards, he slew first the children of *Mauritius*, a Prince that neuer had done him wrong, before his face, and after them *Mauritius* himselfe. This his bloudy aspiring was but as a debt, which was paid vnto him againe by *Heraclius*: who tooke from him the Imperiall Crowne, vniustly gotten; and set it on his owne head. *Leontius* laid hold vpon the Emperour *Iustine*, cut off his nose and eares, and sent him into banishment: But Gods vengeance rewarded him with the same punishment, by the hands of *Tiberius*; to whose charge hee had left his owne men of warre. *Iustine*, hauing recouered forces, lighted on *Tiberius*, and barbed him after the same fashion. *Philippicus*, commanding the forces of *Iustine*, murdered both the Emperour and his sonne. *Anastatius*, the vassall of this new Tyrant, surprised his Master *Philippicus*, and thrust out both his eyes. But with *Anastasius*, *Theodosius* dealt more gently: for hauing wrested the Scepter out of his hands, he enforced him to become a Priest. It were an endlesse, and a needlesse worke to tell, how *Leo* rewarded this *Theodosius*; how many others haue beene repayed with their owne crueltie, by men alike ambitious and cruell; or how many hundreds, or rather thousands, hoping of Captaines to make themselues Kings, haue by Gods iustice miserably perished in the attempt. The ordinarie, and perhaps the best way of thriuing by the practice of Armes, is to take what may be gotten by the spoyle of Enemies, and the liberalitie of those Princes and Cities, in whose seruice one hath well deserued. But scarce one of a thousand haue prospered by this course. For that obseruation, made by *Salomon*, of vnthankfulnesse in this kinde, hath beene found belonging to all Countries and Ages: *A little Citie, and few men in it, and a great King came against it, and compassed it about, and builded Forts against it: And there was found a poore and wise man therein, and hee deliuered the Citie by his wisdome: but none remembred this poore man.* Great Monarchs are vnwilling to pay great thankes, lest thereby they should acknowledge themselues to haue beene indebted for great benefits: which the vnwiser sort of them think to sauour of some impotency in themselues. But in this respect they are oftentimes cousened and abused; which proues that weaknesse to be in them indeed, whereof they so gladly shun the opinion. Contrariwise, free Estates are bountifull in giuing thankes; yet so, as those thankes are not of long endurance. But concerning other profit which their Captaines haue made, by enriching themselues with the spoyle of the enemie, they are very inquisitiue to search into it, and to strip the wel-deseruers out of their gettings: yea most iniuriously to rob them of their owne, vpon a false supposition: that euen they whose hands are most cleane from such offences, haue purloyned somewhat from the common Treasurie. Hereof I need not to produce examples: that of the two *Scipio's* being so lately recited.

Eccl. c. 9. 14. & 15.

In my late Soueraignes time, although for the warres, which for her owne safetie, she was constrained to vndertake, her Maiesty had no lesse cause to vse the seruice of Martial men both by Sea and Land, than any of her Predecessors for many yeeres had; yet, according to the destiny of that profession, I doe not remember, that any of hers, the Lord Admirall excepted, her eldest and most prosperous Commander, were either enriched, or otherwise honoured, for any seruice by them performed. And that her Maiestie had many aduised, valiant, and faithfull men, the prosperitie of her affaires did well witnesse, who in all her dayes neuer receiued dishonour, by the cowardise or infidelity of any Commander, by her selfe chosen and imployed.

For as all her old Captaines by Land died poore men, as *Malbey*, *Randol*, *Drewrie*, *Reade*, *Wilford*, *Layton*, *Pellam*, *Gilbert*, *Cunstable*, *Boutchier*, *Barkeley*, *Bingham*, and others: so

so those of a later and more dangerous imployment, whereof *Norrice* and *Vere* were the most famous, & who haue done as great honour to our Nation (for the meanes they had) as euer any did: those (I say) with many other braue Colonels, haue left behinde them (besides the reputation which they purchased with many trauels and wounds) nor title nor estate to their posteritie. As for the L. *Thomas Burrough*, and *Peregrine Bertie* L. *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, two very worthy and exceeding valiant Commanders, they brought with them into the world their Titles and Estates.

That her Maiestie in the aduancement of her Men of warre did sooner beleeue other men than her selfe, a disease vnto which many wise Princes, besides her selfe, haue beene subiect, I say that such a confidence, although it may seeme altogether to excuse her Noble Nature, yet can it not but in some sort accuse her of weaknesse. And exceeding strange it were, were not the cause manifest enough, that where the prosperous actions are so exceedingly prized, the Actors are so vnprosperous and so generally neglected. The cause, I say, which hath wrought one and the same effect in all times, and among all Nations, is this, that those which are neerest the person of Princes (which Martiall men seldome are) can with no good grace commend, or at least magnifie a profession farre more noble than their owne, seeing therein they should onely minde their Masters of the wrong they did vnto others, in giuing lesse honour and reward to men of farre greater deseruing, and of farre greater vse than themselues.

But his Maiestie hath already payed the greatest part of that debt. For besides the relieuing by Pensions all the poorer sort, hee hath honoured more Martiall men, than all the kings of England haue done for this hundred yeeres.

He hath giuen a Coronet to the Lord *Thomas Howard* for his chargeable and remarkable seruice, as well in the yeere 1588. as at Caliz, the Ilands, and in our owne Sea; hauing first commanded as a Captaine, twice Admirall of a Squadron, and twice Admirall in chiefe. His Maiestie hath changed the Baronies of *Montioy* and *Burley* into Earledomes, and created *Sidney* Vicount, *Knollys*, *Russel*, *Carew*, *Danuers*, *Arundel* of Warder, *Gerald*, and *Chichester*, Barons, for their gouernments and seruices in the Netherlands, France, Ireland, and elsewhere.

§ III.

Philip *making prouision for warre against the Romans; deales hardly with many of his owne subiects. His negotiation with the Bastarne. His crueltie. Hee suspecteth his sonne* Demetrius. Demetrius *accused by his brother* Perseus; *and shortly after slaine, by his fathers appointment.* Philip *repenteth him of his sonnes death; whom hee findeth to haue beene innocent: and intending to reuenge it on* Perseus, *he dieth.*

QVintius Martius, the Roman Embassador, who trauelled vp and downe, seeking what worke might bee found about Greece, had receiued instruction from the Senate, to vse the most of his diligence in looking into the Estate of Macedon. At his returne home, that he might not seeme to haue discouered nothing, hee told the *Fathers*, That *Philip* had done whatsoeuer they enioyned him; yet so, as it might appear, that such his obedience would last no longer, than meere necessity should enforce him thereunto. He added further, That all the doings and sayings of that King did wholly tend vnto rebellion, about which he was deuising. Now it was so indeed, that *Philip* much repented him of his faithful obsequiousnesse to the Romans, and foresaw their intent, which was, to get his Kingdome into their owne hands, with safety of their honour, if they could finde conuenient meanes; or otherwise (as to him seemed apparant) by what meanes soeuer. Hee was in an ill case: as hauing beene already vanquished by them; hauing lost exceedingly both in strength and reputation; hauing subiects that abhorred to heare of Warre with Rome; and hauing neither neighbour nor friend, that, if he were thereto vrged, would aduenture to take his part: yet he prouided as well as he could deuise, against the necessitie which he daily feared. Such of his owne people as dwelt in the maritime Townes, and gaue him cause to suspect, that they would doe but bad seruice against the Romans, he compelled to forsake their dwellings, and remoued them all into Emathia. The Cities and Country, whence these were transplanted, hee filled with a multitude of Thracians, whose faith he thought a great deale more assured against

against those enemies that were terrible to the Macedonians. Further, hee deuised vpon alluring the Bastarnæ, a strong and hardie Nation, that dwelt beyond the riuer of Danubius, to abandon their seat, and come to him with all their multitude: who, besides other great rewards, would helpe them to roote out the Dardanians, and take possession of their Country. These were like to doe him notable seruice against the Romans: being not onely stout fighting men; but such as being planted in those quarters by him, would beare respect vnto him alone. The least benefit that could bee hoped by their arriuall, must be the vtter extirpation of the Dardanians; a People alwaies troublesome to the Kingdome of Macedon, whensoeuer they found aduantage. Neither was it iudged any hard matter, to perswade those Bastarnæ, by hope of spoyle, and other inticements, vnto a more desperate Expedition, through Illyria, and the Countries vpon the Adriaticke Sea, into Italie it selfe. It was not knowne who should withstand them vpon the way: Rather it was thought, that the Scordisci, and peraduenture some others, through whose Countries they were to passe, would accompanie them against the Romans, were it onely in hope of spoyle. Now to facilitate the remoue of these Bastarnæ from their owne habitations, into the land of the Dardanians, vpon the border of Macedon; a long and tedious iourny vnto them, that carried with them their wiues and children: *Philip* with gifts did purchase the good will of some Thracian Princes, Lords of the Countries through which they were to passe. And thus hee sought meanes to strengthen himselfe, with helpe of the wilde Nations, which neither knew the Romans, nor were knowne vnto them; since he was not like to finde assistance from any ciuill Nation, about the whole compasse of the Mediterranean Seas. But these deuices were long ere they tooke effect: so as the Bastarnæ came not before such time as he was dead; his death being the ouerthrow of that purpose. In the meane time hee neglected not the training of his men to Warre, and the exercise of them in some small Expeditions, against those wilde people that bordered vpon him, and stood worst affected toward him.

But these his counsailes and proceedings were miserably disturbed by the calamities that fell vpon him, both in his Kingdome, and in his owne house. The Families and whole Townships, which he had caused much against their wils to forsake their ancient dwellings, & betake themselues to such new habitations, as he in his discretion thought meeter for them, were vehemently offended at the change. Yet their anger at first contained it selfe within words: hee hauing done them no great wrong in that alteration, otherwise than by neglecting their affection to the places wherein they had long liued: which also hee did vnwillingly, being himselfe ouer-ruled by necessitie, that seemed apparant. This euill therefore would soone haue beene determined, had not his cruell and vindicatiue nature made it worse. He could not pardon words proceeding from iust sorrow: but imputed all to traiterous malice; and accordingly did seeke reuenge where it was needlesse. In his rage he caused many to die: among whom were some eminent men; and few or none of them deseruedly. This increased the hatred of the people, and turned their former exclamations into bitter curses. Which grew the more generall; when the King in a most barbarous and base fury, mistrusting all alike whom hee had iniured, thought himselfe vnlike to be safe, vntill hee should haue massacred all the children of those parents, whom tyrannically he had put to death. In the execution of this his vnmanly pleasure, some accidents, more tragicall than perhaps hee could haue desired, gaue men cause to thinke, (as they could not in reason thinke otherwise) that, not without vengeance powred on him from Heauen, hee felt the like miserie in his owne children. It is hard to say what the Romanes intended, in the extraordinary fauour which they shewed vnto *Demetrius*, the kings yonger sonne. It may well bee (though it may be also suspected) that they had no purpose to make and nourish dissention betweene the brethren, but onely to cherish the vertue and towardlinesse of *Demetrius*; like as we finde it in their Histories. But their notable fauour towards this young Prince, and his mutuall respect of them, bred extreame iealousie in the fathers head. If any custome of the Romanes, the manner of their life, the fashion of their apparell, or the vnsightly contriuing and building (as then it was) of the Towne of Rome, were iested at in ordinary discourse and table-talke, *Demetrius* was sure to be presently on fire, defending and praysing them, euen in such points as rather needed excuse. This, and his daily conuersation with their Embassadours, as often as they came, gaue his father cause

cause to thinke, that he was no fit partaker of any counsaile held against them. Wherefore he communicated all his deuices with his elder sonne *Perseus*: who fearing so much lest his brother should step betweene him and the succession, conuerted wholly vnto his destruction, that grace which he had with his father. *Perseus* was then thirty yeeres old; of a stirring spirit, though much defectiue in valour. *Demetrius* was younger by fiue yeeres, more open and vnwarie in his actions, yet thought olde and crafty enough, to entertaine more dangerous practices, than his free speeches discouered. The iealous head of the King hauing entertained such suspitions, that were much increased by the cunning practice of his elder sonne, a slight occasion made the fire breake out, that had long layne smothered. A Muster, and ceremonious lustration of the Armie, was wont to be made at certaine times with great solemnitie. The manner of it at the present was thus: They cleft in twaine a bitch; and threw the head and fore-part, with the entrailes, on the right hand, and the hinder part on the left hand of the way which the Armie was to passe. This done, the Armes of all the kings of Macedon, from the very first originall, were borne before the Armie. Then followed the king betweene his two sonnes: after him came his owne band, and they of his guard; whom all the rest of the Macedonians followed. Hauing performed other ceremonies, the Armie was diuided into two parts: which, vnder the Kings two sonnes, charged each other in manner of a true fight, vsing poles, and the like, in stead of their pikes and accustomed weapons. But in this present skirmish there appeared some extraordinary contention for the victory: whether happening by chance, or whether the two Captaines did ouer-earnestly seeke each to get the vpper hand, as a betokening of their good successe in a greater triall. Some small hurt there was done, and wounds giuen, euen with those stakes, vntill *Perseus* his side at length recoyled. *Perseus* himselfe was sorry for this, as it had been some bad presage: but his friends were glad, and thought, that hereof might be made good vse. They were of the craftier sort: who perceiuing which way the kings fauour bent, and how all the courses of *Demetrius* led vnto his owne ruine, addressed their seruices to the more malicious and crafty head. And now they said, that this victory of *Demetrius* would afford matter of complaint against him; as if the heate of his ambition had carried him beyond the rules of that solemne pastime. Each of the brethren was that day to feast his owne companions, and each of them had spies in the others lodging, to obserue what was said and done. One of *Perseus* his Intelligencers behaued himselfe so indiscreetly, that he was taken & well beaten by three or foure of *Demetrius* his men, who turned him out of dores. After some store of wine, *Demetrius* told his companions, that he would goe visit his brother, and see what cheare he kept. They agreed to his motion, excepting such of them as had ill handled his brothers man: yet hee would leaue none of his traine behinde, but forced them all to beare him company. They, fearing to bee ill rewarded for their late diligence, armed themselues secretly to preuent all danger. Yet was there such good espiall kept, that this their comming armed was forthwith made knowne to *Perseus*: who thereupon tumultuously locked vp his doores, as if hee stood in feare to be assaulted in his house. *Demetrius* wondred to see himselfe excluded, and fared very angerly with his brother. But *Perseus* bidding him bee gone as an enemie, and one whose murderous purpose was detected, sent him away with entertainment no better than defiance. The next day the matter was brought before the king. The elder brother accused the yonger vnto the father of them both. Much there was alledged, and in effect the same hath beene here recited, saue that by misconstruction all was made worse. But the maine point of the accusation, and which did aggrauate all the rest, was, That *Demetrius* had vndertaken this murder, & would perhaps also dare to vndertake a greater, vpon confidence of the Romanes; by whom hee knew that he should be defended and borne out. For *Perseus* made shew, as if the Romans did hate him; because hee bore a due respect vnto his father, and was sorry to see him spoyled, and daily robbed of somewhat by them. And for this cause he said it was, that they did animate his brother against him: as also that they sought how to winne vnto *Demetrius* the loue of the Macedonians. For proofe hereof he cited a letter, sent of late from *T. Quintius* to the king himselfe: whereof the contents were, That hee had done wisely in sending *Demetrius* to Rome; and that he should yet further doe well to send him thither againe, accompanied with a greater and more honourable traine of Macedonian Lords. Hence hee enforced, That this counsell was giuen by *Titus*, of purpose to shake the allegeance of those, that should

should wait vpon his brother to Rome; and make them, forgetting their duties to their old King, become seruants to this yong Traytor *Demetrius*. Hereto *Demetrius* made answer, by rehearsing all passages of the day and night foregoing, in such manner as he remembred them, and had conceiued of them: bitterly reprehending *Perseus*, that conuerted matters of Pastime, and what was done or spoken in wine, to such an accusation, whereby he sought his innocent brothers death. As for the loue which the Romans did beare him; He said that it grew, if not from his owne vertue, at least wise from their opinion thereof: so as by an impious practice, Hee were more like to lose it wholly, than to increase it. In this wretched pleading there wanted not such passions, as are incident to fathers, children, and brethren; besides those that are common to all Plaintiffes and Defendants, before ordinarie Iudges. The king pronounced like a father, though a iealous father, That he would conclude nothing vpon the excesse or error, whatsoeuer it were, of one day and night, nor vpon one houres audience of the matter, but vpon better obseruation of their liues, manners, and whole carriage of themselues both in word and deed. And herein he may seeme to haue dealt both iustly and compassionately. But from this time forward he gaue himself ouer wholly to *Perseus*: vsing so little conference with his yonger sonne, that when he had matters of weight in hand, such especially as concerned the Romans, He liked neither to haue him present, nor neere vnto him. Aboue all, he had especiall care, to learne out what had passed between *Demetrius* and *T. Quintius*, or any other of the Roman great ones. And to this purpose he sent Embassadors to Rome, *Philocles* and *Apelles*; men whom hee thought no way interessed in the quarrells betweene the brethren; though indeed they altogether depended on the elder, whom they saw the more in grace. These brought home with them a letter, said to be written by *Titus* (whose seale they had counterfeited) vnto the King. The contents whereof were, A deprecation for the yong Prince, with an intimation, as by way of granting it, That his youthfull and ambitious desires had caused him to enter into practices vniustifiable, against his elder brother; which yet should neuer take effect, for that *Titus* himselfe would not be author, or abetter, of any impious deuice. This manner of excuse did forcibly perswade the king, to thinke his sonne a dangerous traytor. To strengthen him in this opinion, one *Didas*, to whom he gaue *Demetrius* in custodie, made shew as if he had pitied the estate of the vnhappy Prince, and so wrung out of him his secret intentions, which he shortly discouered vnto *Philip*. It was the purpose of *Demetrius* to flye secretly to Rome; where he might hope not onely to liue in safety, from his father & brother, but in greater likelihood, than he could finde at home, of bettering such claime as he had in reuersion vnto the Crown of Macedon. Whatsoeuer his hopes and meanings were, all came to nought through the falshood of *Didas*; who playing on both hands, offered vnto the Prince his helpe for making the escape, & in the meane while reuealed the whole matter to the King. So *Philip* resolued to put his sonne to death, without further expence of time. It was thought behouefull to make him away priuily, for feare lest the Romans should take the matter to heart, and hold it as a proofe sufficient, at least, of the kings despight against them, if not of his meaning to renew the warre. *Didas* therefore was commanded to rid the vnhappy Prince out of his life. This accursed Minister of his Kings vnaduised sentence, first gaue poyson to *Demetrius*: which wrought neither so hastily, nor so secretly, as was desired. Heereupon he sent a couple of Ruffians, to finish the tragedie: who villainously accomplished their work by smothering that Prince, in whose life consisted the greatest hope of Macedon.

In all the race of *Antigonus* there had not beene found a king, that had thus cruelly dealt with any Prince of his owne bloud. The houses of *Lysimachus* and *Cassander* fell either with themselues, or euen vpon their heeles; by intestine discord and iealousies, grounded on desire of soueraigne rule, or feare of losing it. By the like vnnaturall hatred, had almost beene cut off the lines of *Ptolomie* and *Seleucus*: which though narrowly they escaped the danger, yet were their kingdomes thereby grieuously distempered. Contrariwise, it was worthy of extraordinary note, how that vpstart family of the kings of Pergamus had raised it selfe to maruellous greatnesse, in very short space, from the condition of meere slauery: whereof a principall cause was, the brotherly loue maintained by them, with singular commendation of their pietie. Neither was *Philip* ignorant of these examples; but is said to haue propounded the last of them, to his owne children, as a patterne for them to imitate. Certainely hee had reason so to doe: not more

more in regard of the benefit which his enemies reaped by their concord, than in remembrance of the tender fosterage, wherewith king *Antigonus* his Tutor had faithfully cherished him in his minoritie. But he was himselfe of an vnmercifull nature; and therefore vnmeet to be a good perswader vnto kindly affection. The murders by him done vpon many of his friends, together with the barbarous outrages, which for the satiating of his bloud-thirsty appetite, he delightfully had committed vpon many innocents, both strangers, and subiects of his owne; did now procure vengeance downe from Heauen, that rewarded him with a draught of his owne Poyson. After the death of his sonne, He too late began to examine the crimes that had beene obiected; and to weigh them in a more equall ballance. Then found he nothing that could giue him satisfaction, or by good probabilitie induce him to thinke, that malice had not bin contriuer of the whole processe. His onely remaining Son *Perseus* could so ill dissemble the pleasure which he tooke, in being freed from all danger of competition; as there might easily be perceiued in him a notable change, proceeding from some other cause, than the remoone of those dangers, which he had lately pretended. The Romanes were now no lesse to bee feared than at other times, when he, as hauing accomplished the most of his desires, left off his vsuall trouble of minde, and carefulnesse of making prouision against them. Hee was more diligently courted, than in former times; by those that well vnderstood the difference, betweene a rising and a setting Sunne. As for old *Philip*, he was left in a manner desolate, some expecting his death, and some scarce enduring the tediousnesse of such expectation. This bred in the king a deepe melancholy; and filled his head with suspitious imaginations; the like whereof hee had neuer beene slow to apprehend. Hee was much vexed: and so much the more, for that he knew, neither well to whom, nor perfectly whereof to complaine. One honourable man, a Cousin of his, named *Antigonus*, continued so true to *Philip*, that hee grew thereby hatefull to *Perseus*: and thus becomming subiect vnto the same iealous impression which troubled the King, became also partaker of his secrets. This counsailour, when he found that the anger conceiued against *Perseus* would not vent it selfe, and giue ease to the king, vntill the truth were knowne whether *Demetrius* were guilty or no of the treason obiected; as also that *Philocles* and *Apelles*, (the Embassadours which had brought from Rome that Epistle of *Flaminius*, that serued as the greatest euidence against *Demetrius*) were suspected of forgery in the businesse: made diligent inquirie after the truth. In thus doing, he found one *Xychus*, a man most likely to haue vnderstood what false dealing was vsed by those Embassadors. Him he apprehended, brought to the Court, and presented vnto the King: saying, That this fellow knew all, and must therfore be made to vtter what he knew. *Xychus* for feare of torture, vttered as much as was before suspected: confessing against himself, that he had beene employed by the Embassadors in that wicked piece of businesse. No maruell, if the Fathers passions were extreme; when he vnderstood that by the vnnatural practice of one sonne, he had so wretchedly cast away another, farre more vertuous and innocent. He raged exceedingly against himselfe, and withall against the authors of the mischiefe. Vpon the first newes of this discouerie, *Apelles* fled away, and got into Italie, *Philocles* was taken: and either forasmuch as he could not denie it when *Xychus* confronted him, yeelded himselfe guilty; or else was put to torture. *Perseus* was now growne stronger, than that he should need to flye the Countrie: yet not so stout as to aduenture himselfe into his fathers presence. He kept on the borders of the kingdome, towards Thrace, whilest his father wintred at Demetrias. *Philip* therefore, not hoping to get into his power this his vngracious sonne; tooke a resolution, to aliene the Kingdome from him, and confer it vpon *Antigonus*. But his weake body, and excessiue griefe of minde, so disabled him in the trauell thereto belonging; that ere he could bring his purpose to effect, hee was constrained to yeeld to nature: Hee had reigned about two and forty yeeres: alwaies full of trouble; as vexed by others, and vexed himselfe with continuall warres; of which that with the Romans was most vnhappy, and few or none of the rest found the conclusion, which a wise Prince would haue desired, of bringing forth together, both honour and profit. But for all the euill that befell him, hee might thanke his own peruerse condition: since his Vncle, king *Antigonus*, had left vnto him an estate, so great, and so well settled, as made it easie for him, to accomplish any moderate desires, if he had not abhorred all good counsell. Wherefore he was iustly punished by feeling the difference betweene the imaginary happinesse of a Tyrant, which hee affected, and the

the life of a king, where of he little cared to performe the dutie. His death, euen whileſt yet he was onely drawing neere, was fore-ſignified vnto *Perſeus*, by *Caligenes* the Phyſician; who alſo concealed it a while from thoſe that were about the Court. So *Perſeus* came thither on the ſuddaine, and tooke poſſeſſion of the kingdome: which in fine hee no leſſe improuidently loſt, than he had wickedly gotten.

§. IV.

How the Baſterna fell vpon Dardania. The behauiour of Perſeus *in the beginning of his reigne. Some warres of the Romanes: and how they ſuffered* Maſſaniſſa *cruelly to oppreſſe the Carthaginians. They quarrell with* Perſeus. *They allow not their Confederates to make warre without their leaue obtained. The Treaſon of* Callicrates; *whereby all Greece became more obnoxious to Rome, than in former times. Further quarrels to* Perſeus. *He ſeekes friendſhip of the Acheans, and is withſtood by* Callicrates. *The Romanes diſcouer their intent of warring vpon him.*

IMmediately vpon the death of *Philip*, came the *Baſterna* into Thrace: where order had beene taken, long before, both for the free paſſage, and for the indemnitie of the Countrey. This compact was friendly obſerued, as long as no other was known than that *Philip* did liue, to recompence all that ſhould bee done, or ſuſtained, for his ſeruice. But when it was heard, that a new King reigned in Macedon; and not heard withall, that he tooke any care what became of the enterprize: then was all daſht and confounded. The Thracians would no longer afford ſo good markets vnto theſe ſtrangers, as formerly they had done. On the other ſide, the *Baſtarna* would not be contented with reaſon, but became their owne caruers. Thus each part hauing loſt the rich hopes repoſed in *Philip*, grew carefull of thriuing in the preſent; with little regard of right or wrong. Within a while they fell to blowes; and the *Baſtarna* had the vpper hand, ſo as they chaſed the Thracians out of the plaine Countries. But the victors made little vſe of their good fortune. For whether by reaſon of ſome ouerthrow, receiued by them in aſſaulting a place of ſtrength; or whether becauſe of extreame bad weather, which is ſaid to haue afflicted them as it were miraculouſly: all of them returned home, ſaue thirty thouſand, which pierced on into Dardania. How theſe thirty thouſand ſped in their voyage, I doe not finde. It ſeemes that by the careleſſe vſing of ſome victories, they drew loſſe vpon themſelues: and finally tooke that occaſion, to follow their companions backe into their owne Countrey.

As for *Perſeus* he thought it not expedent, in the noueltie of his reigne, to embroyle himſelfe in a war ſo dangerous, as that with the Romanes was likely to prooue. Wherefore he wholly gaue his minde to the ſetling of his Eſtate: which well done, hee might afterwards accommodate himſelfe, as the condition of his affaires ſhould require, eyther for war or peace. To preuent all danger of rebellion, he quickly tooke away the life of *Antigonus*. To win loue of his people; he ſate perſonally to heare their cauſes in iudgement (though herein he was ſo ouer-diligent and curious, that one might haue perceiued this his vertue of iuſtice to be no better than fained) as alſo hee gratified them with many delightfull ſpectacles, magnificently by him ſet forth. Aboue all, he had care to auoid all neceſſity of war with Rome: and therefore made it his firſt worke, to ſend Embaſſadors thither, to renew the league; which he obtained, & was by the Senate ſaluted King, and friend vnto the State. Neither was he negligent in ſeeking to purchaſe good will of the Greekes, & other his neighbours: but was rather herein ſo exceſſiuely bountifull, that it may ſeeme a wonder how in few yeeres, to his vtter ruine, he became ſo griping and tenacious. His feare was indeede the maſtring paſſion, which ouer-ruled him, and changed him into ſo many ſhapes, as made it hard to diſcerne which of his other qualities were naturally his owne. For proofe of this, there is requiſite no more, than the relation of his actions paſt and following.

The Romanes continued, as they had long, buſie in warres againſt the Spaniards and Ligurians; people often vanquiſhed, and as often breaking foorth into new rebellion. They alſo conquered Iſtria; ſubdued the rebelling Sardinians; and had ſome quarrells, though to little effect, with the Illyrians and others. Ouer the Carthaginians they bore (as euer ſince the victory) a heauy hand: & ſuffered *Maſaniſſa* to take from them what he

liſted. The Carthaginians, like obedient vaſſals to Rome, were afraid, though in defence of their owne, to take Armes: from which they were bound by an Article of peace, except it were with leaue of the Romans. *Maſaniſſa* therefore had great aduantage ouer them, and was not ignorant how to vſe it. He could get poſſeſſion by force, of whatſoeuer he deſired, ere their complaining Embaſſadours could be at Rome: and then were the Romans not hardly entreated, to leaue things as they found them.

So had he once dealt before, in taking from them the Countrie of Emporia: and ſo did he vſe them againe and againe; with pretence of title, where he had any; otherwiſe, without it. *Gala* the Father of *Maſaniſſa* had wonne ſome land from the Carthaginians; which afterward *Syphax* wanne from *Gala*, and within a while, reſtored to the right owners, for loue of his Wife *Sophonisba*, and of *Aſdrubal* his Father-in-law. This did *Maſaniſſa* take from them by force: and by the Romans (to whoſe iudgement the caſe was referred) was permitted quietly to hold it. The Carthaginians had now good experience, how beneficiall it was for their Eſtate, to vſe all manner of ſubmiſſiue obedience to Rome. They had ſcarcely digeſted this iniury, when *Maſaniſſa* came vpon them againe, and tooke from them aboue ſeuentie Townes and Caſtles, without any colour of right. Hereof by their Embaſſadors they made lamentable complaint vnto the Roman Senate. They ſhewed how grieuouſly they were oppreſſed by reaſon of two Articles in their League: That they ſhould not make warre, out of their owne Lands; nor with any Confederates of the Romans. Now although it were ſo, that they might lawfully withſtand the violence of *Maſaniſſa*, inuading their Country, howſoeuer he was pleaſed to call it his: yet ſince he was confederate with the Romanes, they durſt not preſume to beare defenſiue armes againſt him, but ſuffered themſelues to bee eaten vp, for feare of incurring the Romans indignation. Wherefore they entreated, that either they might haue fairer iuſtice, or be ſuffered to defend their owne by ſtrong hand; or at leaſt, if right muſt wholly giue place to fauor, That the Romans yet would be pleaſed to determine, how farre forth *Maſaniſſa* ſhould bee allowed, to proceed in theſe outrages. If none of theſe petitions could be obtained, then deſired they, that the Romans would let them vnderſtand, wherein they had offended ſince the time that *Scipio* gaue them peace; and vouchſafe to inflict on them ſuch puniſhment, as they themſelues in honour ſhould thinke meete: for that better and more to their comfort it were, to ſuffer at once what ſhould be appointed by ſuch Iudges; than continually to liue in feare, and none otherwiſe draw breath, than at the mercy of this Numidian Hangman. And herewithall the Embaſſadors threw themſelues proſtrate on the ground, weeping, in hope to mooue compaſſion.

Here may we behold, the fruits of their enuy to that valiant houſe of the Barchines, of their irreſolution, in proſecuting a war ſo important, as *Hannibal* made for them in Italy; and of their half-penny worthing, in matter of expence, when they had aduentured their whole eſtate, in the purchaſe of a great Empire. Now are they ſeruants, euen to the ſeruants of thoſe men, whoſe fathers they had oft chaſed, ſlaine, taken, & ſold as bondſlaues in the ſtreets of Carthage, & in all cities of Africk & Greece. Now haue they enough of that Roman peace, which *Hanno* ſo often & ſo earneſtly deſired. Onely they want peace with *Maſaniſſa*, once their mercenarie, & now their maſter, or rather their tormentor; out of whoſe cruell hands, they beſeech their maſters to take the office of correcting them. In ſuch caſe are they, & adore the Romans, whom they ſee flouriſhing in ſuch proſperitie as might haue beene their owne. But the Romans had farre better entreated *Varro*, who loſt the battel at Cannæ; than *Hannibal* that won it was vſed by the Carthaginians: they had freely beſtowed, euery man of them, all his priuate riches, vpon the Commonwealth; and employed their labours for the publike, without crauing recompence: as alſo they had not thought it much, though being in extreame want, to ſet out an Armie into Spaine, at what time the enemy lay vnder their owne walls. Theſe were no Carthaginian vertues: and therefore the Carthaginians hauing fought againſt their betters, muſt patiently endure the miſeries belonging vnto the vanquiſhed. Their pittifull behauiour bred peraduenture ſome commiſeration; yet their teares may ſeeme to haue beene miſtruſted, as proceeding no leſſe from enuy vnto the Romans, than from any feeling of their owne calamitie. They thought themſelues able to fight with *Maſaniſſa*: which eſtimation of their forces was able to make them, after a little while, enter into compariſons with Rome. Wherefore they obtained no ſuch leaue as they ſought, of

of detending their owne right by armes: but contrariwise, when without leaue obtained they presumed so far, the destruction of Carthage was thought an easie punishment of that offence. At the present, they receiued a gentle answer; though they had otherwise little amends: *Gulussa* the sonne of *Masanissa* was then in Rome; and had not as yet craued audience. He was therefore called before the Senate; where he was demanded the reason of his coming; and had related vnto him the complaint made by the Carthaginians against his Father. He answered, That his Father not being throughly aware of any Embassadours thither sent from Carthage, had therefore not giuen him instructions, how to deale in that businesse. Onely it was knowne, that the Carthaginians had held councell diuers nights, in the Temple of *Æsculapius*: whereupon he himselfe was 10 dispatched away to Rome, there to entreat the Senate, that these common enemies of the Romans and of his Father might not be ouermuch trusted; especially against his Father, whom they hated most maliciously, for his constant faith to the people of Rome. This answer gaue little satisfaction. Wherefore the Senate replyed, that for *Masanissa* his sake, they had done, and would doe, whatsoeuer was reasonable; but that it stood not with their iustice, to allow of this his violence, in taking from the Carthaginians those lands, which by the couenants of the league, were granted vnto them freely to inioy. With this milde rebuke they dismissed *Gulussa*; bestowing on him friendly presents (as also they did on the Carthaginians) and willed him to tell his Father, that he should doe well to send Embassadours, more fully instructed in this matter. This happened when 20 the Macedonian warre was euen ready to begin: at which time the Romanes were not willing, too much to offend, either the Carthaginians (for feare of vrging them vnseasonably to rebellion) or *Masanissa*, at whose hands they expected no little helpe. So were they aided both by the Carthaginians, and *Masanissa*: by the Carthaginians, partly for feare, partly for hope of better vsage in the future; by *Masanissa*, in way of thankefulnes; though if it had happened (which was vnlikely) that they should be vanquished, he made none other account, than that all Africke round about him, and Carthage therewithall, should be his owne.

In the midst of all these cares, the Romans had not been vnmindfull of *Perseus*. They 30 visited him daily with Embassadours; that is, with honourable spies to obserue his behauiour. These hee entertained kindely at first, vntill (which fell out ere long) hee perceiued whereto their diligence tended. First they quarrelled with him about the troubles in Dardania: neither would they take any satisfaction, vntill the Bastarnæ were thence gone; though he protested, that he had not sent for them. Afterward they pried narrowly into his doings; and were no lesse ill contented with good offices, by him done, to sundry of his neighbours, than with those wrongs, which (they said) that he did vnto other some. Where he did harme to any; they called it, making warre vpon their friends: Where he did good; they called such his bounty, seeking friends to take his part against them. The Dolopians, his subiects, (vpon what occasion it is vncertaine) rebelled, and with exquisite torments slew *Euphranor*, whom hee had appointed their go- 40 uernour. It seemes that *Euphranor* had played the Tyrant among them. For they were a people without strength to resist the Macedonian: and therefore vnlikely to haue presumed so farre, vnlesse either they had beene extremely prouoked, or else were secretly animated by the Romanes. Whatsoeuer it was that bred this courage in them: *Perseus* did soone allay it, and reclaime them by strong hand. But the Romanes tooke very angerly this presumption of the King: euen as if hee had inuaded some Countrie of their Italian confederates, & not corrected his owne rebels at home. Faine they would haue had him to draw in the same yoke with the Carthaginians; whereunto had hee humbled once his necke, they could themselues haue done the part of *Masanissa*; though *Eumenes*, 50 or some other fit for that purpose, had beene wanting. And to this effect, they told him, That conditions of the league between them were such, as made it vnlawfull, both to his father heretofore, and now to him, to take armes without their licence first obtained.

To the same passe they would also faine haue reduced the Greeks, & generally all their adherents, euen such as had entred into league with them vpon equall termes: whom vsually they rewarded with a frowne, whensoeuer they presumed to right themselues by force of Armes, without seeking first the Oracle at Rome. Hereof the Achæans had good experience: whose confidence in their proper strength made them otherwhiles bold to be their owne caruers, and whose hope of extraordinary fauour at Rome caused them

them the more willingly to referre their causes to arbitrement. For when they went about to haue chastised the Messenians by warre; *T. Quintius* rebuked them, as too arrogant, in taking such a worke in hand, without his authoritie: yet by his authoritie he ended the matter, wholly to their good liking. Semblably at other times were they reprehended, euen with Lordly threats, when they tooke vpon them to carry any businesse of importance, by their owne power, without standing vnto the good grace of the Romans. Who neuertheless vpon submission, were apt enough to doe them right. Thus were they tamed by little and little, and taught to forget their absolute libertie, as by which they were not like to thriue; especially in vsurping the practice of Armes, which 10 belonged onely to the Imperiall Citie. In learning this hard lesson, they were such vntoward Schollers, that they needed, and not long after felt, very sharpe correction. Yet was there no small part of blame to be imputed vnto their Masters. For the Romane Senate, being desirous to humble the Achæans, refused not onely to giue them such aide as they requested; and as they challenged by the tenour of the League betweene them; but further, with a carelesse insolencie, reiected this honest and reasonable petition, That the Enemie might not be supplied from Italie, with victualls or armes. Herewith not content, The Fathers, as wearied with dealing in the affaires of Greece, pronounced openly, That if the Argiues, Lacedæmonians, or Corinthians, would reuolt from the Achæans; they themselues would thinke it a businesse no way concerning them.

Polyb. Legat. 51. & 53.

20 This was presently after the death of *Philopæmen*: at what time it was beleeued, that the Common-wealth of Achaia was like to fall into much distresse; were it not vpheld by countenance of the Romanes. All this notwithstanding; when *Lycortas* Prætor of the Achæans had vtterly subdued the Messenians farre sooner than was expected; and when as not only no towne rebelled from the Achæans, but many entred into their corporation: then did the Romans with an ill-fauoured grace, tell the same Embassadours, to whose petition they had made such bad answer (and who as yet were not gone out of the Citie,) That they had streightly forbidden all manner of succour to be carried to Messene. Thus thinking, by a fained grauitie, to haue serued their owne turnes; they manifested their condition; both to set on the weaker, against the stronger and more 30 suspected; and also to assume vnto themselues a Soueraigne power, in directing all matters of Warre, which dissemblingly they would haue seemed to neglect. In like manner dealt they with all their confederates: not permitting any of them to make Warre, whether offensiue or defensiue; though it were against meere strangers; without interposing the authoritie of the Senate and People of Rome: vnlesse peraduenture sometimes they winked at such violence, as did helpe towards the accomplishment of their owne secret malice. Now these Romane Arts howsoeuer many (for gainefull or timerous respects) would seeme to vnderstand them; yet were generally displeasing vnto all men endued with free spirits. Only the Athenians, once the most turbulent Citie in Greece, hauing neither subiects of their owne that might rebell, nor power wherewith to bring any into subiection; for want of more noble argument wherein to practise 40 their eloquence that was become the whole remainder of their ancient commendations, were much delighted in flattering the most mighty. So they kept themselues in grace with the Romans, remained free from all trouble, vntill the warre of *Mithridates*: being men vnfit for action, and thereby innocent; yet bearing a part in many great actions, as Gratulators of the Roman victories, and Pardon-crauers for the vanquished. Such were the Athenians become. As for those other Common-weales and kingdomes, that with ouer-nice diligence stroue to preserue their liberties and lands, from consuming by piece-meale: they were to bee deuoured whole, and swallowed vp at once. Especially the Macedonian, as the most vnpliant, and wherein many of the Greekes began to haue affiance, was necessarily to be made an example, how much better it were to bow than 50 to breake.

Neither *Perseus* nor the Romans were ignorant, how the Greeks at this time stood affected. *Perseus*, by reason of his neere neighbourhood, and of the daily commerce betweene them and his subiects, could not want good information, of all that might concerne him, in their affaires. He well knew, that all of them now apprehended the danger which *Philopæmen* had long since foretold, of the miserable subiection, whereinto Greece was likely to be reduced, by the Romane patronage. Indeed they not onely perceiued the approching danger, but as being tenderly sensible of their liberty, felt themselues

themselues grieued with the present subiection, whereto already they were become obnoxious: Wherefore though none of them had the courage, in matters of the publike to fal out with the Romans: yet all of them had the care, to choose among themselues none other Magistrates; than such as affected the good of their Countrie, and would for no ambition, or other seruile respect, be flatterers of the greatnesse which kept all in feare. Thus it seemed likely; that all domesticall conspiracies would soone be at an end; when honestie and loue of the Common-weale, became the faireſt way to preferment. Of this carefull prouision for the safety of Greece, the Romans were not throughly aduertised: either becauſe things were diligently concealed from their Embassadours, whom all men knew to be little better than Spies; or becauſe little account was made of that intelligence, which was brought in by such Traitors (of whom euery citie in Greece had too many) as were men vnregarded among their owne people, and therefore more like to speake maliciously than truely, or perhaps becauſe the Embassadours themselues, being all Senators, and capable of the greateſt Office or charge, had no will to finde out other matter of trouble, than was fitting to their owne desires of employment. But it is hard to conceale that which many know, from these that are feared or flattered by many. The Achæans being to send Embassadors to Rome, that should both excuse them, as touching some point wherein they refused to obey the Senate; and informe the Senate better in the same businesse; chose one *Callicrates*, among others, to goe in that Embassage. By their making choise of such a man; one may perceiue the aduantage, which mischieuous wretches, who commonly are forward in pursuing their vile desires, haue against the plaine sort of honest men, that leaſt earnestly thrust themselues into the troublesome businesse of the weale publike. For this *Callicrates* was in such wise transported with ambition; that he chose much rather to betray his Countrey, than to let any other bee of more authoritie than himselfe therein. Wherefore in stead of well discharging his credence, and alleaging what was meetest in iustification of his people: he vttered a quite contrary tale; and strongly encouraged the Romans, to oppresse both the Achæans and all the rest of Greece, with a faire more heauy hand. He told the Senate, that it was high time for them, to looke vnto the setling of their authority, among his froward Countrimen; if they meant not wholly to forgoe it. For now there was taken vp a custome, to stand vpon points of confederacie, and lawes: as if these were principally to bee in regard; any iniunction from Rome notwithstanding.

Hence grew it, that the Achæans both now, and at other times, did what best pleased themselues, and answered the Romans with excuses: as if it were enough to say, That by some condition of League, or by force of some Law, they were discharged, or hindered, from obeying the decrees of the Senate. This would not bee so, if Hee, and some other of his opinion, might haue their wills: who ceased not to affirme, That no Columes or Monument erected, nor no solemne oath of the whole Nation, to ratifie the obseruance of Confederacie or statute, ought to bee of force, when the Romanes willed the contrary. But it was euen the fault of the Romans themselues, That the multitude refused to giue eare vnto such perswasions. For howsoeuer in popular Estates, the sound of libertie vsed to be more plausible, than any discourse tending against it: yet if they which vndertooke the maintenance of an argument, seeming neuer so bad, were sure by their so doing, to procure their owne good; the number of them would increase apace, & they became the preualent faction. It was therfore strange how the *Fathers* could so neglect the aduancement of those, that sought wholly to enlarge the amplitude of the Roman maiesty. More wisely, though with seditious & rebellious purpose, did the Greeks: who many times, yea and ordinarily, conferred great honours, vpon men otherwise of little account or desert; only for hauing vttred some braue words against the Romans. The *Fathers* hearing these & the like reasons, wherewith he exhorted them to handle roughly those that were obstinate, and by cherishing their friends, to make their partie strong; resolued to follow this good counsaile, in euery point; yea to depresse all those that held with the right, and to set vp their owne followers, were it by right or by wrong. And to this end, they not onely dealt thenceforth more peremptorily with the Achæans, than had been their manner in former times; but wrote at the present vnto all cities of Greece; requiring them to see that their mandate (which was concerning the restitution of those that were banished out of Lacedæmon) should be fulfilled. Particularly in behalfe of *Callicrates*; they aduised all men, to be such, and

Polyb. Legat. 78.

and so affected, as hee was, in their seuerall common-weales. With this dispatch, *Callicrates* returned home a ioyfull man: hauing brought his Country into the way of ruine; but himselfe into the way of preferment. Neuertheless he forbore to vaunt himselfe; of his eloquence vsed in the Senate. Onely hee so reported his Embassage, that all men became fearefull of the danger, wherewith he threatned those that should presume to oppose the Romanes. By such arts he obtained to be made Prætor of the Achæans: in which Magistracie, as in all his courses following, he omitted nothing, that might serue to manifest his ready obsequiousnesse vnto those whom he had made his Patrons.

Now as the Romans by threatning termes won many flatterers, and lost as many true friends: so *Perseus* on the other side, thinking by liberall gifts, and hopefull promises, to assure vnto himselfe those that ill could brooke his enemies; got indeed a multitude of partakers, though little honester than his enemies had. Thus were all the cities of Greece distracted with factions: some holding with the Romans; some with the Macedonian; and some few, respecting onely the good of the Estates, wherein they liued. Hereat the Lords of the Senate were highly offended; and thought it an indignitie not sufferable, That a king, no better than their vassall, should dare to become head of a faction against them. This therefore must be reckoned in the number of his trespasses: whereof if not any one alone, yet all of them together, shall affoord them iust occasion to make warre vpon him. *Perseus* hauing finished his businesse among the Dolopians, made a iourney to *Apollo* his temple at Delphi. He tooke his Armie along with him; yet went, and returned in such peaceable and friendly wise, that no place was the worse for his iourney, but the good affection towards him generally increased thereby. With those that were in his way, he dealt himselfe; to such as lay further off, he sent Embassadors or letters: praying them, That the memory of all wrongs whatsoeuer, done by his father, might bee buried with his father; since his owne meaning was to hold friendship sincerely with all his neighbours. The Romans perhaps could haue beene pleased better, if hee had behaued himselfe after a contrary fashion, and done some acts of hostilitie in his passage. Yet as if he ought not to haue taken such a iourney, without their licence; this also was made a valuable matter, and cast into the heape of his faults. He laboured greatly to recouer the loue of the Achæans: which his father had so lost, that by a solemne decree, they forbade any Macedonian to enter their territories. It was iealousie perhaps, no lesse than hatred, which caused them, at the first, to make such a decree. For howsoeuer *Philip* had by many vile acts, especially by the death of the two *Arati*, giuen them cause to abhorre him: yet in the publike administration of their estate, he had, for the more part, been to them so beneficiall, that not without much adoe and at length, without any generall consent, they resolued to forsake him. Wherefore it was needfull, euen for preseruation of concord among them, to vse all circumspection; that he might not, by his agents, negotiate, and hold intelligence with any, in a country, towards him so doubtfully affected: especially when by hearkening to his messages, they might make themselues suspected by their new friends. But the continuance of this decree, beyond the time of Warre, and when all danger of innouation was past; was vnciuill, if not inhumane, as nourishing deadly hatred, without leauing means of reconciliation. And hereof the Achæans reaped no good fruit. For although they were not, in like sort, forbidden the kingdome of Macedon: yet vnderstanding what would be due to them, if they should aduenture thither, none of them durst set foot therein. Hence it came to passe, that their bondmen, knowing a safe harbour, out of which their masters could not fetch them, ranne daily away, in great numbers: exceedingly to the losse of such, as made of their slaues very profitable vse. But *Perseus* tooke hold vpon this occasion: as firly seruing to pacifie those, whose enmity faine he would haue changed into loue. He therefore apprehended all these fugitiues, to send them home againe: and wrote vnto the Achæans, That as for good will vnto them, hee had taken paines to restore back their seruants; so should they doe very well to take order for keeping them, that hereafter they might not run away againe. His meaning was readily vnderstood, & his letters kindly accepted by the greater part; being openly rehearsed by the Prætor, before the Council. But *Callicrates* took the matter very angerly; and bade them be aduised what they did: for that this was none other, than a plaine deuice, to make them depart from the friendship of the Romanes. Heerewithall hee tooke vpon him, somewhat liberally, to make the Achæans beforehand acquainted with the Warre, that was comming vpon *Perseus* from Rome. Hee told

told them, how *Philip* had made preparations for the same warre; how *Demetrius* had beene made away, because of his good affection to the Romanes; and how *Perseus* had, since his being King, done many things, tending to the breach of peace. Briefly Hee rehearsed all those matters, which were afterwards alleaged by the Romans; the inuasion of the Bastarnæ, vpon the Dardanians; the kings iourny against the Dolopians; his voyage to Delphi, & finally, his peaceable behauiour, which was (he said) a dangerous temptation of men to his party. Wherfore he aduised them, to expect the euent of things, and not ouer-hastily to enter into any degree of friendship with the Macedonians. Heereto good answer was made by the Prætors brother: That *Callicrates* was too earnest, in so light a matter; and that, being neither one of the kings cabbinet, nor of the Romane Senate, he made himselfe too well acquainted with all that had passed, or was like to follow. For it was well knowne, that *Perseus* had renued his league with the Romans; that he was by them saluted King, and friend to the Estate; and that he had louingly entertained their Embassadors: This being so: why might not the Achæans, as well as the Ætolians, Thessalians, Epirots, & all the Greeks, hold with him such correspondence, as common humanitie required? Neuertheless *Callicrates* was growne a man so terrible, by his Roman acquaintance, that they durst not ouer-stiffely gainesay him. Therefore the matter was referred vnto further deliberation: and answer made the whilest, That since the king had onely sent a letter without an Embassadour; they knew not how to resolue. Better it was to say thus, than that they were afraid to doe as they thought most reasonable and conuenient. But when *Perseus* herewith not contented, would needes vrge them further, and send Embassadors: then were they faine, without any good pretence, to put on a countenance of anger, and deny to giue audience: which was proofe sufficient (to one that could vnderstand) of the condition wherein they liued. For harkening to this aduice of *Callicrates*; they were soone after highly commended by a Roman Embassadour: whereby it became apparant, that the Romans intended warre vpon the Macedonian; though hitherto no cause of warre was giuen.

§. V.

How Eumenes *King of Pergamus was busied with* Pharnaces, *the Rhodians and others. His hatred to the Macedonian: whom he accuseth to the Roman Senate. The Senate honours him greatly, and contemnes his enemies the Rhodians; with the causes thereof. The vnusuall stoutnesse of the Macedonian Embassadors.* Perseus *his attempt vpon* Eumenes. *The brotherly loue betweene* Eumenes *and* Attalus. Perseus *his deuice to poyson some of the Roman Senators: whereupon they decree warre against him, and send him defiance. Other things, concerning the iustice of this warre.*

Polyb. Legat. 56. & 59.

EVmenes King of Pergamus had beene troubled, about these times, by the Kings *Pharnaces* and *Mithridates* his neighbours. Hee had taken the right course; in making first his complaint to the Romanes: by whom hee was animated with comfortable words, and promise, That they, by their authoritie, would end the busnesse, to his content. But in conclusion, by the helpe of the Kings *Prusias* and *Ariarathes*, he ended the warre himselfe; and brought the Enemies to seeke and accept peace, on such conditions as pleased him to giue them. After this, being at good leisure; he began to consider, how the affaires of Macedon stood vnder *Perseus*. His hatred to *Perseus* was very great: and therefore he was glad to vnderstand, that the hatred of the Romans, to the same his Enemy, was as great, and withall notorious. Now besides his ancient and hæreditarie quarrell with the Macedonian; it vexed him exceedingly, That his own honours (whereof the Greeks, prodigall in that kinde, had heaped immoderate store on his father and him) began to waxe euery where stale: whilest *Perseus*, either by his currying fauour, or by the enny borne to the Romans, had gotten their best liking and wishes. For despight of this indignitie, He stirred vp the Lycians against the Rhodians his old friends: and in helping the rebels was so violent, that he proceeded, in a manner, to open warre. But small pleasure found he, in these poore & indirect courses of reuenge. The Lycians could not be saued by his patronage, from seuere and cruell chastisement, giuen to them by the Rhodians. This rendred him contemptible: as likewise, his acts of hostilitie, little different from robberies, made him hatefull to those which loued him before. As for his honours in the Cities of Greece; they not onely continued falling

Polyb. Legat. 74.

falling into neglect; but were abrogated by a decree of the Achæans, as too vnmeasured, misbeseeming them to giue, and affected by him beyond the proportion of his deseruings. All this (which he needed not to haue regarded, had hee not beene too vainely ambitious) befell him, especially for his being ouer-seruiceable to the Romanes, and for his malice to that noble Kingdome, which if it fell, the liberty of Greece was not like to stand. Now for the redresse heereof; hee thought it in vaine to striue any longer with bounty, against such an aduersarie, as by hopefull promises alone, without any great performance, had ouer-topped him in the generall fauor. And therefore he resolued euen to ouerturn the foundations of this popularitie, by inducing the Romans vtterly to take away from the eyes of men, this Idol, The Macedonian kingdome, which all so vainely worshipped. Neither would it proue a difficult matter, to perswade those that were already desirous: rather he was like to be highly thanked, for setting forward their wishes; and perhaps to be recompenced with some piece of the kingdome, as he had beene rewarded, for the like seruice, when *Antiochus* was vanquished.

Liuie lib. 42.

To this end he made a second voyage to Rome: where though hee had little to say which they knew not before; yet his words were heard with such attention, as if they had contained some strange noueltie, and so pondered by the Fathers, as if the weight of them were to turne the ballance, that before was equall. The death of *Demetrius*, the expedition of the Bastarnæ into Dardania; that of *Perseus* himselfe against the Dolopians, and to Delphi; the great estimation of the Macedonian in Greece; his intermedling in busnesse of neighbours; his riches, and his great prouisions: were all the materiall points of *Eumenes* his discourse. Only he descended into particulars, hauing searched into all (as he professed) like vnto a Spie. Hee said, that *Perseus* had thirty thousand foot, and fiue thousand Horse, of his owne; money in a readinesse to entertaine ten thousand Mercenaries for ten yeeres; armes, to furnish a number thrice as great; The Thracians his friends at hand, ready, at a call, to bring him Souldiers as many as hee should require; and that he prepared victuals for ten yeeres, because he would not be driuen, either to liue vpon spoyle, or to take from his owne Subiects. Heerewithall hee prayed them to consider, that king *Seleucus* the sonne and successour of *Antiochus* the Great, had giuen his daughter *Laodice* in marriage to *Perseus*; *Perseus* not wooing, but *Seleucus* offering the match; That king *Prusias* of Bythinia, by earnest suite, had gotten to wife the sister of *Perseus*, and that these marriages were solemnized with great concourse of Embassages from all quarters. Neither spared he to tell them, (though seeming loath to vtter it plainely) That euen the enuie of their Estate was the cause, why many that could not endure to heare of amitie with *Philip*, were now growne maruellously well affected to his sonne. All this, and some facts of *Perseus*, which might either be denied, or iustified (as, that he had procured the death of some which were friends to the Romans, & that he had expelled *Abrypolis* the Illyrian, who inuaded Macedon, out of his Kingdome or Lordship) *Eumenes* failed not to amplifie vnto the most: saying that he thought it his dutie to forewarne them; since it would be to himselfe a great shame, if *Perseus* got the start of him, and were in Italie making warre vpon the Romans, ere *Eumenes* could come thither to tell them of the danger.

It were too great folly, to beleeue that the Romans stood in feare of *Perseus*, lest hee should set vpon them in Italie. Neuertheless forasmuch as they loued not to make war without faire pretence, not onely of wrong done to them or their associates, but of further hurt intended: great thankes were giuen to *Eumenes*, who had euery way furnished them with such goodly colour, to beautifie their intendment. Now though it were so that hee told them little else than what they knew before: yet his person, and the manner of his comming, made all seeme greater. For if vpon any relation made by their owne Embassadours, or vpon tales deuised by their flatterers and spies, they had warred against *Perseus*, ere he had committed any open act of hostility against them; their iniustice, and oppression, would haue beene most manifest. But when the wrongs to them done were so notorious, and the danger threatning them so terrible; that such a Prince as *Eumenes*, came out of his owne Kingdome, as farre as from Asia, to bid them looke to themselues: who could blame them, if they tooke the speediest order to obtaine their owne right and securitie? Toward this iustification of the warre, and magnifying the necessitie that enforced them thereto; their more than vsuall curiositie, in concealing what *Eumenes* had vttered in the Senate, when they could not but vnderstand that his errand was

was well knowne; helped not a little. The Macedonian and Rhodian Embassadours were at Rome, prouided of answers to the words, which they knew before-hand that he would speake; and with matter of recrimination. The vanity, either of Him, or of some about him, seemes to haue disclosed all: when the warinesse of the *Fathers*, in hiding that which all men knew, made a notable shew of some fearfull apprehension; against which, it behooued their wisedome to neglect no possible remedie. Wherefore carelesse audience was giuen to the Rhodian Embassadours; who accused *Eumenes*, as one more troublesome to Asia, than *Antiochus* had euer beene, and a prouoker of the Lycians to rebellion. The Rhodians had with great pompe, conueighed by sea vnto *Perseus*, his bride *Laodice*; which friendly office as the Macedonian bountifully requited, so the Romans de- 10
spightfully accepted. Hence it grew, that when the Lycians, as already vanquished, were
Polyb. Legat. 60. & 61. setling themselues in their obedience to the people of Rhodes: Embassadors came from Rome with strange news, which gaue new life to the rebellion. For the Senate pronounced, That it stood not with the manner of the Romans, to aliene quite from their owne
Liu. lib. 41. protection any people or Nation by them vanquished; and that the Lycians were by them assigned vnto those of Rhodes, not as meere vassals, but as dependants and associates. For proofe hereof, they referred themselues vnto the commentaries of the tenne Embassadours; whom they had sent to dispose of things in Asia, after the victory against king *Antiochus*. Hereat *Eumenes*, *Masanissa*, The Ætolians, and all other Kings or Estates, that were beholding to Rome for increasing the number of their subiects, had cause to 20
finde themselues agrieued if they well considered the matter: since by force of this or the like decree, those their subiects might easily be made their fellowes, whensoeuer it should please the Senate: though it were so, that all men knew the present meaning of the Senate, which was onely to plague the Rhodians, for their good wil to *Perseus*, by setting them and the Lycians together by the eares. The *Fathers* could therfore see no reason to dislike *Eumenes*, vpon this complaint made by the Rhodian Embassadours; which indeed more neerely touched themselues. Rather they honoured the king so much the more: for that others (as they would needes take it) conspired against him, because of his loue to Rome.

But the Macedonian Embassage they heard not so carelesly as angrily: though peradventure it well contented them to finde cause of anger. For whereas at other times all 30
cares had beene taken, to pacifie them with gentle words and excuses: now heard they plainer language, and were told, That king *Perseus* desired much to giue them satisfaction, concerning any deed or word of his, that might sauour of hostilitie; but that, if his trauaile in this kinde proued vaine, then would he be ready to defend himselfe by armes, and stand to the chance of warre, which often falls out contrarie to expectation. These bigge words may seeme to haue proceeded from the vehemencie of *Harpalus*, that was chiefe of the Embassadors; rather than from instruction giuen by the king, with whose faint heart they agreed not. Yet was there good reason, why *Perseus* himselfe might, at this time, thinke to speed better by a shew of daring, than he was like to do by any sub- 40
mission. For the eyes of all Greece being now cast vpon him, as on the greatest hope of deliuerance from the Roman seruitude; it was not expedient, that he should lessen, or perhaps vtterly cut off, the generall expectation, and the good affection borne to him, which thereon depended, by discouering his too much weaknesse of spirit, vnanswerable to a worke of such importance. Wherefore He, or his Embassador for him, was bold to set a good countenance on a game not very bad, but subiect (in appearance) to fortune; which might haue beene his, had he knowne how to vse it.

Now that this brauery (as better it may be termed than courage) proceeded from the kings owne heat; it appeares by his daring to aduenture soone after, on a practice that 50
more iustly might anger the Romans, and giue them fairer shew of reason to make warre vpon him. It was knowne that *Eumenes*, in turning home, would take Delphi in his way, and there doe sacrifice to *Apollo*. *Perseus* deadly hating him, and thirsting after his blood, resolued to way-lay him, and by making there of him a sacrifice, to rid his owne hands of a most mischieuous enemy. So there were appointed three or foure stout ruffians to doe the murder: who placing themselues, behinde a broken mud wall, on the side of a very narrow path leading vp from the Sea to the Temple; did thence assault the King; whom they sorely bruised with great stones, and left for dead. They might haue finished their worke; such was the opportunitie of the place which they had chosen; but feare of being

being apprehended, made them, without staying to see all sure, flee in such haste, that they killed one of their owne companions, who could not hold pace with them, because hee should not discouer them. *Eumenes* was conueighed away to the little Ile of Ægina, where he was cured: being all the while kept so secretly, that the fame of his death was current in Asia. Hence it came, that his brother *Attalus* tooke vpon him as King, & either tooke or would haue taken to wife (supposing it belike a matter of State) *Stratonica* the daughter of King *Ariarathes*, whom he then thought the widow of *Eumenes*. It may well be numbred among the rare examples of brotherly loue, That when the King returned aliue home, *Attalus* going forth to meet him and doe his dutie, as in former times, 10
receiued none other checke, than *that hee should forbeare to marrie with the Queene, vntill Hee were well assured of the Kings death.* More than this, *Eumenes* neuer spake of these matters; but bequeathed at his death, vnto the same brother, both his wife and Kingdome. As likewise *Attalus* forbore to attempt any thing to the preiudice of the King his brother: though the Romans (with whom he continued and grew in speciall fauour, when *Eumenes* fell into their hatred) were in good readinesse, to haue transferred the Kingdome from his brother to Him. By such concord of brethren was the Kingdome of Pergamus raised and vpheld: as might also that of Macedon haue been, if *Demetrius* had liued and employed his grace with the Romans, to the benefit of *Perseus*.

It is likely that *Perseus* was very glad when he vnderstood, that his ministers had both
accomplished his will, and had saued all from discouerie. But as he was deceiued in the maine point, and heard shortly after, that *Eumenes* liued: so was Hee beguiled in that other hope, of the concealement; which he vainly esteemed the lesse materiall. For Hee had written to one *Praxo* a Gentlewoman of Delphi, to entertain the men whom he sent about this businesse: and she, being apprehended by *C. Valerius* a Roman Embassadour then attending vpon the matters of Greece, was carried to Rome. Thus all came to light. *Valerius* also brought with him to Rome, out of Greece, one *Rammius* a Citizen of Brundusium: who comming newly from the Court of Macedon, loaden with a dangerous secret, had presently sought out the Embassador, and therof discharged himselfe. Brundusium was the ordinary Port, for ships passing between Italy and Greece. There had *Rammius* a faire house, wherin he gaue entertainment, being a wealthy man, to Embassadors, 30
and other honourable personages, both Romans and Macedonians, iournying to and fro. By occasion of such his hospitality, he was commended to *Perseus*, and inuited into Macedon with friendly letters; as one, whose many courtesies to his Embassadors, the King was studious to requite. At his comming he was much made of; and shortly, with more familiaritie than he expected or desired, made partaker of the kings secrets. The summe of all was, That he must needes doe a turne, in giuing to such of the Romans as the king should hereafter name, a poyson of rare quality, sure in operation, yet not to be perceiued either in the taking or afterward. Hee durst not refuse to accept this employment; for feare left the vertue of this medicine should be tryed vpon himselfe. But being once
at liberty; he discouered all. *Rammius* was but one man, and one whom the king had neuer seene before, nor was like to see againe: and therefore, besides that the kings deniall ought to be as good as such a fellowes affirmation, the accusation was improbable. Thus did *Perseus*, in time shortly following, answer for himselfe; and in like sort concerning the attempt vpon *Eumenes*: denying to haue had any hand, either in the one or other: yet withall professing, That such obiections were not to be made vnto a king, to proue the rightfulnesse of making warre vpon him; but rather vnto a subiect pleading for his life in iudgement. But howsoeuer the Romans neglected the getting of stronger proofe (which might haue beene easie) than any that wee finde by them produced: yet the base & cowardly temper of *Perseus* was very suteable to these practices. Neither did
the Senate greatly stand to dispute the matter with him: these his treacheries being held inexcusable. And as for his Royall Estate, wherein he supposed that they ought not to touch him for such priuate offences, it gaue him no priuiledge: they iudging him to haue offended in the nature of a king. Herein surely they wanted not good reason. For if hee might not lawfully make warre vpon *Eumenes* their confederate; that is, if Hee might not send men, to waste the kingdome of Pergamus, or to besiege the Townes: might he send Ruffians to murder the king? If it were no lesse breach of the league to destroy the Senators by fire or famine, than by violence of the sword: was it lawfull for him to doe it

it by poyson? Wherefore they presently decreed warre against him; and sent Embassadours to denounce it vnto him, vnlesse hee would yeeld to make such amends as they should require. He seemed at this time to haue beene so confident in the generall fauour of Greece, and other comfortable appearances; that if he desired not warre, yet he did not feare it: or at least he thought by shew of courage, to make his enemies more calme. He caused the Embassadours to dance attendance, till being weary, they departed without audience. Then called he them backe; and bade them doe their errand. They made a tedious rehearsall of all matters, which they had long been collecting against him, and wherewith *Eumenes* had charged him: adding thereto, that Hee had entertained long and secret conference in the Ile of Samothrace, with Embassadours sent to him out of Asia, about some ill purpose. In regard of all which they peremptorily required satisfaction; as was their manner when they intended to giue defiance. Better they might haue stood vpon the euidence, brought against him by *Rammius* and *Praxo*. For if those accusations could be verified, then wanted they not good ground whereon to build: of which otherwise they were destitute; it being no fault in a King, to be strong, wel-beloued, and well friended. *Perseus* answered, for the present, in a rage; calling the Romans, Greedy, Proud, Insolent, and vnderminers of him by their daily Embassadors, that were no better than meere spies. Finally, he promised to giue them in writing their full answer: which was to this effect; That he would no longer stand to the league, made betweene them and his father, and renewed by himselfe indeed onely for feare: but wished them to descend to more equall conditions, whereupon he, for his part, would aduise, as they might also doe for theirs.

Polyb. Legat. 9. In the forme of the league betweene *Philip* and the Romans, as it is set downe by *Polybius*, we finde no condition, binding the Macedonian to any inconuenience in the future; *Liu. lib. 33.* excepting those which he immediately performed. But *Liuie* inserts a clause, wherby he was expresly forbidden, to make any war abroad, without leaue of the Romans. It is most likely, that all the Roman confederates were included in this peace: whereby euery one of the neighbours round about Macedon, entring shortly into league with Rome, did so binde the Kings hands, that he could no more make warre abroad, than if he had beene restrained by plaine couenant. And thus might that seeme an Article of the peace, which neuer was agreed vpon, but onely was inferred by consequence. Now if the Romans would vrge this point further, and say, that the Macedonian might not beare defensiue armes, without their permission: then had *Perseus* very iust reason to finde himselfe agrieued. For since they had allowed his father, without controule, to make warre in Thrace, (whilest they themselues were vnacquainted with the Thracians) and elsewhere abroad, though he asked not their licence: why should they now interpret the bargaine after another fashion? Was it now become vnlawfull for him to chastise his owne Rebels, or to repay an Illyrian that inuaded Macedon? By such allegations hee maintained the right of his cause, in very milde sort; when it was too late. At the present, by disclaiming the league as vniust; he ministred occasion vnto the Embassadours, to giue him defiance. Hauing heard the worst of their message; he commanded them to be gone out of his kingdome in three dayes. But either he should haue beene lesse vehement, or more constant in his resolution. For if his heart could serue him to vndertake the warre; hee should couragiously haue managed it, and haue fallen to worke immediately, whilest the Enemie was vnprepared; not haue lost opportunitie, as now and often he did, in hope of obtaining a worse peace than the former.

§.VI.

§. VI.

The Romans sollicit the Greekes, to ioyne with them in the warre against Perseus. *How the Greekes stood affected in that warre. The Timorousnesse of* Perseus. Martius *a Roman Embassadour deludes him with hope of Peace. His forces. He takes the field, and winnes part of Thessaly. The forces of* Licinius *the Roman Consul: and what assistants the Romans had in this Warre. Of Tempe in Thessaly; and what aduantages the Macedonian had, or might haue had; but lost by his feare.* Perseus *braues the Romans; fights with them; knowes not how to vse his victorie; sues for Peace; and is denied it by the vanquished.* Perseus *hauing the worse in a skirmish, forsakes all the Countrey lying without Tempe. The Bœotians rebell against the Romans, and are rigorously punished. The Roman Commanders vnfortunate in the warre against* Perseus. *They vexe the Greekes their friends; for whose ease the Senate makes prouision, hauing heard their complaints. The flattering Alabanders.*

SO long had the Romans beene seeking occasion to take in hand this Macedonian war, that well might they haue beene ready for it, when it came; and not (as they were) behinde hand in prouisions. But it was on a sudden that they met with a confluence of good pretences to make the warre: whereof, if no one alone had weight enough, yet all of them together seemed more than sufficient. This opportunitie of making their cause honest in common opinion, was not to be neglected: though otherwise they were vnprepared for the action. Wherefore knowing, or hauing reason to beleeue, that their owne strength was such as would preuaile in the end; they hastily embraced the faire occasion of beginning, and referred other cares to the diligence of Time. Neither was this their vnreadinesse a small helpe, towards examining the disposition of the Greekes, and others; who must afterwards dearely pay for any backwardnesse found in their good will. There was not indeed any cause to feare, that all of the Greekes or other Easterne people should conspire together, and take part with the Macedonian: such was the dissention betweene their seuerall Estates; howsoeuer the generalitie of them were enclined the same way. Neuertheless Embassadours were sent to deale with them all; and to craue their helpe against *Perseus*, or rather to demand it, in no lesse ample manner, than heretofore they had yeelded it against *Philip* and *Antiochus*, in warres pretending the liberty of Greece. The Embassadours vsed as gentle words for fashions sake, as if they had stood in doubt, that their request might happen to bee denied. But the Greeks were now growne well acquainted with such Roman courtesie: and vnderstood that not only such as made refusall, but euen they who might seeme to haue granted halfe vnwillingly, were like to heare other manner of words, when once this business was ended. Wherefore none of them were scrupulous in promising the best of their helpe to the Romans: the * Achæans and Rhodians, which were chiefe among them, being rather doubtfull, euen when they had done their best, lest it should be ill taken, as if they had halted in some part of their duetie. It is strange, that men could be so earnest to set vp the side, whereof they gladly would haue seene the ruine. The vulgar sort was euery where addicted to *Perseus*; of the Nobles and Rulers, if some were vehemently Roman, they wanted not oppofers, that were wholly Macedonian; yea, the wisest and most honest, who regarded onely the benefit of their Countrey, wished better to *Perseus* than to the Romans. And of this number, *Polybius* the chiefe of Historians was one: who, though Hee * iudged the victory of *Perseus*, like to prooue hurtfull vnto Greece; yet wished hee the Romans ill to thriue, that so the Greekes might recouer perfect libertie: for his endeuours in which course, he was at length tyrannically handled, as shall be shewed hereafter. This considered, it appeares, that an extraordinarie feare, and not onely reuerence of the Imperial City, made the Achæans and other Estates of Greece, thus conformable to the Romans. The occasion of this their feare, may be iustly imputed vnto the timorous demeanour of *Perseus* himselfe. He had vndertaken a warre, whereof the benefit should redound, not onely to his owne kingdome, but vnto all that were oppressed by the Romans. Yet no sooner were some few companies brought ouer-sea, to make a countenance of meaning somewhat against him, than he began to speak the enemy faire, and sue for Peace at Rome. Since therefore it was knowne, that euery small thing would serue to terrifie him; & consequently, that it should at all times be in the Romans power,

* *Polyb. Legat.* 72. 78. & 80.

* *Polyb. Legat.* 77.

by

by giuing him any tolerable conditions of peace, to take reuenge at leisure vpon those which had assisted him: little cause was there, why any should aduenture to partake with him. He made indeed a great noise; leading about his armie; taking by force or composition, some few Townes; and solliciting all to ioyne with him. But wise men could not be so beguiled. For at the same time, hee sought all meanes of pacification: and to that end, made humble suit vnto the Roman Embassadours. *Q. Martius*, the chiefe of those Embassadours, and a man of more fineneſſe in cunning than was vsuall among the Romans; made shew of inclination to the Kings desire: and gaue out such comfortable words, that the king intreated, and obtained a meeting at the Riuer Peneus. There did *Martius* very gently rebuke the king, and charge him with those crimes that are before mentioned. Whereto though *Perseus* made none other answer, than the same which they could haue made for him; yet the Embassadours, and especially *Martius*, tooke it in good part, as therewith satisfied; and aduised him to giue the like satisfaction to the Senate. That this might conueniently bee done; a truce was agreed vpon. Thus had *Martius* his desire; which was, to make the king lose time. For *Perseus* had all things then in readineſſe, and might haue done much, ere the Roman Armie could haue beene in Greece. But by the interposition of this truce, hee no way increased his forces; hee suffred a most conuenient season, of winning vpon the enemie, to slip away; and obtained in recompence nothing else, than leisure and vaine hope. Yet was he pleased herewith, as it had beene with some victory: publishing a copie of the disputation betweene him and the Romans, wherby he gaue men to vnderstand, how much he had the better, and what hope there was of Peace. He sent Embassadours also to the Rhodians, of whose good will to him he was best perswaded; not onely to let them know how much he was superiour in cause; but to intreat them, that they would take vpon them, as moderators, to compound the differences betweene him and the Romans, if perhaps, notwithstanding the goodneſſe of his cause, hee should be denied peace. These were poore helpes. For hereby it appeared, that his late standing vpon point of Honour, was no better than meere vanity: his owne safety being the vtmost of his ambition. This his fearefulneſſe might seeme excusable, and the blame thereof to appertaine vnto the Greekes; who deceiued his expectation, by being wanting to him in time of a neceſſitie, that was partly their owne: had it not bin his office, who tooke vpon him as their Champion, to giue such a manly beginning to the warre, as might encourage all others to follow him. But his timorous quality being found, men grew daily more and more auerse from him; and were carefull, not to put their shoulders to a falling wall. The Rhodians, among whom he had many stout partizans, desired him not to craue any thing at their hands, in which they might seeme to do against the good liking of the Romans. The Bœotians also, who had entred of late into a strict societie with the Macedonian; renounced it now, and made the like with the Romans; to whom further, in a sort, they yeelded themselues as vassals. Neither was *Martius* contented to accept their submission vnder a generall forme; but caused their seuerall Townes to make couenant apart, each for it selfe; to the end, that being thus distracted into many little Common weales, they might not (were they neuer so desirous to rebell) haue such force to doe hurt, as when they agreed, and were incorporated in one, vnder the Citie of Thebes. This worke, of separating the Bœotians from Thebes their head; was more than *Agesilaus* could effect, or *Epaminondas* would suffer, then when all Greece followed the Lacedæmonians. So far more auailable to Thebes, being destitute of helpe from abroad, was the vertue of *Epaminondas* and a few braue Citizens; than was the societie with king *Perseus*, against a number not so great as followed the Lacedæmonians.

Martius brought this to effect, whilest the king sate still, as being bound by the truce: and hauing done this, he returned to the Citie; where vaunting what he had wrought by his craft, he was commended, and (though some reprooued it as dishonest) employed againe by the Senate, with commission to deale as he should thinke expedient. Touching the Embassadours which *Perseus* had sent; audience was giuen to them, for that they should not plainly see how their Master was deluded: but neither excuse, nor intreatie, would serue their turne; the Senate being resolued before-hand whet to doe. It was enough that they were admitted into the City, & had thirty dayes respite allowed them to depart out of Italy: whereas they, who came last on the same errand, did their message without the walls, in the Temple of *Bellona* (the vsuall place of giuing audience to open

open enemies, or to such Commanders, as might not, by reason of some custome, enter the Citie) and had onely the short warning of eleuen dayes, to be gone out of Italy. Neither did this poore courtesie serue onely to hide the craft of *Martius*, as if he had meant none other than good earnest: but it was a likely meane, both to keep a long while from *Perseus* the knowledge of his busineſſe, and to stagger his resolution, when hee should need it most firme.

And accordingly it fell out. For *Licinius* the Romane Consul, was at Apollonia, in a manner as soon, as the Macedonian Embassadors were with their king at Pella. Which, though it were enough to haue rouzed *Perseus*, and haue made him lay aside all cowardly hope of getting pardon: yet was he contented to deliberate a while, Whether it were not better to offer himselfe tributary to the Romans, and to redeem their good will with some part of his kingdome, that so hee might enioy the rest; than to put all at once to hazzard. But finally, the stoutest counsel preuailed; which also was the wisest, and so would haue proued, had it beene stoutly and wisely followed. Hee now beganne, as if the warre had not begunne vntill now, to doe what should haue bin done long afore. He caused all his forces to be drawne together; and appointed their Rendeuous at Citium, a Towne in Macedon. All being in readineſſe, he did royall sacrifice, with an hundred beasts, to I know not what *Minerua*, that was peculiarly honoured in his Country: and then with all his Courtiers, and those of his guard, set forward to Citium. His armie he found consisting of nine and thirty thousand foot, and foure thousand horse, whereof about twelue thousand foot, and a thousand horse, were strangers, of sundry nations, most part Thracians; the rest of his owne Macedonians. These hee animated with liuely speeches; laying before them the glory of their ancestors, the insolencie of the Romans, the goodneſſe of his cause, the greatneſſe of his prouisions, and the many aduantages which they had of the Enemy, especially in numbers. They answered him cheerefully, with loud acclamations, and bade him be of good courage. From all cities of Macedon there came likewise messengers, offering to helpe him with money and victuals, according to their seuerall abilities. He gaue them thankes: but answered, That his own prouisions would abundantly suffice, willing them only to furnish him with carts, for his engines and munition.

Out of his owne kingdome he issued forth into Thessalie: knowing that the Romans were to passe through that Country, in their iourney towards him. Some Townes of Thessalie opened their gates vnto him, without making offer to defend themselues; some he balked, thinking them too strong or well manned; and some he wonne by force. Of these last was Mylæ; a Towne thought impregnable, & therefore, not more stoutly than proudly defended by the inhabitants, who gaue contumelious language to the assailants. It was taken by reason of a sally; which the Townesmen rashly made, and being driuen backe, receiued the Macedonians, that entred pell mell with them at the gate. All cruelty of war was practised here: to the greater terrour of the obstinate. So Velatiæ and Connus (townes of much importance, especially Connus, which stood in the streights of Ossa, leading into Tempe) yeelded at the first. Hauing well fortified this passage, the king marched onwards to Sycurium, a town seated on the foot of mount Ossa; where he rested a while, expecting newes of the Enemy.

Licinius the Consul brought with him onely two Roman Legions: being promised other strength of auxiliaries, which was thought sufficient. *Eumenes* and *Attalus* his brother came to him in Thessalie, with foure thousand foot, and a thousand horse. Thither also came, from euery part of Greece, such aide as the seuerall Estates could afford, or thought expedient to send: which from the most of them was very little. Of the Kings abroad; *Masaniſſa* sent thither his sonne *Misagenes*, with a thousand foot, as many horse, and two and twenty Elephants. *Ariarathes* the Cappadocian, by reason of his affinitie with *Eumenes*, was friend to the Romans, and had sent to Rome his yong sonne, there to be brought vp: yet he did little or nothing in this warre; perhaps because *Eumenes* himselfe beganne within a while, but when it was too late, to be otherwise aduised than he had beene in the beginning. *Prusias* was content to be a looker on: as being allied to *Perseus*; and yet fearing the Romanes. *Antiochus* and *Ptolomie* (though *Ptolomie* was then young, and vnder Tutors) had busineſſe of their owne; the Syrian meaning to inuade the Egyptian: yet each of them promised helpe to the Romanes, which they cared not to perform. *Gentius* the Illyrian was inclinable to the Macedonian; yet

yet made good countenance to the Romans, for feare. It was a pretty tricke, wherewith *M. Lucretius*, the Roman Admirals brother, serued him, for this his counterfeit good wil. This king had foure and fiftie ships, riding in the hauen of Dyrrachium, vncertaine to what purpose: all which *Lucretius* tooke away, after a very kind sort; making shew to beleeue, That for none other end than to serue the Romans, their good friend *Gentius* had sent thither this fleet. But whatsoeuer *Gentius* thought in the beginning; he foolishly lost both his kingdome & himselfe, in the end of this warre; by offering, rather than giuing, his helpe to *Perseus*.

With none other company than what hee brought ouer the sea, *Licinius* came into Thessalie: so tyred with a painefull iourney, through the mountainous Country of A- 10
thamania, which stood in his way from Epirus; that if *Perseus* had been ready, attending his descent into the Plaines, the Romans must needs haue taken a great ouerthrow. Hee refreshed himselfe and his wearied armie, by the riuer Peneus; where he encamped, attending his auxiliaries, that came in as fast as they could. It was not any slender helpe, that could enable him to deale with *Perseus*. Therefore he resolued, to abide where hee then was, and keepe his trenches, vntill his numbers were sufficiently increased: contenting himselfe in the meane while, to haue gotten quiet entrance into the country. The land of Thessalie, in which these two armies lay, was better affected to the Romans, than any part of Greece besides: as hauing beene freed by them from a more heauy yoke of bondage to the Macedonian, when there was little hope or expectation of such a be- 20
nefit. It was generally rich, fruitfull, and abounding in all things needfull to mans life. In the midst of it, but somewhat more to the East, was that beautifull valley of Tempe, so exceedingly full of all delights, that the name was often vsed at large, to signifie the most pleasant and goodly places. This valley of it selfe was not great: but adding to it those huge mountaines Ossa & Olympus (famous in Poesie) with their Spurres or Branches, by which it was on all sides enclosed; it occupied the better part of Thessalie. And this way were the Romans to enter into Macedon; vnlesse they would make an hungry iourney, thorow the country of the Dassaretians, as in the former warre with *Philip*, they had long, in vaine, attempted to doe. *Perseus* therefore had no small aduantage, by being ma- 30
ster of the streights leading into Tempe: though farre greater he might haue had, if by mis-spending of time he had not lost it. For if in defending the ragged passages of these mountaines, he were able to put the Romans often to the worse; yea to winne vpon them (for a while) euery yeere more than other, both in strength and reputation: questionlesse he might haue done farre greater things, had he seized vpon the streights of Aous, which his father once kept, and defended all the Countrey behind the mountaines of Pindus. Surely not without extreme difficultie, must the Romans haue either trauelled by land, with all their carriages and impediments, through places wherein was no reliefe to bee found; or else haue committed their armies, and all things thereto needefull, vnto the mercie of Seas that were very dangerous; if hee would haue sought other way into Macedon, than through the heart of Greece: vpon neither of which courses 40
they once deuised, notwithstanding any trouble which they found in this present warre. It may perhaps bee said, that the Greekes, and others, whom the King must haue left on his backe, would haue made him vnable to defend any places too far from his owne home. But they were all, excepting the Thessalians, better affected now to him, than they had bin to his father in the former warre. The Ætolians, vpon whom the Athamanians depended, grew into suspition with the Romans (as wee shall finde anon) euen as soone as they met with *Perseus*. The Bœotians, how politikely soeuer *Martius* had wrought with them, aduentured themselues desperately in the Macedonian quarrell: what would they haue done, if hee at first had done his best? The Rhodi- 50
ans, Illyrians, yea and *Eumenes* himselfe, after a while began to wauer, when they saw things goe better with *Perseus*, than they had expected. So that if in stead of discouraging his friends, by suing basely for peace; he had raised their hopes, by any braue performance in the beginning; and encreased the number of his wel-willers, yea & bought downe with money (as he might haue done) some of his enemies, and among them, *Eumenes*, who offered for good recompence, to forget his broken head: then might the Romans perhaps haue bin compelled to forsake their imperious patronage ouer Greece; & to render the liberty, by them giuen, entire; which otherwise was but imaginary. Such benefit of this war, since it was hoped for afterwards, might with greater reason haue bin

expected

expected at first, from greater aduantages. But as a fearefull companie running from their enemies, till some riuer stay their flight; are there compelled by meere desperation to doe such acts, as done, while the battell lasted, would haue won the victory: so fell it out with *Perseus*. In seeking to auoid the danger of that warre, whereof he should haue sought the honour; he left his friends that would haue stood by him, & gaue them cause to prouide for their owne safety: yet being ouertaken by necessitie, hee chose rather to set his backe to the mountaines of Tempe, & defend himself with his proper forces; than to be driuen into such miserie, as was ineuitable, if he gaue a little further ground. What was performed by him or the Romans, all the while that hee kept his footing in Thessa-
10 lie, it is hard to shew particularly, for that the history of those things is much perished. Wherefore we must be contented with the summe.

The Consul hauing no desire to fight, vntill such time as all his forces were arriued; kept within his trenches, & lay still encamped by the Riuer of Peneus, about three miles from Larissa. That which perswaded the Consul to protract the time, did contrariwise incite the King, to put the matter vnto a hasty triall. Wherefore he inuited the Romanes into the field; by wasting the land of the Pheræans their confederates. Finding them patient of this indignitie; he grew bold to aduenture euen vnto their trenches: out of which if they issued, it was likely, that his aduantage in horse would make the victory his owne. At his comming they were troubled; for that it was sudden: yet no way terri-
20 fied; as knowing themselues to be safely lodged. They sent out a few of King *Eumenes* his horse, and with them some light armed foot, to entertaine skirmish. The Captaine, and some other of these were slaine: but no matter of importance done; for that neither *Licinius*, nor *Eumenes*, found it reasonable to hazzard battell. Thus day after day, a while together, *Perseus* continued offering battaile: which they still refused. Hereby his boldnesse much increased; and much more his reputation: to the griefe of those who being so farre come to make a Conquest, could ill digest the shame, that fell vpon them by their enduring these brauadoes. The Towne of Sycurium, where *Perseus* then lay, was twelue miles from the Romanes: neither was there any conuenient watering in that long march, which vsed to take vp foure houres of the morning; but hee
30 was faine to bring water along with him in carts, that his men might not bee both weary and thirsty when they came to fight. For remedy of these inconueniences, hee found out a lodging, seuen miles neerer to the enemy: whom hee visited the next day by the Sunne rising. His comming at such an vnusuall houre, filled the Campe with tumult: in so much as though he brought with him onely his horse and light armature, that were vnfit to assaile the trenches, yet the Consul thought it necessarie, and resolued to giue checke to his pride. Wherefore hee sent foorth his brother *C. Licinius*, King *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, and many braue Captaines, with all his power of horse, his Velites, and all the rest of his light armature, to trie their fortune: hee himselfe remaining in the Campe, with his Legions in readinesse. The honour of this morning, was the Macedo-
40 nian Kings; for he obtained the victory in a manner entire (though the Thessalians made a good retrait) with little losse of his owne. But he discouered his weaknesse ere night, by hearkening, as Princes commonly doe, to counsaile giuen by one of his owne temper. For whereas the Romans were in great feare lest he should assault their campe; and to that purpose, vpon the first newes of his successe, his Phalanx was brought vnto him by the Captaines, though vnsent for: he neuertheless tooke it for sound aduice, which indeed was timorous and base, To worke warily, and moderate his victory; by which meanes it was said, that either he should get honest conditions of peace, or at leastwise many companions of his fortune. Certainly it was like, that his good fortune would exalt the hope and courage of his friends. Yet had it beene greater, and had he wonne the
50 Roman Campe, his friends would haue beene the more, and the bolder. But ouer-great was his folly, in hoping then for peace: and in suing for it, euen when he had the victory, what else did hee, than proclaime vnto all which would become his partakers, that neither good nor bad fortune should keep him from yeelding to the Romans, whensoeuer they would be pleased to accept him? At this time the ioy of his victory would admit none of these considerations. Hee had slaine of the Roman horse two hundred, and taken of them prisoners the like number. Of their foot hee had slaine about two thousand: losing of his owne no more than twenty horse and fortie foot. The Romane Campe, after this disaster, was full of heauinesse and feare: it being much doubted that

the

the enemy would set vpon it. *Eumenes* gaue counsaile to dislodge by night, and remoue to a surer place beyond the Riuer Peneus. The Consul, though ashamed to professe, by so doing, in what feare he stood; yet thought it better to acknowledge the losse past, than by standing on proud tearmes, to draw vpon himselfe a greater calamitie. So hee passed the Riuer in the dead of the night, and encamped more strongly on the further side. The Ætolians were sorely blamed for this losse: as if rather a trayterous meaning, than any true feare, had occasioned their flight, wherein the rest of the Greeks followed them. Fiue of them that were men of especiall marke, had been obserued to bee the first which turned their backes: an obseruation likely to cost them deare, at a time of better leisure. As for the Thessalians, their vertue was honoured with reward: so as the Greeks might learne, by examples of either kinde, that if they would shunne indignation, or incurre fauour, then must they aduenture no lesse for their Lords the Romans, than gladly they would doe for their owne liberty. Thus fared it with the Consul and his Armie. *Perseus* came the next day to correct the former dayes errour; which how great it was, he not vntill then found. The Romanes were gotten into a place of safety; whither they could neuer haue attained, if the King had either pressed his victory, or giuen better heed to them that night: his light armature alone being sufficient to haue rowted them whilest they were conueying themselues to the other side of Peneus. But it was vaine to tell what might haue beene done, since there was no remedy. The Romans were beaten, euen the flower of their Citie, the Gentlemen of Rome; out of whom were chosen their Senators, and consequently the Generals themselues, Prætors, Consuls, and all that bore office or command among them; yea, they were beaten so shamefully, that they stole away by night, and suffered him to gather vp the spoyles of them without resistance, as yeelding themselues ouercome. With such braue words did the king set out the glory of his action; diuiding the spoyles among his followers. But there was much wanting within him, to haue made his honor sound. He came neerer to the Romans, and encamped at Mopselus, a place in the mid-way betweene Tempe and Larissa: as if it were his meaning to presse them somewhat harder. Neuertheless he was easily perswaded to vse the occasion, which he seemed to haue, of obtaining peace. Therefore he sent vnto the Consul, and offered to yeeld vnto the same Conditions, wherein his Father had beene bound to the Romans; if the warre might so take end. It were needlesse here againe to shew the folly of this his course. Towards the accomplishment of this desired peace, there was in the Consul no greater power than to grant a truce, whilest Embassadors might goe to Rome: it resting in the Senate and People to approue the conditions and ratifie the league. And of such a truce granted by *Martius*, he had lately found no small discommoditie redounding. But *Licinius* dealt plainly, and returned answer, That other hope of peace there was none; saue that *Perseus* would yeeld both his kingdome and person, simply and absolutely, to discretion of the Senate. A manly part it was of *Licinius* to bee so resolute in aduersitie. On the other side, it argued a faint heart in *Perseus*, that hauing receiued an answer so peremptory, he still persisted, making vaine offers of great tribute. Finding that the peace, which he so much desired, could not be purchased with money, the king withdrew himselfe backe to Sycurium. There he lay hearkening what the Enemy did; whose forces were well repaired by the comming of *Misagenes* the son of *Misanissa*, with the aide before mentioned. This distance betweene the king & them, caused the Romans to waxe the more bold in making their harnest: about which businesse they ranged all ouer the fields. Their carelesse demeanor gaue him hope to doe some notable exploit: which he attempted, both vpon their Campe, and vpon those that were abroad. The Campe hee thought to haue fired on the sudden: but the alarme being taken in good season, he failed in the enterprize. As for the forragers, he had a good hand vpon them, if hee could haue withdrawne it, and giuen ouer in time. But whilest he stroue to force a guard, he was visited by the Consul; by whom either in a skirmish of horse, or (for the report is diuers) in a great battell, he was ouercome. This misaduenture, whether great or small, caused *Perseus*, after a few dayes, to fall backe into Macedon; as being naturally giuen to feare danger, euen where none was; whereby what losse he felt, will appeare hereafter. Hee left all behinde him, saue onely Tempe, weakely guarded: and consequently an easie prey to the Romanes.

After the Kings departure, *Licinius* went straight vnto Connus; hoping to haue taken it,

it, and so to haue gotten entrance into Tempe. But finding the worke too hard, he returned backe vnto the Perrhæbians and others; from whom he won some townes, & among the rest, Larissa. There were sundry townes thereabout, bearing the same name of Larissa: so that this which the Consul tooke, may seeme not to haue belonged vnto the Thessalians; vnlesse, perhaps, after his victory, *Perseus* did greater Acts than we finde recorded, and got some part of Thessalie.

Of matters happening in Greece at this time, it is hard to giue a precise account; for that the histories of them are greatly defectiue. One may thinke it strange, that the Bœotians, whom a Roman Embassadour could terrifie, and bring altogether to his owne will, should not be afraid of a Roman Armie, then on foot in Greece, and a Nauie on their coast. But more strange it is, that the Thebans, from whom their dependants were taken by the Art of *Martius*, were more true to Rome, than other petty townes, which by that same distraction of the Bœotians, became within themselues more absolute, than formerly they had beene. The causes hereof were to haue beene sought among the changes, happening in their variable factions: whereof the knowledge is now lost. Some of them rebelled, and were throughly punished by *Lucretius* the Roman Admirall: who got so much by spoyling them, that hee would haue brought others to rebell in like sort, if by extreame oppression hee could haue driuen them so farre. Neither was *Licinius* the Consul vndiligent in the same kinde. What his doings were, after such time as he was at leisure from *Perseus*, I finde no where mentioned. Onely this is said in generall; That in the warre which hee made, hee cruelly and couetously demeaned himselfe. *Liu.lib.43.*

After the same fashion dealt they, that commanded in the yeere following; *Hostilius* the Consul, and *Hortensius* the Admirall, or Prætor of the Fleet. *Hostilius* shewed more of his industrie, in picking quarrels with the confederates of Rome, than in prosecuting the war against the Macedonian. For concerning the Roman war vpon his kingdome, after that the Consul had sought passage in vaine ouer certaine mountaines, *Perseus* seemed, in a manner, free from it. He was troubled indeede on that side which looked towards Illyria, by *Ap. Claudius*, whom the Consul sent thither with an Armie of foure thousand, and who, by leuies made vpon the Confederates, doubled this his Armie. But *Claudius* thinking to haue taken Vscana, a border towne of Illyria, by treason, came thither in such carelesse order, that the inhabitants which had made shew of treason, with purpose onely to traine him into danger; sallied foorth vpon him, ouerthrew him, and chased him so farre, that hardly he escaped with the fourth part of his company. Yet this towne of Vscana shortly after became Romane: which howsoeuer it happened, *Perseus* very soone recouered it, and many other places therewithall: *Cotys* a Thracian King, securing him on the one side of Macedon; and *Cephalus* an Epirote, reuolted from the Romans, on the other. *Perseus* likewise made a painefull iourney into Ætolia: where he was promised to be admitted into Stratus, that was the strongest Citie in that Region. Of this hope though he were disappointed by those of the Romane faction; yet in his returne home, he tooke in Aperantia; and shortly heard good newes, That *Ap. Claudius* was againe throughly beaten by *Cleuas*, one of his Lieutenants. Such successe had the Macedonian warre vnder *Hostilius*. The same Consul offended much the Greeks, by the strict inquisition which his Embassadours made into mens affection towards Rome. For these Embassadours trauelling thorow all the Cities of Peloponnesus, gaue out speeches tending to shew, That they liked no better of those who sought not by might and maine to aduance their businesse, than of those which were of the Macedonian faction. Their meaning was, to haue accused by name, in the Parliament of Achaia, *Lycortas* that worthy Commander, who nobly followed the steps of *Philopœmen*; and together with him, his sonne *Polybius*, who soone after was Generall of the Achæan horse, but more notable by that excellent historie which he wrote, than by his great employments, which he well and honourably discharged. The summe of the accusation was, That these were not heartie friends vnto the Romans, but such as should haue beene; That they abstained from raising troubles, more for lacke of opportunitie, than for any loue to the common quiet. But since no color of truth could be found, that might giue countenance to such a tale; it was thought better, for the present, to let it alone, & giue gentle words, as if all were well. In like manner dealt they among the Ætolians: They demanded hostages; and found some in the Councell that approued the motion: as also among the

Polyb.Legat.70.

Polyb.Leg.74.

the Acarnanians, there were that entreated to haue Roman garrisons bestowed in their townes. But neither the one nor the other of these propositions tooke effect. They of the Roman faction, accused not only such as were inclinable to the Macedonian, but also the good Patriotes; making it no lesse than a matter of treason, to be a Grecian in Greece. On the contrary side, there wanted not some, who roundly told these pick-thankes of their base flattery; rating them openly, in such sort, that one of them hardly escaped being stoned, euen in presence of the Embassadours. Thus was all full of accusations and excuses: among which the Embassadors carried themselues, as men that could beleeue none ill; though it were well enough knowne what they thought. The best was, that an order from the Senate was brought into Greece, and published, to this effect: That it should be free for all men, to refuse obedience to any Roman Magistrate, imposing any burthen for the present warre, vnlesse it were such, as the Senate had likewise thought meete. Of this decree the whole Country was glad: for it was, or seemed, a good remedy of many inconueniences. But they that standing on priuiledge hereof, refused to fulfill euery commandement, were numbred among the Patriotes; which in the end of this warre, proued little better, if not worse, than to haue beene Traytors. The Senate was driuen to set downe this order, by reason of the many & vehement complaints brought to Rome, concerning the wrongs done by Roman Magistrates, & especially by the Admirals, *Lucretius* and *Hortensius*. *Lucretius* was condemned in a great sum of money, for the wrongs by him done: highly to the commendation of the Romans, in that they loued not to haue their subiects oppressed. *Hortensius* being still in office, had warning to amend.

Among the great number of Embassages that came to Rome about this time, either to seek redresse of iniuries, or to offer their seruices: it is note-worthy, that from Alabanda, a towne of the lesser Asia, there was presented vnto the Senate, and well accepted, a most base piece of flatterie. These Alabanders brought three hundred horsemens targets, and a crowne of gold, to bestow vpon *Iupiter* in the Capitol. But hauing a desire to gratifie the Romans with some exquisite token of their dutifull obedience, wherein they would be singular; and being not able to reach vnto any great performance: they built a Temple, vnto the towne Rome, & appointed anniuersarie games to be celebrated among them, in honour of that *goddesse*. Now who can wonder at the arrogant folly of *Alexander*, *Antigonus*, *Ptolomie*, & the like vaine men, that would be thought gods; or at the shamelesse flatery of such as bestowed vpon men, and not the most vertuous of men, diuine honours; when hee sees a towne of houses, wherein powerfull men dwell, worshipped as a goddesse, and receiued (without scorne of the giuers, or shame of the Present) the title of *Deitie*, at the gift of such a rascall Citie as Alabanda?

§ VII.

Q. Martius *the Roman Consul, with extreame difficultie and danger, enters into Tempe. The cowardize of* Perseus *in abandoning Tempe. The towne of Dium quitted by* Martius; *repaired and fortified by the King. The Romans attempt many places, with ill successe. Their affaires in hard estate.* Martius *a cunning and a bad man.* Polybius *sent Embassadour to* Martius *from the Achæans.* Polybius *his honest wisedome beneficiall to the Acheans. King* Eumenes *growes auerse from the Romans.* Perseus *negotiates with* Antiochus, *and* Eumenes. *His false dealing with* Gentius *King of Illyria; whom he drawes into the Romane warre. He sends Embassadors to the Rhodians; who vainely take vpon them to be arbitrators betweene him and the Romans.* Perseus *loseth a mightie succour of the Bastarnæ, by his wretched parsimonie.*

After two yeeres of the Macedonian warre, things were further out of tune in Greece, than when the warre began; which had beene thought likely to reforme all those Countries, and bring them to what passe the Romans desired; as it did in the end. *Perseus* had hitherto the better, and was stronger now, than when he liued in peace. He had enlarged his borders on the Illyrian side; his friends, in al parts of Greece, tooke courage daily; and his reputation grew such, as caused those that were before wholly Roman, to suspect what the issue of the warre might proue, and thereupon to become wise for themselues. Contrariwise, *Licinius* & *Hostilius* the Consuls, had one after the

the other spent their time in vaine, seeking way into Macedon; and defaced the glorious enterprize of conquest, by very many losses receiued. The Roman Admiralls had so demeaned themselues, that many Townes, euen of the best affected to Rome, kept them out by force. Generally, the feare was great on the Romans side; and the Armie much lessened, not onely by casualties of warre, but by the facilitie of the Tribunes or Colonels, or else of the Consul himselfe (for they laid the blame one vpon another) in licencing the souldiers to depart. *Quintius Martius* the new Consul, who succeeded vnto *Hostilius*, was to amend all this: which neuertheless was more than hee knew how to doe: though he brought with him a strong supply of men. Hee began hotly to set the warre on foot, which a long time had slept. And hee began the right way: not seeking to force the streights that were surely guarded, but taking pains to climbe the mountains which were thought able to forbid all passage ouer them, without helpe or heed of any custodie. The King heard of his approach; and being vncertaine what way hee meant to take, distributed his owne forces, to the defence of all places which might giue entrance, or permit ascent. But the Consul proceeded in his iourney: with hope, either not to be discouered by the Enemie, or to breake through all opposition, or at least wise, to fight on as conuenient ground, as they should haue that lay to stop him, and at length, if all failed to make a safe retreat. He sent before him foure thousand of his most expedit foot, to discouer the waies. Two daies was this company troubled, in ouercomming the difficultie of no more than fifteene miles: after which they had sight of the Enemie, that lay to denie their passage. They occupied therefore a safe peece of ground; and sent backe word to the Consul, where they were; intreating him to hasten vnto them: which hee did. The Macedonians were not a whit dismayed at his arriuall; but met him, and fought with him, two or three daies together; each returning to their owne Campe at night, with little losse on either side. This bickering was on the narrow ridge of a mountaine, which gaue scarcely roome vnto three to march in front. So that very few hands came to bee employed: all the rest were beholders. In this case, it was impossible to get forwards; yet a shame to returne. Wherefore *Martius* tooke the onely course remaining; and indeed the best: Part of his men hee left with *Popilius*, to attend vpon the Macedonians: whilest hee, with the rest, fetcht a compasse about, and fought out wayes that neuer had beene troden. Herein hee found extreame difficultie: which notwithstanding hee ouercame. Besides the troubles commonly incident to such iourneyes, through places vnfit for habitation: hee was compelled, by labour of hand, to make pathes where none were, yea, where Nature might seeme to haue intended, that none should bee. So steepe hee found the discent of the mountaines, in this way which hee tooke: that of seuen miles, which they trauelled the first day, his men were compelled, for the more part, to rowle themselues downe; as not daring to trust their feet. Neither was this the worst. For they met with rockes, that stood one ouer another, so vpright, and cumbersome to get downe; that their Elephants were affraid of the giddy prospect, and casting their gouernours, made a terrible noyse, which affrighted the horses, and bred great confusion. Hauing therefore gone, or wallowed, foure miles of this grieuous iourney; there was nothing more desired by the souldiours, than that they might bee suffered to creeps backe againe, the same way which they had come. But shift was made to let downe the Elephants, by a kinde of bridges, like vnto falling draw-bridges: whereof the one end was ioynted to the edge of the cliffe; the other sustained by two long posteq, fastned in the ground below. Vpon these two postes, or poles (which indeed (not being very strong, since it was intended that they should bee either cut or broken) were fastned two rafters, answerable in length to the distance, betweene the higher and the lower fall: so as the end of one bridge might reach vnto the beginning of another. These were couered with plankes and turfe; that they might seeme continent with the ground; so to make the beastes aduenturous to goe vpon them. If there were a plaine of any good extent from the foote of a rocke, to the next downefall; then might the bridge bee shorter. When an Elephant was gone a pretty way, vpon one of these; the posts vpholding the frame were cut asunder; thereby causing him to sinke downe vnto the next bridge; whence hee was conueyed in like manner, to the third, and onward still to the verie bottome. Thus went they downe sliding, some on their feet, others on their buttocks, till they came to an euen valley. By this it appeares, how throughly prouided the Romans

Romans vſed to be in their iourneyes, of things needfull in all occaſions: as alſo what ineſtimable paines they tooke in this deſcent, about the conueyance of themſelues and all their carriages downe the mountaines. The next day they reſted, ſtaying for *Popilius* and his company, who hardly or perhaps neuer, ſhould haue ouertaken them, if the Enemie had followed, and ſet vpon him from aloft. The third and fourth daies iourneyes were like vnto the firſt: ſaue that cuſtome, and the neereneſſe to their waies end without meeting enemy, cauſed them the better to endure the labour.

Perſeus could not be ignorant of the Romans comming towards him: ſince they fought with his men vpon the paſſage, three daies together; he lying ſo nigh, that he might welneere haue heard the noyſe. Yet was he ſo poſſeſſed with feare; that hee neither ſtirred 10 to helpe his owne men, or to hinder the Conſul, nor made any prouiſion for that which might fall out; but as one void of counſaile, ſate hearkening after the euent. Foure onely paſſages there were, leading into Tempe: the firſt by Connus; which the Romans were vnable to force: the ſecond and third were the ſame which *Martius* had attempted in vaine, and another like vnto it: the laſt, by the Citie of Dium out of Macedon. All theſe were ſufficiently guarded: and whoſoeuer would ſeeke any other way, muſt bee faine to take ſuch paines as *Martius* had vndergone. The entrance by Dium was fairer than any of the reſt: whereof only the King had benefit; for that his enemies could not get thither, ſaue through the valley it ſelfe, into which they muſt firſt pierce another way. Dium ſtood vpon the foot of the huge mountaine Olympus, about a mile 20 from the ſea: of which mile, the Riuer Helecon becomming there a lake, and called Baphyras, took vp the one halfe; the reſt being ſuch as might eaſily haue beene fortified. Beſides all theſe, there was in the middeſt of Tempe, a paſſage which ten men might eaſily keepe: where the ſpurres of the mountaines, reaching farre into the valley, drew neere to the very bankes of Peneus, a goodly and deepe riuer which ran thorow it. Wherefore nothing had beene more eaſie, than to make the Conſul repent him of his troubleſome iourney: if *Perſeus* could haue ſeene his owne aduantages. For the Roman Armie was not onely in ill caſe to fight, after the vexation of that miſerable trauaile: but muſt needs haue either periſhed for want of victuals, or bin inforced to return the ſame way that it came, if the King had made good the ſtreight of Dium. To haue returned, 30 and climbed vp with their Elephants & carriages, againſt thoſe rocks, from which, with extreame labour, they could hardly get downe, it ſeemes a matter of impoſſibilitie: eſpecially conſidering, how the enemy from aboue their heads, would haue beaten vpon them; being now aware of the path which they had taken, though he knew it not when they ſtole away from him. It may therefore be thought ſtrange, that the Romans did not rather take their iourney into Macedon, from the ſide of Illyria, whence that kingdome had often beene inuaded, as lying open on that part: than put themſelues to the trouble of breaking into Tempe; whence, after that they were arriued, there was no meanes to eſcape, without enforcing one of thoſe paſſages, which they deſpaired to winne. For hee no ſooner heard that the Enemie was come ouer the mountaines into Tempe; than 40 hee fared like one out of his wittes; ſaying, That hee was vanquiſhed, and had loſt all without battaile. Herewithall he began to take out of Dium, what hee could carry away in haſte; and ſtraightwayes abandoned the Towne. In the ſame vehemencie of amazement, hee ſent a ſtrait commandement to Theſſalonica, that the Arſenall there ſhould be ſet on fire; and to Pella, that his treaſures there ſhould be caſt into the ſea: as if the Romans were like preſently to be maſters of theſe two Cities. *Niceas*, who was appointed to drowne the treaſure, performed it haſtily as well as he could: though ſoone after, his maſter grew ſorie for the loſſe; and it was all, in a manner, recouered by Diuers from vnder the water. But *Andronicus*, who had charge to ſet fire on the Kings 50 Arſenall, deferred the execution; foreſeeing that repentance might follow: and ſo he preuented the dammage. Whether *Niceas*, for his abſolute and blinde obedience, or *Andronicus*, for his carefull prouidence, merited the greater commendation, or more eaſie pardon; it reſted in the King to interpret. The reward of their ſeruice, was this. *Perſeus* growing aſhamed of his mad cowardize, that appeared in this haſtie direction; cauſed them both to be ſlaine. Alſo thoſe poore men, which had fetcht his treaſure out of the Sea by their diuing, were payed their wages after the ſame ſort: that ſo there might be no witneſſe of the Kings baſe folly. Such end muſt they feare, who are priuie to diſhonourable actions of great Princes. If *Perſeus* would haue gone ſurely to worke,

worke, for the hiding of his fault; then muſt he ſo royally haue behaued himſelfe, that no man might beleeue him to be the author of any vnworthy act or counſaile. But his vertue was of no ſuch capacitie. Hee thought it enough to lay the blame vpon others. And therefore, hauing called *Hippias* away (the Captaine which had ſtopped the Conſul on the top of the mountaine) and *Aſclepiodatus*, from defence of the paſſages, whereto they were by him appointed: he rated them openly; ſaying, that they had betrayed vnto the Enemy the gates and bars of Macedon. Of this reproach, if they would diſcharge themſelues, by laying it vpon him, to whom of right it belonged: then might they haue ſped as did *Nicias* and *Andronicus*.

10 The Conſul *Martius* had great cauſe to reioyce, for that the King ſo haſtily relinquiſhed his poſſeſſion of Tempe, and all the paſſages leading thereinto: ſince the Roman Army, this notwithſtanding, was hardly able to ſubſiſt, for want of victuals. He took Dium without reſiſtance; and thence went forward into Macedon: wherein hauing trauelled about a dayes iourney, and gotten one towne that yeelded, he was compelled by meere lacke of food for his men, to returne back towards Theſſaly. His fleet came to him, in this time of neceſſitie, well appointed to haue holpen him in the warre: but hauing left behinde, at Magneſia, the ſhips of burthen, which carried the prouiſions. Wherefore it fell out happily, that one of his Lieutenants had beene carefull to occupy one of the Caſtles about Tempe, which were forſaken by the Macedonians: for by thoſe waies onely 20 might corne be brought into the Army. To meet the ſooner with this corne, which was moſt deſirouſly expected, he forſooke Dium, and went to Phila; by which fooliſh iourney (if not worſe than fooliſh) hee loſt more, than a little the longer faſting had been worth. It is probable that his carts, with all or the moſt of his ſtore, were loſt among the mountaines: for otherwiſe it had beene madneſſe to put himſelfe on ſuch an enterpriſe, ſo ſlenderly prouided, as that without enforcement, or ſight of the Enemie, hee ſhould be faine to quite it. Howſoeuer it was: men thought him a coward, or at leaſt a badde man of warre; ſince he thus recoyled and gaue off, when it moſt behooued him to haue proſecuted the action.

By vnderſtanding the folly, or cowardize of *Martius*; the King recollected himſelfe, 30 vnderſtood his owne error; ſought to hide it by ſuch poore meanes as haue been ſhewed, and laboured to make what amends he could. He quickly repoſſeſſed the towne of Dium, which he haſtily repaired, finding it diſ-mantled by the Romans. This done, he encamped ſtrongly by the Riuer of Enipeus: meaning there to ſtop the Enemies proceeding all that Summer. Leſſe diligence, more timely vſed, would haue beene enough, not onely to haue deliuered *Martius* into his hand, who had beguiled him with an idle hope of peace: but to haue giuen him ſuch a noble victory, as might cauſe the Romans to ſeek a good end of the warre vpon faire conditions, and not to begin againe in haſte. Yet this recouery and fortification of Dium, was to the Conſul an exceeding hindrance. For little or nothing could afterward be done toward the conqueſt in hand, in all the continuance of his office. Onely the towne of Heraclea, ſtanding on the riuer of Peneus, fiue 40 miles from Dium, was taken by force, or rather by a tricke of climing vpon mens heads, ſomewhat after the manner of our tumblers. But it made ſuch defence as it could, and was not giuen vp for feare. After this, *Martius* did ſet a bold face towards Dium; as if he would haue taken it againe, and haue driuen the king further off: although his intent or hope was nothing like ſo great: his chiefe care, being to prouide for his wintering. Hee ſent the Admirall to make attempt vpon the Sea-Towns, Theſſalonica, Caſſandrea, Deſent the Admirall to make attempt vpon the Sea-Towns, Theſſalonica, Caſſandrea, Demetrias, and others. All theſe were aſſayed: but in vaine. The fields about Theſſalonica were waſted; and ſome companies, that ſundry times aduentured forth of the Towne, were ſtill put to the worſe. As for the Towne it ſelfe; there was danger in comming neere 50 it, either by land or ſea; by reaſon of the engins, which ſhot from the walls, and reached vnto the fleet. Wherefore the Admirall ſetting ſaile from thence, ran along by Ænia, and Antigonea, (landing neere to each of them, and both doing and receiuing hurt) vntil he came to Pallene in the territory of Caſſandrea. There king *Eumenes* ioyned with him, bringing twenty ſhippes of Warre: and fiue other were ſent thither from king *Pruſias*. With this acceſſe of ſtrength, the Admirall was bold to trie his fortune at Caſſandrea: which was bad. There was a new ditch lately caſt by *Perſeus*, before the towne: which while the Romans were filling vp, queſtion was made, what became of the earth taken thence, for that it lay not vpon the banke. By this occaſion, it was learned, that there were

were arches in the town-wall filled vp with that earth, and couered with one single row of bricke. Hence the Admirall gathered hope of making way into the towne, by sapping the walls. To this worke he appointed such as he thought meetest: giuing an alarme to the other side of the towne, thereby to shadow his attempt, the breach was soone made. But whilest the Romans were shouting for ioy, and ordering themselues for the assault: the Captaines within the towne perceiued what was done; and sallying forth vnexpected, gaue a fierce charge on the companies that were between the ditch and the wall; of whom they slew about sixe hundred, and suffered few to escape vnwounded. This disaster, and the want of good successe on that part of the towne which king *Eumenes* assailed (a supply in the meane while entring the towne by sea) caused the siege to breake vp. 10 Torone was the next place which the Admirall thought meet to attempt: and thence likewise he was repelled. Finding this too well manned; he made way towards Demetrias: whereinto *Euphranor*, a Macedonian Captaine, was gotten before his comming, with such forces, as were not onely sufficient to haue defended the Towne, if the Admirall had layed siege to it, but to keepe the land about it from spoyle; or at least (as they did) to make the enemy pay deare for all that he there got. This *Euphranor* had taken his iourney to Demetrias, by Meliboea; whither the Consul (that he might not be quite without work) had sent his Lieutenant to besiege it: and by the terrour of his appearing suddenly ouer their heads, caused the besiegers to dislodge in all haste, setting their Campe on fire. 20

Such fortune attended on the Romans; or rather, so far was their ability short of their Enterprises; euer since their Consul (whether dastardly, or carelesly) most vnlike a good Commander, had let goe his hold of Macedon, by forsaking Dium: Yea, it is to be suspected, that some greater harme befell them, or at least, that they were in some greater danger, than is expressed in the broken remaining Historie of this Warre. For *Martius* perswaded the Rhodians by *Agesipolis* their Embassadour, who came to him at Heraclea about other businesse of lesse importance, That they should doe well to interpose themselues as mediatours, and seeke to finish the Warre. Now, although *Polybius* doe most probably coniecture, that this was rather a malicious deuice of *Martius*, craftily seeking to bring the Rhodians in danger (as anon it fell out) by their opposing the resolution of the Senate; than that it proceeded from any true feare in him, either of *Perseus*, or of *Antiochus*, who had then an armie on foot: yet since he made shew of feare, it is like withall, that somewhat had happened, which might make his feare seeme not counterfeit. And so were the Rhodians moued to thinke of him; not onely for that the extraordinary courtesie, both of him and of the Admirall, towards their Embassadour, comming from proud natures, did argue diffidence, where there was no ambition to cause it; but much more, for that shortly after the Embassadours of *Perseus*, and of *Gentius* the Illyrian, did set out their businesse at Rhodes, not more with the strength of a good fleet, which the Macedonian had gotten, than with the honor of some victory, wherein he had lately slaine great numbers of the Roman horse. Thus much we finde intimated: though the time, place, or other circumstances of the fight, be not specified. And hereto may be referred, the report of those that were sent from Rome to view the estate of *Martius* his army. For they found the Consul wanting meat; the Admirall wanting men; and, for those few that he had, wanting both money and cloathes: and *Ap. Claudius* the Prætor, who lay on the frontier of Illyria, so vnable to inuade Macedon, that contrariwise, he was in extreame danger; so as either he must quickly be sent for thence, or a new army be sent thither to him. Wherefore it may seeme, that some blow had beene taken on the Illyrian side, which made all to halt; or at least, that the Romans with greater losse, than is before spoken of, had beene driuen from some of the Townes which they besieged. 50

Polyb. Leg. 80.

Polyb. Leg. 87. m

Now although it were so, that *Martius* in very few of his actions, behaued himselfe like a man of warre: yet in exercise of Cunning, which one hath most aptly termed, *a crooked or sinister kinde of wisedome*, he dealt as a craftsmaster, with a restlesse working diligence. This indeed neither proued his sufficiencie, nor commended his honestie: since thereby hee effected nothing to his owne benefit; and neuertheless, out of enuie, vaine-glory, or such delight as weake and busie-headed men take, in creating inexplicable troubles, he directly made opposition to the good of his Countrey. At such time as *Perseus*, by the successe of his doings against *Hostilius*, had gotten much reputation, and was

was thought likly to inuade Thessaly; *Archo*, *Lycortas*, and other good Patriotes among the Achæans, iudged it expedient for their Nation to helpe the Romans, as in a time of aduersitie, whom in prosperity they loued not to flatter. Wherefore *Archo* proposed a decree which passed: That the Achæans should send their whole power into Thessaly, and participate with the Romans in all danger. So the Armie was leuied; and *Polybius*, with others, sent Embassadors vnto *Martius*, to certifie him thereof, and know his pleasure, *Polybius* found the Consul busie in finding passage through Tempe into Macedon. Hee went along with the Armie; and awaited the Consuls leisure till they came to Heraclea; where finding the time conuenient, he presented the Decree, and offered the service of his Nation, wherein socuer it should bee commanded. *Martius* tooke this very kindely; but said, That he needed now no manner of helpe. Forthwith *Polybius* dispatched home his companions, to signifie thus much: tarrying himselfe behinde in the Campe. After a while, word was brought to *Martius*, that *Ap. Claudius* desired, or rather imperiously required, of the Achæans, fiue thousand men, to be sent him into Epirus. It was manifest, that *Appius* had need of these men; and that if hee were strong in field, he might doe notable seruice, by distracting the forces of *Perseus*. But the Labirynthian head of *Martius* could not allow of such plaine reason. He called vnto him *Polybius*, to whom he declared, that *Appius* had no need of such aide, and therefore willed him to returne home, and in any wise take order that the men might not be sent, nor the Achæans be put to such needlesse charges. Away went *Polybius*; musing and vnable to resolue whether it were for loue to the Achæans, that the Consul was so earnest in this businesse; or rather for enuie, and to hinder *Ap. Claudius* from doing any thing, since himselfe could doe nothing. But when *Polybius* was to deliuer his opinion in the Councell touching this matter: then found hee a new doubt, that more neerely concerned his owne selfe, and those of his partie. For as hee was sure to incurre the great indignation of the Consul, if he should neglect what was giuen him in charge; so was it manifest on the other side, that the words by *Martius* vttered to him in priuate, would proue no good warrant for him and his friends, if openly they should refuse to helpe *Claudius*, alledging that he had no need: In this case therefore, hee had recourse vnto the Decree of the Senate: which exempted men from necessitie of doing what the Roman Commanders should require, vnlesse by special order from the Senate, the same were likewise appointed. So for lacke of warrant from the Senate, this demand of *Appius* was referred vnto the aduice of the Consul: by whom it was sure to be made frustrate. Hereby the Achæans were sauers, of more than an hundred and twentie Talents: though *Polybius* himselfe ranne into danger of *Appius* his displeasure; and for such honest dealing in his Countries behalfe, was afterwards rewarded by the Romans with many a long yeeres imprisonment.

Polyb. Legat. 78.

Whether it were by the like policie of *Martius*, that king *Eumenes* grew cold in his affection to the Romans; or whether this king began when it was too late, to stand in feare lest the fire, which he himselfe had helped to kindle, would shortly take hold on his own lodging; or whether the regard of money were able to ouersway all other passions; it is hard to determine: since they that had better means to know the truth, haue not precisely affirmed any certainty. One report is, that *Eumenes* did not so much as giue any helpe to *Martius*: but comming to haue ioyned with him, in such friendly manner as hee did with the former Consuls, was not entertained according to his liking; and thereupon returned home in such anger, that hee refused to leaue behinde him certaine horse of the Gallo Greeks, being requested to haue done it. If this were true; and that his brother *Attalus* tarrying behinde with the Consul, did the Romans good seruice: then is the reason apparant, of the hatred, borne afterwards by the Senate to *Eumenes*, and the loue to *Attalus*. But it is more generally receiued, that *Eumenes* gaue a willing eare to *Perseus* his desire of accord, for meere desire of gaine. And it might well be, that couetousnesse drew him on, in the course, whereinto indignation first led him. How socuer it befell; *Perseus* caused *Eumenes* to be sounded, and found him so tractable, that hee was bold to solicite him by an Embassage. The tenour of his aduertisements, both to *Eumenes* & *Antiochus*, was: That there could be no perfect loue betweene a king and a free Citie: That the Romans had quarrell alike to all kings, though they dealt with no more than one at a time, and vsed the helpe of one against another; that *Philip* was oppressed by them, with the helpe of *Attalus*; *Antiochus*, with the helpe of *Philip* and *Eumenes*; and now *Perseus* assailed,

assailed, with helpe of *Eumenes* and *Prusias*. Herewith hee willed *Eumenes* to consider, that when Macedon was taken out of their way, they would be doing with him in Asia, which lay next at hand; yea, that already they began to thinke better of *Prusias*, than of him. In like sort he admonished *Antiochus*, not to looke for any good conclusion of his warre with the Egyptian, so long as the Romans could make him giue ouer, by denouncing their will and pleasure. Finally, hee requested both of them, either to compell the Romans to surcease from their war vpon Macedon; or else to hold them as common enemies vnto all kings. *Antiochus* lay farre out of the Romans way: and therefore was little troubled with such remonstrances. *Eumenes* was more neerely toucht; and as hee felt part of this to be true, so had he reason to stand in doubt of the rest. Yet when he should 10 giue answer; he began to offer a bargaine of peace for money. He thought the Romans to be noleſſe weary, than *Perseus* was affraid. Wherefore he promised, for his own part, That if he might haue fifteen hundred Talents for withdrawing his hand from this war, then would he remaine a Neuter therein: and that for some greater quantitie of money (how much I finde not) he would also bring the Romans to condescend vnto peace: and for assurance of his true meaning herein, he offered to giue hostages. *Perseus* liked well to receiue the hostages: but not to lay out the money; especially before hand, as was required. He would faine haue peace with Rome, and not with *Eumenes* onely. For procuring of this, he promised to be at any reasonable cost: but he would lay down the money in the Temple at Samothrace: whence it should be deliuered vnto *Eumenes*, after 20 that the peace was fully concluded and ratified. The Isle of Samothrace was *Perseus* his owne: and therefore *Eumenes* thought the money no neerer to him, being there, than if it remained in Pella. Besides, his labour deserued somewhat, howsoeuer the businesse might happen to succeed: so that needs he would haue part of his wages in *prest*. Thus the two kings did no more, than lose time; and *Eumenes* grew suspected of the Romans, as a Traytor.

After the same manner delt *Perseus* with king *Gentius* the Illyrian. Hee had attempted this Illyrian before; who dealt plainly, and said, That without money he could not stirre. Hereunto *Perseus* loued not to hearken; thinking, that his Treasures would serue at the last cast, to deliuer him from all his feares. But when the Romans had gotten with- 30 in Tempe, then did his feare vrge him to prodigalitie; so as he agreed to pay three hundred Talents which *Gentius* demanded for a recompence. So the bargaine was soone made, and pledges on both sides deliuered for performance. This was openly done by *Perseus*; to the end that all his Armie might haue comfort, by such accesse of strength to their partie. Presently vpon the bargaine made, Embassadors were sent to Rhodes, from both *Perseus* and *Gentius*: who desired the Rhodians, to take vpon them, as arbitrators, between *Perseus* and the Romans, and to bring the Warre to an end. The Rhodians thinking that *Martius* the Consul was no lesse desirous of peace than the Macedonian, arrogantly promised, that they, by their authority, would make peace; wishing the Kings to shew themselues conformable. But the Roman Senate, hearing proud words to the 40 same effect, from the Rhodian Embassadours; gaue an answer as disdainfull, angry, and menacing, as they could deuise: so as this vain-glory of the Rhodians was throughly chastised; and more throughly should haue beene, if their submission had not been as humble, as their folly was proud. Such vse of *Gentius* his friendship, made *Perseus*; without laying out one ounce of Siluer. Now faine he would haue hastened this young and rash Illyrian to enter with all speed into the Warre: but then must the money be hastened away. *Pantauchus* the Macedonian Embassadour, who remained with *Gentius*, exhorted him daily to begin the War by land and sea, whilest the Romans were vnprouided. But finding what it was that made all to stay; he sent word to *Perseus*. Hereupon 50 ten Talents were sent to *Pantauchus*: who deliuered it to the young king, as earnest of that which followed. More followed indeed; and sealed vp with the seale of the Illyrians; but carried by Macedonians, and not too fast. Before this money came into Illyria, *Gentius* had layed hands vpon two Roman Embassadours, and cast them into prison. Which *Perseus* no sooner heard, than he recalled his Treasure-bearers, and sent them with their loade to Pella; for that now the Illyrian was of necessitie to make warre with the Romans, whether he were hired thereto or not.

Liu. lib. 44. Plutar. in vit. Æmyl. There came about the same time, through Illyria, to the aid of *Perseus*, vnder one *Clondicus* a petty king, tenne thousand horse and tenne thousand foot, of the Gaules, which were

were (as *Plutarch* hath it) the *Bastarnæ*. These had before-hand made their bargaine, and were to receiue present pay at the first. At their entry into the Kingdome, *Perseus* sent one to them; desiring their Captaines to come visit him, whom he promised to gratifie with goodly rewards; hoping that the multitude would take good words for payment. But the first question that their Generall asked, was, Whether the King had sent money to giue the souldiers their pay in hand, according to his bargaine? Hereto the messenger had not what to answer. Why then (said *Clondicus*) tell thy master, That the Gaules will not stirre one foote further, vntill they haue gold, as was agreed, and hostages. *Perseus* heereupon tooke counsaile: if to vtter his owne opinion, before men so 10 wise that they would not contradict him, were to take counsaile. He made an inuectiue against the inciuilitie and auarice of the *Bastarnæ*: who came with such numbers, as could not but be dangerous to him and to his Kingdome. Fiue thousand horse of them, hee said would bee as many as hee should need to vse; and not so many, that hee should need to feare them. It had beene well done, if any of his counsailours would haue told him, That there wanted not employment for the whole Armie of them, since without any danger to the kingdome, they might be let out, by the way of Perrhæbia, into Thessaly: where wasting the Country, and filling themselues with spoyle, they should make the Romans glad to forsake Tempe, euen for hunger and all manner of want; therein doing the king notable seruice, whether they wonne any victory, or not. This, and a great 20 deale more, might haue beene alledged, if any man had dared to giue aduice freely. In conclusion, *Antigonus*, the same messenger that had beene with them before, was sent againe, to let them know the kings minde. He did his errand: vpon which followed a great murmure of those many thousands that had beene drawne so farre to no purpose. But *Clondicus* asked him now againe, Whether hee had brought the money along with him, to pay those fiue thousand, whom the king would entertaine. Hereto, when it was perceiued, that *Antigonus* could make no better answer, than shifting excuses; the *Bastarnæ* returned presently towards Danubius, wasting the neighbour parts of Thrace; yet suffering this craftie messenger to escape vnhurt: which was more than hee could haue well expected.

30 Thus dealt *Perseus*, like a carefull Treasurer, and one that would preserue his money for the Romans, without diminishing the summe. But of this painfull Office he was very soone discharged by *L. Æmylius Paulus* the new Consul: who in fifteene daies after his setting forth from Italy, brought the kingdome of Macedon to that end, for which *God* had appointed ouer it a king so foolish and so cowardly.

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§. VIII.

Of L. Æmylius Paulus *the Consul. His iourney. Hee forceth* Perseus *to discampe. Hee will not hazzard battaile with any disaduantage. Of an Eclipse of the Moone.* Æmylius *his* 40 *superstition. The battaile of Pydna.* Perseus *his flight. Hee forsakes his Kingdome: which hastily yeelds to* Æmylius. Perseus *at Samothrace. He yeelds himselfe to the Roman Admirall, and is sent prisoner to* Æmylius.

BY the Warre of Macedon, the Romans hitherto had gotten much dishonour. Which, though it were not accompanied with any danger, yet the indignity so moued them, that either * they decreed that Prouince to *L. Æmylius Paulus*, without putting it, as was otherwise their manner, to the chance of lot, betweene him and his fellow Consul; or at least were gladder that the lot had cast it vpon him, than that so worthy a man was aduanced to the dignitie of a second Consulship. Hee 50 refused to propound vnto the Senate any thing that concerned his Prouince; vntill by his Embassadours, thither sent to view the estate of the Warre, it was perfectly vnderstood, in what condition both the Roman forces, and the Macedonian, at the present remained. This being throughly knowne to be such, as hath been already told; the Senate appointed a strong supply, not onely to the Consul, but vnto the Nauie, and likewise to the Armie that lay betweene Illyria and Epyrus; from which *App. Claudius* was remoued, and *L. Anicius* sent thither in his place. *Æmylius*, before his departure from Rome, making an Oration to the People, as was the custome, spake with much grauitie and authoritie. Hee requested those that did thinke themselues wise enough *Plut. in vita Æmyl.*

enough to manage this Warre, either to accompany him into Macedon, and there assist him with their aduice; or else to gouern their tongues at home, and not take vpon them to giue directions by hearesay, and censure by idle reports: for hee told them plainely, That he would frame his doings to occasions; not to the expectation of the multitude. The like speech of his father *L. Æmylius*, who died valiantly in the Battaile of Cannæ, might well be liuing in some of their memories: which was enough to make them conforme themselues the more gladly vnto the instructions giuen by a wise and resolute Consul.

All his businesse within the Citie being dispatched, *Æmylius* was honourably attended, at his setting forth on his iourney; with an especiall hope of men, that hee should finish the Warre: though that he should finish it so soone and happily, was more than could haue beene hoped or imagined. He came to Brundusium: whence, when the wind came faire, he set sayle at breake of day, and arriued safely at the Isle of Corcyra before night. Thence passed he to Delphi: where, hauing done sacrifice to *Apollo*, after the fifth day he set forwards to the Campe; and was there in fiue dayes more. So are there but fiue of the fifteene dayes remaining, in which he finished the Warre.

Perseus lay strongly encamped at Dium; hauing spared no labor of men and of women to fortifie the bankes of Enipeus, where it was fordable in drie weather: So as there was little hope, or none, to force him; and consequently, as little possibilitie to enter that way into Macedon. One great inconuenience troubling the Romans, & much disabling them to make attempt vpon Dium; was lacke of fresh water. For there were tenne miles betweene Dium and Tempe; all the way lying betweene the Sea shore and the foote of Olympus, without any Brooke or Spring breaking foorth on that side. But *Æmylius* found present remedy for this, by digging Wells on the shoare; where he found sweet Springs: as commonly there is no shoare that wants them, though they rise not aboue the ground. Want of this knowledge was enough to hinder *Martius* from taking vp his lodging any neerer to the enemie, than the Towne of Heraclea, on the riuer of Peneus; where hee had watering at pleasure, but could performe no seruice of any worth. Yet when the Roman Campe had such meanes to lye close to the Macedonian, as it presently did; the passage onward being defended as hath beene already shewed, seemed no lesse difficult than before. Wherefore it was necessarie to search another way: which by enquirie was soone found out. There was a narrow passage ouer Olympus, leading into Perræbia; hard of ascent, but slenderly guarded, and therefore promising a faire iourney. *Martius* either had not beene informed hereof; or durst not attempt it: or perhaps could not get his Souldiers to make the aduenture; they fearing lest it would prooue such a peece of worke as had beene their march ouer Ossa into Tempe. But *Paulus* was a man of greater industry, courage, and abilitie, to command. Hee had reformed, euen at his first comming, many disorders in the Roman Campe: teaching the souldiers among many other good lessons, to bee obedient and ready in execution; without troubling themselues, as had beene their manner, to examine the doings and purposes of their Generall. And now hee appointed about fiue thousand men to this enterprise: whereof he committed the charge vnto *Scipio Æmylianus* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, his owne sonnes by nature, but adopted; the one of them, by a sonne of *Scipio* the African; the other, by one of the *Fabij*. *Scipio* tooke with him some light-armed Thracians and Cretans; but his maine strength was of Legionaries. For the Kings guard, vpon the mountaine, consisted in a manner, wholly of Archers and Slingers: who, though, at some distance, they might doe notable seruice against those that should climbe vp vnto them; yet when the darknesse tooke away their ayme, they were like to make a bad nights worke, being to deale with those that were armed to fight at hand. To conceale the businesse about which they went, *Scipio* and *Fabius* tooke a wrong way, towards the Fleet; where victuals were prouided for their iourney: it being noysed, that they were to runne along the coast of Macedon by sea, and waste the Countrey. All the while that they were passing the Mountaines (which was about three dayes) the Consul made shew of a meaning to set vpon *Perseus* where he lay, rather to diuert the kings attention from that which was his maine Enterprise, than vpon any hope to doe good, in seeking to get ouer Enipeus. The Channell of Enipeus, which receiued in Winter time a great fall of waters from the Mountaines, was exceeding deepe and broad; and the ground of it was such, as though at the present it lay well-

well neere all drie, yet it serued not for those that were weightily armed to fight vpon. Wherefore *Æmylius* employed none saue his Velites; of whom the Kings light armature had aduantage at farre distance, though the Romans were better appointed for the close. The Engines from off the Tower which *Perseus* had raysed on his owne banke, did also beate vpon the Romans, and gaue them to vnderstand, that their labour was in vaine. Yet *Æmylius* persisted as hee had begunne; and continued his assault, such as it could be, the second day. This might haue serued to teach the Macedonians, that some greater worke was in hand: since otherwise a good Captaine, as *Æmylius* was knowne to bee, would not haue troubled himselfe with making such branado's, that were somewhat costly. But *Perseus* looked onely vnto that which was before his eyes: vntill his men, that came running fearefully down the Mountaine, brought word into the Campe, That the Romans were following at their backes. Then was all full of tumult; aud the King himselfe no lesse (if not more) amazed than any of the rest. Order was forthwith giuen to dislodge: or rather without order, in all tumultuous haste, the Campe was broken vp, and a speedy retreat made to Pydna. Whether it were so, that they which had custodie of the passage were taken sleeping, or whether they were beaten by plain force; *Scipio* and *Fabius* had very good successe in their iourney. It may well be, that they slept vntill the Romans came somwhat neere to them; and then taking alarme, when their arrows and slings could doe little seruice, were beaten at handy-strokes: so as the different relations that are cited by *Plutarch* out of *Polybius*, and an Epistle of *Scipio*, may each of them haue beene true. Thus was an open way cleered into Macedon: which had bin effected by *Martius* in the yeere fore-going; but was closed vp againe, through his not prosecuting so rich an opportunitie.

Perseus was in an extreame doubt what course to take, after this vnhappy beginning. Some gaue aduice to manne his Townes, and so to linger out the Warre: hauing beene taught by the last yeeres example, how resolute the people were in making defence. But farre worse counsaile preuailed: as generally it doth in turbulent and fearefull deliberations. The King resolued to put all at once to hazzard of battaile: fearing belike to put himselfe into any one Towne, lest that should be first of all besieged; and he therein (as cowardly natures alwayes are iealous) not ouer-carefully relieued. This was euen the same that *Æmylius*, or any inuader, should haue desired. So a place was chosen neere vnto Pydna, that serued well for the *Phalanx*, and had likewise on the sides of it some peeces of higher ground, fit for the Archers and light armature. There hee abode the comming of the enemie; who stayed not long behinde him. As soone as the Romans had sight of the kings Armie; which, with greater feare than discretion, had hasted away from them; forsaking the Campe that was so notably well fortified: they desired nothing more, than to giue battaile immediately: doubting lest otherwise the king should change his minde, and get further off. And to this effect *Scipio* brake with the Consul; praying him not to lose occasion by delay. But *Æmylius* told him, that he spake like a young man; and therefore willed him to haue patience. The Romans were tyred with their iourney; had no Campe wherein to rest themselues; nor any thing there, saue onely the bare ground whereon they trode. For these, and the like respects, the Consul made a stand: and shewing himselfe vnto the Macedonian, who did the like, in order of battaile; gaue charge to haue the Campe measured out and entrenched behinde the Armie; whereinto, at good leysure, hee fell backe, without any manner of trouble. After a nights rest, it was hoped, both by the Romans and by the Macedonians, that the matter should be determined; each part thinking their owne Generall to blame, for that they had not fought the same day. As for the king, hee excused himselfe by the backwardnesse of the enemie; who aduanced no further, but kept vpon ground seruing ill for the *Phalanx*: as on the other side, the Consul had the reasons before shewed, which he communicated to those about him the next day.

That euening (which followed the third of September, by the Roman account) *C. Sulpicius Gallus*, a Colonel, or Tribune of a Legion, who had the former yeere beene Prætor, foretold vnto the Consul, and (with his good liking) vnto the Armie, an Eclipse of the Moone, which was to bee the same night: willing the souldiers not to bee troubled therewith, for that it was naturall, and might bee knowne long before it was seene. It was the manner of the Romans, in such Eclipses, to beate Pannes of Brasse and Basons, as wee doe in following a swarme of Bees; thinking, that thereby they did the Moone great

great ease, and helped her in her labour. But this prognostication of *Sulpicius* conuerted their superstition into admiration of his deepe skill, wherein they saw it verified. Contrariwise, the Macedonians howled and made a great noyse, as long as the Eclipse lasted: rather perhaps because it was their fashion, than for that they were terrified therewith, as with a prodigie betokening their losse; since their desire to fight was no whit lessened by it. I will not here stand to dispute, Whether such Eclipses doe signifie, or cause any alteration in ciuil affaires, & matters that haue small dependance on naturall complexion: for the argument is too large. More worthy of obseruation it is, how superstition captiuates the vnderstanding of the wisest, where the helpe of true religion is wanting. *Æmylius*, though hee were sufficiently instructed concerning this defect of the Moone, that it was no supernaturall thing, nor aboue the reach of humane vnderstanding, so as he should need to trouble himselfe with any deuout regard therof: yet could he not refraine from doing his duty to this Moone, and congratulating with sacrifice her deliuerie, as soone as she shone out bright againe: for which, hee is commended euen by *Plutarch*, a sage Philosopher, as a godly and religious man. If *Sulpicius* perhaps did not assist him in this foolish deuotion; yet it is like, that he, being a Senatour, and one of the Councell for Warre, was partaker the next morning in a sacrifice done to *Hercules*; which was nō lesse foolish. For a great part of the day was vainely consumed, ere *Hercules* could be pleased with any Sacrifice, and vouchsafe to shew tokens of good lucke in the entrailes of the beasts. At length, in the belly of the one and twentieth sacrifice, was found a promise of victorie to *Æmylius*: but with condition, That hee should not giue the onset. *Hercules* was a Greek, and partiall, as neerer in alliance to the Macedonian than to the Roman. Wherefore it had beene better to call vpon the new goddesse, lately canonized at Alabanda; or vpon *Romulus*, founder of their Citie, on whom the Romans had bestowed his Deitie; or (if a God of elder date were more authenticall) vpon *Mars* the Father of *Romulus*, to whom belonged the guidance of militarie affaires; and who therefore would haue limited his fauour, with no iniunctions contrarie to the rules of Warre.

Now concerning the Battaile; *Æmylius* was throughly perswaded, that the King meant to abide it: for that otherwise hee would not haue stayed at Pydna, when, as a little before, his leysure serued to retyre whither hee listed, the Romans being further off. In regard of this, and perhaps of the tokens appearing in the Sacrifices, the Consul thought that hee might wait vpon aduantage, without making any great haste. Neither was it to be neglected, that the morning Sunne was full in the Romans faces: which would bee much to their hinderance all the forenoone. Since therefore *Perseus* kept his ground, that was commodious for the *Phalanx*, and *Aemylius* sent forth part of his men to bring in Wood and Fodder; there was no likelihood of fighting that day. But about ten of the elocke in the morning, a small occasion brought to passe that, which whereto neither of the Generalls had ouer-earnest desire.

A Horse brake loose at watering, which two or three of the Roman souldiers followed into the riuer, wading after him vp to the knees. The Kings men lay on the further banke; whence a couple of Thracians ranne into the Water, to draw this horse ouer to their owne side. These fell to blowes, as in a priuate quarrell; and one of the Thracians was slaine. His Countrimen seeing this, hasted to reuenge their fellowes death, and followed those that had slaine him ouer the riuer. Hereupon company came in, to helpe on each part, vntill the number grew such, as made it past a fray, and caused both the Armies to be carefull of the euent. In fine, each of the Generals placed his men in order of battaile, accordingly as the manner of his Country, and the Armes, wherewith they serued, did require. The ground was a flatte leuell, saue that on the sides a few hillockes were raised heere and there; whereof each part might take what aduantage it could. The Macedonians were the greater number; the Romans the better souldiers, and better appointed. Both the King and Consul encouraged their men with liuely words: which the present condition could bountifully afford. But the King hauing finished his Oration, and sent on his men, withdrew himselfe into Pydna: there to doe sacrifice, as hee pretended, vnto *Hercules*. It is the lesse maruaile, that hee durst aduenture battaile, since hee had bethought himselfe of such a stratageme, whereby to saue his owne person. As for *Hercules*, he liked not the sacrifice of a Coward: whose vnseasonable deuotion could bee no better than hypocrisie. For hee that will pray for a good

good Harueſt, ought also to Plow, Sowe, and Weede his Ground. When therefore the king returned to the battaile, he found it no better than lost: and hee, in looking to his owne safetie, caused it to be lost altogether, by beginning the flight.

The acts of this day, such as we finde recorded, are, That the Roman Elephants could doe no manner of good; That the Macedonian *Phalanx* did so stoutly preſse onwards, and beat off all which came before it, as *Æmylius* was thereat much astonished; That the *Peligni* rushing desperately on the *Phalanx*, were ouer-borne, many of them slaine, and the squadrons following them so discouraged herewith, as they retired apace towards an hill. These were the things that fell out aduerse to the Romans; and which the Consul beholding, is said to haue rent his coat-armour for griefe. If the King with all his power of horse, had in like manner done his deuoyre; the victorie might haue beene his owne. That which turned the fortune of the battaile, was the same which doubtlesse the Consul expected, euen from the beginning: the difficultie, or almost the impossibilitie, of holding the *Phalanx* long in order. For whilest some of the Romans small battallions pressed hard vpon one part of it, and others recoyled from it; it was necessary (if the Macedonians would follow vpon those which were put to the worse) that some files hauing open way before them, should aduance themselues beyond the rest that were held at a stand. This comming so to passe, admonished the Consul, what was to be done. The long pikes of the Macedonians were of little vse, when they were charged in flanke by the Roman Targettiers; according to the direction giuen by *Æmylius*, when he saw the front of the Enemies great battaile become vnequall, and the ranks in some places open, by reason of the vnequall resistance which they found. Thus was the vse of the *Phalanx* proued vnauailable against many small squadrons, as it had beene formerly in the battaile of Cynoscephalæ: yea, this forme of embattailing was found vnseruiceable against the other, by reason, that being not euery where alike distressed, it would breake of it selfe; though here were little such inconuenience of ground, as had beene at * Cynoscephaliæ. * Chap. 4. §. 14.

Perseus, when hee saw his battaile begin to route, turned his bridle presently, and ranne amaine towards Pella. All his horse escaped, in a manner vntouched, and a great number followed him; the little harme which they had taken, witnessing the little good seruice which they had done. As for the poore foote; they were left to the mercy of the Enemie: who slew aboue twenty thousand of them; though hauing little cause to be furious, as hauing lost, in that battaile, onely some foure score, or sixe score men at the most. Some of the foote, escaping from the execution, ouertooke the King and his company in a wood; where they fell to rayling at the horsemen, calling them cowards, traytors, and such other names, till at length they fell to blowes. The King was in doubt lest they had ill meaning to himselfe: and therefore turned out of the common way, being followed by such as thought it good. The rest of the company dispersed themselues: euery one as his owne occasions guided him. Of those that kept along with their king, the number began within a while to lessen. For hee fell to deuising vpon whom he might lay the blame of that dayes misfortune, which was most due to himselfe: thereby causing those that knew his nature, to shrinke away from him, how they could. At his comming to Pella; he found his Pages and houshold seruants, ready to attend him, as they had beene wont. But of his great men that had escaped from the battaile, there was none appearing in the Court. In this melancholike time, there were two of his Treasurers that had the boldnesse to come to him, and tell him roundly of his faults. But in reward of their vnseasonable admonitions, he stabbed them both to death. After this, none whom he sent for would come at him. This boded no good. Wherefore standing in feare, lest they that refused to come at his call, would shortly dare some greater mischiefe: he stole out of Pella by night. Of his friends he had with him only *Euander* (who had beene employed to kill *Eumenes* at Delphi) and two other. There followed him likewise about 500. Cretians, more for loue of his money than of him. To these he gaue of his plate, as much as was worth about fifteen Talents, though shortly hee coozened them of some part thereof; making shew as if hee would haue redeemed it; but neuer paying the money. The third day after the battaile hee came to Amphipolis; where he exhorted the Townesmen to fidelitie, with teares; and his owne speech being hindered by teares, appointed *Euander* to speake what himselfe would haue vttered. But the Amphipolitans made it their chiefe care, to looke well to themselues.

Vpon

Vpon the first fame of the ouerthrow, they had emptied their towne of two thousand Thracians that lay there in garrison: sending them forth vnder colour of a gainefull employment, & shutting the gates after them. And now to be ridde of the king; they plainly bade *Euander* to be gone. The king hearing this, had no minde to tarry: but embarking himselfe and the treasure which he had there, in certaine vessells that hee found in the riuer Strymon; passed ouer to the Isle of Samothrace: where hee hoped to liue safe, by priuiledge of the religious Sanctuarie therein.

These miserable shifts of the king make it the lesse doubtfull, how all the kingdome fell into the power of *Æmylius*, within so few dayes after his victorie. Pydna which was neerest at hand, was the last that yeelded. About sixe thousand of the souldiours, 10 that were of sundry Nations, fled out of the battaile into that Towne; and prepared for defence: the confused rabble of so many strangers hindering all deliberation and consent. *Hippius* who had kept the passage ouer Ossa against *Martius*, with *Pantauchus*, who had beene sent Embassadour to *Gentius* the Illyrian, were the first that came in: yeelding themselues and the Towne of Beræa, whither they had retyred out of the battell. With the like message came others from Thessalonica, from Pella, and from all the Townes of Macedon, within two dayes: the losse of the head bereauing the whole body of all sense and strength. Neither did they of Pydna stand out any longer, when they knew that the king had forsaken his Countrey: but opened their gates vpon such termes, that the sacke 20 of it was granted to the Roman Armie. *Æmylius* sent abroad into the Countrey, such as he thought meetest, to take charge of other Cities: hee himselfe marching towards Pella. Hee found in Pella no more than three hundred Talents; the same whereof *Perseus* had lately defrauded the Illyrian. But within a very little while hee shall haue more.

It was soone vnderstood, that *Perseus* had taken Sanctuarie, in the Temple at Samothrace: his owne letters to the Consul, confirming the report. Hee sent these letters by person of such meane condition; that his case was pitied, for that he wanted the seruice of better men. The scope of this writing was, to desire fauour: which though hee begged in termes ill beseeming a king; yet since the inscription of his Epistle was, *King Perseus to the Consul Paulus*; the Consul, who had taken from him his Kingdome, and 30 would not allow him to retaine the Title, refused to make any answer thereunto. So there came other letters, as humble as could bee expected: whereby hee craued and obtained, that some might bee sent to conferre with him about matters of his present estate. Neuertheless, in this conference, hee was maruellous earnest, that hee might bee allowed still to retaine the name of king. And to this end it was perhaps, that hee had so carefully preserued his Treasure, vnto the very last: flattering himselfe with such vaine hopes as these; That the Romans would neither violate a Sanctuarie, nor yet neglect those great riches in his possession; but compound with him for money, letting him haue his desire to liue at ease, and to bee called King. Yea it seemes that hee had indeede, euen from the beginning, a desire to liue in this 40 Isle of Samothrace: both for that in one of his consultations about the Warre, he was dehorted by his friends, from seeking to exchange his kingdome of Macedon, for * such a paltrie Iland; and for that he offered to lay vp the money which *Eumenes* demanded, in the holy Temple that was there. But hee findes it otherwise. They vrge him to giue place vnto necessitie, and without more adoe, to yeeld to the discretion and mercie of the people of Rome. This is so farre against his minde, that the conference breakes off without effect. Presently there arriues at Samothrace *Cn. Octauius* the Roman Admirall, with his fleet: who assayes, as well by terrible threates, as by faire language, to draw the king out of his lurking hole; wherein, for feare of imprisonment, hee had now alreadie imprisoned himselfe. When all would not seruе, a question was moued to the Samothracians; How they durst pollute their Temple, by receiuing into it one that had violated the like priuiledge of Sanctuary, by attempting the murder of king *Eumenes* at Delphi? This went to the quicke. The Samothracians, being now in the power of the Romans, take this matter to heart; and send word to the king, That *Euander*, who liues with him in the Temple, is accused of an impious fact, committed at Delphi; whereof vnlesse he can cleere himselfe in iudgement, hee must not be suffered to prophane that holy place, by his abiding in it. The reuerence borne to his Maiestie, now past, makes them forbeare to say, that *Perseus* himselfe is charged with

* *Liu. lib. 42.*

with the same crime. But what will this auaile, when the minister of the fact being brought into iudgement, shall (as is to be feared) appeach the author? *Persus* therefore willed *Euander* to haue consideration of the little fauour that can be expected at the Romans hand; who are like to be presidents and ouerseers of this iudgement: so as it were better to dye valiantly, since none other hope remaines, than hope to make good an ill cause; where, though he had a good plea, yet it could not helpe him. Of this motion *Euander* seemes to like well: and either kils himselfe; or hoping to escape thence, by deferring the time as it were to get poyson wherewith to end his life, is killed by the Kings commandement. The death of this man, who had stucke to *Perseus* in all times of 10 neede, makes all the Kings friends that remained hitherto, to forsake him: so as none are left with him, saue his wife and children, with his Pages. It is much to be suspected, that they which leaue him vpon this occasion, will tell perillous tales, and say, That the King hath lost the priuiledge of this holy Sanctuarie, by murdering *Euander* therein. Or if the Romans will affirme so much, who shall dare to gainesay them? Since therefore there is nothing but a point of formalitie, and euen that also lyable to dispute, which preserues him from captiuitie; he purposeth to make an escape, and flye, with his Treasures, vnto *Cotys* his good friend, into *Thrace*. *Oroandes*, a *Cretian*, lay at *Samothrace* with one ship; who easily was perswaded to waft the King thence. With all secrecie the Kings money, as much as could be so conueyed, was carried aboord by night; and the king himselfe, 20 with his wife and * children (if rather it were not true, that he had with him onely * *Philip* his elder sonne, who was onely by adoption his sonne, being his * brother by nature) with much adoe got out at a window by a rope, and ouer a mudde wall. At his comming to the Sea-side, he found no *Oroandes* there: the *Cretians* had played a *Cretian* tricke, and he was gone with the money to his owne home. So it began to waxe cleare day, whilest *Perseus* was searching all along the shoare: who had stayed so long about this, that he might feare to be intercepted ere he could recouer the Temple. He ranne therefore amaine towards his lodging: and thinking it not safe to enter it the common way, lest he should be taken; he hid himselfe in an obscure corner. His Pages missing him, ranne vp and downe making enquirie; till *Octauius* made Proclamation, That all 30 the Kings Pages, and *Macedonians* whatsoeuer, abiding with their master in *Samothrace*, should haue their liues and libertie, with all to them belonging, which they had either in that Isle, or at home in *Macedon*, conditionally, That they should presently yeeld themselues to the *Romans*. Hereupon they all came in. Likewise *Ion*, a *Thessalonian*, to whom the King had giuen the custodie of his children, deliuered them vp to *Octauius*. Lastly, *Perseus* himselfe, with his sonne *Philip*, accusing the gods of *Samothrace*, that had no better protected him; rendered himselfe, and made the *Roman* victory compleate. If he had not trusted in those gods of *Samothrace*, but employed his whole care in the defence of *Macedon*, without other hope of liuing, than of reigning therein; he might well haue brought this Warre to an happier end. Now, by diuiding his cogitations, and pursuing, 40 at once, those contrary hopes of sauing his Kingdome by armes, and himselfe by flight; he is become a spectacle of misery, and one among the number of those Princes, that haue beene wretched by their owne default. He was presently sent away to *Æmylius*; before whom he fell to the ground so basely, that he seemed thereby to dishonour the victory ouer himselfe, as gotten vpon one of abiect qualitie, and therefore the lesse to be esteemed. *Æmylius* vsed to him the language of a gentle Victor: blaming him, though mildly, for hauing, with so hostile a minde, made Warre vpon the *Romans*. Hereto good answer might haue beene returned by one of better spirit. As for *Perseus*, he answered all with a fearefull silence. He was comforted with hope of life, or (as the Consul tearmed it) almost assurance; for that such was the mercy of the people of *Rome*. After these 50 good words, being inuited to the Consuls Table, & respectiuely entreated, he was committed prisoner to *Q. Ælius*.

Such end had this *Macedonian* War, after foure yeers continuance: & such end therewithall had the Kingdome of *Macedon*; the glory whereof, that had sometime filled all parts of the World then knowne, was now translated vnto *Rome*.

§. IX.

* *Plut. in vit. Aemyl.*
Liu. lib. 45.
Liu. lib. 42.

§. IX.

Gentius, *King of the Illyrians, taken by the Romans.*

ABout the same time, and with like celeritie, *Anicius* the Roman Prætor, who succeeded vnto *App.Claudius*; had the like successe against King *Gentius* the *Illyrian*. *Gentius* had an Armie of fifteene thousand; with which he was at *Lissus*, ready to assist King *Perseus* as soone as the money should come, whereof he had receiued onely ten Talents. But *Anicius* arrested him on the way; fought with him; ouercame him; and draue him into * *Scodra*. This Towne was very defensible by nature, besides the help of fortification; & strongly manned with all the force of *Illyria*; which, assisted with the Kings presence, made it seeme vnpossible to be wonne, in any not a very long time. Yet *Anicius* was confident in his late victory; and therefore presented his Armie before the walles, making countenance to giue an assault. The *Illyrians*, that might easily haue defended themselues within the Town, would needes issue foorth and fight. They were, it seemes, rather passionate than couragious: for they were beaten; and thereupon foorthwith began amazedly to treat about yeelding. The King sent Embassadours; by whom, at first, he desired truce for three dayes, that he might deliberate concerning his estate. It ill became him, who had layed violent hand on the *Roman* Embassadours, to haue recourse to such meditation. But he thought his owne fault pardonable, in as much as hitherto there was no greater harme done by him, than the casting of those Embassadours into prison; where they were still aliue. Hauing obtained three dayes respite, he passed vp a Riuer, within halfe a myle of the *Roman* Campe, into the Lake of *Scodra*, as it were to consult the more priuately; though indeede, to hearken whether the report were true, that his brother *Caruantius* was comming to his rescue. Finding that no such helpe was toward, it is wonder, that he was so foolish as to returne into *Scodra*. He sent Messengers crauing accesse vnto the Prætor; before whom hauing lamented his folly past (which, excepting the dishonestie, was not so great as his folly present) he fell downe humbly, and yeelded himselfe to discretion. All the Townes of his Kingdom, together with his wife, children, brother, friends were presently giuen vp. So this Warre ended in thirtie dayes: the People of *Rome* not knowing that it was begun vntill *Perpenna*, one of the Embassadors that had beene imprisoned, brought word from *Anicius* how all had passed,

* Called now *Scutari*.

§. X.

How the Romans behaued themselues in Greece and Macedon after their victory ouer Perseus.

NOw began the Romans to swell with the pride of their fortune; and to looke tyrannically vpon those that had beene vnmannerly toward them before, whilest the Warre with *Perseus* seemed full of danger. The *Rhodian* Embassadors were still at Rome, when the tidings of these victories were brought thither. Wherefore it was thought good to call them into the Senate; and bid them doe their errand againe. This they performed with a bad grace; saying, that they were sent from *Rhodes* to make an ouerture of peace; forasmuch as it was thought, that this Warre was no lesse grieuous to the *Romans* themselues, than to the *Macedonians* and many others: but that now they were very glad, and in behalfe of the *Rhodians* did congratulate with the Senate and People of *Rome*, that it was ended much more happily than had beene expected. Hereto the Senate made answer, That the *Rhodians* had sent this Embassage to *Rome*, not for loue of *Rome*, but in fauour of the *Macedonian*; whose partizans they were, and should so be taken. By these threats, and the desire of some (couetous of the charge) to haue Warre proclaimed against *Rhodes*; the Embassadours were so affrighted, that in mourning apparell, as humble suppliants, they went about the Citie; beseeching all men, especially the great ones, to pardon their indiscretion, and not to prosecute them with vengeance for some foolish words. This danger of Warre from *Rome* being knowne at *Rhodes*, all that had beene any

any whit auerse from the Romans in the late Warre of Macedon, were either taken and condemned, or sent prisoners to Rome; excepting some that slew themselues for feare; whose goods also were confiscated. Yet this procured little grace; and lesse would haue done, if old *M.Cato*, a man by nature vehement, had not vttered a milde sentence, and aduertised the Senate, That in decreeing warre against Rhodes, they should much dishonour themselues, and make it thought, that * rather the wealth of that Citie, which they were greedy to ransacke, than any iust cause, had moued them thereto. This consideration, together with their good deserts in the warres of *Philip* and *Antiochus*, helped well the Rhodians: among whom, none of any marke remained aliue, saue those that had beene of the Roman Faction. All which notwithstanding, many yeeres passed, ere by importunate suit, they could be admitted into the society of the Romans: a fauour which till now, they had not esteemed, but thought themselues better without it, as equall friends.

* *Cæsar in orat. apud Salust. de Coniurat. Catilinis.*

With the like, or greater seueritie, did the Romans make themselues terrible in all parts of Greece. *Æmylius* himselfe made progresse through the Countrey; visiting all the famous places therein, as for his pleasure: yet not forgetting to make them vnderstand what power he had ouer them. More than fiue hundred of the chiefe Citizens in Demetrias were slaine at one time by those of the Roman faction, and with help of the Roman souldiers. Others fled, or were banished, and their goods confiscated. Of which things; when complaint was made to the Consul; the redresse was such, as requited not the pains of making supplication. His friends, that is to say, those which betrayed vnto the Romans the liberty of their Countrey, he feasted like a king, with excessiue cheere, yet so, that he had all things very cheape in his Campe: an easie matter, since no man durst be backward in sending prouisions, nor set on them the due price. Embassadours likewise were sent from Rome; some, to giue order for setling the estate of Macedon, towards which they had more particular instruction from the Senate than was vsual in such cases; and some, to visit the affaires of Greece. The kingdome of Macedon was set at liberty by *Aemylius* and the Embassadours, his assistants, who had order therefore from the Senate. But this liberty was such as the Romans vsed to bestow. The best part of it was, That the Tribute which had beene payed vnto the kings, was lessened by halfe. As for the rest; the Countrey was diuided into foure parts, and they forbidden commerce one with the other. All the Nobility were sent captiue into Italy, with their wiues and children, as many as were aboue fifteene yeeres old. The ancient Lawes of the Countrey were abrogated; and new giuen by *Aemylius*. Such mischiefe the Senate thought it better to doe, at the first alteration of things in this Prouince, and in the time of Conquest, than otherwise to leaue any inconuenience that should be worse in the future. But concerning the Greekes, that were not subiects to Rome; the things done to them could deserue no better name than meere tyrannie, yea, and shamelesse periury; were it not so, that the familiar custome, among Princes and great Estates, of violating Leagues, doth make the Oathes of confederation seeme of no validitie. The Embassadours that were sent to visit the Greekes, called before them all such men of note, from euery quarter, as had any way discouered an vnseruiceable disposition towards the Romans. These they sent to Rome; where they were made sure enough. Some of these had sent letters to *Perseus*, which fell at length into the Romans hands: & in that respect, though they were no subiects, yet wanted there no colour, for vsing them as traytors, or at least as enemies. But since onely two men were beheaded, for hauing beene openly on the Macedonian side; and since it is confessed, that the good *Patriotes* were no lesse afflicted in this inquisition, than they that had sold themselues to the king: this manner of proceeding was inexcusable Tyrannie. With the Achæans these Embassadours were to deale more formally: not so much because that Common-wealth was strong (though this were to be regarded by them, hauing no Commission to make or denounce Warre) and like to proue vntractable, if manifest wrong were offered; as for that there appeared no manner of signe, by letters, or otherwise, whereby any one of the Achæans could be suspitiously charged to haue held correspondence with the Macedonian. It was also so, that neither *Callicrates*, nor any of his adherents, had beene employed by the Nation, in doing or offering their seruice to the Romans, but onely such as were the best *Patriotes*. Yet would not therefore the Embassadours neglect to vse the benefit of the time: wherein, since all men trembled for feare of Rome, the season serued fitly to ranke the Achæans with the rest. And

And hereto *Callicrates* was very vrgent: fearing, and procuring them to feare in behalfe of him and his friends, that if some sharpe order were not now taken, he and his fellowes should be made to pay for their mischieuous deuices, ere long time passed. So the Embassadours came among the Achæans: where one of them, in open assembly of the Nation, spake as *Callicrates* had before instructed him. Hee said, that some of the chiefe among them, had with money and other meanes befriended *Perseus*. This being so; he desired that all such men might be condemned, whom, after sentence giuen, hee would name vnto them. After sentence giuen (cried out the whole assembly) what iustice were this? Name them first, and let them answer; which if they cannot well doe, wee will soone condemne them. Then said the Roman boldly, that all their Prætors, as many as had led their armies, were guilty of this crime. If this were true, said *Xenon*, a temperate man, and confident in his innocence, then should I likewise haue beene friend to *Perseus*: whereof, if any man can accuse me, I shall throughly answer him, either here presently, or before the Senate at Rome. Vpon these words of *Xenon* the Embassadour laid hold, and said that euen so it were the best way, for him and the rest to purge themselues before the Senate at Rome. Then began he to name others, and left not vntill he had cited aboue a thousand; willing them to appeare and answer before the Senate. This might euen be tearmed the captiuitie of Greece; wherein so many of the honestest and worthiest men were carried from home, for none other cause than their loue vnto their Co untry; to be punished according to the will of those, who could not endure, that vertue, & regard of the publike liberty, should dwel together in any of the Greeks. At their comming to Rome, they were al cast into prison, as men already condemned by the Achæans. Many Embassages were sent from Achaia (where it is to be wondred, that any such honest care of these innocent men could be remaining: since honestie had been thus punished as a vice, in so many of the worthiest among them) to informe the Senate, that these men were neither condemned by the Achæans, nor yet held to be offendors. But in stead of better answer, it was pronounced; That the *Senate thought it not expedient for the Countrie, that these men should returne into Achaia.* Neither could any sollicitation of the Achæans, who neuer ceased to importune the Senate for their libertie, preuaile at all; vntill after seuenteene yeeres, fewer than thirty of them were enlarged, of whom that wise and vertuous man *Polybius*, the great Historian, was one. All the rest were either dead in prison; or hauing made offer to escape, whether vpon the way before they came to Rome: or whether out of Iayle, after that they were committed thereto, suffered death as malefactors.

This was a gentle correction, in regard of what was done vpon the Epirots. For the Senate being desirous to preserue the Macedonian Treasure whole; yet withall, to gratifie the Souldiers, gaue order, That the whole Country of *Epirus* should be put to sacke. This was a barbarous and horrible cruelty; as also it was performed by *Æmylius* with mischieuous subtiltie. Hauing taken leaue of the Greekes, and of the Macedonians, with bidding them well to vse the libertie bestowed vpon them by the people of Rome; hee sent vnto the Epirots for ten of the principal men out of euery Citie. These he commanded to deliuer vp all the Gold and Siluer which they had; and sent along with them, into euery of their Townes, what companies of men he thought conuenient, as it were to fetch the money. But he gaue secret instruction to the Captaines, that vpon a certaine day by him appointed, they should fall to sacke, euery one the Towne wherein to he was sent. Thus in one day were threescore and tenne Cities, all confederate with the Romans, spoyled by the Roman Souldiers; and besides other acts of hostility in a time of peace, a hundred and fiftie thousand of that Nation made slaues. It may be granted, that some of the Epirots deserued punishment, as hauing fauoured *Perseus*. But since they, among this people, that were thought guilty of this offence, yea, or but coldly affected to the Romans, had beene already sent into Italie, there to receiue their due; and since this Nation, in generall, was not onely at the present in good obedience, but had euen in this warre, done good seruice to the Romans: I hold this act so wicked, that I should not beleeue it, had any one Writer deliuered the contrary. But the truth being manifest by consent of all; it is the lesse marueilous, that *God* was pleased to make *Æmylius* childeleſſe, euen in the glory of his triumph, how great soeuer otherwise his vertues were.

In such manner dealt the Romans, after their victory, with the Greeks and Macedonians.

ans. How terrible they were to other Kingdomes abroad; it will appeare by the efficacie of an Embassage sent from them to *Antiochus*; whereof before we speake, we must speake somewhat of *Antiochus* his foregoers, of himselfe, and of his affaires about which these Embassadours came.

§. XI.

The warre of Antiochus *vpon Egypt, brought to end by the Roman Embassadours.*

ANtiochus the Great, after his peace with the Romans, did nothing that was memorable in the short time following of his reigne and life. Hee died the sixe and thirtieth yeere after he had worne a Crowne, and in the seuenteenth or eighteenth of *Ptolomie Epiphanes*: while he attempted to rob the Temple of *Bel*, or (according to *Iustine*) of *Iupiter*. He left behinde him three sonnes, *Seleucus Philopater*, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Demetrius Soter*; and one daughter, *Cleopatra*, whom hee had giuen in marriage to *Ptolomie Epiphanes*, king of Egypt. *Seleucus* the fourth of that name, and the eldest of *Antiochus* his sonnes; reigned in Syria twelue yeeres, according to *Eusebius*, *Appian*, and *Sulpitius*: though *Iosephus* giue him but seuen. A Prince, who as hee was sloathfull by nature; so the great losse which his father *Antiochus* had receiued, tooke from him the meanes of managing any great affaire. Of him, about three hundred yeers before his birth, *Daniel* gaue this iudgement, *Et stabit in loco eius vilissimus & indignus decore regio. And in his place* (speaking of *Antiochus*, the Father of this man) *shall start vp a vilde person, vnworthy the honour of a King.* Vnder this *Seleucus*, those things were done which are spoken of *Onias* the high Priest, in these words, & other to the same effect: *What time as the holy City was inhabited with all Peace, because of the godlinesse of* Onias *the Priest, it came to passe, that euen the King did honour the place, and garnished the Temple with great gifts.* And all that is written in the third Chapter of the second of *Macchabees*, of *Simon* of *Beniamin*, who by *Apollonius* betrayed the Treasures of the Temple: and of *Heliodorus* sent by the king to seize them; of his miraculous striking by God, and his recouery at the prayers of *Onias*; of the kings death, and of his successour *Antiochus Epiphanes*. It is therefore from the reigne of this king, that the books of the *Macchabees* take beginning. Which books seeme not to be deliuered by one and the same hand. For the first booke, although it touch vpon *Alexander* the Great, yet it hath nothing else of his storie, nor of the acts of his successours, till the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the brother and successour of this *Seleucus*; from whom downward to the death of *Simon Macchabeus* (who died in the hundred threescore and seuenteenth yeere of the Greeks in Syria) that first booke treateth. The Author of the second booke, although he take the Storie somwhat further off, by way of a Proæme, yet he endeth with the hundred and one and fiftieth yeere of the Grecian reigne, and with the death of *Nicanor*, slaine by *Iudas*: remembring in the fourth Chapter the practice of *Iason* the brother of *Onias*, who after the death of *Seleucus*, preuailed with *Antiochus Epiphanes*, his successor, for the Priesthood. It is also held by *Iansenius* and other graue Writers, that it was in the time of this *Onias*, that *Arius* king of the Spartans sent Embassadours to the Iewes, as to their brothers and kinsmen. Which intelligence betweene them and the Greeks, *Ionathan* the brother and successour of *Iudas*, remembreth in the Preamble of that Epistle, which he himselfe directed to the people of Sparta by *Numenius* and *Antipater* his Embassadours, whom he employed at the same time to the Senate of Rome; repeating also the former Letters word by word, which *Arius* had sent to *Onias* the high Priest, whereof *Iosephus* addes, that the name of the Lacedæmonian Embassadour was *Demoteles*, and that the Letters had a square Volume, & were sealed with an Eagle holding a Dragon in her clawes.

Strab. lib. 16. *Iust. lib. 35.* *Euseb. in Chro.* *App. de bell. Syr. Ant. 12. cap. 5.* *Dan. 11. v. 21.* *2 Mac. cap. 3.* *Mac. 1. 12.* *Super. Eccl. c. 4.*

Now to this *Seleucus*, the fourth of that name, succeeded *Antiochus Epiphanes*, in the hundred and seuen and thirtieth yeere of the Greeks in Syria. He was the second sonne of the Great *Antiochus*: and he obtained his kingdome by procuring the death of the King his brother; which also he vsurped from his brothers sonne.

Ptolomie Philometor, his Nephew by his sister *Cleopatra*, being then very young, had beene about seuen yeeres King of Egypt.

Ptolomie Epiphanes, the Father of this King *Philometor*, had reigned in Egypt foure and twenty yeers; in great quiet, but doing little or nothing that was memorable. *Philip* of

of Macedon, and the great *Antiochus*, had agreed to diuide his kingdome between them, whilest he was a childe. But they found such other businesse, ere long, with the Romans, as made them giue ouer their vniust purpose; especially *Antiochus*, who gaue, with his daughter in marriage, vnto this *Ptolomie*, the Prouinces of Cœlosyria, Phœnice, & Iudæa, which he had won by his victory ouer *Scopas*, that was Generall of the Egyptian forces in those parts. Neuertheless, *Ptolomie* adhered to the Romans: whereby he liued in the greater securitie. He left behinde him two sonnes; this *Ptolomie Philometor*, and *Ptolomie Physcon*, with a daughter, *Cleopatra*. *Cleopatra* was wife to the elder of her brethren, and after his death to the yonger, by whom shee was cast off, and her daughter taken in her stead. Such were the matriages of these Egyptian Kings. 10

Ptolomie Philometor, so called (that is, the louer of his mother) by a bitter nickename, because he slew her, fell into hatred with his subiects, & was like to be chased out of his Kingdome, his yonger brother being set vp against him. *Physcon* hauing a strong party, got possession of Alexandria; and *Philometor* held himselfe in Memphis, crauing succour of King *Antiochus* his vncle. Hereof *Antiochus* was glad: who vnder colour to take vpon him the protection of the yong Prince, sought by all means possible to possesse himselfe of that kingdome. He sent *Apollonius* the sonne of *Mnestheus* Embassadour into Egypt, and vnder colour to assist the kings Coronation, hee gaue him instructions to perswade the Gouernours of the yong King *Philometor*, to deliuer the king his Nephew with the principall places of that kingdome into his hands; pretending an extraordinary care and desire of his Nephewes safety and well doing. And the better to answer all argument to the contrary, he prepared a forcible armie to attend him. Thus came hee alongst the coast of Syria to Ioppe, & from thence on the sudden he turned himselfe towards Ierusalem, where, by *Iason* the Priest (a Chaplin fit for such a Patron) he was with all pompe and solemnitie receiued into the Citie. For though lately, in the time of *Seleucus*, the brother and predecessour of *Epiphanes*, that impious Traitour *Simon* of the Tribe of *Beniamin*, Ruler of the Temple, when he would haue deliuered the treasures thereof to *Apollonius* Gouernour of Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, was disappointed of his wicked purpose by miracle from heauen; the said *Apollonius* being strucken by the Angell of God, and recouering againe at the prayer of *Onias*: yet sufficed not this example to terrifie others from the like vngodly practices. Presently vpon the death of *Seleucus*, this *Iason*, the brother of *Onias*, seeking to supplant his brother, and to obtaine the Priesthood for himselfe, offered vnto the King three hundred and threescore talents of siluer, with other rents and summes of money. So he got his desire, though he not long enioyed it.

2 Mac.4.

Mac.2.cap.3.

Mac.2.c.4.

This naughty dealing of *Iason*, and his being ouer-reached by another in the same kind, cals to minde a by-word taken vp among the Achæans, when as that mischieuous *Callicrates*, who had beene too hard for all worthy and vertuous men, was beaten at his owne weapon, by one of his owne condition. It went thus: 40

One fire than other burnes more forcibly,
One Wolfe than other Wolues does bite more sore;
One Hawke than other Hawkes, more swift does fly.
So one most mischieuous of men before,
Callicrates, *false knaue as knaue might be,*
Met with Menalcidas *more false than he.*

And euen thus fell it out with *Iason*: who within three yeeres after, was betrayed, and ouerbidden by *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, that for three hundred talents more obtained the Priesthood for himselfe: *Iason* thereupon being forced to flye from Ierusalem, and to hide himselfe among the Ammonites. 50

From Ierusalem, *Antiochus* marched into Phœnicia, to augment the numbers of his men of warre, and to prepare a Fleet for his expedition into Egypt; with which, and with a mighty army of land-forces, *He went about to raigne ouer Egypt, that hee might haue the dominion of two Realmes, and entred Egypt with a mighty company; with Chariots and Elephants, with Horsemen, and with a great Nauie, and moued warre against* Ptolemæus *King of Egypt, but* Ptolemæus *was afraid of him, and fled, and many were wounded to death. He won many strong Cities, and tooke away the spoyles of the Land of Egypt.* Thus was fulfilled

Mac.1.c.1.v.17

Vers.18.19.20. &c.

Prophecie of *Daniel*: *He shall enter into the quiet and plentifull Prouinces, and hee shall doe that which his Fathers haue not done, nor his Fathers Fathers.* Neuer indeed had any of the Kings of Syria so great a victory ouer the Egyptians, nor tooke from them so great riches. For he gaue a notable ouerthrow to the Captaines of *Ptolomie*, betweene Pelusium and the hill Cassius, after which he entred, and sackt the greatest and richest of all the Cities of Egypt, Alexandria excepted, which he could not force. In conclusion, after that *Antiochus had smitten Egypt, hee turned againe, and went vp towards Israel and Ierusalem with a mightie people, and entred proudly into the Sanctuary, and tooke away the golden Altar, and the Candlesticke for the light, and all the instruments thereof, and the table of the Shew-bread, and the Powring Vessels, and the Bolles, and the golden Basons, and the Vaile, and the Crownes, and the golden Apparell. He tooke also the Siluer, and the Gold, and the precious Iewels, and the secret Treasures: and when he had taken away all, he departed into his owne Land, after he had murdered many men.* Dan.c.11.v.24.

Hier.in Dan.

Mac.1.c.1.

It was about the beginning of the Macedonian warre, that *Antiochus* tooke in hand this Egyptian businesse. At what time he first laid claime to Cœlosyria, iustifying his title by * the same allegations which his father had made; and stiffely auerring, that this Prouince had not beene consigned ouer to the Egyptian, or giuen in dowrie with *Cleopatra*. Easie it was to approue his right vnto that which he had already gotten, when he was in a faire way to get all Egypt. The Achæans, Rhodians, Athenians, and other of the Greeks, pressed him, by seuerall Embassages, to some good conclusion. But his answer was, that if the Alexandrians could be contented to receiue their king his Nephew *Philometor*, the elder brother of the *Ptolomies*, then should the warre be presently at an end; otherwise not. Yet when he saw, that it was an hard piece of worke to take Alexandria by force: he thought it better to let the two brothers consume themselues with intestine war, than by the terror of his armes, threatning destruction vnto both of them, to put into them any desire of comming to agreement. He therfore withdrew his forces for the present; leauing the *Ptolomies* in very weake estate, the yonger almost ruinated by his inuasion; the elder hated and forsaken by his people.

Lib.6.

* cap.5.§.2.

Polyb.Leg.81. 82.&c.

But how weake soeuer these Egyptians were, their hatred was thought to be so strong, that *Antiochus* might leaue them to the prosecution thereof; and follow, at good leisure, his other businesse at Ierusalem or elsewhere. So after the sacke of Ierusalem, he rested him a while at Antioch, and then made a iourney into Cilicia, to suppresse the Rebellion of the Thracians and other in those parts, who had bin giuen as it were, by way of dowry, to a Concubine of the kings, called *Antiochis*. For Gouernour of Syria in his absence, he left one *Andronicus*, a man of great authority about him. In the meane while *Menelaus* the brother of *Simon*, the same who had thrust *Iason* out of the Priesthood, and promised the King three hundred talents for an In-come, committing the charge of the Priesthood to his brother *Lysimachus*, stole certaine vessels of gold out of the Temple: whereof he presented a part to *Andronicus* the Kings Lieutenant, and sold the rest at Tyre, and other Cities adioyning. This hee did, as it seemeth, to ad-uance the payment of the three hundred talents promised; the same being now by *Sostratus* eagerly demanded. Hereof when *Onias* the Priest (formerly dispossessed by *Iason*) had certaine knowledge, being moued with zeale, and detesting the sacriledge of *Menelaus*, he reproued him for it; and fearing his reuenge, he withdrew himselfe into a Sanctuary at Daphne.

Daphne was a place of delight adioyning as a suburb to Antioch. In compasse it had a-bout ten miles: wherein were the Temples of *Apollo* and *Diana*, with a Groue, sweete Springs, banquetting places, and the like; which were wholly, in a manner, abused to lust & other such voluptuousnesse. Whether it were well done of *Onias*, to commit himselfe to the protection of *Apollo* & *Diana*, or to claime priuiledge, from the holinesse of a ground consecrated to any of the Heathen gods, I will not stand to discourse. Onely I say for mine owne opinion; that the inconuenience is farre lesse, to hold this booke as Apocryphall, than to iudge this fearfull shift which *Onias* (though a vertuous man) made for his life, either commendable, or allowable, as the booke seemes to doe. As for this refuge, it could not saue the life of the poore olde man: for Menelaus *taking* Andronicus *apart, prayed him to slay* Onias. *So when hee came to* Onias, *hee counselled him craftily, giuing him his right hand with an oath, and perswaded him to come out of the Sanctuarie; so hee slew him incontinently without any regard of righteousnesse.* Hereof when

Mac.1.c.4.

when complaint was made to *Antiochus* after his returne out of Cilicia, *He took away* Andronichus *his garment of purple, and rent his cloathes, and commanded him to be led throughout the Citie; and in the same place where hee had committed the wickednesse against* Onias, *he was slaine as a murderer.* In taking reuenge of this innocent mans death, I should haue thought that this wicked king had once in his life-time done Iustice. But presently after this, at the suit of one *Ptolomie*, a Traytor to *Ptolomie Philometor*, hee condemned innocent men to death; who iustly complained against *Menelaus*, and his brother *Lysimachus*, for a second robbing of the Temple, and carrying thence the vessels of gold remaining. Hereby it is manifest, that he was guided by his owne outragious will, and not by any regard of iustice: since he reuenged the death of *Onias*, yet slew those that were in the same cause with *Onias*; *who, had they told their cause, yea, before the Scythians, they should haue beene heard as innocent.* By reason of such his vnsteadinesse, this king was commonly tearmed *Epimanes*, that is, Mad, in stead of *Epiphanes*, which signifieth Noble or Illustrious.

Mac.2.c.4. v.38. *Verse 47.*

Mac.2.c.5.v.1. After this, *Antiochus* made preparation for a second voyage into Egypt, *and then were there seene throughout all the Citie of Ierusalem, forty daies long, horsemen running in the ayre with robes of gold, and as bands of Spearemen, and as troupes of Horsemen set in aray, encountring and coursing one against another.* Of these prodigious signes, or rather fore-warnings of God, all Histories haue deliuered vs, some more, some lesse. Before the destruction of Ierusalem by *Vespatian*, a star in the forme of a sword appeared in the Heauens directly ouer the City, after which there followed a slaughter like vnto this of *Epiphanes*, though farre greater. In the Cymbrian warres, *Pliny* tels vs, that Armies were seen fighting in the ayre from the morning till the euening.

Plin.l.2.c.57.

In the time of Pope *Iohn* the eleuenth, a fountaine powred out bloud in stead of water, in or neare the Citie of Genoa; soone after which the Citie was taken by the Saraceans, with great slaughter. Of these and the like prodigious signes, *Vipera* hath collected many, and very remarkeable. But this one seemeth to mee most memorable, because the most notorious. All men know, that in the Emperour *Nero*, the Off-spring of the *Cæsars*, as well naturall as adopted, tooke end; whereof this notable signe gaue warning.

Mercur. Vipera de Prodig. li. 8. *Vipera de Prisco & sacro instituto.*

When *Liuia* was first married to *Augustus*, an Eagle let fall into her armes a white Hen, holding a Lawrell branch in her mouth. *Liuia* caused this Hen to be carefully nourished, and the Lawrell branch to be planted: Of the Hen came a faire encrease of white Poultrie; and from the little Branch there sprang vp in time a Groue of Lawrell: so that afterwards, in all Triumphs, the Conquerors did vse to carry in their hands a branch of Bayes taken out of this Groue; & after the Triumphs ended, to set it againe in the same ground: which branches were obserued, when they happened to wither, to foreshew the death of those persons who carried them in triumph. And in the last yeere of *Nero*, all the broods of the white Hens died, and the whole Groue of Bayes withered at once. Moreouer, the heads of all the *Cæsars* Statues, and the Scepter placed in *Augustus* his hand, were stricken downe with lightning. That the Iewes did not thinke such strange signes to be vnworthy of regard; it appeares by their calling vpon *God*, and praying, that these tokens might turne to good.

Sueton. Galba.

Now as the first voyage of *Antiochus* into Egypt was occasioned by discord of the two brethren therein reigning: so was his second Expedition caused by their good agreement. For the elder *Ptolomie* being left in Memphis, not strong enough to force his brother, who had defended Alexandria against all the power of their Vncle; thought it the best way to seeke entrance into that royall Citie, rather by perswasion than by armes. *Physcon* had not yet forgotten the terrour of the former siege: the Alexandrines though they loued not *Philometor*, yet loued they worse to liue in scarcitie of victuals (which was already great among them, and like to grow extreame) since nothing was brought in from the Countrey; and the friends of the yonger brother saw no likelihood of good issue to bee hoped for without reconciliation. These good helpes, and aboue all these, the louing disposition of *Cleopatra*, who then was in Alexandria, encouraged *Philometor* in his purpose. But that which made him earnestly desirous to accomplish it, was the feare wherein he stood of his Vncle. For though *Antiochus* was gone out of Egypt with his armie; yet had hee left behinde him a strong garrison in Pelusium; retaining that Citie, which was the Key of Egypt, to his owne

owne vse. This consideration wrought also with *Physcon*, and with those that were about him; so as by the vehement mediation of *Cleopatra* their sister, the two brethren made an end of all quarrels.

When the newes of this accord was brought to *Antiochus*, he was greatly enraged: for notwithstanding that he had pretended no other thing than the establishment of the King *Philometor* his nephew, and a meaning to subiect his younger brother vnto him, which hee gaue in answer to all Embassadours; yet he now prepared to make a sharpe warre vpon them both. And to this end he presently furnished and sent out his Nauie towards Cyprus, and drew his land Armie into Cœlosyria, ready to enter Egypt the Spring following. When he was on his way as farre as Rhinocorura, he met with Embassadours sent from *Ptolomie*. Their errand was partly to yeeld thankes to *Antiochus* for the establishing of *Philometor* in his Kingdome; partly to beseech him, That hee would rather be pleased to signifie what he required to haue done in Egypt, which should be performed, than to enter it as an enemy with so puissant an Armie. But *Antiochus* returned this short answer, That hee would neither call backe his Fleete, nor withdraw his Armie, vpon any other condition, than that *Ptolomie* should surrender into his hands, together with the Citie of Pelusium, the whole Territorie thereto belonging: and that he should also abandon and leaue vnto him the Ile of Cyprus, with all the right that hee had vnto either of them, for euer. For answer vnto these demands, hee set downe a day certaine, and a short one. Which being come and past, without any accord made, the Syrian Fleete entred Nilus, and recouered as well those places which appertained to *Ptolomie* in Arabia, as in Egypt it selfe; for Memphis, and all about it, receiued *Antiochus*, being vnable to resist him. The King hauing now no stoppe in his way to Alexandria; passed on thitherwards by easie iourneyes.

Of all these troubles past, as well as of the present danger wherein Egypt stood, the Romans had notice long agoe. But they found, or were contented to finde, little reason for them to intermeddle therein. For it was a ciuill warre: and wherein *Antiochus* seemed to take part with the iuster cause. Yet they gaue signification, that it would bee much displeasing vnto them, to haue the Kingdome of Egypt taken from the rightfull owners. More they could not, or would not doe; being troubled with *Perseus*; and therefore loath to prouoke *Antiochus* too farre. Neuertheless, the Egyptian kings being reconciled, and standing ioyntly in need of helpe against their Vncle, who prepared and made open warre against them both: it was to be expected, that not onely the Romans, but many of the Greeks, as being thereto obliged by notable benefits, should arme in defence of their Kingdome. Rome had beene sustained with food from Egypt, in the warre of *Hannibal*; when Italy lying waste, had neither corne, nor money wherewith to buy sufficient store. By helpe of the Egyptian, had *Aratus* laide the foundation of that greatnesse, whereto the Achæans attained. And by the like helpe, had Rhodes beene defended against *Demetrius Poliorcetes*. Neither were these friendly turnes, which that bountifull house of the *Ptolomies* had done for sundry people abroad, ill followed, or seconded, by other as bad in requitall: but with continuance of suitable beneficence, from time to time encreased. Wherefore the two brothers sent abroad confidently for ayde; especially to the Rhodians and Achæans, who seemed most able to giue it effectually. To the Romans, *Physcon* and *Cleopatra* had sent, a yeere since: but their Embassadours lay still in Rome. Of the Achæans they desired in particular, that *Lycortas* the braue warriour might bee sent vnto them, as Generall of all the *Auxiliaries*, and his sonne *Polybius*, Generall of the Horse. Hereunto the Achæans readily condescended: and would immediately haue made performance, if *Callicrates* had not interposed his mischieuous art. Hee, whether seeking occasion to vaunt his obsequiousnesse to the Romans; or much rather enuying those Noble Captaines, whose seruice the Kings desired; withstood the common voyce; which was, That their Nation should, not with such small numbers as were requested, but with all their power, beeon should, not with such small numbers as were requested, but with all their power, bee ayding vnto the *Ptolemies*. For it was not now (hee said) conuenient time to entangle themselues in any such businesse, as might make them the lesse able to yeeld vnto the Romans, what helpe soeuer should be required in the Macedonian warre. And in this sentence, hee with those of his faction, obstinately persisted; terrifying others with bigge words, as it were in behalfe of the Romans. But *Polybius* affirmed, that *Martius* the

the late Consull had signified vnto him, that the *Romans* were past all neede of helpe: adding further, that a thousand foote, and two hundred horse, might well be spared, to the ayde of their Benefactours, the *Egyptian* Kings, without disabling their Nation to performe any seruice to the *Romans*; for as much as the *Achæans* could without trouble, raise thirtie or fortie thousand Souldiours. All this notwithstanding, the resolution was deferred from one meeting to another; and finally broken, by the violence of *Callicrates*. For when it was thought that the Decree should haue passed; he brought into the Theater where the assembly was held, a Messenger with letters from *Martius*; whereby the *Achæans* were desired to conforme themselues to the *Roman* Senate; and to labour as the Senate had done, by sending Embassadours to set *Egypt* in peace. This was an aduice against all reason. For the Senate had indeede sent Embassadours to make peace; but as in a time of greater businesse elsewhere, with such milde words, that nothing was effected. Wherefore it was not likely, that the *Achæans* should doe any good in the same kinde. Yet *Polybius* and his friends, durst not gaine-say the *Roman* Councell; which had force of an iniunction. So the kings were left in much distresse; disappointed of their expectation. But within a while was *Perseus* ouercome: and then might the Embassadour sent from the *Roman* Senate, performe as much as any Armie could haue done.

Audience had beene lately giuen by the Senate, vnto those Embassadours of *Physcon* and *Cleopatra*; which hauing stayed more than a whole yeere in the City, brought nothing of their businesse to effect vntill now. The Embassadors deliuered their message in the name of those that had sent them: though it concerned (which perhaps they knew not) *Philometor*, no lesse than his Brother and Sister.

In this ambassage of *Ptolemie*, now requesting helpe from *Rome*; appeared a notable change of his fortune, from such as it had beene before three or foure yeeres last past. For in the beginning of these his troubles, which beganne with the *Macedonian* Warre; either he, or *Eulæus*, or *Lenæus* (vpon whom the blame was afterwards layed) which had the gouernment of him, thought his affaires in such good estate, that not onely hee determined to set vpon *Antiochus*, for *Cœlesyria*: but would haue interposed himselfe betweene the *Romans* and *Perseus*, as a competent Arbitratour; though it fell out well, that his Embassadour was by a friend perswaded to forget that point of his errand. From these high thoughts he fell on the sudden, by the rebellion of his brother and subjects, to liue vnder protection of the same *Antiochus*. And now at such time as by atonement with his brother and subiects, he might haue seemed to stand in no neede of such protection, he hath remaining none other helpe whereby to saue both his Kingdome and life, than what can be obtained by their intercession which were imployed against him. This miserable condition of him, his brother and sister, shewed it selfe, euen in the habit of those Embassadours. They were poorely clad: the haire of their heads and beardes ouergrowne, as was their manner in time of affliction; and they carried in their hands, branches of Oliue. Thus they entred into the Senate; and there fell, groueling and prostrate vpon the floore. Their garments were not so meane and mournefull, nor their lookes and Countenances so sadde and deiected, but that their speech was than either of the other farre more lamentable. For hauing told in what danger their King and Countrey stood; they made a pittifull and grieuous complaint vnto the Senate, beseeching them to haue compassion of their Estate, and of their Princes, who had alwaies remained friendly and faithfull to the *Romanes*. They said that the people of *Rome* had so much heeretofore fauoured this *Antiochus* in particular, and were of such account and authoritie, with all other Kings and Nations; as if they pleased but to send their Embassadours, and let *Antiochus* know, that the Senate was offended with his vndertaking vpon the King their Confederate; then would he presently raise his siege from before *Alexandria*, and with-draw his Armie out of *Egypt*, into *Syria*. But that if the Senate protracted any time, or vsed any delay; then should *Ptolemie* and *Cleopatra*, be shortly driuen out of their Realmes, and make repaire to *Rome*, with shamefull dishonour to the Senate; and people thereof, in that, in the extreme dangers of all their fortunes, they had not vouchsafed to relieue them.

Polyb. Leg. 72.

The Lords of the Senate moued with compassion, sent incontinently *C. Popilius Lenas*, *C. Decimius*, and *A. Hostilius*, as Embassadors to determine and end the warre betweene those Kings. In commission they had first to finde King *Ptolemie*, and then *Antiochus*, and to

let them both vnderstand, that vnlesse they surceased, and gaue ouer Armes, they would take that King no more for a friend to the Senate, and people of *Rome*, whom they found obstinate, or vsing delay. So these *Romans*, together with the *Alexandrine* Embassadours, tooke their leaue, and went onward their way within three dayes after.

Whilest *Popilius* and his fellowes were on their way toward Egypt, *Antiochus* had transported his Armie ouer Lusine, some fortie myles from *Alexandria*. So neere was he to the end of his iourney, when the *Roman* Embassadours met him. After greeting and salutations at their first encounter, *Antiochus* offered his right hand to *Popilius*: but *Popilius* filled it with a Roll of paper; willing him to reade those Mandates of the Senate, before he did any thing else. *Antiochus* did so; and hauing a little while considered of the businesse, he told *Popilius*, That hee would aduise with his friends, and then giue the Embassadours their answer. But *Popilius*, according to his ordinary blunt manner of speech, which he had by nature, made a Circle about the King with a Rodde which he held in his hand, willing him to make him such an answer as hee might report to the Senate, before hee moued out of that Circle. The King astonished at this so rude and violent a Commandement, after hee had stayed and pawsed a while, I will be content (quoth hee) to doe whatsoeuer the Senate shall ordaine. Then *Popilius* gaue vnto the King his hand, as to a Friend and Allie of the *Romans*.

Thus *Antiochus* departed out of *Egypt*, without any good issue of his costly Expedition; euen in such manner as * *Daniel* had prophesied long before: yea, fulfilling euery particular circumstance, both of returning, and of doing mischiefe to *Ierusalem* after his returne; like as if these things had rather beene historified than fore-told by the Prophet. As for the *Roman* Embassadors, they stayed awhile, and setled the kingdome of *Egypt*, leauing it vnto the elder brother, and appointed the yonger to reigne ouer *Cyrene*. This done, they departed towards *Cyprus*; which they felt, as it had beene, in the power of the *Egyptian*, hauing first sent away *Antiochus* Fleet, which had already giuen an ouerthrow to the *Egyptian* ships.

Dan. cap. 11. v. 29. 30. &c.

§. XII.

How the Romans were dreadfull to all Kings. Their demeanour towards Eumenes, Prusias, Masanissa, *and* Cotys. *The end of* Perseus *and his children. The instabilitie of Kingly Estates. The Triumphs of* Paulus, Anicius, *and* Octauius. *With the Conclusion of the worke.*

BY this peremptorie demeanour of *Popilius*, in doing his Message, and by the ready obedience of King *Antiochus* to the will of the Senate; wee may perceiue how terrible the *Romans* were growne, through their conquest of *Macedon*. The same *Popilius* had beene well contented, a yeere before this, to lay aside the roughnesse of his naturall condition, and to giue good language to the *Achæans* and *Ætolians*, when hee went Embassadour to those people of *Greece*, that were of farre lesse power than the King of *Antiochus*. Likewise, *Antiochus* had with good words, and no more than good words, dismissed other Embassadours which came from *Rome*, in such sort, as they complained not, much lesse vsed any menacing tearmes, though he performed nothing of their request. But now the case was altered. So found other Kings as well as *Antiochus*.

Eumenes sent to *Rome* his brother *Attalus*, to gratulate the victory ouer *Perseus*, and to craue helpe or countenance of the Senate against the *Gallo-greekes*, which molested him. Very welcome was *Attalus*, and louingly entertained by most of the Senatours: who bade him be confident, and request of the Senate his brothers Kingdome for himselfe; for it should surely be giuen him. These hopefull promises tickled *Attalus* with such ambition, that hee either approued, or seemed to approue the motion. But his honest nature was soone reclaymed by the faithfull counsaile of *Strato*, a Physician; whom *Eumenes* had sent to *Rome* of purpose to keepe his brother vpright. So, when hee came into the Senate, hee deliuered the errand about which hee had beene sent; recounting his owne seruices done to the *Romans* in the late Warre; * where withall hee forgat not to make of his brother as good mention as hee could: and finally requested, That the Townes of *Aenus* and *Maronea* might be bestowed

Liu. lib. 45.

*Polyb.Legat. 93.

beſtowed vpon himſelfe. *By his omitting to ſue for his brothers Kingdome, the Senate conceiued opinion, that he meant to craue another day of audience for that buſineſſe alone. Wherefore to make him vnderſtand how gracious hee was, they not onely granted all his deſire; but in the preſents which they gaue vnto him (as was their cuſtome to Embaſſadours that came with an acceptable meſſage) they vſed ſingular magnificence.

Polyb.ibid.

Neuertheleſſe, *Attalus* tooke no notice of their meaning; but went his way, contented with what they had already granted. This did ſo highly diſpleaſe the Senate, that whileſt he was yet in *Italie*, they gaue order for the liberty of *Ænus* and *Maronea*: thereby making vneffectuall their promiſe; which otherwiſe they could not, without ſhame, reuoke. And as for the *Gallo-greekes*, which were about to inuade the kingdome of *Pergamus*; they ſent Embaſſadours to them, with ſuch inſtructions, as rather encouraged than hindered them in their purpoſe. The diſpleaſure of the Senate being ſo manifeſt; *Eumenes* thought it worthy of his labour to make another voyage to *Rome*. He might wel blame the folly of his ſecond voyage thither, for this neceſſity of the third: ſince, by his malice to *Perſeus*, hee had layed open vnto theſe ambitious Potentates the way to his owne doores. No ſooner was he come into *Italie*, than the Senate was ready to ſend him going. It was not thought expedient to vſe him as an enemy, that came to viſit them in loue: neither could they, in ſo doing, haue auoided the note of ſingular inconſtancy: and to entertaine him as a friend, was more than their hatred to him, for his ingratitude, as they deemed it, would permit. Wherefore they made a Decree, That no king ſhould be ſuffered to come to *Rome*; and by vertue thereof ſent him home, without expence of much further complement.

Pruſias king of *Bithynia* had beene at *Rome* ſomewhat before; where hee was welcommed after a better faſhion. Hee had learned to behaue himſelfe as humbly as the proud *Romans* could expect or deſire. For entring into the Senate, hee lay downe, and kiſſed the threſhold, called the *Fathers* his gods and fauiours: as alſo hee vſed to weare a Cap, after the manner of ſlaues newly manumiſed, profeſſing himſelfe an enfranchiſed bondman of the People of *Rome*. Hee was indeede naturally a ſlaue, and one that by ſuch abiect flattery kept himſelfe ſafe; though doing otherwiſe greater miſchiefe than any wherewith *Perſeus* had beene charged. His errand was, beſides matter of complement, to commend vnto the Senate the care of his ſonne *Nicomedes*, whom hee brought with him to *Rome*, thereto receiue education. Further petition hee made, to haue ſome Townes added to his Kingdome: whereto, becauſe the grant would haue beene vniuſt, hee receiued a cold anſwer. But concerning the Wardſhippe of his ſonne, it was vndertaken by the Senate: which, vaunting of the pleaſure lately done to *Egypt*, in freeing it from *Antiochus*, willed him thereby to conſider, what effectuall protection the *Romans* gaue vnto the children of Kings, that were to their patronage commended.

But aboue all other Kings, *Maſaniſſa* held his credit with the *Romans* good. His quarrels were endleſſe with the *Carthaginians*: which made the friendſhip of the *Romans* to him the more aſſured. In all controuerſies they gaue iudgement on his ſide: and whereas he had inuaded the Countrey of *Emporia*, holding the Lands, but vnable to winne the Townes; the *Romans* (though at firſt they could finde no pretext, whereby to countenance him in this oppreſſion) compelled finally the *Carthaginians* both to let goe all their hold, and to pay fiue hundred Talents to the *Numidian*, for hauing hindered him of his due ſo long. Now indeede had *Rome* good leyſure to deuiſe vpon the ruine of *Carthage*: after which, the race of *Maſaniſſa* himſelfe was ſhortly by them rooted vp. But heereof the olde King neuer dreamed. He ſent to *Rome* one of his ſonnes, to congratulate the victorie ouer *Perſeus*; and offered to come thither himſelfe, there to ſacrifice for ioy vnto *Iupiter* in the *Capitol*. His good will was louingly accepted; his ſonne rewarded; and hee entreated to ſtay at home.

Cotys the *Thracian* ſent Embaſſadours, to excuſe himſelfe touching the aide by him, giuen to *Perſeus*, for that the *Macedonian* had him bound by hoſtages; and to entreat, That his ſonne, which was taken with the children of *Perſeus*, might be ſet at libertie, for conuenient ranſome. His excuſe was not taken; ſince hee had voluntarily obliged himſelfe to *Perſeus*, by giuing hoſtages, without neceſſitie: Yet was his ſonne giuen backe to him ranſome-free; with admonition, to carry himſelfe better toward the

Romans

Romanes in time following. His Kingdome lay betweene *Macedon* and ſome barbarous Nations; in which reſpect, it was good to hold him in faire tearmes.

As for thoſe vnhappy kings, *Perſeus* and *Gentius*, they were led through *Rome*, with their children and friends, in the Triumphs of *Æmylius* and *Anicius*. *Perſeus* had often made ſuite to *Æmylius*, that he might not be put to ſuch diſgrace: but hee ſtill receiued one ſcornefull anſwer, That it lay in his owne power to preuent it; whereby was meant, that he might kill himſelfe. And ſurely, had hee not hoped for greater mercie than he found, he would rather haue ſought his death in *Macedon*, than haue bin beholding to the courteſie of his inſolent enemies for a wretched life. The iſſue of the *Roman* clemencie, whereof *Æmylius* had giuen him hope, was no better than this: After that hee, and his fellow king, had beene led in chaines through the ſtreets, before the Chariots of their triumphing Victors, they were committed to priſon, wherein they remained without hope of releaſe. It was the manner, that when the Triumpher turned his Chariot vp towards the *Capitol*, there to doe ſacrifice, he ſhould command the captiues to be had away to priſon, and there put to death: ſo as the honor of the Vanquiſher, and miſerie of thoſe that were ouercome, might be both together at the vtmoſt. This laſt ſentence of death was remitted vnto *Perſeus*: yet ſo, that he had little ioy of his life; but eyther famiſhed himſelfe, or (for it is diuerſly reported) was kept watching perforce by thoſe that had him in cuſtodie; and ſo died for want of ſleepe. Of his ſons, two died; it is vncertaine how. The yongeſt called *Alexander* (only in name like vnto the Great, though deſtined ſometimes perhaps by his father, vnto the fortunes of the Great) became a loyner, or Turner, or, at his beſt preferment, a Scribe vnder the *Romane* Officers. In ſuch pouertie ended the Royall Houſe of *Macedon*: and it ended on the ſuddaine; though ſome eightſcore yeeres after the death of that Monarch, vnto whoſe ambition this whole Earth ſeemed too narrow.

If *Perſeus* had known it before, that his owne ſonne ſhould one day be compelled to earne his liuing by handie-worke, in a painefull Occupation; it is like, that he would not as in a wantonneſſe of Soueraignetie, haue commanded thoſe poore men to be ſlaine, which had recouered his treaſures out of the ſea, by their skill in the feat of diuing. Hee would rather haue beene very gentle, and would haue conſidered, that the greateſt oppreſſors, and the moſt vndertroden wretches, are all ſubiect vnto the One high Power, gouerning all alike with abſolute command. But ſuch is our vnhappineſſe; in ſtead of that bleſſed counſaile, *Doe as ye would be done vnto*, a ſentence teaching all moderation, and pointing out the way to felicitie; we entertaine that arrogant thought, *I will bee like to the moſt High*: that is, I will doe what ſhall pleaſe my ſelfe. One hath ſaid truly:

Iuuenal. Sat. 10.

-- vv-- Et qui nolunt occidere quenquam
Poſſe volunt——

Euen they that haue no murdrous will,
Would haue it in their power to kill.

All, or the moſt, haue a vaine deſire of abilitie to do euill without controule: which is a dangerous temptation vnto the performance. *God*, who beſt can iudge what is expedient, hath granted ſuch power to very few: among whom alſo, very few there are, that vſe it not to their owne hurt. For who ſees not, that a Prince, by racking his Soueraigne authoritie to the vtmoſt extent, enableth (beſides the danger to his owne perſon) ſome one of his owne ſonnes or nephewes to root vp all his progenie? Shall not many excellent Princes, notwithſtanding their brotherhood, or other neereneſſe in bloud, be driuen to flatter the Wife, the Minion, or perhaps the Harlot that gouernes one, the moſt vnworthy of his whole houſe, yet reigning ouer all? The vntimely death of many Princes which could not humble themſelues to ſuch flattery; and the common practice of the *Turkiſh* Emperours to murder all their brethren, without expecting till they offend; are too good proofes hereof. Heereunto may be added, That the heyre of the ſame *Roger Mortimer*, who murdered moſt traiterouſly and barbarouſly King *Edward* the ſecond; was, by reaſon of a marriage, proclaimed, in time not long after following, heire apparant to the Crowne of *England*: which had he obtained, then had all the power of *Edward* fallen into the race of his mortall enemie, to exerciſe the ſame vpon the Line of that vnhappie King. Such examples of the inſtabilitie whereto all mortall affaires are ſubiect,

subiect; as they teach moderation, and admonish the transitorie Gods of Kingdomes, not to authorize, by wicked precedents, the euill that may fall on their owne posteritie: so do they necessarily make vs vnderstand, how happie that Countrie is, which hath obtained a King able to conceiue and teach, That * *God is the sorest and sharpest Schoolemaster that can be deuised, for such Kings, as think this world ordained for them, without controlment to turne it vpside-downe at their pleasure.*

* The true Law of free Monarchies.

Now concerning the Triumph of *L. Æmylius Paulus*; it was in all points like vnto that of *T. Quintius Flaminius*: though farre more glorious, in regard of the Kings owne person, that was ledde along therein, as part of his owne spoyles; and in regard likewise both of the Conquest and of the Bootie. So great was the quantitie of Gold and Siluer carried by *Paulus* into the *Roman* Treasurie, that from thence forth, vntill the ciuil Wars which followed vpon the death of *Iulius Cæsar*, the Estate had no need to burthen it selfe with any Tribute. Yet was this noble Triumph likely to haue bin hindred by the souldiers; who grudged at their General, for not hauing dealt more bountifully with them. But the Princes of the Senate ouer-ruled the People and Souldiers herein, and brought them to reason by seuere exhortations. Thus *Paulus* enioyed as much honour of his victorie as men could giue. Neuertheless, it pleased *God* to take away from him his two remaining sons, that were not giuen in adoption: of which, the one died fiue daies before the Triumph, the other three daies after it. This losse he bore wisely: and told the People, That he hoped to see the Common-wealth flourish in a continuance of prosperitie; since the ioy of his victorie was requited with his owne priuate calamitie, in stead of the publike.

Chap.3.§.4.

About the same time, *Octauius* the Admirall, who had brought *Perseus* out of *Samothrace*: and *Anicius* the Prætor, who had conquered *Illyria*, and taken King *Gentius* prisoner; made their seuerall triumphs. The glory of which magnificent spectacles; together with the confluence of Embassages from all parts; and Kings, either visiting the Imperiall Citie, or offering to visit her, and doe their duties in person; were enow to say vnto *Rome*, *Sume superbiam, Take vpon thee the Maiestie, that thy deserts haue purchased.*

BY this which we haue already set downe, is seene the beginning and end of the three first Monarchies of the world; whereof the Founders and Erectours thought, that they could neuer haue ended. That of *Rome* which made the fourth, was also at this time almost at the highest. We haue left it flourishing in the middle of the field; hauing rooted vp, or cut downe, all that kept it from the eyes and admiration of the world. But after some continuance, it shall begin to lose the beauty it had; the stormes of ambition shall beat her great boughes and branches one against another; her leaues shall fall off, her limbes wither, and a rabble of barbarous Nations enter the field, and cut her downe.

Now these great Kings, & conquering Nations, haue bin the subiect of those ancient Histories, which haue bin preserued, and yet remaine among vs; and withall of so many tragicall Poets, as in the persons of powerfull Princes, and other mighty men haue complained against Infidelitie, Time, Destinie, and most of all against the Variable successe of worldly things, and Instabilitie of Fortune. To these vndertakings, these great Lords of the world haue beene stirred vp, rather by the desire of Fame, which ploweth vp the Aire, and soweth in the Winde; than by the affection of bearing rule, which draweth after it so much vexation and so many cares. And that this is true, the good aduice of *Cineas* to *Pyrrhus* proues. And certainely, as Fame hath often beene dangerous to the liuing, so is it to the dead of no vse at all; because separate from knowledge. Which were it otherwise, and the extreame ill bargaine of buying this lasting discourse, vnderstood by them which are dissolued; they themselues would then rather haue wished, to haue stolen out of the world without noyse, than to be put in minde, that they haue purchased the report of their actions in the world, by rapine, oppression, and crueltie: by giuing in spoyle the innocent and labouring soule to the idle and insolent, and by hauing emptied the Cities of the world of their ancient Inhabitants, and filled them againe with so many and so variable sorts of sorrowes.

Since the fall of the *Roman* Empire (omitting that of the *Germanes*, which had neither greatnesse nor continuance) there hath beene no State fearefull in the East, but that of

of the Turk; nor in the West any Prince that hath spred his wings farre ouer his nest, but the Spaniard; who since the time that *Ferdinand* expelled the Moores out of Granado, haue made many attempts to make themselues Masters of all Europe. And it is true, that by the treasures of both Indies, & by the many kingdoms which they possesse in Europe; they are at this day the most powerfull. But as the Turke is now counterpoysed by the Persian, so in stead of so many Millions as haue beene spent by the English, French, and Netherlands in a defensiue Warre, and in diuersions against them, it is easie to demonstrate, that with the charge of two hundred thousand pound continued but for two yeeres, or three at the most, they may not only be perswaded to liue in peace, but all their swelling and ouer-flowing streames may be brought backe into their naturall channels & old bankes. These two Nations, I say, are at this day the most eminent, & to be regarded; the one seeking to roote out the Christian Religion altogether, the other the truth and sincere profession thereof; the one to ioyne all Europe to Asia, the other the rest of all Europe to Spaine.

For the rest, if we seeke a reason of the succession and continuance of this boundlesse ambition in mortall men, we may adde to that which hath beene already said; That the Kings and Princes of the world haue alwaies laid before them, the actions, but not the ends of those great Ones which præceded them. They are alwayes transported with the glorie of the one, but they neuer minde the miserie of the other, till they finde the experience in themselues. They neglect the aduice of *God*, while they enioy life, or hope it; but they follow the counsell of Death, vpon his first approach. It is he that puts into man all the wisedome of the world, without speaking a word; which *God* with all the words of his Law, promises, or threats, doth infuse. Death, which hateth and destroyeth man, is beleeued; *God*, which hath made him, and loues him, is alwaies deferred. *I haue considered* (faith *Salomon*) *all the works that are vnder the Sunne, and behold, all is vanitie, and vexation of spirit*: but who beleeues it, till Death tells it vs? It was Death, which opening the conscience of *Charles* the fift, made him enioyne his sonne *Philip* to restore Nauarre; and King *Francis* the first of France, to command that iustice should be done vpon the Murderers of the Protestants in Merindol and Cabrieres, which till then he neglected. It is therefore Death alone that can suddenly make man to know himselfe. He tells the proud and insolent, that they are but Abiects, and humbles them at the instant; makes them crie, complaine, and repent, yea, euen to hate their forepassed happinesse. He takes the account of the rich, and proues him a begger; a naked begger, which hath interest in nothing, but in the grauell that fills his mouth. He holds a Glasse before the eyes of the most beautifull, and makes them see therein, their deformitie and rottennesse; and they acknowledge it.

O eloquent, iust, and mighty Death! whom none could aduise, thou hast perswaded; what none hath dared, thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only hast cast out of the world and despised: thou hast drawne together all the farre stretched greatnesse, all the pride, crueltie, and ambition of man, and couered it all ouer with these two narrow words, *Hic iacet.*

Lastly, whereas this Booke, by the title it hath, calls it selfe, *The first part of the Generall Historie of the World*, implying a *Second* and *Third* Volume; which I also intended, and haue hewne out; besides many other discouragements, perswading my silence; it hath pleased *God* to take that glorious *Prince* out of the world, to whom they were directed; whose vnspeakeable and neuer enough lamented losse, hath taught me to say with *Iob*, *Versa est in Luctum Cithara mea, & Organum meum in vocem flentium.*

FINIS.

To the Reader.

THe vse of Chronologicall Tables is needfull to all Histories, that reach to any length of time; and most of all, to those that are most generall: since they cannot, like Annales, yeerely set downe all Occurrences not coherent. This heere following, may serue as an Index to the present Part of this Worke; pointing vnto the seuerall matters, that hauing fallen out at one time, are farre dis-ioyned in the Relation. Certainely it is not perfect: neither doe I thinke, that any can be. For howsoever the yeeres of the first Patriarchs may seeme to haue beene well neere compleat, yet in the reignes of the Kings of Iuda and Israel, wee finde many fractions, and the last yeere, or yeeres, of one King reckoned also as the formost of another. The same is most likely to haue fallen out in many other, though not so precisely recorded. Heereto may be added the diuerse and imperfect formes of the yeere, which were in vse among sundry Nations: causing the * Summer Moneths, in processe of some ages, to fall into the Winter; and so breeding extreame confusion in the reckoning of their times. Neither is it a small part of trouble, to chuse out of so many, and so vtterly disagreeing computations, as haue already gotten authority, what may probably be held for truth. All this, and a great deale more, is to be alledged, in excuse of such errour, as a more intentiue and perfect Calculator shall happen to finde heerein. It may serue to free the Booke, and likewise the Reader (if but of meane iudgement) from any notorious Anachronicisme; which ought to suffice. The Booke indeed will need it, euen in that regard; not onely for some errours of the presse, in the numbering of yeeres, but for some hastie mis-reckonings of mine owne; which I desire to haue hereby reformed, in hope that the printing of this Table shall not want carefull diligence. The Reader, if hee be not offended with the rest, shall finde reason to be pleased with this, as tending wholly to his owne ease.

* See lib. 2. chap. 3. §. 6.

The Titles ouer the Columnes, haue reference to that which followes vnder them; as will readily be conceiued. Where two Titles or more, are ouer the head, as | Rome / Nabonassar | there doe the numbers vnderneath answer proportionably, the higher to the higher, the lower to the lower. For example: The walls of Ierusalem were finished in the 319. yeere from the building of Rome, and in the 314. from Nabonassar. In like manner it is to be vnderstood, That Iehosaphat beganne his reigne in the 3774. of the Iulian Æra, in the 3092. of the World, and in the 99. yeere of the Temple. This needs not more illustration; nor indeed so much, to those that are acquainted with workes of this kinde. To auoid prolixitie, I haue forborne to insert those yeeres, which I finde not signed with some regardable accident: as with the birth or death of some Patriarch; the beginning of some Kings Reigne; some change of Gouernement; some Battaile fought; or the like. So, of the 13. yeeres wherein Sylnius Capetus reigned ouer the Latines, I note onely the first; that is, omitting all betweene the 4. of Iehosaphat, wherein Capetus began, vnto the 17. wherein Sylnius Auentinus succeeded, and wherein Iehoram first reigned with Iehosaphat his father. For I thought it vaine to haue filled vp a page with 12. lines of idle cyphers; numbring forth 2.3.4.5. and so still onwards, till I had come to the first of Auentinus, and the 17. of Iehosaphat. In setting downe the Kings, there is noted ouer the head of euery one what place hee held in order of succession: as whether he were the first, second, fift, seuenth, or so forth, in ranke, of those that reigned in his Country, without notable interruption: Before the name is the first yeere of his reigne; at the end, or foot of the name (as the space giues leaue) is the whole number of yeeres in which he reigned, in the spaces following vnderneath are those yeeres of his, which were concurrent with the beginning of some other King, or with the yeere of any remarkeable accident. Where two numbers, or more, are found before one Kings name, there it is to be vnderstood, that the same yeere belonged, not onely to the King then beginning, but vnto some one, or more, of his forego ers: as the first yeere of Iehoram King of Israel was the same with the second of his brother Ahaziah, and the 22. of his father Ahab. So, where two or three names are found in one space; as in the 3077. yeere of the World, Zimri, Tibni, and Omri: it is meant that euery one of them reigned in some part of the same yeere, which is reckoned the second of Ela, and the first of Omri. Particularly, vnder the yeeres of the Egyptian kings which is reckoned the second of Ela, and the first of Omri. Particularly, vnder the yeeres of the Egyptian kings are set downe the yeeres of those Dynasties, which it was thought meet to insert; as likewise, otherwhiles, the day, the moneth vpon which Nabonassars yeere began: which, how it varied from other yeeres, may be found in the place last aboue cited.

Concerning the Æra, or accompt of yeeres, from Iphitus, who began the Olympiads, from Rome built, from Nabonassar, and the like; as much as was thought conuenient hath been said, where due place was, in the Booke it selfe: so as it remaineth only to note, that vnder the title of Olympiads is set downe first the number of the Olympiad, and beneath it, the yeere of that Olympiad: as that Cyrus began his reigne in Persia, in the 55. Olympiad, and the first yeere thereof.

Now, for that the yeeres of the World, of the Olympiads, of Rome, of Nabonassar, and other, had not beginning in one moneth, but some of them in March, some in Aprill, some about Midsummer, and some at other times: the better to expresse their seuerall beginnings, some painefull Chronologers haue diuided them proportionably in their seuerall Columnes; opposing part of the one yeere to part of the other: not (as I haue here done) cutting all ouerthwart with one streight line, as if all had begun and ended at one time. But this labour haue I spared, as more troublesome than vsefull; since the more part would not haue apprehended the meaning, and

since

since the learned might well be without it. It will onely be needfull to obserne, that howsoeuer the Æra *of the* Olympiads *be* 24. *yeeres elder than that of Rome, and* 29. *than that of* Nabonassar, *yet the reigne of some king may haue begun at such a time of the yeere as did not sute with this difference. But hereof I take little regard. The more curious will easily finde my meaning: the vulgar will not finde the difficultie. One familiar example may explaine all. Queene* Elizabeth *began her reigne the* 17 *of November, in the yeere of our Lord,* 1558. *She was crowned, held a Parliament, brake it vp, threw downe Images, and reformed many things in Religion; all in her first yeere: yet not all in that yeere* 1558. *but the greater part in the yeere following; whether we begin with the first of Ianuarie, or with the* 25. *of March. The like may be otherwhiles found in this Table; but so, as the difference is neuer of a whole yeere.*

The Iulian *Period, which I haue placed, as the greater number, ouer the yeers of the World, was deliuered by that honorable and excellently learned* Ioseph Scaliger: *being accommodated to the* Iulian *yeeres, now in vse among vs. It consisteth of* 7980 *yeeres, which result from the multiplication of* 19. 28. *and* 15. *that is, of the Cycle of the Moone, the Cycle of the Sun, and the yeeres of an Indiction. Being diuided by any of these, it leaues the number of the present yeere; or if no fraction remaine, it shewes the last yeere of that Cycle to bee current. For example: in the* 4498. *of this period, when was fought the great battaile of* Cannæ, *the Prime or Golden number was* 14. *the Cycle of the Sun* 18. *and consequently the Dominicall letter* F. *as may be found by diuiding the same number of the* Iulian *Period* 4498. *by* 19. *for the Prime, by* 28. *for the Cycle of the Sunne. This* Iulian *Period, after the present accompt, alwaies exceedes the yeeres of the World by* 682. *Besides the former vses, and other thence redounding, it is a better Character of a yeere, than any other* Æra *(as,* From the beginning of the World, From the Flood, From *Troy* taken, *or the like) which are of more vncertain position.*

More I shall not need to write, as touching the vse or explication of these Tables. Neither was thus much requisite to such as are conuersant in workes of this kinde: it sufficeth if hereby all be made plaine enough to the vulgar.

Iulian

A CHRONOLOGICALL TABLE.

Yeeres of the Iulian Period, VVorld, Patriarchs, &c.

	Iulian. The World, and Adam.														
	683 1. Adã. 930														
	813 131	1. Seth. 912													
	918 236	106	1. Enos 905												
	1008 326	196	91	1. Cainan. 910	All the yeeres of the Patriarchs, wherein they begate children, dyed, or performed any thing are reckoned compleat: which is inferred out of the addition of the yeeres before they begat children, vnto those that followed; making alwayes a compleate summe, Gen. 5.										
	1078 396	266	161	71	1. Mahalaleel 895										
	1143 461	331	226	136	66	1. Iared 962									
	1305 623	493	388	298	228	163	1. Enoch. 365								
	1370 688	558	453	363	293	228	66	1. Methusela 969							
	1557 875	745	640	550	480	415	253	188	1. Lamech. 777						
Adam died about the end of the yeere.	1612 930	800	695	605	535	470	308	243	56						
Enoch translated.	1669 987	857	752	662	592	527	365	300	113						
Methusela died about the end of this yeere.	1724 1042	912	807	717	647	582		355	168						
	1739 1057		822	732	662	597		370	183	1. Noah. 959					

	Iulian. The World.	Enos.	Cainan	Mehalaleel.	Iared.	Methuselah.	Lamech.	Noah.	Sem.			
Enos dyed.	1824 1140	905	815	745	680	453	266	84				
Cainan dyed.	1917 1235		910	842	775	548	361	179				
Mahalaleel dyed this yeere.	1972 1290			895	830	603	416	234				
Iared dyed.	2104 1422					735	584	366				
Flood threatned, Gen. 6. 3.	2219 1537					850	663	481				
	2241 1559					872	685	503	1. Sem. 600			
Lamech dyed.	2333 1651					964	777	595	93			
Methuselah dyed this yeere a little before the Flood. Noah entreth into the Arke. C. 7. §. 8. & 9. The Flood.	2338 1656					969		600	98			
The Flood ceaseth. Noah issued out of the Arke.	2339 1657							601	99			
	Iulian World. Flood.	Noah.	Sem.	1. Arphaxad 438								
	2341 1659	603	101									
	2376 1594 37	638	136	36	1. Salah. 433							
	2406 1724 67	668	166	66	31	1. Heber. 464						
	2440 1758 101	702	200	100	65	35	1. Peleg.		Kings of Assyria.			
	2470 1788 131	732	230	130	95	65	31	1. Reu. 239	1. Nimrod. 114			
	2502 1820 163	764	262	162	127	97	63	33	33	1. Sarug. 230	Kings of Ægypt.	
Vide lib. 2. c. 2. §. 2.	2530 1848 191	792	290	190	155	125	91	61	61	29	1 1. Cham 161	
	2532 1850 193	694	292	192	157	127	93	63	63	31	3	1. Nahor. 148
	2561 1879 222	823	321	221	186	156	122	92	92	69	32	30
	2584 1902 245	846	344	244	209	179	145	115	2 1. Belus, 65	83	55	53

	Iulian. World. Flood.	Noah.	Sem.	Arphaxad.	Salah.	Heber.	Peleg.	Reu.	Assyria	Sarug.	Egypt	Nahor.	Terah.	Kings of Sicyon	
	2618 1936 279	880	378	378	243	213	179	149	35	117	89	87	58	1 1. Ategleus. 3	
	2649 1967 316	911	409	309	274	244	210	180	3 1. Ninus, 52	148	120	118	89	32	
	2670 1988 331	932	430	330	295	265	231	201	22	169	141	139	110	2 1. Europs. 45	
The last yeere of Peleg his life.	2678 1996 339	940	438	338	303	273	239	209	30	177	149	147	118	9	
The death of Nahor.	2679 1997 340	941	439	339	304	274		210	31	178	150	148	119	10	
Noah died this yeere.	2688 2006 349	950	448	348	313	283		219	40	187	159		128	19	
The 16. Dinastie in Egypt, Vid. L. 2. c. 2. §. 4. 5. &c.	2691 2009 352		451	351	316	286		222	43	190	2 1. Misraim or Osiris.		131	22	1. Abrams. 275
	2701 2019 362		461	361	326	296		232	4 1. Semiramis, 42	200	11		141	32	11
The last yeere of Reu.	2708 2026 369		463	368	333	303		239	8	207	18		148	39	18
	2715 2033 376		475	375	340	310			15	214	25		155	1 Telkin or Selchin, 21	25
The last of Sarug.	2731 2049 392		491	391	356	326			31	230	41		171	17	41

	Iulian. World. Flood.	Sem.	Arphaxad.	Salah.	Heber.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Terah.	Sicyon.	Abram.
	2735 2053 396	495	395	360	330	35	45	175	4 1. Apis, 25	45
	2743 2061 404	503	403	368	338	5 2. Ninias, 28	53	183	9	53
	2760 2078 421	520	420	385	355	18	70	200	5 1. Thelxion or Thelasion, 52	70
Abram receives the promise, Heb. 11. dyes in Haran. L. 2. c. 1. §. 1, 2, 3.	2765 2083 426	525	425	390	360	23	75	205	6	75

	Iulian. World. Promise.	Sem.	Arphaxad.	Salah.	Heber.	Abram.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.
Abram enters into Canaan, and descends into Egypt. The first of the 430 yeers of Promise.	2766 2084 1	526	426	391	361	76	24	76	7
Abram returnes into Canaan.	2767 2085 2	527	427	392	362	77	25	77	8
Abram his victory over Chodorlaomer, and other Kings, L. 2. c. 1. §. 8. 9. &c	2775 2093 10	535	435	400	370	85	33	85	16
Ismael borne.	2777 2095 12	537	437	402	372	87	35	87	18
Arphaxad dyes.	2778 2096 13	538	438	403	373	88	36	88	19

	Iulian. World. promise	Sem.	Salah.	Heber.	Abraham.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	
	2781 2099 16	541	406	376	91	6 1. Arius, 30	91	22	
Isaac borne when Abraham was 100. yeares old compleat, 101. current.	2791 2109 26	551	416	386	101	11	101	32	1. Isaac 180
The last yeare of Salah.	2808 2126 43	568	433	403	118	28	118	49	18
	2811 2129 46	571		406	121	7 1. Aralius, 40	121	52	21
	2812 2130 47	572		407	122	2	122	6 1 Ægir'. 34	22
Sarai the wife of Abraham dyed this yeere.	2827 2145 62	587		422	137	17	137	16	37
Isaac tooke Rebecca to wife, when hee was 40. yeares old compleate.	2831 2149 66	591		426	141	21	141	20	41
The last yeare of Sem.	3840 2158 75	600		435	150	30	150	29	50

	Iulian. World. promise	Heber.	Abraham.	Isaac.	Iacob.	Assyria	Egypt	Sicyon.	Argines.
	2846 2164 81	441	156	56		36	156	7 1 Thurimachus. 45	
	2851 2169 86	446	161	61	1 Iacob 147	8 1. Baleus 30	161	6	1 1. Inachus 50
Abraham dyed this yeare.	2865 2183 100	460	175	75	15	15	175	20	15
Heber dyed this yeare.	2869 2187 104	464		79	19	19	179	24	19
The 17. Dynastie, called of the Shepheards, beginning this yeare, lasted 103. yeares.	2881 2199 116			91	31	9 1 Armamithrei, 38.	191 1	36	31
	2891 2209 126			101	41	11	201 11	1 1 Leucippus, 53	41
	2901 2219 136			111	51	21	211 21	11	2 1 Phoroneus, 60
The Flood of Ogyges, a thousand and twentie yeares before the Olympiads. See Lib. 1 c. 7. §. 2.	2919 2237 154			129	69	10 1. Belocus Priscus. 35.	229 39	29	19
	2942 2260 177			152	92	24	252 62	52	42	1. Iosph. 110
	2944 2262 179			154	94	26	254 64	9 1. Mossaius, 47	44	3
See L. 2. c. 2. §. 6.	2952 2270 187			162	102	34	3. and 4. 1. Typhon, and after him Hercul. 72	9	52	11
	2954 2272 189			164	104	11 1. Baleus, 52	3 74	11	54	13

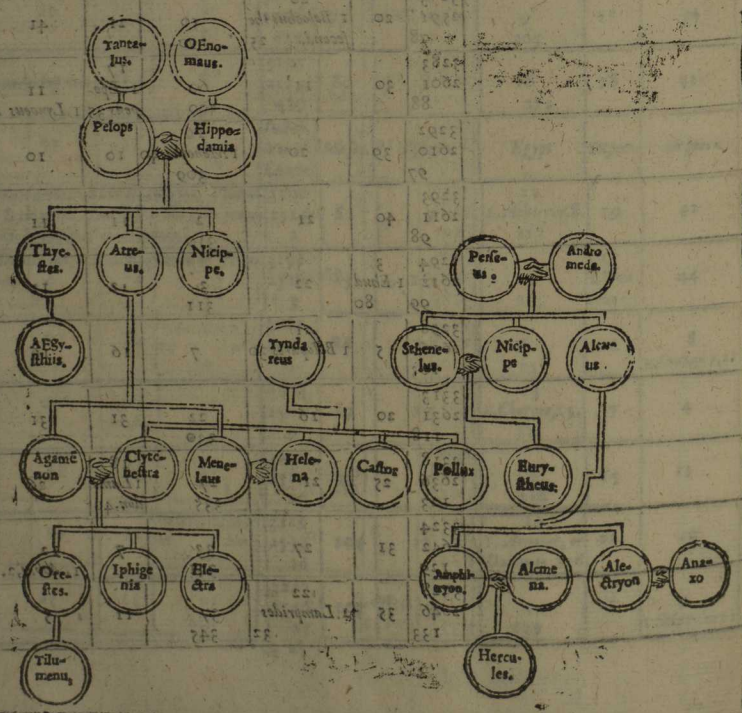
	Iulian. World. promise			Isaac.	Iacob.	Assyria	Egypt	Sicyon.	gines.	
Ioseph sold into Egypt.	2959 2277 194			169	109	6	9 1. Orus, 79. 115.	16	59	18
	2961 2279 196			171	111	8	3 81	18	3 1. Apis. 35	20
The last yeere of Isaac.	2970 2288 205			180	120	17	12 90	27	10	29
Israel into Egypt.	2980 2298 215				130	27	22 100	37	20	39
The eighteenth Dynastia in Egypt, which lasted 348. yeers.	2984 2302 219				134	31	26 1	41	24	43
	2991 2309 226				141	38	33 8	10 1. Pertinus. 46	31	50
	2996 2314 231				146	43	38 13	6	4 1. Argus.	55
Iacob dyes in Egypt.	2997 2315 232				147	44	39 14	7	2	

	Iulian. World. promise	Ioseph.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argines.		
	3006 2324 241	65	12 1. Altades, 32	48 23	16	11		
	3037 2355 272	96	32	79 54	11 1. Plemnaus, 38.	42		
	3038 2356 273	97	13 1. Mamitus 30	80 55	2	43		
The last yeere of Ioseph.	3051 2369 286	110	14	93 68	15	56		
	3066 2384 301		29	108 83	30	5 1. Pirasus, or Criasus. 54		
	3068 2386 303		14 1. Mancaleus. 30	110 85	32	3		
	3074 2392 309		7	6 1. Sesostris the Great, 33 91	38	9		
	3085 2403 320		18	12 102	12 1 Orthopolis 63	20		
	3098 2416 333		15 1. Spherus or Ipherous, 20.	25 115	14	33		
	3107 2425 342		10	7 1. Sesostris the second. 14 124	23	42		
	3116 2434 351	1. Moses. 120	19	10 133	32	51		

	Iulian. World. promise	Moses.	Assyria.	Egypt	Sicyon.	Argines		
	3118 2436 353	3	16 1. *Mamilus, or Mamelius*, 30	12 135	34	53		
	3120 2438 355	5	3	14 137	36	6 1. *Phorbas*, 35.		
	3121 2439 356	6	4	8 1. *Orus* 2. *or Busiris*, 38.138.	37	2	*Athenians.*	
	3148 2466 383	33	17 1. *Sparetus*, 40	28 165	13 1. *Marathius*, 30	29		
	3151 2469 386	36	4	31 168	4	32	1 1. *Cecrops* 50	
Moses visites his brethren the Israelites, kils an Ægyptian, and flies into Midian.	3155 2473 390	40	8	35 172	8	7 1. *Tripas*, 46	5	
	3159 2477 394	44	12	9 1. *Thermutis, or Acencheres*, Du. 12.176.	12	5	9	
	3171 2489 406	56	24	10 1. *Ratheris, or Achoris* 9.188	24	17	21	
	3178 2496 413	63	31	8 195	14 1. *Marathus*, 20.	24	28	
	3180 2498 415	65	33	11 1. *Chencres* 16 197	3	26	30	
	3188 2506 423	73	18 1. *Ascatades.* 40	9 205	11	34	38	
Moses his wandering into Ægypt.	3195 2513 430	80	8	16 212	18	41	45	
	Iulian. World. Exodus	*Moses.*	*Assyria*	*Egypt*	*Sicyon.*	*Argos.*	*Athens*	
The Passeouer. Israel deliuered out of Ægypt. Pharaoh drowned. The Law giuen. The first of the 480. yeere from Exodus to the building of the Temple.	3196 2514 1	81	9	12 1. *Acherres*, 8. 213	19	42	46	
The Floud of Deucalion, and conflagration of Phaeton about this time.	3198 2516 3	83	11	3 215	15 1. *Echireus* 55	44	48	
	3201 2519 6	86	14	6 218	4	8 1. *Crotopus*, 21	2 1. *Cranaus* 10	
	3204 2522 9	89	17	13 1. *Cherres*, 15. 221	7	4	4	
	3211 2529 16	96	24	8 228	14	11	3 1. *Amphictyon* 12	
	3219 2537 24	104	32	14 1. *Armeus, or Danaus* 5.236	22	19	9	
	3222 2540 27	107	35	4 239	25	9 1 *Scheuelus* 11	12	

	Iulian. World. Exodus	Moses.	Assyria	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Argos.	Athens	
	3223 2541 28	108	36	5 240	26	2	4 Erictbonius. 50	
	3224 2542 29	109	37	15 1. *Ramesses*, 68 241	27	3	2	*Troy*
	3228 2546 33	113	19 1. *Amyntas*, 4.	5 245	31	7	6	
	3229 2547 34	114	2	6 246	32	8	7	1 1. *Dardanus*,
	3233 2551 38	118	6	10 250	36	10 1. *Danaus*, 50.	11	5
The last yeere of Moses.	3235 2553 40	120	8	12 252	38	3	13	7
	Iulian. World. Exodus	*Israel.*	*Assyria.*	*Egypt.*	*Sicyon.*	*Argos.*	*Athens*	*Troy.*
The Israelites enter the Land of Promise.	3236 2554 41	1 1. *Iosua* 18	9	13 253	39	4	14	8
	3253 2571 58	18	26	30 270	16 1. *Corax*. 30	21	31	25
	3254 2572 59	2. 1. *Othaniel*, 40	27	31 271	2	22	32	26
	3273 2591 78	20	20 1 *Belochus the second*, 25	50 290	21	41	5 1. *Pandion* 40	45
	3283 2601 88	30	11	60 300	17 1. *Epopeus* 35	11 1. *Lynceus* 41	11	55
	3292 2610 97	39	20	16 1 *Mehophis* 40 309	10	10	20	64
	3293 2611 98	40	21	2 310	11	11	21	2 1 *Erictbonius*, 40
	3294 2612 99	3 1 *Ehud* 80	22	3 311	12	12	22	2
	3298 2616 103	5	21 1 *Belopatel* 30	7	16	16	26	6
	3313 2631 118	20	16	22 330	31	31	6 1 *Erictheus*, 50	21
	3318 2636 123	25	21	27 335	18 1 *Lamedon*, 40	36	6	26
	3324 2642 129	31	27	33 341	7	12 1. *Abas*, 2.	12	32
	3328 2646 133	35	22 1. *Lamprides* 32	37 345	11	5	16	36

The 19. Dynastie: of the Larthes, 194. yeares. See L.2.c.16.§.4.	3332 2650 137	39	5	17 1 Zethus, or Sethosi, 55	15	9	20	40
	3339 2657 144	46	12	8 8	22	16	27	3 1.Tro 60
Tantalus in Phrygia.	3347 2665 152	54	20	16 16	30	13 1.Prœtus, 17	35	9
	3358 2676 163	65	31	27 27	19 1.Sicyon, 45.	12	46	20
	3360 2678 165	67	23 1. Sosares, 20.	29 29	3	14	48	22
	3363 2681 168	70	4	32 32	6	17	7 1 Cerops the second, 40	25
Pelops in Pisa, who gaue name to Peloponnesus.	3364 2682 169	71	5	33 33	7	14 1 Acrisius, 31.	2	26
Ion and Xuthus the sonne of Hellen. See Lib.2.c.17.§.6.	3374 2692 179	4 1. Deborah & Ba. 40	15	43 43	17	11	12	36
	3380 2698 185	7	24 1. Lampares 30	49 49	23	17	18	42
	3387 2705 192	14	8	18 1. Ramses. 66. 56	30	24	25	49
After the death of Acrisius, the Kingdome of the Argiues was diuided into many small parts, and ouergrowne by that of Mycenæ, whereof some Kings descended from Perseus, others from Pelops, as in the Pedegree following.	3394 2712 199	21	15	8 63	37	31	32	56



	Iulian. World. Exodus	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Mycenæ.	Athens	Troy.
	3399 2717 204	26	20	13 68	42		37	4 1. Ilus, 55.
	3402 2720 207	29	23	16 71	45	1. Euristheus, 45	40	4
	3403 2721 208	30	24	17 72	20 1. Polybus. 40	2	3 1. Pandiche 2.25	5
	3410 2728 215	37	25 1. Pannias, 45	24 79	8	9	8	12
	3414 2732 219	5 1. Gedeon. 40	5	28 83	12	13	12	16
Pandion chased out of his Kingdome, which is recouered by his sonne Aegeus, in seuen yeares after. The omission of this interregnum, and reckoning the yeares in the forty eight of Aegeus without numbring them apart by themselues, breeds answerable difference in the times of the Athenians following, as of Mnesthius, Carops, and the rest.	3427 2745 232	14	18	41 96	25	26	25	29
	3432 2750 237	19	23	46 101	30	31	9 1. Aegeus, 40	34
Oedipus in Thebes.	3443 2761 248	30	34	57 112	21 1. Inachus. 4	42	12	45
	3447 2755 252	34	38	61 116	5	1. Atreus and Thyestes, 65	16	49
	3453 2771 258	40	44	19 1. Amenophis. 122 40	11	7	22	55
	3454 2772 259	6 1. Abimelech,	45	2 123	12	8	23	5 1. Laomedon. 3
	3455 2773 260	2	26 1. Sosarmus 15	3 124	13	9	24	2
	3457 2775 262	7 1. Thola, 23	3	5 126	15	11	26	4
	3474 2792 379	18	27 1. Mitreus, 37	22 143	32	28	43	21
	3480 2798 285	8 1. Iair, 22	7	28 149	38	34	10 1. Theseus 30	27
	3485 2803 290	6	12	33 154	22 1. Phestus, 8	39	6	32
	3490 2808 295	11	17	38 159	6	44	11	6 1. Priamus, 4
	3493 2811 298	14	20	20 1. Annemanes 162 26	23 1. Adrastus, 4	47	14	4
	3497 2815 302	18	24	5 166	24 1. Polyphides 31	51	18	8
	3501 2819 306	22	28 1. Tantanes, 32	9 170	5	55	22	12

	Iulian. World. Exodus	Israel.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Mycenæ.	Athens	Troy.
	3502 2820 307	9 1. Iephta, 6		10 171	6	56	23	13
	3508 2826 313	10 1. Ibzan. 7	8	16 177	12	62	29	19
	3510 2828 315	3	10	18 179	14	64	11 1. Mnesthe' 24	21
	3512 2830 317	5	12	20 181	16	1 Agamemnon. 18	3	23
	3515 2833 320	11 1. Elon. 10	15	23 184	19	4	6	26
The warre of Troy began this yeare.	3519 2837 324	5	19	21 1. Thoris, 7 188	23	8	10	30
	3525 2843 330	12 1. Abdon. 8	25	7 194	29	14	16	36
The 20. Dynastie, called of the Diapolitani, began this yeare in Egypt, and lasted 178. yeares, See lib. 2. c. 26. §. 4.	3526 2844 331	2	26	20 1. Dynastie, 178	30	15	17	37
	3528 2846 333	4	28	3	25 1. Pelasgus 20.	17	19	39
Troy taken 408. yeares, before the beginning of the Olympiads. See lib. 2. c. 14. §. 1.	3529 2847 334	5	29	4	2	18	20	40 Troy taken.

	Iulian. World. Exodus	From Troy taken.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Sicyon.	Mycenæ.	Athens	The Kingdome of the Latines.
	3530 2848 335	1	6	30	5	3	1. Aegysthus, 6	21	
	3533 2851 338	4	13 1. Sampson, 20.	29 1. Teucus 40	8	6	4	24	1 1 Æneas, [illegible]
	3534 2852 339	5	2	2	9	7	5	12 1 Demophon, 33	2
	3536 2854 341	7	4	4	11	9	1 Orestes, 70	3	2 1. Ascanius, [illegible]
	3548 2866 353	19	16	16	23	26 1 Zeucippus, 32	13	15	13
	3553 2871 358	2	14 1. Eli, 40	21	28	6	18	20	18
	3567 2885 372	38	15	35	42	20	32	13 1. Oxintes, 12	32
	3573 2891 378	44	21	30 1. Thyneus 30	48	26	38	7	38
	3574 2892 379	45. 1	22	2	49	27	39	8	3 1. Syl. Possumus, [illegible]

	Iulian. World. Exodus	From Troy taken.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt	Sicyon.	Mycenæ.	Athens	The Kingdome of the Latines
The Sycionian Kings ended in Zeuxippus.	3579 2897 384	50	27	7	54	32	44	14 1. Aphilau, 1.	6
	3580 2898 385	51	28	8	55		45	15 1. Timœtes, 8.	7
	3588 2906 393	59	36	16	63		53	16 1. Melanthus. 37.	15
	3593 2911 398	64	15 1. Samuel, & after him Saul, 40.	21	68		58	6	20
	3603 2921 408	74	11	31 1. Dercilus, 40	78		68	16	4 1. Sylvius Æneas, 31.
	3606 2924 411	77	14	4	81		1 Tisamenus, 2	19	4
The descent of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, gaue end to the Kingdome of Mycenæ, and beginning to the Kingdomes of Sparta, Corinth, and Messene, the Kings whereof I forbeare to insert in this table.	3609 2927 414	80	17	7	84			22	7
	3625 2943 430	96	33	23	100			17 1. Codrus, 21	23
	Iulian. World. Exodus	From Troy taken.	Israel	Assyria	Egypt		Athens	Latines	
	3633 2951 438		104	1. David, 40.	31	108	9	31	
	3634 2952 439		105	2	32	109	10	1. Syl. Latinus, 10	
	3643 2961 448		114	11	32 1. Eupales, 38	118	19	10	
The Medontidæ succeede unto the Athenian Kings, after the death of Codrus. See lib. 2. c. 17. §. 10.	3646 2964 451		117	14	4	121	1 1. Medon, 20	13	
	3666 2984 471		137	34	24	141	2 1. Agæstus, 36	33	
Vaphres reigneth in Egypt. See L. 2. c. 26. §. 5.	3673 2991 478	Temple 1	144	1. Salomon, 40	31	148	8	40	
Salomon began to build the Temple 480. yeares compleate after the deliuerance out of Egypt.	3676 2994 481	1	147	4	34	151	11	43	
	3681 2999	6	152	9	38 1. Laosthenes, 45	156	16	48	
	3684 3002	9	155	12	4	159	19	6 1. Syl. Alba.	
	692 3010	17	163	20	12	1. Sesac 26 167	27	9	
	3702 3620	27	173	39	22	11 177	1. Archippus, 29	19	

	Iulian. World.	Temple	From Troy taken.	Israel	Assyria.	Egypt	Athens	Latines
The 21. Dynastie in Ægypt, which lasted 130. yeeres.	3704 3022	29	175	32	24	13 1	3	21
The Ionicke migration after the taking of Troy, 180. yeeres. See L. 2. c. 17. §. 6.	3709 3027	34	180	37	29	18 6	8	26
	Iulian. World. Temple	Troy.	Iuda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt	Athens	Latines
	3713 3031 38	148	1 1. Rehoboam. 17	1 1. Ieroboam. 22	33	22 10	12	30
	3718 3036 43	189	6	6	38	1. Chemmis, 50. 15.	17	31
	3721 3039 46	192	9	9	41	4 18	4 1. Tersippus, 41	38
	3723 3041 48	194	11	11	43	6 20	3	7 1. Sylla, 38
	3726 3044 51	197	14	14	34 1. Pyrithiades. 30	9 23	6	4
	3730 3048 55	201	2 1. Abiam, 3	18	5	13 27	10	8
	3733 3051 58	204	3 1. Asa, 41.	21	8	16 30	13	11
	3734 3052 59	205	2	22 2 1. Nadab 2.	9	17 31	14	12
	3735 3053 60	206	3	2 3 1. Baasha, 24.	10	18 32	15	13
	3749 3067 74	220	17	15	24	32 46	29	8 1. Sylla, 28.
	3756 3074 81	227	24	22	35 1. Ophrateus. 20	39 53	36	8
	3758 3076 83	229	26	24 4 1. Ela, 2.	3	41 55	38	10
Of those Israelitish Kings, See lib. 2. c. 19. §. 5.	3759 3077 84	230	27	2 1 1 { Zimri. 6. Tibni. 7. Omri, 12	4	42 56	39	11
	3762 3080 87	233	30	4	7	45 59	5 1. Phorbas, 31	14
	3768 3086 93	239	36	10	13	1. Cheops, 56, 65	7	20
	3770 3088 95	241	38	12 8 1. Ahab, 22.	15	3 67	9	22
	3774 3092 99	245	4 1. Iehosaphat, 25	5	19	7 71	13	26

	Iulian. World. Temple	Troy.	Iuda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Athens	Latine.
	3776 3094 101	247	3	7	36 1 Ophratanes. 50	9 73	15	28
	3777 3095 102	248	4	8	2	10 74	16	9 1 Syl. Capetus, 13
Of Iehoram his sundry beginnings to reigne. See lib. 2. c. 20. §. 1. & 2.	3790 3108 115	261	17 5 1. Iehoram.	21 9 1. Ahazia, 2.	15	23 87	29	10 1 Syl. Tyberinus. 8.
	3791 3109 116	262	18 2	22 2 10 1 Iehoram.	16	24 88	30	2
	3793 3111 118	264	20 0	3	18	26 90	6 1. Mezades, 20.	4
	3795 3113 120	266	22 1. Iehoram again, 8.	5	20	28 92	3	6
Iehosaphat dyes, and Iehoram reignes alone.	3798 3116 123	269	25 4	8	23	31 95	6	11 1. Syl. Agrippa. 41
	3802 3120 127	273	8 6 1. Ahazia. 1.	12	27	35 99	10	5
	3803 3121 128	274	7 1. Athalia 7	11 1. Iehu, 28.	28	36 100	11	6
	3809 3127 134	280	7 8 1. Ioas. 40.	7	34	42 106	17	12
Carthage built. L. 2. c. 22. §. 6.	3819 3137 144	290	11	17	44	52 116	27	22
	3825 3143 148	294	15	21	48	56 120	7 1 Dognetus, 26	26
	3824 3142 149	295	16	22	49	1 Cephrenes, 50. 121	2	27
	3826 3144 151	297	18	24	17 Ocrazapes, Or 1 Anacyndaraxes. 42	3 123	4	29
	3831 3149 156	302	23	12 1. Iehoahaz. 17	6	8 128	9	34
The end of the 21. Dynastie. The Dynasties following omit.	3833 3151 158	304	25	3	8	10 130	11	36
	3839 3157 164	310	31	9	14	16	17	12 1 Sil. Aladius, 19
Ioas reigned with his Father, L. 2. c. 22. §. 7.	3845 3163 170	316	37	15 13 1. Ioas.	20	22	23	7
Ioas reignes alone.	3847 3165 172	318	39	1. Ioas, 16.	22	24	25	9
	3848 3166 173	319	40 9 1. Amazia, 20	2	23	25	26	10

	Iulian. World. Temple	Troy.	Iuda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt	Athens	Latines	
	3851 3169 176	322	4	5	26	28	8 1.Phere-dus, 19.	13	
	3858 3766 183	329	11	12	33	35	8	11 1.Syl.Aventinus 37	
	3862 3180 187	333	15	16 14 1.Ieroboam,41	37	39	12	5	
	3868 3186 193	339	21	7	38 1.Sardanapalus. 20	45	18	11	
	3870 3188 195	341	23	9	3	47	9 1. Aripbron20	12	
	3874 3192 199	345	27	13	7	1.Mycerinus 6	5	16	
	Iulian. World. Temple	Troy.	Iuda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt	Atheus	Latines	Mide
L.2.C.22.§.11.	3877 3195 202	348	1. Interregnu 11. yeeres.	16	10	4	8	19	
	3880 3198 205	351	4	19	13	1. Bocchorus, 44	11	22	
L.2.C.22.§.12.	3887 3205 212	358	11	26	20.Sardanapalusslain	8	18	29	
L.2.C.33.§.1.& 4.	3888 3206 213	359	10 1. Vzzia, 0 Azaria.52	27		9	19	30	1 1. A-
	3890 3208 215	361	3	29		11	10 1. Thespius,27	32	1
L.2.C.23.§.4.	3892 3210 217	363	5	31	1 1.Belesius or Phul.48	13	3	34	1
	3895 3213 220	366	8	34	4	16	6	14 1. Syl. Procas, 21	8
L.2.C.23.§.1.	3903 3221 228	374	16	1.Interregnum 23. yeeres.	12	24	14	9	16
	3916 3234 241	387	29	14	25	37	27	22	1 1.Sylvius,
	3917 3235 242	388	30	15	26	38	11 1.Agamnestor. 20	23	2
	3918 3236 243	389	31	16	27	39	2	15 1.Syl.Amulius 44	3
	3924 3242 249	395	37	22	33	1.Asychis & after him Amysis. 6	8	7	9
Zacharia began at the very end of the yeere. L.2.C.23.§.1.	3925 3243 250	396	38	23 15 Zacharia six Moneths.	34	2	9	8	10

	Iulian. World. Temple	Troy.		Iuda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egypt.	Athens	Latine	Mea
	3926 3244 251	397		39	16 Shallum one month 17 Menahem 10	35	3	10	9	11
This yeere meerly concurres with the first of Menahem.	3927 3245 252	398		40	1	36	4	11	10	12
	3930 3248 255	401		43	4	39	1.Sabacus the Ethiopian. 50	14	13	15
	3937 3255 262	408	Iphitus	Olympiads.	50	18 1.Pekahia. 2	46	8	12 1.Eschylis. 23	20	22
The beginning of the Olympiads. L.2.c.23.§.5.	3938 3256 263	409	1	1 1	51	2	47	9	2	21	23
	3939 3257 264	410	2	1 2	52	19 1.Peka Romelia. 20	48	10	3	22	24
L.2.c.23.§.6.	3940 3258 265	411	3	1 3	11 1.Iotha 16	2	2 1.Tiglath. Phul. Assar. 27	11	4	23	25
	Iulian. World. Temple	Iphit.	Olymp.	Iuda.	Israel.	Assyria	Egyp.	Athens	Latins.	Media
	3946 3264 271	9	3 1	7	8	7	17	10	29	2 1.Medius, 40
	3955 3273 280	18	5 2	16 12 1.Ahaz 16	17	16	26	19	38	10
	3959 3277 284	22	6 2	5	1.Interregnum 7. yeers	20	30	23	42	14
	3960 3278 285	23	6 3	6	2	21	31	11 1.Alcmeon, 2	43	15
	Iulian. World. Temple	Rome. Nabon	Iphitus	Olymp.	Iuda.	Israel	Assyria	Egypt	Athens	Romans	Medi
Rome built. Lib. 2. chap. 24. §.3. Cecrops the First gouerning in Athens for ten yeers: after whom succeeded sixe chosen each after other for the like time; & thence the office became Annuall.	3962 3280 287	1	25	7 1	8	4	23	33	1 1.Cecrops,10	1 1.Romulus, 37	17
	3966 3284 291	5	29	8 1	12	20 1.Hosea 9	27	37	5	5	21
The Æra of Nabonassar. Lib.2.c.25.§.1.	3967 3285 292	6 1	30	8 2	13	2	1 1.Salmanassar, or Nabonassar, 10	38	6	6	22
Ezekia began in the very end of this yeare. L.2.c.23.§.1.	3968 3286 293	7 2	31	8 3	14 13 Ezekias 29	3	2	39	7	7	23
This yeer concurres with the first of Ezekia. Ibid.	3969 3287 294	8 4	32	8 4	15 1	4	3	40	8	8	24
The beginning of the first Macedonian war. Whereof see L.2.c.27.§.4. It lasted 20. yeares.	3971 3289 296	10 5	34	9 2	3	6	5	42	10	10	26
Samaria is besieged by Salmanassar.	3972 3290 297	11 6	35	9 3	4	7	6	43		11	27

The captivitie of the ten Tribes.	3974 3292 299	13 8	37	10 1	6	9	8	45		13	29
	3976 3294 301	15 10	39	10 3	8		10 4 1. Senacherib, 7.	47		15	31
L.2.c.26.§.7.	3980 3298 305	19 14	43	11 3	12	King of the Caldæans.	5	1. Sethon. 33		19	35
Senacheribs Army destroyed, and he slaine. L.2.c.25 §.2.	3982 3300 307	21 16	45	12 1	14		7	3		21	37
	3983 3301 308	22 17	46	12 2	15	1. Merodach, or Mardocempadus.	5 1. Asarhaddon. 10	4		22	38
	3986 3304 311	25 1 20	49	13 1	18	4	4	7		25	4 1. Cyaxares.
Merodach gets the whole Empire. This yeere or in the end of the yeere foregoing, an eclipse of the Moone.	3993 3311 318	32 27	56	14 4	25	1 1. Merodach, 10	11	14		32	8
	Iulian. World. Temple	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Iuda.	Caldea.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.	
Two eclipses of the Moone, in the second yeere of Mardocempadus.	3994 3312 319	33 28	57	15 1	26	2	15	33	9		
	3997 3319 322	36 31	60	15 4	29	5	18	36	12	1 1. Gyges, 38	
	3998 3316 323	37 32	61	16 1	14 1. Manasses.	6	19	37	13	2	
	3999 3317 324	38 33	62	16 2	2	7	20	interregnum one yeere.	5 1. Deioces, 53.	3	
	4000 3318 325	39 34	63	16 3	3	8	21	2 Numa Pompilius, 43.	2	4	
L.2.c.27.§.2.	4013 3331 338	52 47	76	19 4	16	21	1. Interregnum 2.	14	15	17	
	4015 3333 340	54 49	78	20 2	18	23	1. 12 Princes, 15	16	17	19	
The beginning of the second Messenian war; which lasted about 18. yeeres. Lib.2.c.27.§.3.	4029 3347 354	68 63	92	23 4	32	37	15 1. Psammiticus, 44	30	31	33	
L.2.c.28.§.3.	4033 3351 358	72 67	96	24 4	36	2 1. Ben-Merodach, 21	5	34	35	37	
	4035 3353 360	74 69	98	25 2	38	3	7	36	37	2 1. Ardys. 49	
	4043 3361 368	82 77	106	27 2	46	11	15	3 1. Tullus Hostilius, 33	45	9	
	4052 3370 377	91 86	115	29 3	55	20	24	10	6 1. Phraortes, 24	18	
	4053 3371 378	92 87	116	29 4	15 1. Amon, 2.	21	25	11	2	19	

	Iulian. world. Temple	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Iuda.	Chaldæa.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.	
The expedition of the Scythians. L.2.c.28.§.3.& 4.	4054 3372 379	93 88	117	30 1	2	3 1. Nabuchodonosor, 3	26	12	3	20	
	4055 3373 380	94 89	118	30 2	16 1. Iosias, 31.	2	27	13	4	21	
Lib.2.c.28.§.1.	4074 3391 398	112 107	136	34 4	19	20	1. Neco. 17	31	22	39	
	4075 3393 400	114 109	138	35 2	21	22	3	4 1. Ancus Martius 24	24	41	
	4076 3394 401	115 110	139	35 3	22	23	4	2	7 1. Cyaxares, 40	42	
	4084 3402 409	123 118	147	37 3	30	31	12	10	9	3 1. Sadyattes, 12	
Lib.2.c.28.§.1.&.2.	4085 3403 410	124 119	148	37 4	37 17 Jehoahaz, imprisoned	32	13	11	10	2	
Nabuchodonosor had reigned one yeere with his Father, which is to be regarded in Astronomicall observations concerning his time. Lib.2.c.28.§.6. & c.25.§.2.	4086 3404 411	125 120	149	38 1	18 1. Jehoiakim, 11	33	14	12	11	3	
	4089 3407 414	128 123	152	38 4	4	1. Nabuchodonosor the great, 44	17	15	14	6	
	4090 3408 415	129 124	153	39 1	5	2	1. Psammis, 12	16	15	7	
	4096 3414 421	135 130	159	40 3	11 19 1. sechons 2. months, 20	8	7	22	21	4 1. Halyattes 57	
Zedekiah his iourney to Babylon. Lib.2.c.28.§.6.	4099 3417 424	138 133	162	41 2	Zedekiah 11 years. 4	11	10	1 1. Tarquin, Priscus, 38	24	4	
	4102 3420 427	141 136	165	42 1	7	14	1. Airie or Hophra. 20	4	27	7	
Ierusalem taken by Nabuchodonosor, with whose 18. for the more part, and partly with whose 19. this year concurres.	4106 3424 431	145 140	169	43 1	11	18	5	8	31	11	
	Iulian. World	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Captivity.	Caldea	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.	
Ierusalem destroyed	4107 3425	146 141	170	43 2	1	19	6 1. Phur, Hophra slaine, and the kingdome of Egypt governed 40 yeeres by Viceroyes.	9	32	12	
Egypt conquered by Nabuchodonosor. Lib.2.c.15.8.& 9.	4111 3429	150 145	174	44 2	5	23		13	36	16	
	4116 3434	155 150	179	45 3	10	28	6	18	8 1. Astyages, 35	21	
Nabuchodonosor lives wilde: and his kingdome is governed by others for him, during seuen yeeres. Lib.2.c.15.13.	4125 3443	164 159	188	47 4	19	37 1. Evilmerodac	15	27	10	30	
	4127 3445	166 161	190	48 2	21	39 1. Niglisar, or Nericsar, 4.	17	29	12	32	

	Iulian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Inda.	Chaldaea.	Egypt.	Rome.	Media	Lydia.
Nabuchadnezzar recouers his sense and kingdom.	4131 449	170 165	194	49 2	25	41 1 Laborosardach 9 mon.	21	33	16	36
L.3.c.1.§.6. The 37. of Ieconia his captinity compleat, and hee larged.	4133 3451	172 167	196	49 4	27	5 Euilmerodach. 26	23	35	18	38
	4137 3455	176	200	50 4	31	5	27	6 1 Seruius Tullus. 44	22	42
Fortie yeares after the Conquest of Egypt past, Amasis began reigne: this being inclusiuely the 41. and therefore the next yeere seemes concurrent with Amasis his first.	4151 3469	190 185	214	54 2	45	19	Amasis 34	15	9 1 Cyaxares or Darius the Mede, 26	56
	4153 3471	192	216	54 4	47	21	2	17	3	5 1. Crœsus, 14
	Iulian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphit.	Olymp.	Persia.	Caldaea	Egypt.	Rome.	Media.	Lydia.	Iew.
	4154 3472	193 188	217	55 1	2 1. Cyrus in Persia 22	22	3	18	4	2	48
The seuen Sages in Greece.	4159 3477	198 193	222	56 2	6	6 1 Balthasar 17	8	23	9	7	53
Pisistratus makes himselfe Tyrant in Athens.	4164 3482	203 198	227	57 3	11	6	13	28	14	12	58
	4166 3484	205 200	229	58 1	13	8	15	30	16	14 Crœsus taken by Cyrus.	60
The end of the Chaldean Empire.	4175 3493	214 209	238	60 2	22	17. Balthasar slaine.	24	39	25		69
	4176 3494	215 210	239	60 3	23	1. Darius the Mede 2	23	40	26		70
The beginning of Cyrus his Empire. His edict of libertie to the Iewes.	4177 3495	216 211	240	60 4	1. Cyrus, 7	2	26	41	Teeres from 1. Cyrus		Zorobabel.
	4181 3499	220 215	244	61 4	5		30	7 1. Tarquinius Superbus 25	5	Onely Zorobabel & Nehemias are remembred gouernours of the Iewes, vnto the 32. of Artaxerxes Mnemon. But there were many before Nehemias, as himselfe witnesseth Ch. 5. 15. so that the number of them, their number & names are vncertaine.	
	4184 3502	223 218	247	62 3	2 1. Cambyses. 7		33	4	8		
The 2. first yeeres of Psammeticus, and part of the third may be added to the yeeres of his father, if it be true that Cambyses wan Egypt presently on the death of Amasis, L.3.c.4.§.2.	4186 3504	225 220	249	63 1	3		1 Psammeticus, 3	6	10		
The Conquest of Egypt by Cambyses.	4188 3506	227 222	251	63 3	5		3	8	12		
	Iulian. World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphitus	Olymp.	Persia	Egypt	Rome	Greece.	Iewes	From Cyrus.	
Cambyses reigned seuen yeeres and fiue moneths, so as his last yeare was filled vp by the Magi, and (as may seeme) a good part of the next, L.3.c.4.§.4.	4191 3509	230 225	254	64 2	8 The Magi one yeare.		11			15	
	4192 3510	231 226	255	64 3	1. Darius Hystaspis, 36		12			16	

	Iulian. World.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphitus.	Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Iewes, from Cyrus.
	4197 3515	236 231	260	65 4	6		17	Hippias the sonne of Pisistratus Tyrant in Athens.	21
	4204 3522	243 238	267	67 3	11 Babylon, which had rebeld, taken by Darius.		42		28
The Tarquines expelled Rome. L.4.c.7.§ 1.	4205 3523	244 239	268	67 4	14		25		29
The Carthaginians first league with Rome. L.5.c.1.§.2.	4206 3524	245 240	269	68 1	15		Brutus & Publicola } Consulles.		30
L.3.c.5.§.4.	4211 3529	250 245	274	69 2	20 Darius his expedition against the Sythians.				35
	4212 3530	251 246	275	69 3	21			The Athenians and Ionians take Sardes.	36
	4222 3540	261 256	285	72 1	31		Sp Cassius Postk Cominius Consuls.	The battaile of Marathon.	46
	4226 3544	265 260	289	73 1	35	Ægypt rebelleth against Darius.			50
	4228 3546	267 262	291	73 3	4 1. Xerxes, 21				50
The Law Agraria in Rome propounded, for diuision of Lands: which bred great commotion.	4229 3547	268 263	292	73 4	2	Ægypt recouered by Xerxes.	Proc. Virginius. Sp.Cassius. } Coss.		52
An Eclipse of the Sun. L.3.c.6.§.2.	4233 3551	272 267	296	74 4	6. The great muster of Xerxes his armie at Sardes.				57
L.3.c.6.§.3. and 6.	4234 3552	273 268	297	75 1	7			The battailes at Thermopyle, Artemisium, and Salamis.	58
L.3.c.6.§.9.10.&11.	4235 3553	274 269	298	75 2	8 Xerxes his tragicall loue			The battaile of Platea and Mycale.	59
Lib. 3.c.7.§.1. and 2.	4237 3555	276 271	300	75 4	10			The Athenians rebuild their walls, & lay the foundation of their Dominion.	62
	4244 3562	283 278	307	77 3	17			The great victories of Simon, at Eurymedon, and elsewhere.	68
L.3.c.7.§.3.	4248 3566	287 282	311	78 3	21 The death of Xerxes, by the treason of Artabanus.				72
	4249 3567	288 283	312	78 4	1. Artaxerxes Longimanus. 40			Themistocles being banished, flyes to Artaxerxes.	73
	4251 3569	290 285	314	94 2	3	Inarus set vp as King by the Ægyptians.			75
L.3.c.7.§.5.&7.	4255 3573	294 289	318	80 2	7. The marriage of Hester.	Inarus vanquished by the Persians.	The decemviri chosen to compound a body of the Romen Lawes.	79. Esdras cheseth to Ierusalem. Danielhis 70. weeks or 490 yeeres begineth.	
	4264 3582	303 298	327	82 3	16			Hippocrates the great Physitian, and Democritus the Philosopher flourish.	10

The Accompt from the solution of the Captinitie, is the same with that from Cyrus.	Iulian. World.	Rome, Nabon	Iphitus.	Olymp.	Persia.	Egypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Iewes, from Cyrus and Daniel.
	4265 3583	304 299	328	82 4	17		The decemuirs chosen for a second yeere, tyranize & vsurpe the place a 3. yeere.	Symons voyage to Cyprus, in which he dyed.	89 11
Nehemias comes to Ierusalem.	4268 3586	307	331	83 3	20			A league for 36 yeeres, betweene Athens & Sparta	92 14
	4272 3590	311 306	335	84 3	24		Tribuni Militum first chosen in stead of Consuls.		96 18
	4273 3591	312 307	336	84 4	25		Dionys. Liuy placeth them in the 10 yeere of Rome.	The conquest of Samos by the Athenians under Pericles.	97 19
	4278 3596	317 312	341	86 1	30			The Athenians & the Corcyreans against the Corinthians.	101 24
The walls of Ierusalem finished. Nehemias returnes to King Artaxerxes.	4280 3598	319 314	343	86 3	32				104 26
Lib. 3.c.8.§.1.	4283 3601	322 317	346	67 2	25			The first yeere of the Peloponnesian Warre.	107 29
L.3.c.9.§.1. L.3.c.8. §.4.	4289 3607	328 323	352	88 4	6 Xerxes 2.months 7 Sogdianus 8.mon			The victorie of the Athenians at Pylus.	113 35
L.3.c.9.§.1.	4290 3608	329 324	353	89 1	8 1. Darius Nothus. 19				114 36
L.3.c.8.§.5.and 6.	4292 3610	331 326	355	89 3	3			A vaine & troublesome peace beweene Athens & Sparta.	116 38
L.3.c.9.§.1.& c.8. §.8.	4301 3619	340 335	364	91 4	12. Egypt rebelleth against the Persians, and setes vp Kings that reigne succesfively, till Ochus his re-conquest.	1 1. Amyrtæus, 6		The Athenian fleet in Sicil vtterly destroyed.	125 48
Cap.8.§.9.	4302 3620	341 336	365	92 1	13. Darius enters in to confederacie with the Spartanes.	2		The gouernment of the 400 in Athens, which was suppressed the yeere following	126 50
The Carthaginians inuade Sicil with an Army of 00000. L.5.c.1.§.4.t.3.	4304 3622	343 338	367	92 3	15	4		The Athenians begin to recouer strength.	128 52
L.3.c.8.§.10.	4306 3624	345 340	369	93 1	17	6		Alcibiades after many vitories returnes from banishment to Athens & made Generall, and banished again.	130 53
	4307 3625	346 341	370	93 2	18	2 1. Nephres, 6		The battaile at Arginusæ.	131 53
	4308 3626	347 342	371	93 3	19	2		Dionysius the elder vsurps tyrannie in Syracuse.	132 54
L.3.c.8.§.12.	4309 3627	348 343	372	93 4	9 1. Artaxerxes Mnemon, 43.	3		The battaile at Argos, Potamos, &c.	133 55
	4311 3629	350 345	374	94 2	3	5	The siege of Veij, lasted, 10 yeeres.		135 57
L.3.c.10.§.1.	4313 3631	352 347	376	94 4	5. The expedition of Cyrus against Artaxerxes.	3 1. Acoris, 12		Socrates put to death. The 30. tyrants put downe in Athens.	137 59

	Iulian. and World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Persia.	Ægypt.	Rome.	Greece.	Iewes From Cyrus. Daniel.
Lib.3.c.15.§.4.	4318 3636	357 352	381	96 1	10	6		Agesilaus warreth in Asia.	142 64
L.3.c.11.§.7.	4320 3638	359 354	383	96 3	12	8		The victory of Conon at Gnidus, &c.	144 66
	4321 3639	360 355	384	96 4	13	9	Veij taken by Camillus.	Xenophon and Plato flourish.	145 67
	4325 3643	364 359	388	97 4	17	3 1. Psammiticus the son of Inarus, & after him Nephres, that had him expelled, reigned in all about two yeeres. 2	The honorable victory of Camillus ouer the Falisci.		149 71
L.4.c.7.§.1. Lib.3.c.11.§.9.	4326 3644	365 360	389	98 1	18		Rome taken & burnt by the Gauls.	The Peace of Antalcidus.	150 72
	4327 3645	376 361	390	98 2	19	4 1. Nectanebus. 18			151 73
	4332 3650	371 366	395	99 3	24	6	M. Manlius Capitolinus put to death.	The Lacedæmonians take the Citadel of Thebes by treason.	156 78
Lib.3.c.11.§.11.	4336 3654	375 370	399	100 3	28	10		The Thebans recouer their Citadell, and make strong warre vpon the Lacedæmonians.	160 82
	4340 3658	379 374	403	101 3	32	14	Tribunes of the people continued, 5. yea, in office, propound popular Lawes, among which, That one of the Consuls should bee full a Plebeian.		164 86
Lib.3.c.12.§.1.	4343 3661	382 377	406	102 2	35	17		The famous battaile of Leuctra.	167 89
L.3.c.12.§.4.	4345 3363	384 379	408	102 4	37	4 1. Tachus 8. Eusebius giues onely two yeeres to Tachus. Reinec. 6. but the storie of him proues more.	1. Sextius a Plebeian & 1. Aemylius, Consuls.	The hasty growth of the Theban estate.	169 91
	4351 3669	390 385	414	104 2	43. Many Prouinces rebel against Artaxerxes, and are soon reclaimed.	7		The great Battaile of Mantinæa. Epaminondas dyes.	175 97. Ionathan.
L.3.C.12.§.8.	4352 3670	391 386	415	104 3	10 1. Ochus. 23	8. Tachus betrayed by Agesilaus. 1. Nectanibus, 11		Peace in Greece. The Athenians weaken themselues by conuerting their treasure to vaine vses.	176 98 about this time High Priest.
	4354 3672	393 388	417	105 1	3	3		1. Philip King of Macedon 24. yeeres, and part of the 25.	178 100
L.4.c.1.§.4.	4359 3677	398 393	422	106 2	8	8		6. The Phocians warre begins.	183 105
	4364 3682	403 398	427	107 3	12. Ochus reconquers Egypt.	13. Nectanebus flies into Æthiopia.		11	188 110
L.4.c.1.§.6.	4368 3686	407 402	431	108 3	17			15. The end of the Phocian warre.	192 114
L.5.c.1.§.4. t.4.	4369 3678	408 403	432	108 4	18			16. Timoleon his voyage into Sicil.	193 115
	4370 3688	409 404	433	109 1	19	Nabonassar. Nouemb. the 17.		17. Philip wasteth Illyria, & draws the Thessalians to follow him.	194 116
After this, the yeares from Cyrus & Daniel are too few, by One.	4375 3693	414 409	438	110 2	11 1. Arses 3.			22	199 121 Iaddus High Priest 16.

	Iulian. and World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Persia.	Ægypt.	Rome.	Greece.		Iewes From Cyrus Daniel.
	4376 3694	415 410	439	110 3	2			21 The battaile of Cheronea. Philip chosen Captaine Generall of the Greeks.		2 199 121
	4378 3696	417 412	441	111 1	12 1. Darius 6. yeere & somwhat more	Nabon. Nonemb 15.		23 Philip slaine by Pausanias 1. Alexander the great, 12 yeares and fiue moneths.		4 201 123
	4379 3697	418 413	442	111 2	2			2 Thebes razed by Alexander.		5 202 124
	4380 3608	419 414	443	111 3	3			3 Alexander passeth into Asia.		6 203 125
L.4.c.2.§.4.	4381 3699	420 415	444	111 4	4 The battaile of Issus.			4		7 204 126
L.4.c.7.§.5.6. & 7. & L.5.c.2.§.8.	4382 3700	421 416	445	112 1	5		The Gaules enter in league with the Romanes.	5 Alexander wins Tyre and Ægypt.	8 205 129	Iaddo meeting Alex is reuerenced by him
	Iulian. World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.						
An eclipse of the Moon	4383 3701	422 417	446	112 2	6 The battaile of Arbela.				6 Babylon, Susa, & Persepolis won by Alexander.	9 206 128
Lib.4.c.2.§.13.	4384 3702	423 418	447	112 3	7 Darius slaine by Bessus.				7	10 207 129
					Macedon.	Ægypt.		Greece.	Romans.	Iews. Daniel
	4385 3703	424 419	448	112 4	8. Alexander changeth conditions, putting to death Parmenio and Philotas					11 130
	4380 3704	425 420	449	113 1	9. Alexander passeth into India; kills clytus and Calisthenes.					12 131
Alexander dyed 17. daye before the Summer solstice. From Nabonassar hitherto are collected 124. yeers: and hence to the reigne of Augustus, 294 The summe is, 718. yeeres, which agree with this account. Ptol Almagest. l.3.c.8.	4390 3708	429 424	453	114 1	13. Alexander dyes at Babylon.	Nabon. Nouemb. 12.				16 135
	4391 3709	430 425	454	114 2	1. Aridæus, 6. and foure moneths.	1 1. Ptolomie Lagi. 39	L.3.c.3. §.1. 2.& 3.	The Lamian Warre.		1. Omnia. 23 136
	4394 3712	433 428	457	115 1	4	4. Peracas slaine in Egypt.	Nab. Nou. 11 L.4.C.3.§.8 & 9.	Victories of Eumenes.		4 139
	4395 3713	434 429	458	115 2	5. Antigonus sent against Eumenes.	5				5 140
Aridæus slaine by Olympias, Antigon. beaten by Eumenes.	4397 3715	336 431	460	115 4	7	7				7 142
Eumenes betrayed to Antigonus. Olympias slain by Cassander. Antigonus vowes dreadfull.	4398 3716	437 432	461	116 1	1. Cassander. 19	8		Thebes re-edified by Cassander.		8 143
Some place the beginning of Seleucus in this 12. from Alexander, by which account he reigned 32. yeares.	4402 3720	441 436	465	117 1	5	12 Nabonassar. Nouemb. 9.	Demetrius beaten at Gaza, by Ptol. and Seleucus.			12 147
Peace between Alexanders Captains: with diuision of Prouinces.	4403 3721	442 437	466	117 2	6	13				13 148

	Iulian. and World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria and the Kingdome of the Greeks.	Greece.	Romans.	Iewes Daniel
The Æra of the Kingdome of the Greeks.	4404 3722	443 438	467	117 3	7	14	1 1. Seleucus. 30 1	Lib.4.c.5.§.7.		14 149
Alexanders Captains assume the name of Kings.	4406 3724	445 440	469	118 1	9	16 Ptolomy ouercome by Demetrius at Cyprus	3 3	Athens set free by Demetrius the son of Antigonus.		16 151
Lib.4.c.6.§.4.	4413 3731	452 447	476	119 4	16	23	10 The battaile at Ipsus, wherein Antigonus was slaine. 10			23 158
	4414 3732	453 448	477	120 1	17	24	11. Seleucus makes alliance with Demetrius. 11			1. Timon. the ancient. 23 159
	4417 3735	456 451	480	120 4	1. Antipater and Alexander the sons of Cassander.	27	14 14			4 162
Lib.4.c.6.§.7.	4421 3739	460 455	484	121 4	1 Demetrius 6	31	18 18			8 166
	Iulian. World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olympiads.	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria.	Greece.	Rome.	Iewes. Daniel
	4427 4745	466 461	490	123 2	1. Pyrrhus, 7. Moneths.	37	24			1. Eleazar the Priest. 9 172
	4428 3746	467 462	491	123 3	1. Lysimachus. 5.	38	25			2 173
	4429 3747	468 463	492	123 4	2	39. 9 1 Ptolomy Philadelphus 38	26 26			3 174
The Translation of the Bible by the Septuagint.	4432 3750	471 466	495	124 3	5	4	29 29		The Tarentines raise war in the western part of Italy, & call in Pyrrhus against the Ro	6 177
Lib.4.c.6.§.9. and Cap.7.5.2.	4433 3751	472 467	496	124 4	6. Lysimachus slaine. Seleucus 7 Mon.	5	30. Seleucus slain in the end of the 124. Olymp. Polyb. & Iustin. 30		Pyrrhus his victorie against the Romans.	7 178
L.4.c.7.§.3.& 7.	4434 3752	473 468	497	124 1	1. Ptol. Ceraunus, Antipater, Meleager, Sosthenes.	6 Nabon. Non. 1.	2 1. Antiochus Soter 19 31	The Gaules do great spoyle in Macedon and Greece, under Brennus & Bolgius.		8 179
	4436 3754	475 470	499	125 1	1 1. Antigonus Gonatas, 26	8	3 33		Pyrrhus goes into Sicil.	10 181
Lib.5.c.2.§.6	4438 3756	477 472	501	126 1	3	10. Nabonassars yeere begins, Oct. 1	5 35	About these times the Achaans begun their society.	Pyrrhus called out of Sicill against the Rom	12 183
	4439 3757	478 473	502	126 2	4	11	6 26		Pyrrhus ouerthrowne by the Romans.	13 184
Lib.4.c.7.§.5.	4441 3759	480 475	504	126 4	6	13	8 38	Pyrrhus slaine at Argos.	The Tarentines craue aide of the Carthaginians.	15 186
The Translation by the Septuagint finished, this 17. of Philadelphus.	4445 3763	484 497	508	127 4	10	17	12 42			19 190
	4446 3764	485 480	509	128 1	11	18. Nabonassar Oct. 29	13 43			1 Manasses high priest. 27 191
The more Ancient Roman Consuls haue beene often so vncertain, that Liuie hath omitted whome to name:	4450 3768	489 484	513	129 1	15	22. Nabonassar Octob. 28	17 47	L.5.c.1.§.3.	The beginning of the first Punicke warre.	5 Ap. Claudius. M. Fulvius.

	Iulian. and World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp	Macedon.	Egypt.	Syria and the Kingdome of the Greeks.	Greece.	Romans.	Iewes Daniel	Consuls.
	4453 3771	492 487	516	129 4	18	25	3 1. Antiochus Theus. 16 15			8 198	L. Valerius, T. Octavius.
L. 5. c. 1. §. 6.	4454 3772	493 488	517	130 1	19	26	2 51		Duilius his victory at Sea.	9 199	C. Duilius. Cn. Cornelius.
	4457 3775	496 491	220	130 4	22	29	5 54		Reguluspasseth into Africk.	12 202	M. Atil. Reg. Cn. Cornelius.
Lib. 5. c. 1. §. 8.	4458 3776	497 492	521	131 1	23	30	6 55	Marcus Carynensis Prætor of the Achæans	Regulus taken prisoner.	13 203	L. Manlius. Q. Caditus.
	4463 3781	502 497	526	132 2	28	35	11 60	Aratus recouers Sicyon, & ioynes it to the Achæans		18 208	L. Cæcilius. C. Furius.
The Romans Consuls beaten at Lilybæum. The beginning of the Parthian Kingdome.	4464 3782	503 498	457	132 3	29	36	12 61		Regulus his death.	19 209	C. Atilius. L. Manlius.
	4465 3783	504 499	528	132 4	30	37	13 62		Shipwracke, and vnhappy fight of the Romans at sea	20 210	P. Claudius, Pulcher, and L. Iunius.
	4467 3785	506 501	530	133 3	32	1. Ptolomy Euergetes. 26	15 64			22 212	L. Cæcilius. M. Fabius.
Amilcar the Carthaginian in Sicil. L. 5. c. 1. §. 11.	4469 3787	508 503	532	133 4	34	3	4 1. Seleucus Callinicus. 20 66			24 214	M. Fabius C. Atilius.
	4472 3790	511 506	535	134 3	2 Demetrius. 10	6	4 69		Lutatius his great victorie at Ægateis.	27 217	C. Lutt. Catul. A. Posthumius
The war of the Mercenaries with the Carthaginians, L. 5. c. 2.	4473 3791	512 507	536	134 4	2	7	5 70	Aratus winnes Corinth.	Peace granted to Carthage.	Onias 1 218	Q. Lutatius. A. Manlius.
	4474 3792	513 508	537	135 1	3	8 Nabon Oct. 22	6 71			1. Simon the iust 22 219	C. Claudius. M. Sempronius
The war with the Mercenaries ended.	4476 3794	515 510	539	135 3	5	10	8 73		The Romans take Sardinia from the Carthaginians.	3 221	Gracchus, Falco.
	4482 3800	521 516	545	137 1	3 1. Antigonus Doson. 10	16	14 79			9 227	Lepidus. Malleolus.
	4483 3801	522 517	546	137 2	2	17	15 80		A Roman Embassador slaine by Queene Teuta.	12 230	M. Æmylius M. Iunius.
L. 5. c. 2. §. 7.	4485 3803	524 519	548	137 4	4	19	17 82		Teuta Queene of Illyria, subdued by the Romans.	10 234	L. Posthumius C. Fulvius.
L. 5. c. 5. §. 1.	4489 3807	528 523	552	138 4	8	23	5 1. Seleucus Ceraunus. 3 86			16 224	L. Æmylius. C. Atilius.
Flaminius was also Consul this yeere. see L. 5. c. 2. §. 8.	4492 3810	531 526	555	139 3	11	26	5 1. Antiochus the Great, 36. 89.		Marcellus his victory ouer the Gauls, about Milan.	19 237	C. Cornelius. M. Marcellus
L. 5. c. 5. §. 2.	4493 3811	532 527	556	139 4	12	4 1. Ptolomy Philopator. 27	2 90			20 238	P. Cornelius. M. Menutius
	4494 3812	533 528	557	140 1	4 1. Philip. 42.	2	3 91			20 239	L. Veturius. C. Lutatius.

	Iulian. World.	Rome. Nabon	Iphit.	Olymp.	Macedon.	Egypt	Syria & Kingdome of the Greeks.	Greece.	Rome.	Iewes and Daniel.	Consuls.
Hannibal taketh Saguntum.	4495 3813	534 529	558	140 1 2	2	3	4 92	Demetrius Pharius chased out of his Lordship. L. 5. c. 3. §. 4.		22 240	L. Æmylius. M. Liuius.
The beginning of the second Punick warre.	4496 3814	534 529	559	140 3	3	4 5. Warre	4		The battaile of Ticinus and Trebia.	23 241	P. Cor. Scipio. T. Sempronius
The occurrences of this yeere, are referred by Polybi. to the 3. of the 14. Olymp. This battel of Thrasymene was fought in the spring, the Olympian yeere began at the Summer solstice	4497 3815	536 530	560	140 4	1. Sol. Eclips. Liu. l. 22 F. h. 11 reckoning by Iul. yeere	in Syria between Antiochus and Ptol.	6	Philip and the Achæans at peace with the AEtol.	The battaile of Thrasymene.	24 242	C. Flaminius. Cn. Seruilius.
Hannibal and Marcellus. Hiero King of Syracuse dyes. Hieronymus succeeds.	4498 3816	537 532	561	141 1	5	6 Nabonassar yeere begins October 18. 7	7 95		The great battell at Canne.	25 243	C. Terē. Varro L. AEm. Paul.
	4499 3817	538 533	562	141 2	6		8 96		Posthumius the Ro. Consul slain by the Gauls.	26 244	L. Posthumius T. Semp. Gracc. Q. Fabius.
Two Scipiones slaine in Spaine. Hannibal winnes Tarentum.	4502 3820	541 536	565	141 1	9	10	11 99	Philip and the Achæans warre with the Etolians & Romans in Greece	Syracuse won by Marcellus. Capua besieged	247 Onias hie pricis. 30	Ap. Claudius. Q. Fulvius.
Hannibal at the walls of Rome.	4503 3821	542 537	566	142 2	10	11	12 100		Yong Scipio goes into Spaine. Capua wonne by the Romans.	2 248	Cn. Fulvius. P. Sulpitius.
	4507 3825	546 541	570	143 2	14	15	16 104		The battaile at Metaurus.	6 252	C. Clau. Nero M. Liuius.
	4508 3826	547 542	571	143 3	15	16	17 105		Scipio drives the Carthaginians quite out of Spain	7 253	Q. Cæcilius. L. Veturius.
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§. XI.

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